CANADA'S DECENTRALISED IMMIGRATION POLICY THROUGH A LOCAL LENS:

HOW SMALL COMMUNITIES ARE ATTRACTING AND WELCOMING IMMIGRANTS

Supervised Research Project

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ABSTRACT

Immigrant attraction to small communities is a growing reality in Canada as a result of the recent regionalisation, "marketisation" and decentralisation of immigration policy. These changes have increased the influence of local actors – municipalities, employers, and community members – in the immigrant attraction and welcoming process. This research report sets out to understand the drivers of small-community immigrant attraction, the challenges that result, and the existing responses of local actors to these challenges. To this end, six small communities are selected for case-study analysis using a quantitative method applied to the 2006 Canadian Census. Interviews with local municipal staff, employers and community actors are conducted within each case-study community. Drawing on the findings, a typology is developed which describes and contrasts five key immigrant attraction dynamics. A key finding is that while governments at all levels create policy that facilitates regional immigration, the private sector is most often the operative actor.

Seven challenges emanating from immigrant attraction to small communities are identified, relating to settlement services, appropriate housing, transportation systems, suitable employment, cultural amenities, diversity in the school system, and community tolerance. A number of interesting local responses to these challenges are revealed. These responses can be strengthened by increasing local planners' knowledge and ability to address diversity; however, increased institutional capacity and resources are ultimately required in order to improve small-community immigrant welcoming initiatives. This discovery suggests that a continued questioning of Canada's decentralised immigration policy is warranted.

This paper contributes to the growing literature on regional immigration and on the cultivation of welcoming communities in rural and remote places. Importantly, it links these research agendas to contemporary debates in planning.

RÉSUMÉ

L'attraction des immigrants par les petites communautés est de plus en plus une réalité au Canada grâce à la régionalisation, la «marketisation», et la décentralisation des politiques d'immigration. Avec ces changements, le rôle des acteurs locaux – les municipalités, les employeurs, et les citoyens – dans le processus de l'immigration a vu une augmentation d'importance. Ce rapport de recherche vise à comprendre les déclencheurs de l'intérêt des petites communautés pour les immigrants, les défis qui en résultent, et les réactions des acteurs locaux face à ces défis. À cette fin, six petites communautés ont été choisies pour analyse par études de cas, en utilisant une méthode quantitative appliquée aux données du recensement canadien de 2006. Des entrevues ont été effectuées avec des fonctionnaires municipaux, des employeurs locaux, et d'autres acteurs locaux dans chacune des six communautés sélectionnées. Par la suite, une typologie pour décrire et comparer les dynamiques d'attraction des immigrants a été développée, en s'appuyant sur les données recueillies. Les résultats démontrent que, même si les différents paliers gouvernementaux mettent en œuvre plusieurs politiques afin de faciliter l'immigration dans les régions non-métropolitaines, le secteur privé est, le plus souvent, l'acteur opérationnel du processus.

Dans ce rapport de recherche, sept principaux défis émanant de l'attraction et de la rétention des immigrants par les petites communautés sont identifiés, notamment : les services d'établissement pour les immigrants, l'offre de logement convenable, les systèmes de transportation, les emplois appropriés, les ressources culturelles, la diversité dans les écoles, et la tolérance de la communauté d'accueil. Face à ces défis, plusieurs réponses intéressantes de la part des acteurs locaux sont identifiées. L'agrandissement des connaissances et des capacités des planificateurs et urbanistes par rapport à la diversité peuvent venir renforcer ces réponses; cependant, des plus fortes capacités institutionnelles sont nécessaires afin de vraiment accueillir les nouveaux immigrants dans les petites communautés. Ce constat suggère qu'il faudrait continuer à remettre en question la décentralisation des politiques d'immigration.

Les résultats de ce rapport contribuent à la littérature croissante sur l'immigration régionale et sur la création de communautés accueillantes dans les zones rurales et éloignées. De plus, ce rapport relie cette littérature avec les débats contemporains en urbanisme et aménagement.

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1 INTRODUCTION

Recent demographic trends show that Canada needs newcomers in order to maintain and grow its population (CIC, 2012a). The attraction of new immigrants, therefore, is increasingly being used as a tool for economic growth and "nation-building." Despite the significantly metropolitan nature of immigrant settlement in recent decades, small communities are now also turning to immigration as an important component of economic development.

A small community may be considered as a municipality, region, or corridor within a non-metropolitan area linked by social networks and flows of resources (Wellman and Leighton, 1979). Immigration to such places, like migration in general, is driven by structural economic forces as well as by local actors (Massey, Arango, Hugo, Kouaouci, Pellegrino & Taylor, 1993). This process is encouraged by recent changes in federal and provincial immigration policies that aim to select newcomers for existing labour opportunities, to attract immigrants to areas beyond the major metropolises, and to make the process as fast as possible. In other words, these new policies are designed for the "marketisation," "regionalisation," and streamlining of immigration. The Provincial Nominee Programs, which enable provinces to select and settle immigrants according to their own labour market needs, are a key example. These and other changes have particularly expanded the power of local employers to pursue international recruitment in response to acute labour shortages in small communities.

These new policy directions are beginning to have a marked effect on the geography of immigrant settlement in Canada. Some rural and small town areas have seen incredible growth in immigration levels in recent years, a phenomenon that is changing, but not eliminating, regional inequalities. This is important because migration involves not only the relocation of people, but the shifting of incomes, purchasing power, needs, and attitudes (Bourne & Flowers, 1999). The immigrant attraction process is occurring within a mosaic of different economic, policy, geographical, and historical contexts, all of which play an important role in shaping settlement patterns and economic outcomes (Alasia, 2010; Mwansa & Bollman, 2005).

Contemporary small-community immigration thus raises interesting questions about governance and responsibility, about the ways in which we grow our small communities, and about new social relations that are emerging at the local level. Indeed, while the appearance of new labour bolsters communities economically, the arrival of immigrants also generates a wide range of challenges to which small municipalities and their planners are often unprepared and underequipped to respond. Institutional capacity and resource availability is a real concern (Bunce, 1982). Moreover, the differences in the settlement experience for newcomers in non-metropolitan as opposed to metropolitan areas warrants serious consideration. In order to understand these processes, it is crucial to examine how, by whom, and in what context immigrant attraction is being driven, and how the different contexts are shaping the outcomes. When we understand these dynamics, we can begin to craft better strategies for the equitable management of change and the cultivation of communities that effectively serve all members.

Researchers and policymakers have begun to turn their attention to this topic. For example, the Ontario-based Welcoming Communities Initiative has engaged academics and local stakeholders to determine the characteristics of a "welcoming community," that is, "a location that has the capacity to meet the needs and promote inclusion of newcomers, and the machinery in place to produce and support these capacities" (Esses, Hamilton, Bennett-AbuAyyash, & Burstein, 2010, p. 9). Citizenship and Immigration Canada has commissioned reports on the subject. Yet, although many domains affected by immigrant arrival are directly related to planning – housing, transportation, service provision and public engagement, for example – there has yet to be an active recognition of immigrant regionalisation as a key issue within planning discourses. This work begins to bridge that gap.

The goal of this research is to understand small-community immigration drivers and outcomes in Canada. Furthermore, it seeks to uncover and assess the role of local actors in the immigration process, with a particular focus on local planners. To meet this goal, three research questions are posed:

1. *What is driving immigration to small communities in Canada?*
2. *What challenges and opportunities are created as a result of small-community immigrant attraction?*
3. *How are local actors responding to these challenges and opportunities, and how can their efforts be strengthened?*

To answer these questions, this research report employs both quantitative and qualitative methods. It begins in Chapter 2 by providing a theoretical framework for understanding the research findings. It reviews previous work on the drivers of international migration, some concepts used to assess immigrant settlement (namely, integration and "welcoming communities"), and recent findings on the differences between rural and urban immigrant experiences. Importantly, this chapter also presents the discourse on the relationship between planning, diversity and multiculturalism, which is the backdrop for the assessment of the role of local actors presented later in the paper.

Chapter 3 reviews the history and current directions of immigration policy in Canada to illustrate the regulatory context in which immigrant attraction plays out. Empirical data are presented to illustrate that, indeed, immigration is becoming a more regional phenomenon.

Chapter 4 describes the quantitative and qualitative methods used in this research. The final section of this chapter employs Canadian Census demographic data, including a measure of the concentration/heterogeneity of non-traditional source country immigration, to describe trends in regional immigration and to identify areas of significant immigrant attraction. Using this information, six distinct communities, defined by their social linkages, particularly as those linkages relate to immigration, are selected for more in-depth study: Morris, Manitoba; Deep River, Ontario; the County of Elgin, Ontario; Banff, Alberta; Whistler, British Columbia; and Merritt, British Columbia.

Having established its relevance, theoretical framework, methods, and case-study communities, the paper moves into a description of the findings. Chapter 5 responds to the first

research question, drawing on semi-structured interviews with local experts to explore the distinct dynamics driving immigrant attraction. It is confirmed that large employers play a dominant role in the attraction process, though other important factors are also at play. A typology of small-community immigrant attraction dynamics is presented, and areas for future expansion of the typology are identified.

Chapter 6 responds to the second and third research questions. Challenges and opportunities arising from immigrant attraction are identified and compared – and, despite the different drivers of immigration in the communities studied, many common themes arise. Initial and long-term service provision, housing, transportation, suitable employment, cultural amenities, schools and community tolerance are the key issues identified. A range of interesting responses to these challenges, led municipalities, employers and community members, are uncovered.

Chapter 7 of this paper begins with a summary of the research findings. Then, it responds to the policy-oriented element of the third research question: *how can the role of local actors be improved?* This section assesses the role of municipalities, employers and community members in responding to challenges within the complex process of immigrant welcoming. Ultimately, this paper shows that although many interesting responses to immigrant settlement are emerging in small communities, there are opportunities especially for planners to act more proactively, to foster greater collaboration, and to articulate new, pluralistic visions for their communities.

While regional immigration holds great potential for the future of small Canadian communities and for the livelihoods of newcomers, there is a need to connect this economic development practise to research and policy, in order to ensure processes and outcomes that are equitable, successful and sustainable. This paper contributes to the growing research around the cultivation of welcoming communities in our rural and remote places, and, importantly, links this research to contemporary debates in planning.

In this research report, the term “immigrant” will be used as defined by the Canadian Census – that is, an individual born outside of Canada who has obtained either permanent residence or full citizenship in Canada. Individuals born outside of Canada can obtain permanent residence in Canada in one of three broad ways: as economic immigrants, as family class immigrants (who are sponsored by someone already living in Canada), or as refugees. Given the focus of this paper on employer-driven attraction, economic immigrants and their families are the main focus of this work. Refugees are not considered; however, it should be noted that there have been some important instances of refugee settlement in remote areas by federal and provincial governments, and retention has been a challenge. This is an important research agenda but is not considered in the present work.

Individuals born in other countries may also come to Canada as temporary foreign workers. Initially, this project did not aim to consider temporary foreign workers since, conventionally, they do not settle in their host communities but ultimately return to their country of origin. However, this research has illustrated that, due to some important policy

changes in recent years, temporary foreign workers are increasingly following paths to permanent residency in Canada, and are therefore the subject of analysis in this paper as well.

An analysis of diversity in many small communities in Canada is not complete without the consideration of First Nations groups and individuals. It should be noted that immigrant settlement programs, funded by the federal and provincial governments, do not serve First Nations individuals, despite the fact that many First Nations are migrating to cities or towns from reserves and face many of the same challenges as new immigrants. Again, this is an important research agenda, but First Nations dynamics will not be covered in the present work.

2 THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: MIGRATION, SETTLEMENT AND PLANNING

This chapter provides a theoretical framework for understanding and assessing the research findings. It reviews previous work on the drivers of international migration, in order to place the processes in Canadian small communities within the global picture. It outlines the concepts of integration and "welcoming communities," which are used by academics and policymakers to assess immigrant settlement. Importantly, this chapter also outlines the discourse on the relationship between planning, diversity and multiculturalism, which is the backdrop for the assessment of the role of local actors presented later in the paper.

2.1 Drivers of Migration

Though international migration is not a new phenomenon, it has been the subject of significant academic and policy attention in recent decades as its volume and reach has expanded. There are many causes of movement across borders, from war and ethnic strife, to economic conditions, to the desires of individuals for different opportunities and climates. National governments in both sending and receiving countries seek to understand the drivers of migration – in particular, of economic migration – in order to better control the flows of people across their borders.

Due to the complexity of migration phenomena, a number of complementary and contradictory theories exist about the drivers. These theories draw from different academic fields and consider various levels of analysis. Some factors are thought to initiate migration flows, while others maintain them. Massey *et al.* (1993) have provided a thorough review of these theories, which has been used to guide the discussion below. There is a focus here on the drivers of economic migration, as that is the main type of immigration considered in this paper.

2.1.1 Initiation of Flows

Why does migration begin? Neoclassical economics, advanced by researchers such as Todaro (1969), focuses on wage differentials between countries. Neoclassical economics migration theory says that when the wage rate is higher in one country than another, labour will flow from the country with the lower wage to the country with the higher one. This theory says that individuals will make the decision to migrate based on a rational, economic cost-benefit analysis that takes into account the cost of relocation relative to the higher wages available to them in the new country. On the long term, this theory predicts that eventual wage equilibrium will be reached and that migration will cease.

Noting that there are more factors at play than wages, and that the individual may not be an appropriate level of analysis, researchers such as Stark and Bloom (1985) have developed the "new economics of migration" theory. This theory uses the household as the level of analysis, based on the idea that households make collective decisions not only to maximize their economic well-being, but to minimize risk. Accordingly, this theory contends that actors (households) take into account expected incomes but also market considerations such as access

to credit, unemployment insurance and agricultural futures markets when making the decision to send one or more household members abroad. Like neoclassical economics concepts, the "new economics of migration" theory considers the agency of individuals or small groups as the primary driver.

Other observers have focused on structural causes of migration. In "dual labour market" theory, Piore (1979) argues that modern industrial societies generate an intrinsic demand for low-wage, low-skill labour. This stems from structural inflation (wages for low-skill jobs cannot be raised because it would threaten the wage hierarchy across the nation's economy) and status motivation (though there may be native labour available, such jobs are considered undesirable by native workers). This demand also stems from a declining availability of native workers who previously filled these positions, namely, teenagers and women, as these individuals enter other areas of the labour force. Formal recruitment strategies are therefore led by employers, or by governments acting on their behalf. This theory, in particular, has an important link to the findings presented later in this paper.

Moving beyond the structure of nations to a global level of analysis, "world systems theory" is promoted by researchers such as Sassen (1988). This theory posits that the structure of the world market is the operative driver of migration, contending that to increase profits, capitalist actors (previously colonial regimes, now multinational firms and neocolonial governments) need increased access to low-wage labour. Land consolidation and other changes in developing nations drive labour from the global "peripheries" to the global "cores."

In reality, both individual agency and structural forces operate to bring about international migration (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Taken together, these theories help to conceptualize the complex web of factors that are catalysing vast flows of people across borders.

2.1.2 Proliferation of Flows

Once migration flows are initiated, agents, structures, and cultures develop that can maintain the movement even after the original causes have disappeared (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Networks are an important component of this process. Bringing in considerations of "social capital," Massey (1990a) presents "migrant network" theory, which says that as migrant populations grow over time, they generate networks among themselves and others remaining in their country of origin. These networks reduce the costs and risks, and increase the likelihood, of migration by others by providing information about the destination, contacts with immigration gatekeepers, and housing and employment upon arrival (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). This theory also has an important link to the drivers discovered in this study, discussed later in this paper.

At the same time, "migrant institutions" also develop. Migrant institutions act by "'stretching' social relations across time and space to bring together the potential migrant and the overseas employer" (Goss & Lindquist, 1995, p. 335). They emerge as a result of the potential profit to be made from the increasing demand for migration and the associated barriers to movement. The greater the barriers, such as stringent or complicated immigration

requirements, the more important migrant networks and institutions become. Migrant institutions can take the form of formal "brokers" in either the sending or receiving country who assist potential migrants to navigate the system. They can be legitimate or illegitimate, and they are often difficult for governments to regulate (Massey *et al.*, 1993). Interestingly, in the Philippines, the government has mandated that all overseas outmigration *must* go through state-sanctioned recruitment organisations (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). Migrant institutions can also take the form of more informal "gatekeepers" who are known among migrant networks as important actors. For example, the manager of a multinational hotel chain in a sending country may be able to connect potential migrants with employment in the same chain in another country (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). Such gatekeepers also have the power to "close" gates. These theories of migration view social relationships as the operative factors in migration.

As migrant networks and institutions mature, cultural changes occur in both sending and receiving countries that also act to maintain migration flows, in what Massey (1990b) has theorized as "cumulative causation." In the sending culture, migration becomes normalised and more is understood about the destination country. Moreover, economic conditions apply an increasing amount of pressure for migration to those left behind. In the receiving country, certain jobs become labelled as "immigrant jobs" and become socially undesirable, increasing the need for employers to undertake overseas recruitment.

Researchers have identified international wage differentials, individual and household decision-making, national and global market structures, and social relationships as drivers of international migration. Over time, these factors combine to produce migration systems that are self-sustaining, perpetuated through the establishment of migrant networks, migrant institutions (brokers and gatekeepers), and cultural changes (Massey *et al.*, 1993). These theories will be referred to throughout this paper as the particular drivers and dynamics of immigration to small communities are explored. Some theories are found to be more important than others in the Canadian context.

2.2 Ideas about Integration

Upon arrival to a new country, settlement becomes the primary concern for immigrants. Governments, too, are concerned with ensuring successful settlement in order to avoid social conflict and ensure the economic participation of newcomers.

The term "integration" is widely used in academic and policy discourse regarding immigrants. It is typically used in a normative manner, describing the desired outcome of immigrant settlement in the host society, although it is rarely explicitly defined (Li, 2003). At the federal level, Canadian policy dialogue has adopted a notion of mutual accommodation wherein both immigrants and members of the host society are responsible for taking steps to achieve integration (Belkhodja, n.d.). The CIC uses the following definition:

> Integration can be conceptualized as a multidimensional two-way process in which newcomers and the host society work together to eliminate barriers and facilitate the full engagement and participation of immigrants in all aspects of Canadian life. Integration does not imply forced assimilation or require a loss of cultural identity. (Gilkinson, 2009, p. 7)

The CIC considers the following to be some indicators of integration: feelings of belonging to the local or national community and pride in Canada; an absence of discomfort due to ethnicity, culture, or race; an absence of hate crimes and discrimination; and participation in associations, networks, the education system, politics and civic activities (Gilkinson, 2009).

In theory and policy, integration is generally considered to have multiple domains: economic, political, residential (spatial) and social (Li, 2003; Gilkinson, 2009). Economic integration is considered to be the degree to which immigrants participate and succeed in the labour market. To measure economic integration, the speed at which new immigrants find employment and the degree to which they function as "substitutes" for native labour is assessed (Akbari & Aydede, 2010). Also, earnings of immigrants are compared to those of non-immigrants, perhaps controlling for factors such as education or place of residence (Bernard, 2008). In the Citizenship Guide that new immigrants study to pass the citizenship test, readers are reminded that "Getting a job, taking care of one's family and working hard in keeping with one's abilities are important Canadian values" (CIC, 2012b). Economic integration is, as discussed previously, the primary aim of current immigration policy.

Political integration is considered to be the extent to which immigrants participate in the electoral system, such as by voting, running for or holding positions of office. It is considered desirable that newcomers participate politically, although voting and running for office are only possible for those who have obtained Canadian citizenship. In terms of political integration, the Canadian Sikh community is often cited as a leading example; Sikhs comprise 1 percent of the Canadian population, but they make up 2 percent of representatives in the House of Commons (Esses *et al.*, 2010). Political integration is often understood to encompass involvement in political activism outside of the formal electoral system as well. This kind of participation is theoretically available to non-citizens as well.

Residential (or spatial) integration is considered to be the extent to which immigrants live among others of their ethnocultural background, as opposed to in mixed neighbourhoods. To measure residential integration, analyses typically investigate settlement patterns according to race or origin at the city scale (Kim, 2009). The desirability of residential integration is contested. On the one hand, ethnic enclaves are a source of networks, shared norms and mutual trust that are important for immigrants in the early stages of integration. Such networks help immigrants to feel welcomed, find shelter and employment, and maintain a connection with their roots (Rose & Séguin, 2006; Putnam, 2007). Moreover, in host communities, ethnic groups have been found to play an important role in community development and conflict mediation (Germain, 2002). On the other hand, ethnocultural concentrations can inhibit group members from accessing outside resources and building connections within the wider social fabric (Lewis, 2010; Putnam, 2007). Further, they can also at times lead to polarization, fragmentation, and conflict within the community (Papillon, 2002; Sandercock, 2003). Most often, residential integration – the spread of immigrants to mixed neighbourhoods – is considered desirable when it comes to policy formation.

Finally, social integration is perhaps the most nebulously defined aspect of integration. It is often considered to encompass all other aspects of integration, referring to the full

engagement and participation of immigrants in all aspects of host community life. Theoretically, integration, or social integration, is considered one potential societal approach to settlement, in contrast to approaches that employ assimilation, marginalization, or segregation (Berry, 1997). According to Berry (1997):

> Integration can only be "freely" chosen and successfully pursued by non-dominant groups when the dominant society is open and inclusive in its orientation towards cultural diversity (Berry, 1991). Thus, a mutual accommodation is required for integration to be attained, involving the acceptance by both groups of the right of all groups to live as culturally different peoples. This strategy requires non-dominant groups to adopt the basic values of the larger society, while at the same time the dominant group must be prepared to adapt national institutions (e.g. education, health, labour) to better meet the needs of all groups now living together in the plural society. (pp. 10-11)

Berry's notion of integration is arguably related to the integration concepts promoted by the CIC and the Canadian conception of "multiculturalism" in general. Multiculturalism, as a principle of governance, was recognised in the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms in 1982. In a multicultural society, individuals should be able to be treated equally by the government while exercising their rights to participate in and maintain their own culture (Qadeer, 1997). Multiculturalist policies include, for example, the provision of religious accommodations, the funding of ethnic organisations, the support of ethnic representation in media, the provision of education in non-official languages and affirmative action policies (Kymlicka, 2010). Supporters of multiculturalism contend that these policies can be implemented without eroding liberal-democratic values such as free speech, equality of opportunity and support for a redistributive state (Kymlicka, 2010). Although this argument is officially supported in Canada, there is a tension between the accommodation of cultural groups, on the one hand, and the perceived cohesion of "Canadian" society on the other (Li, 2003). Li (2003) contends that when concepts of "two-way" integration and multiculturalism are put into practise, immigrants' ability to truly maintain their culture is compromised because integration is measured relative to a set of norms derived from the characteristics of the host society:

> What constitutes desirable integration of immigrants is taken for granted in the immigration discourse. Accordingly, there is a strong expectation that immigrants should accept Canada's prevailing practice and standard and become similar to the resident population. The discourse nominally endorses cultural diversity, but specific cultural differences, especially those deemed to be far removed from the Canadian standard, are viewed as obstacles to integration. (p. 316)

Thus, it is important to remain aware of the tensions that exist between promoting multiculturalism and mutual accommodation on the one hand, and evaluating immigrants' success using measures of conformity on the other. This paper does not seek to directly assess the integration of immigrants in small communities, nor does it take the stance that integration is necessarily desirable. It nonetheless explores the challenges associated with immigrant attraction and settlement, thus the concept of integration – economic, political, residential and social – is relevant, particularly where it has been used by respondents in the study.

2.3 Welcoming Communities

The concept of "welcoming communities" is a place-centred approach to managing settlement. This concept emerged within the literature on diversity management in the 1990s (Belkhodja, n.d.) as academics and policymakers began to realise that immigrant settlement support needed to go beyond basic programming – that is, more attention needed to be paid to the broader, long-term receptivity of host communities *at the local level*. The notion is particularly important in the context of immigrant regionalisation, as more communities across Canada open their doors to residents from other countries. The concept of "welcoming communities" will be used as the dominant frame of analysis in this paper.

While the concept of "integration" describes a process or the state of an individual, the notion of "welcoming community" can be used to describe a physical place or a policy approach (Belkhodja, n.d., Esses *et al.*, 2010). The cultivation of "welcoming communities" is therefore generally seen as the prerogative of local governments and other community-level actors.

In Ontario, the Welcoming Communities Initiative (WCI) is a community-university research alliance among local practitioners and nearly all Ontario universities. The WCI produces research on welcoming communities in both rural and urban settings. It defines a welcoming community as "a location that has the capacity to meet the needs and promote inclusion of newcomers, and the machinery in place to produce and support these capacities" (Esses *et al.*, 2010, p. 9). It lists the key elements of this machinery as "identifying and removing barriers," "promoting a sense of belonging," and "meeting diverse individual needs" (Esses *et al.*, 2010, p. 9). The WCI has a strong research link to the Local Immigration Partnerships, which were developed in Ontario (the Local Immigration Partnership program is described in detail in Chapter 3).

A key resource provided by the WCI is a rank-ordered list of the 17 key characteristics of a welcoming community. This list has been developed through research and consultation with local organisations; the following are the first five (Esses *et al.*, 2010, p. 9):

1. Employment opportunities
2. Fostering of social capital
3. Affordable and suitable housing
4. Positive attitudes toward immigrants, cultural diversity, and the presence of newcomers in the community
5. Presence of newcomer-serving agencies that can successfully meet the needs of newcomers

The complete list is provided in Appendix A.

The promotion of the concept of welcoming communities has gained increasing support in local and national immigration dialogue. Yet, as the WCI acknowledges, "there has not been a systematic, sustained program of research examining each of the characteristics . . . , the presumed indicators of each characteristic, and the outcomes associated with their presence in a community" (Esses *et al.*, 2010, p. 93). Thus, there is a need to study these factors in individual communities in order to understand how they operate in specific contexts.

2.4 Planning, Diversity and Multiculturalism

Many actors are involved in driving migration, influencing integration and facilitating the development of welcoming communities. This paper seeks, in particular, to understand the role of planners in these processes. To this end, the discussion below reviews the literature on the relationship between planning, diversity and multiculturalism. Though all types of diversity – racial, ethnic, gender, ability and others – are important in planning considerations, the focus here is on ethnocultural diversity as it relates to immigration.

2.4.1 Individual and Systemic Shortcomings of the Planning System

Planners are posed to be influential actors in the dynamics of ethnocultural diversity because of their role in the management and production of space, in articulating community visions, in supporting local services and in facilitating public engagement (Sandercock, 2003; Pestieau & Wallace, 2003; Burayidi, 2003; Qadeer, 1997). Indeed, the presence of multiple cultures and ethnicities creates needs for different kinds of housing, retail, social services and cultural institutions – all of which are influenced by the planning system through design, regulations and funding. Moreover, as immigration policy continues to decentralise, planners are increasingly involved in the process of immigrant attraction itself. Yet despite its potential for influence, planning has been unable or "very slow" to address difference and minority needs (Pestieau & Wallace, 2003, p. 255; Sandercock, 2000). This shortcoming stems from factors relating to individual planners' skills and knowledge and from the structure of the planning system itself.

Planning has its roots in the modernist paradigm, having been founded upon the Enlightenment notions of technical rationality and scientific objectivity (Sandercock, 1998; Burayidi, 2003). Planners have been portrayed – both by themselves and by observers – as "do-gooders" (Yiftachel, 1998, p. 396) who make communities better places to live in the face of conflict and ignorance. Planning as a practice has been understood as "noble" and "progressive" in its application of policy and spatial change (Sandercock, 1998, pp. 3-4). These ideas have been made possible, in particular, by the assumption that there is a *universal public interest* that planners can address based on their expertise. Supporting this idea is a second assumption that planners themselves are objective and neutral in the pursuit of this public interest.

Yet many argue that planners are not objective or neutral. In the words of Burayidi (2003), "Planners have a culture. This culture influences the way they see the world, how they interpret their environment, and how they go about reshaping this environment through their practices" (p. 260). In a diverse community, then, planners may have different understandings of certain words and concepts, different ways of attaching meaning to data, and different priorities than members of their public (Burayidi, 2000; Reeves, 2005). Despite the fact that many North American communities today are ethnoculturally diverse, planning dialogue and conventions do not generally provide the language or tools required to recognise these differences. Moreover, there is a lack of minority representation among planning practitioners who would be able to bring other ways of knowing to the field (Qadeer, 1997). These

limitations have led some to describe planners as "blind" to diversity (Sandercock, 1998, 2003). This "blindness" is the central cause of planners' inability or slowness to address difference.

Planning's failure to incorporate diverse needs is related not only to individual planners but to the role of the planning system as a whole. Indeed, as an "arm of the modern nation-state" (Yiftachel, 1998, p. 397), the planning system acts to forward the interests of powerful groups and capital through spatial and social control. As a result, planning is not always progressive in its approach: it can also be a tool for the marginalisation and oppression of minority or disadvantaged groups. Describing this as the "dark side" of planning, Yiftachel (1998) explains,

> Urban and regional planning and development can have an important effect on this oppressive, homogenizing process by creating settlement patterns; dispersing or concentrating specific populations; locating communal, religious, or ethnic facilities, housing, and services; and governing the character and norms of urban public spaces. Planning is therefore part of the nation-state's space production strategy, which shapes and reshapes ethnic and cultural identities (Penrose, 1995; Jackson and Penrose, 1993). (p. 403)

This author illustrates his point by explaining how planners in Israel facilitate their government's assimilationist policy by controlling the settlement locations of immigrants (Yiftachel & Aharonovitz, 2005). As another example, Burayidi (2003) points to the targeting of ethnic neighbourhoods in US cities for urban renewal programs. Even in an officially multicultural setting such as Canada, cultural biases are inherent in the planning system. According to Qadeer (1997):

> Planning policies and standards presumably are based on universalist criteria. Often they are backed by historical practices and established professional conventions. Yet they originate from social patterns and cultural values of the dominant communities, namely, in Canada, the English or the French. (p. 482)

Qadeer explains that seemingly mundane regulations can be a source of marginalisation because of this cultural bias. In Toronto, a tree-trimming bylaw was a source of contention between Anglo-Saxon residents, who wanted neighbourhood trees to be tall and leafy, and Chinese residents, who believed that trees in the front yard are a source of bad luck. Thus, by reproducing cultural values stemming from the British system, the existing bylaws prevented Chinese residents from managing their property according to their needs. A similar story has been told in the suburbs of Vancouver, where, as Ley (1995) described, "contrasting landscape tastes" led to conflict between newcomers and old elites.

There is a great need, therefore, for planners to recognise the ways in which their daily work and actions have the potential to be both progressive and regressive – contributing to both empowerment and oppression. They need to take an active role in addressing issues related to diversity in their communities.

2.4.2 Directions for Multicultural Planning

Though planning has been described as "blind" to diversity, challenges and conflicts arising from diversity are increasingly confronting the planning system as a result of global

migration. In reaction, planners have tended to fall back on their identity as "neutral" and "objective." Unequipped to address cultural or ethnic issues head-on, they limit the scope of their actions to the application of technical regulations and physical planning (Bollens, 2002), leaving the core diversity issues to be addressed by community groups and the market. For example, in response to a proposal to develop a controversial "Chinese mall" in Toronto, planners approved the required Official Plan amendments and zoning changes, but existing design guidelines prevented any significant Chinese architectural features (Qadeer, 1997). This neutral approach was also observed by Yiftachel & Aharonovitz (2005) in Toronto, who found that "despite a certain sympathy toward multicultural planning, no clear definition of the term exists in theory or in practice . . . Toronto's planners assume that 'good planning' should disregard ethnic considerations when planning a certain location at any level" (p. 41). Though disregarding ethnicity is sometimes entirely appropriate (Pestieau & Wallace, 2003), it also has been shown to "decrease government's ability to mount an ethnically sensitive strategy that would be multidimensional (physical, social-psychological, economic, and human development) and integrative" (Bollens, 2002, p. 28). Indeed, planners need to understand the ways in which their professional work directly and indirectly influences equality and diversity (Reeves, 2005). Many are voicing a call for a reconfiguration of planning in such a way that it embraces plurality and becomes more flexible and proactive: a new "multicultural planning" (Qadeer, 1997; Burayidi, 2003). To bring about such a shift, changes will have to be made to planning procedure, the regulatory system, and the skills and identities of planners themselves. Potential ways forward in each of these domains are reviewed below.

Planning Procedure

An important area for change is in the nature and extent to which public engagement takes place. Public engagement is an important way to counter the historic top-down model of planning that ignores plurality (Fainstein, 2000). However, public must be engaged in ways that are inclusive and genuine; moreover, the diversity of the population must be reflected in the groups that are consulted. Qadeer (1997) has found that the engagement of diverse publics is the area of planning in which the most progress has been made. In the larger cities of Toronto and Vancouver, planners have reached out directly to ethnic communities and facilitated consultation in a variety of languages in order to engage a broader population.

Some visions for new approaches to planning procedures have been articulated. For example, Innes (1996) advocates a model called "consensus building" or "communicative planning," wherein all stakeholders be brought together to discuss their viewpoints and priorities for planning outcomes in an open manner. The planner acts as a mediator – not an expert – to help negotiate a solution that satisfies all stakeholder needs. Similarly, Sandercock (2000) presents the "therapeutic planning" approach, wherein community members speak about their emotions and enable the recognition of historical or present injustices. This approach is different from consensus building in that ideas do not have to be rational, nor does there have to be a resolution.

The Planning System

Though the engagement of multiple publics is essential, it is ultimately the outcomes of the policies and programs that matter. Planners have a particular impact on important spatial outcomes such as the location and connectivity of community activities and the quality of places (Reeves, 2005). According to Qadeer (1997), regulations need to more flexibly accommodate the needs of minority groups with respect to signage, architecture, and interior design, especially for housing and ethnic businesses. Moreover, planners need to make specific provisions for religious and cultural establishments and to broaden the uses of shared spaces such as parks, libraries and sports facilities.

On a higher level, planning needs to incorporate multiculturalism in its articulation of community visions (Qadeer 1997; Burayidi, 2003). Some models for such a redesign exist. In Fainstein's (2000) "just city" approach, planners actively believe in and express ideals, stepping outside of their "neutral" identity and their role as a mediator to communicate specific visions for the future of their communities. This includes recognising when interventions are needed in order to empower marginalised groups without political clout. Related is the "advocacy planning" approach described by Davidoff (1965). Advocacy planners choose to work for a particular group within the community, presenting plans on their behalf. The presence of multiple plans leads to constructive public debate about visions, values, and priorities.

Individual Planners

As discussed, planners are often members of the dominant ethnocultural group. This membership limits their ability to understand difference and makes it more likely for them to act in ways that reinforce cultural biases inherent in the planning system. Qadeer (1997) and Burayidi (2000) have made some suggestions to address this issue, including:

- Recruit more planning practitioners from minority groups
- Redesign planning education in schools and professional training
- Introduce planners to alternative ways of knowing that have previously been marginalised
- Introduce planners to cultural sensitivity training

Though most academic dialogue about the link between planning and diversity has stemmed from urban situations, the shift toward regional immigration in Canada makes this dialogue extremely relevant outside of the metropolitan regions as well. Small-town planners play a very personal role in the settlement of newcomers, thus, questions about planners' ability to serve ethnic populations and cultural bias in the regulatory system are becoming extremely important in these locations. This paper helps to bring attention to these questions and to shed light on the role of other local actors in the immigration process.

3 BACKGROUND: CANADIAN IMMIGRATION

Following the review of existing literature on migration, settlement and diversity, this chapter turns to the Canadian context. It provides an overview of the history and current directions of Canadian immigration policy. It also provides quantitative information to illustrate that regional immigration levels are increasing, and discusses some of the differences between urban and rural settlement.

3.1 History and Development of Immigration Policy

Controlled immigration has always been understood by colonialists and policymakers as a mechanism of economic growth and nation-building. Indeed, immigration has played a defining role in the creation of Canada. In the early days of European settlement, English and French colonies brought newcomers from their own countries to help populate new communities and contribute to economic activities such as the fur trade, fishing and shipbuilding (Dickenson & Young, 2008). Labour from other origins was sought, too: the national railroad, which was a key catalyst to the unification of the Dominion of Canada, was largely built by Chinese workers. The Chinese labourers, after finishing their work on the railroad, were subjected to a race-based entry fee (the "Chinese Head Tax") that was meant to discourage them from settling in Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada [CIC], 2012a). This is one example of the racist beginnings of Canadian immigration policy.

In 1906, following the establishment of the Dominion of Canada in 1867 and the completion of the railroad in 1871, Canada's formal managed immigration system was established with the creation of the first Immigration Act (CIC, 2010a). The main goal of immigration policy at this time was to achieve agricultural settlement of the West using promotion and land subsidies. European immigrants were targeted, while restrictive policies and quotas limited the entry of individuals from most other countries and ethnic groups (Krahn, Derwing & Abu-Laban, 2005). The policies were highly successful. Immigration levels peaked in 1913 with an influx of over 400,000 new immigrants, a volume not since exceeded, as shown in Figure 1 (CIC, 2010a).

Immigration rates have fluctuated based on economic needs and the geopolitical climate over time. The government limited immigration during the First and Second World Wars and the Great Depression, as seen in Figure 1. Following the Second World War, a concerted effort to attract newcomers was resumed (Krahn *et al.*, 2005). By this time, Canadian labour needs had shifted away from agriculture, and immigrants with new skills were sought. In response, the federal government introduced the "points system" in 1967 (CIC, 2010a). The points system assesses and accepts prospective immigrants based on a suite of criteria concerning their education, skills and wealth, in an attempt to select skilled workers and business immigrants to suit the needs of the Canadian labour market. Although it has been altered since, the points system continues to form a key component of the federal immigrant selection method today.

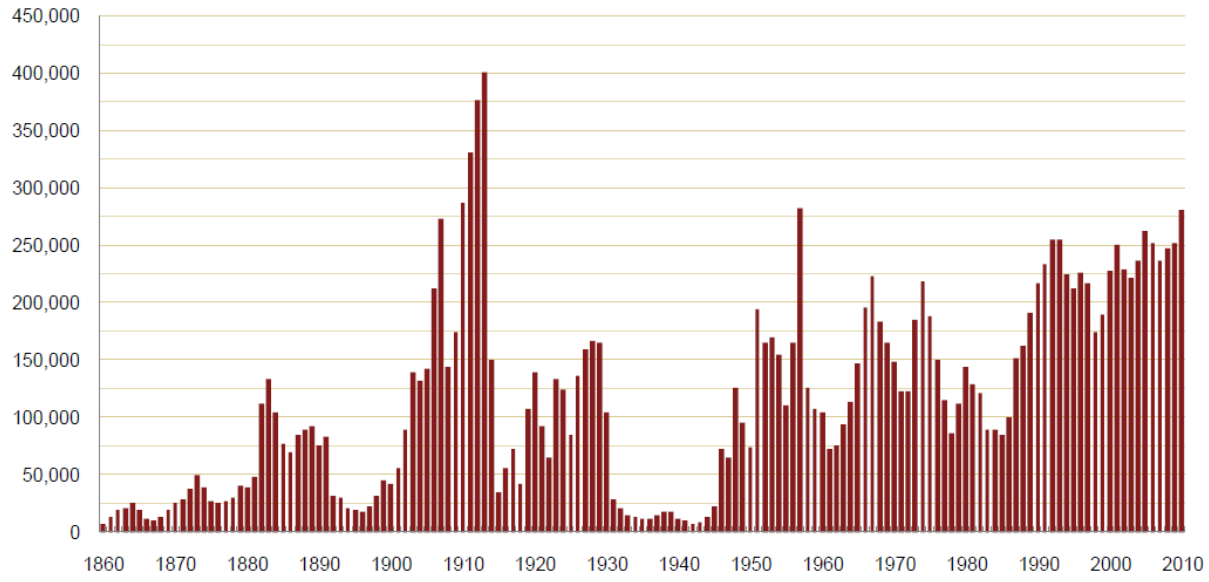

FIGURE 1: NEW PERMANENT RESIDENTS TO CANADA, 1860-2010

SOURCE: CIC, 2010A

The arguments in support of immigration to Canada have not been founded solely upon economic factors. In the second half of the 20th century, accompanying the rise of welfare state policies, a "progressive" agenda began to emerge that aimed to "build a society that was caring and diverse . . . based on social solidarity" (Banting, Johnston, Kymlicka & Soroka, 2011, p. 36). Humanitarian considerations factored more prominently in immigration discourse during this time.

Canadian immigration policy remained racially-biased throughout most of the 20th century. The revised Immigration Act of 1910 gave officials the power to refuse "immigrants belonging to any race deemed unsuited to the climate or requirements of Canada" (An Act respecting Immigration, section 38, paragraph c, cited in Krahn *et al.*, 2005, p. 875). This discriminatory policy direction remained in place until the 1978 Immigration Act opened immigration to applicants from all countries. These reforms had economic motives but had also been encouraged by the new humanitarian discourses that had emerged around immigration (Banting *et al.*, 2011).

The removal of racial and national restrictions drastically shifted the origins of immigrants coming to Canada. Whereas Europe and the US used to be primary sources of immigrants, in 2010, 82 percent of new permanent residents came from Africa, the Middle East, Asia or Central and South America (CIC, 2010a). Asian origins are particularly prominent, as seen in Figure 2.

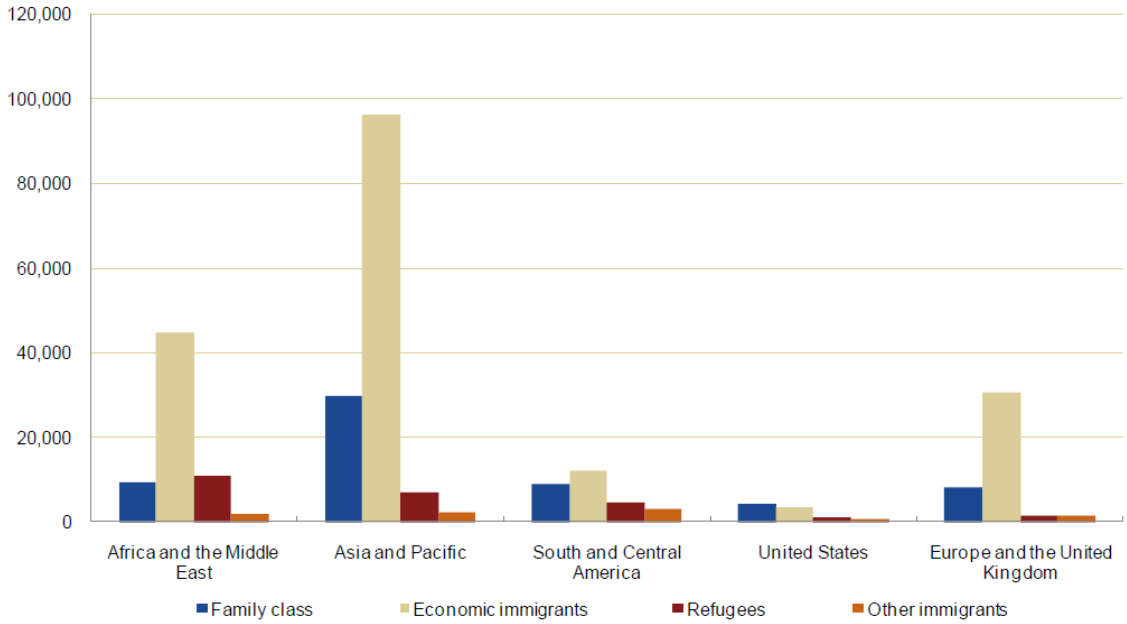

FIGURE 2: NEW PERMANENT RESIDENT LANDINGS IN 2010 BY IMMIGRATION CLASS AND SOURCE AREA
SOURCE: CIC, 2010A

The geography of immigration has also changed dramatically over time. Although settlement in cities had begun early on in the managed immigration system, this trend accelerated significantly following the Second World War (Krahn *et al.*, 2005). Between 2001 and 2006, over two-thirds of new immigrants settled in the Toronto, Montreal or Vancouver metropolitan areas. This is striking when viewed in comparison to the overall population, of which only one-third lived in these cities (Statistics Canada [StatsCan], 2007a). Immigrants settle in urban centres for many reasons – the prevalence of employment opportunities, the presence of ethnic networks, the availability of services, the type of lifestyle that the city offers, and a lack of knowledge about opportunities outside of the urban areas all influence their settlement decision (Vatz-Laaroussi & Bezzi, 2010). Above all, employment factors have been shown to be most important (Krahn *et al.*, 2005). Thus, the urbanisation of immigrant settlement can be understood partly as a reflection of the changing nature of the economy and the urbanisation of the general Canadian population over that time. Indeed, Canada's population has been more urban than rural since the 1920s, as shown in Figure 3.

Today, immigration plays an increasingly important role in the demographic and economic health of Canada. Indeed, new immigrants between 2001 and 2006 accounted for 69 percent of the growth in population over that time period (StatsCan, 2007a). Within the next four years, all of labour force growth in Canada is expected to be due to immigration (CIC, 2010b). More than one in five individuals in the workforce is currently foreign-born, and this number is projected to be one in three by 2031 (StatsCan, 2011).

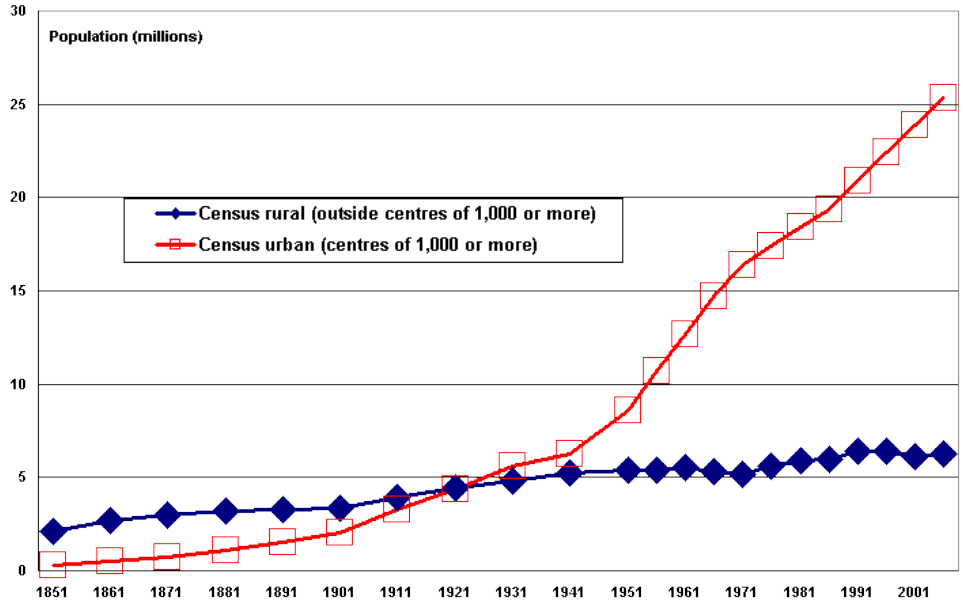

FIGURE 3: THE CHANGING SHARES OF CANADA'S URBAN AND RURAL POPULATIONS
SOURCE: BOLLMAN & CLEMENSON, 2008[1]

3.2 Current Policy Directions

Immigration in Canada is being approached with a renewed economic emphasis (Dobrowolsky, 2012). The current federal government is clear about the perceived importance of immigration to the economic survival of the nation, and has adopted a planning approach which views immigrants primarily as a source of labour or investment capital (Reeves, 2005). High levels of permanent resident admissions have been set and sustained in recent years: in 2010, Canada admitted 280,661 new permanent residents, the highest levels since the 1950s (CIC, 2010a). In particular, the current renewed government attention to immigration is characterised by the emergence of two major policy directions. First, immigrant regionalisation policies are prominent. These policies respond to the mismatch between the location of labour and the location of workers by providing incentives for immigrants to settle outside of Canada's major cities and by devolving control over immigrant selection and settlement to provincial and local authorities (Leo & August, 2009). Secondly, immigration programs have become "marketised": immigrants are increasingly selected on the basis of their economic potential vis-à-vis current labour market needs, with less consideration for humanitarian and family factors (Dobrowolsky, 2011, p. 111). These policy directions are illustrated in the following recent statement by Minister of Citizenship and Immigration:

[1] This graph uses the "Census rural" designation, which refers to individuals living outside of centres of 1,000 people or more. This is a different designation than "rural and small town areas" or "predominantly rural regions," which are described later in this paper.

[2] Semi-skilled workers are defined by the HRSDC NOC codes C and D, and are defined by the criteria "occupations usually require secondary school and/or occupation-specific training" or "on-the-job training is

> Immigration is playing an increasingly important role in our economy and we need a system that does a better job of attracting the people who have the skills that are in demand and getting them here quickly . . . . I will continue to make changes to create a faster, more flexible immigration system. Canadians need and deserve a system that boldly puts Canada's best interests first. (CIC, 2012a)

> CIC is transforming its suite of economic immigration programs to create a just-in-time system that recruits people with the right skills to meet Canada's labour market needs, fast tracks their immigration, and gets them working in a period of months, not years. (CIC, 2012c)

These directions have also been illustrated by a number of recent policy changes, including:

- Amendments to the *Immigrant and Refugee Protection Act* to allow the fast-tracking of applicants with particular skills or a job offer in order to "increas[e] labour market responsiveness" in 2008 (CIC, 2008a)
- The shift of power to the Minister of Citizenship and Immigration to refuse humanitarian and compassionate applications at his or her discretion without consideration (CIC, 2008a) and the elimination of an expert panel in determining which countries should be allowed to send refugees (CIC, 2012d)
- The suspension for at least two years of the parents and grandparents family sponsorship stream, purportedly to address the large "backlog" of applications (CIC, 2012e)
- The elimination all unprocessed applications submitted to the Federal Skilled Worker program before 2008, affecting approximately 280,000 applicants and their dependants (CIC, 2012f)

Clearly, the perceived burden of parents, grandparents and refugees on Canadian social services, and their perceived lower potential to contribute to the Canadian economy, has afforded them reduced importance in the eyes of current immigration policymakers.

Two other key programs that reflect the regionalisation and marketisation directions – the Provincial Nominee Programs and Local Immigration Partnerships – are reviewed in detail in the following section. An understanding of these programs is important for the case studies that follow, as the federal and provincial policy context wields significant influence over the outcomes of small-community immigration.

3.2.1 Provincial Nominee Programs

The Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs), now a key element of the Canadian immigration system, embody both overarching policy directions of marketisation and regionalisation. The PNPs offer immigrants an alternative gateway from the federal economic and family classes (Baxter, 2010). In some provinces, the PNP immigration streams are now the dominant means through which immigrants enter the province (Carter, Morrish, & Amoyaw, 2008).

Constitutionally, immigration is recognised as a shared federal and provincial matter, although the selection of immigrants has traditionally been a federal responsibility (Banting,

2012). The PNPs shift this power to the provinces and territories by enabling them to design their own immigration program and selection streams through a series of bilateral agreements. Now, provinces and territories can "tailor economic immigration in ways that meet their particular labour and overall economic development needs" (Baxter, 2010, p. 15; Leo & August, 2009). Once selected by the province, prospective PNP immigrants are screened by the federal government through a priority stream – in theory, providing a much faster route to permanent residency than the lengthy federal immigration routes (Baxter, 2010).

The precedent for the devolution of immigration control was first set in the Canada-Quebec Accord, which was signed in 1991. Quebec sought this agreement in order to be able to better address their cultural and linguistic goals through immigration. In the late 1990s and 2000s, the federal government devolved selection powers to other jurisdictions through the PNPs, though economic, not cultural, factors were of more concern for the other provinces. Today, PNPs exist in all other provinces as well as the Yukon and Northwest Territories (CIC, 2011a). There is, however, no overarching federal policy to govern the creation of PNPs, resulting in fragmented and asymmetrical policy regimes across the country (Banting, 2012). Since there is no regulation of the nature or number of PNP streams created by each province, there are currently over 50 PNP streams across the country (CIC, 2011b). Moreover, provinces can and do change their PNP requirements without notice. This complex and changing system is a source of difficulty for other levels of government and settlement service agencies. It also poses an immense challenge for individual prospective immigrants, who must navigate this extremely complex and dynamic system. One outcome of this situation has been an exponential rise in third-party consultants who assist employers and immigrants with immigration applications. Such consultants have been known to take advantage of applicants and provide inaccurate information to immigration officials – it was such a problem in the province of Manitoba that the government began to regulate the immigration consultant industry (Carter *et al.*, 2008; Lewis, 2010).

Most provincial PNP immigration streams either recruit immigrants for particular labour categories that face shortages, or request that an applicant submit a job offer from an employer along with their application. In this way, employers become the direct drivers of immigrant recruitment and selection. Responsibility is increasingly being placed on those same employers to provide language support, job training and housing to their new workers, while governments step back – a radical shift from the traditional approach to immigration management (Baxter, 2010; Carter *et al.*, 2008; Lewis, 2010). Employers' increasing force in the immigration system raises concerns on the national level about the federal government's shrinking control over immigrant selection. This decentralisation compromises the government's ability to shape immigration policy for "nation building." Moreover, this system means that individual nominees are rendered more vulnerable because of their exclusive reliance on their employer for support (Baxter, 2010).

Since provinces can completely tailor their programs, the different PNPs have evolved to have quite different purposes. The case-study communities in this paper will reflect these differences. Table 1 compares the differing PNP structures of the four provinces that will be studied: Manitoba, Ontario, British Columbia and Alberta.

TABLE 1: COMPARING PROVINCIAL NOMINEE PROGRAM AGREEMENTS AND OUTCOMES

	Manitoba	British Columbia	Ontario	Alberta
Number of Provincial Nominees in 2011	12,178	4,900	1,528	7,492
Provincial Nominees as a share of total provincial immigration in 2011	77.0%	11.1%	1.3%	23.0%
Date originally established	1996	1998	2005	2007
Date expires	Indefinite	2015	2011	Indefinite
Settlement service provision originally devolved to province	Yes	Yes	No	No
Formal involvement of municipalities	Yes – series of provincial-municipal agreements	No	Yes – MOU to work with City of Toronto and AMO	No
Increased LMO flexibility	No	No	Yes – province can allow employer to bypass LMO process	Yes – province can allow employer to bypass LMO process
PNP streams currently available	- Priority Assessment (includes Employer Direct, Regular International Student, Family Support) - General - Immigration Program for Business - Young Farmer - Strategic Recruitment Initiatives	- Strategic Occupations (includes Skilled Workers, Recent Graduates, Designated Health Professionals, Entry-Level or Semi-Skilled Workers in select occupations or in the Northeast Development Region) - Business Immigration	- General category - International Student Category	- Skilled Worker - International Graduate - Semi-Skilled Worker (specific industries only) - Tradesperson - Engineer - Farmer
Inclusion of low- and semi-skilled workers	Yes – through General Stream	Yes – Strategic Occupations Stream	No	Yes – Semi-Skilled Worker Stream

SOURCE: AUTHOR, BASED ON CIC, 2011A

Table 1 shows some interesting differences in the significance of the PNP program in each province. The Manitoba PNP is the source of 77 percent of the province's newcomers, forming the backbone of a "broad-based regional immigration strategy" (Baxter, 2010, p. 19). The Manitoba PNP is seen as a key component of overall province-building. The Alberta and British Columbia PNPs are used as a "narrower policy tool" (Baxter, 2010, p. 20) to address very specific labour shortages, accounting for 23 and 11.1 percent of the province's immigrants respectively. Ontario's program, in contrast, is quite underdeveloped and brings in the lowest absolute and relative numbers of immigrants out of these four provinces.

In terms of policy direction, there are at least four key areas in which these PNPs differ:

1. The inclusion or exclusion of semi-skilled workers:[2] British Columbia, Alberta and Manitoba have created streams in their PNPs that allow semi-skilled workers to gain permanent residency after a given duration of work as a temporary labourer. Importantly, such applicants must rely on their employer to nominate them for permanent residency. These channels remain one of the only options for workers with lower skill levels to access permanent residency in Canada (Baxter, 2010), although the Live-In Caregiver Program and the newly created federal Canadian Experience Class program provide avenues as well.
2. The devolution of settlement service provisions: Manitoba and British Columbia were given the power to manage their own settlement services, enabling them to design programming according to local needs.[3] Other agreements simply outline the terms of collaboration on settlement programming between the federal and provincial governments (Baxter, 2010).
3. The flexible assessment of labour market needs: typically, an employer who wishes to hire an immigrant must obtain a Labour Market Opinion (LMO) from the federal Human Resources and Skills Development Canada (HRSDC) to confirm that the position cannot be filled by a Canadian citizen. This is a lengthy and resource-intensive process. With the approval of the province, employers in Alberta and Ontario can bypass this step when they hire through the PNP (Baxter, 2012).
4. The role of local governments: Ontario's Provincial Nominee Program was the first to formally recognise the key role that municipalities play in immigrant attraction and settlement (Walton-Roberts, 2007). In Annex F of the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement, the provincial and federal governments have committed to working directly with the City of Toronto as well as the Association of Municipalities of Ontario in planning and discussions on immigration and settlement (CIC, 2008b). In addition, the government of Manitoba has created some direct agreements with municipalities on attraction and settlement (Carter, 2008).

These structural policy differences cause profoundly different outcomes on the ground in terms of immigrant attraction, settlement and retention.

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[2] Semi-skilled workers are defined by the HRSDC NOC codes C and D, and are defined by the criteria "occupations usually require secondary school and/or occupation-specific training" or "on-the-job training is usually provided." These categories include work in such sectors as hospitality, food and beverage, manufacturing, etc.

[3] A recent policy change in May 2012 took back the settlement programming powers of these provinces, as the federal government attempts to regain some control of the decentralized immigration system.

3.2.2 Local Immigration Partnerships

The goal of the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) is to build the capacity of a particular community in order to attract more immigrants, provide support for existing newcomers, or both. An LIP may be set up in an urban neighbourhood, a small town, or a region. Currently, LIPs are only in place in Ontario, where there are currently approximately 35 active programs.

LIPs are a federal initiative run by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) in partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Citizenship and Immigration (MCI) (Local Immigration Partnership [LIP] Renfrew and Lanark, 2012). The program was initiated in 2008 as a component of the Canada-Ontario Immigration Agreement (Burr, 2011). According to the CIC:

> Through LIPs, CIC supports a new form of locally based collaboration among multiple stakeholders. These partnerships enable communities to develop strategic plans to address the opportunities and challenges associated with fostering inclusive and responsive environments. They also signify an innovation in multi-level collaborative governance – encouraging co-operation among federal, provincial, and municipal governments. (Burr, 2011, p. 1)

To establish an LIP, local actors – typically municipalities, workforce development or community organisations – submit a proposal for funding to the CIC and the MCI. Upon the award of funding, a temporary task force is set up to carry out the LIP mandate. The first year of an LIP is a planning exercise. Over the course of this year, the task force works with the local community to identify strengths, weaknesses and opportunities with respect to immigrant attraction, support and retention. Typically, a LIP council is established to oversee and support the process, with representatives from local bodies who have a stake in immigrant attraction and settlement. At the end of the first year, a strategic plan and an implementation plan are generated. Another application for funding will permit the LIP task force to remain in order to carry out the strategic plan, typically for one or two years more. Ultimately, the LIP dissolves, leaving in place communities and organisations that are better equipped to plan for and manage immigration.

The LIP model is an interesting approach, which, if successful, can build the capacity of an entire community to promote and respond to local immigration. This is especially important for small communities which often lack the necessary resources and knowledge to address the challenges associated with welcoming newcomers. In the decentralised, marketised policy context, it is increasingly important to develop capacity at the local level. In this sense, LIPs can be seen as both a tool for, and a response to, current directions in immigration policy and outcomes. Policymakers have found these programs to be quite successful, and arrangements are being made to expand the program to Prairie and Atlantic Provinces.

3.2.3 A Shift Toward Multi-Level Governance

The PNPs and the LIPs reflect the changing context of governance permeating many areas of policy in Canada and indeed, across the globe. They are part of a move toward "multi-level governance" (Leo & August, 2009), which involves the devolution of responsibility along with the increased involvement of private actors in areas traditionally managed by the public

sector. On the one hand, multi-level governance reflects a recognition by the federal government that some programs can be more effective when implemented at a lower level (Leo & August, 2009). On the other hand, this shift can also be understood as an instance of "rollback neoliberalism" whereby more of the burden of immigration is passed on to the province, its communities and immigrants themselves, while the federal government provides less funding overall. From this perspective, the devolution of immigration responsibilities has resulted in a more fragmented and competitive policy environment (Lewis, 2010).

At local levels, this decentralised immigration policy can be more contested and complex than might be expected (Dobrowolsky, 2012). Provinces have very different reasons for taking control of immigration. Furthermore, while economic needs do dominate the PNP processes, employers are not the only actors driving the process. Carter *et al.* (2008) have assessed the motivations of these actors in the case of the provincial-municipal immigration partnership in Stienbach, Manitoba, showing that there are multiple, overlapping motivations at play. Table 2 summarises the findings of these authors.

TABLE 2: MOTIVATIONS OF LOCAL ACTORS IN THE PNP PROCESS

Group	Motivations
Province	Generate economic growth, combat demographic decline
Municipality	Build tax base, drive urban revitalisation
Business community	Address labour shortage
Progressive advocates	Meet humanitarian goals, build diverse society
Ethnocultural groups	Build larger, stronger community
PNP applicants	Improve quality of life, find economic opportunities

SOURCE: AUTHOR, BASED ON CARTER *ET AL.*, 2008

Indeed, when exploring the drivers and outcomes of policies such as the PNPs, the overlapping and contradictory motivations and responsibilities of multiple actors at all levels must be considered. This paper carries out such an analysis, with a focus on municipalities, their planners, employers and community members.

3.3 Immigration in the Regions

Data are beginning to show that regional settlement in Canada is on the increase. Given that policies are directing an increasing number of immigrants toward the regions, therefore, it is important to ask whether or not the outcomes in these areas are different from those in urban centres. This section briefly describes the state of small communities in Canada and provides an overview of some of the research to date on immigration to these regions.

3.3.1 The State of Small Communities

In Canada and much of the world, remote and rural areas are experiencing significant demographic and economic change. In the words of the Federation of Canadian Municipalities, these changes amount to no less than a "crisis" that has been building for decades (Federation of Canadian Municipalities [FCM], 2009, 4). Indeed, although Canadian rural areas supply 50

percent of all national exports, they are not, in general, participating in the economic growth enjoyed by urban Canada (FCM, 2009).

Though the factors contributing to this "crisis" are complex, Reimer (2002) has framed the changes in terms of four main phenomena:

1. The changing conditions of commodity trading, especially the reduction of labour requirements in the primary sector
2. Economic fluctuations and instability, to which small communities are extremely vulnerable
3. The labour force, political, and cultural hegemony of metropolitan regions
4. The restructuring of basic institutional structures as an outcome of the decline of the welfare state

Indeed, the shedding of labour from the primary sector as a result of global competition and the adoption of new technologies has been the most important factor driving rural change (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011; Rothwell, 2010). This process has resulted in a significant loss of jobs in forestry, agriculture, and other resource-based industries. Moreover, the restructuring of institutions has resulted in a retreat of services from smaller and remote areas into regional centres, farming services being but one example (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011). These reconfigurations particularly threaten the most remote communities, which are more resource-dependent and less well-serviced in general (Rothwell, 2010).

Such economic shifts have had an impact on demographics. The share of the rural population has declined relative to the urban population over time (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008), contributing to the growing "hegemony" (Reimer, 2002, p. 5) of metropolitan regions. Figure 4 shows the changing distribution of the population.

Figure 4 also shows that although the relative share has been decreasing, the absolute rural population stayed relatively stable since 1981. Today, approximately six million people live in rural and small town areas, about the same number as in 1981 (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008). Yet this stability masks significant geographical differences. When rural and small town areas are considered based on their proximity to a metropolitan area (termed "Metropolitan Influence Zone, or MIZ" by Statistics Canada), it is clear that small communities close to cities have been growing significantly, while more remote areas are witnessing slow growth, stagnation or decline (Figure 5). Many employment sectors, including manufacturing, tourism and agriculture, are healthier in these high-MIZ areas because they can capitalise on their proximity to urban markets. In the United States, these trends have contributed to the creation of what Daniels and Lapping (1996) have termed "the two rural Americas." Indeed, small communities in close proximity to urban centres have been the main recipients of rural population growth and land use development (leading to both positive and negative consequences), while more "deep" rural areas suffer from outmigration and service deterioration (Daniels & Lapping, 1996).

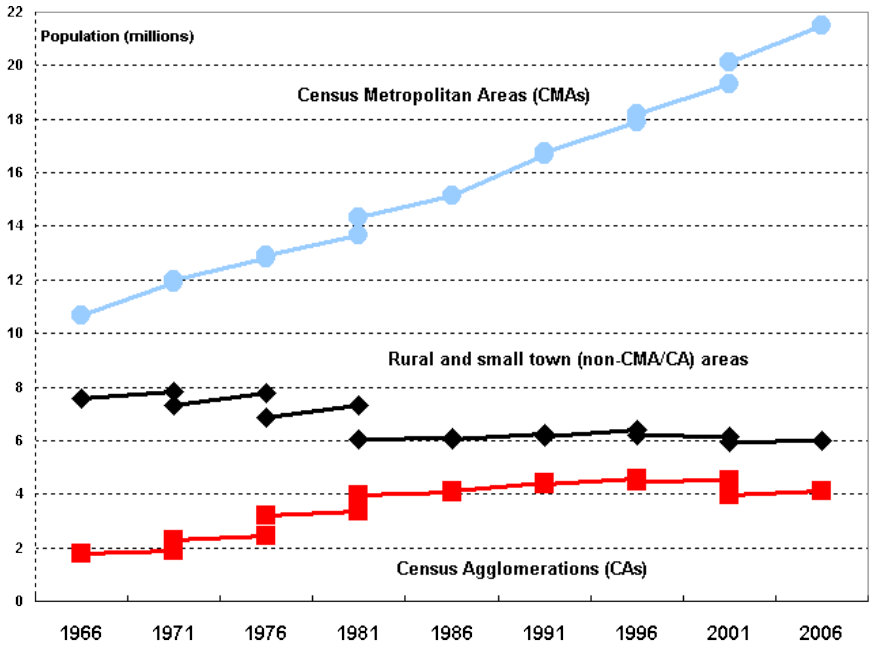

FIGURE 4: THE DEMOGRAPHIC DOMINANCE OF METRPOLITAN AREAS IN CANADA

SOURCE: BOLLMAN & CLEMENS, 2008

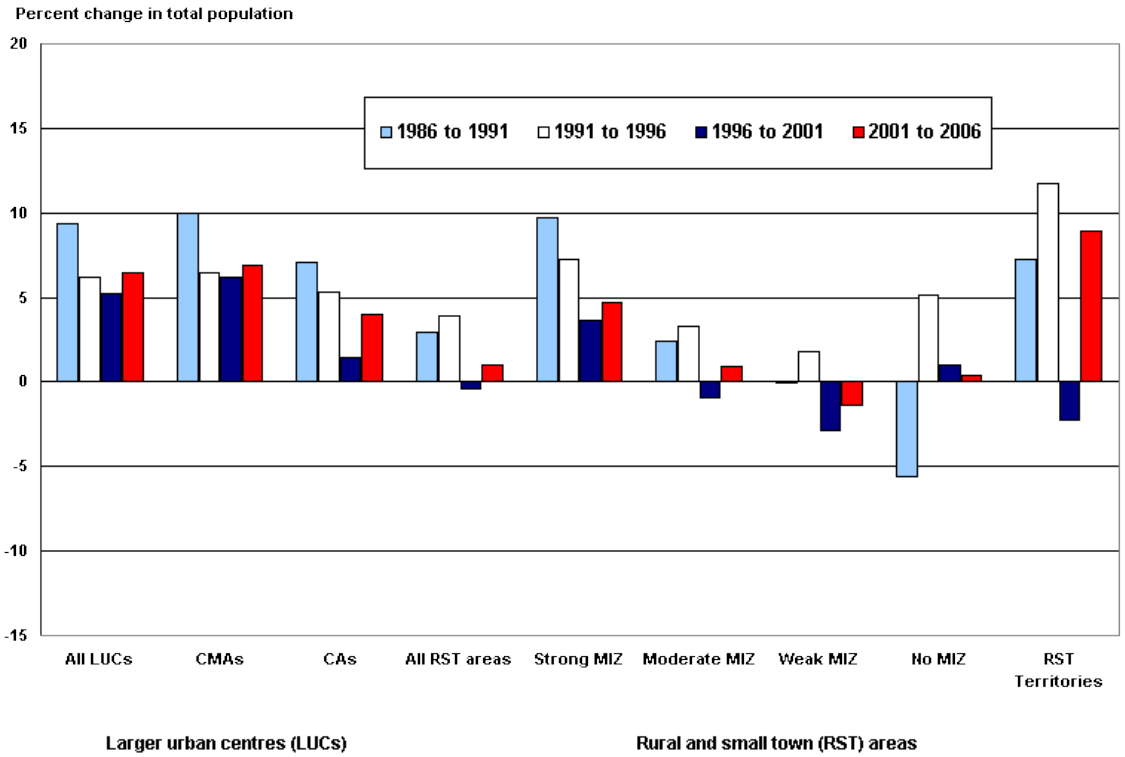

FIGURE 5: RURAL AND SMALL TOWN AREAS CLOSE TO METROPOLITAN CENTRES ARE GROWING FASTER

SOURCE: BOLLMAN & CLEMENS, 2008

A result of these economic and demographic changes has been an increasing pressure on rural areas to pursue economic development in earnest through the diversification of their economy and the attraction of more residents. The dominance of urban centres in terms of skill levels and service availability makes this re-orientation difficult (Alasia, 2010). Upper levels of government and local communities are increasingly recognising that the attraction of immigrants may be a viable means to achieve these goals. This paper explores rural and small town communities that, intentionally or unintentionally, are attracting immigrant newcomers.

3.3.2 Quantifying Regional Immigration

The CIC provides data on the place of landing of newly admitted permanent residents from all streams (this includes federal economic and family class immigrants, PNP immigrants, as well as refugees) on an annual basis. They differentiate between 50 selected Census metropolitan areas (CMAs) – a group of cities that includes the most populous CMAs as well as the provincial and territorial capitals – and all other areas of Canada. In 2001, 2.9 percent of new permanent residents landed *outside* of these selected CMAs. By 2005, this value was 4.0 percent. It reached a maximum of 6.9 percent in 2009, and settled at 6.3 percent in 2010 (CIC, 2010a). Figure 6 illustrates the increasing relative share of immigrant landings in these regions, as well as the overall increase in permanent residents admitted over the last decade.

Regionalisation is also evident when we investigate the relative shares of immigrants to each province and territory over time. Ontario has traditionally been the dominant immigrant-attracting province. Table 3 illustrates that although it still receives the highest absolute numbers of new permanent residents, it was the only province to receive fewer at the end of the last decade than at the beginning (it experienced a decline of 20.5 percent in permanent resident landings over the period). The most remote provinces and territories, in contrast, are witnessing striking increases relative to their smaller populations. Permanent resident landings increased by 1811.9 percent in Prince Edward Island, 438.5 percent in the Yukon, 346.9 percent in Saskatchewan, and 166.3 percent in Manitoba between 2001 and 2010.

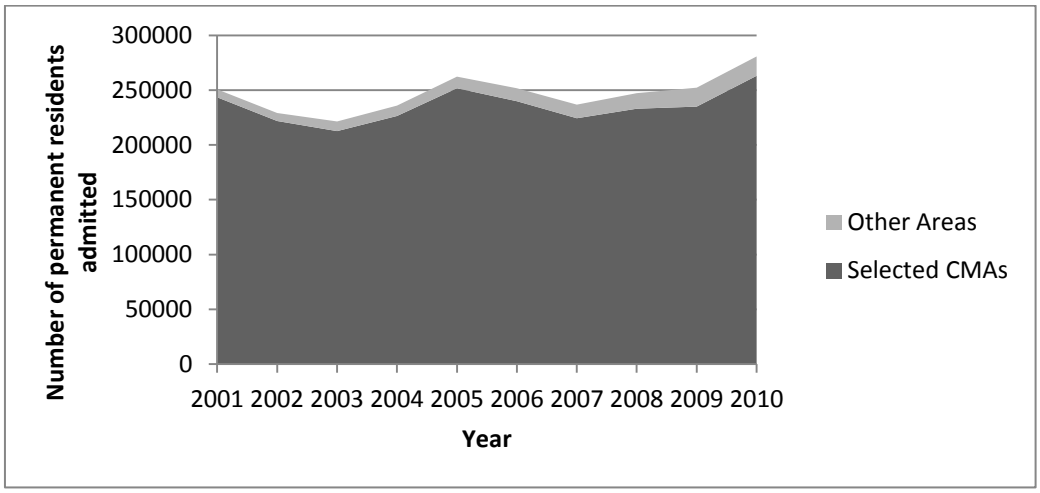

FIGURE 6: PERMANENT RESIDENT ADMISSIONS BY URBAN CENTRE, 2001-2010
SOURCE: AUTHOR, WITH DATA FROM CIC, 2010A

TABLE 3: PERMANENT RESIDENT ADMISSIONS BY PROVINCE; 2001, 2005, 2010

Province/Territory	2001	2005	2010	Change 2001-2010	% Change
Nfld & Lab	392	497	714	322	82.1%
PEI	135	330	2,581	2446	1811.9%
Nova Scotia	1,697	1,929	2,408	711	41.9%
New Brunswick	798	1,091	2,125	1327	166.3%
Quebec	37,598	43,315	53,982	16384	43.6%
Ontario	148,640	140,525	118,114	-30526	-20.5%
Manitoba	4,591	8,096	15,809	11218	244.3%
Saskatchewan	1,704	2,119	7,615	5911	346.9%
Alberta	16,404	19,404	32,642	16238	99.0%
BC	38,483	44,770	44,183	5700	14.8%
Yukon	65	65	350	285	438.5%
NWT	95	84	137	42	44.2%
Nunavut	13	12	19	6	46.2%
Total	250,638	262,241	280,681	30064	

SOURCE: CIC, 2010A

What the data on metropolitan and provincial trends do not reveal is that although a greater number of "regional" locations are receiving immigrants, the settlement patterns remain far from uniform. As the Census analysis in Section 4.1 will show, some small communities are witnessing quite high levels of contemporary immigration, but many more are still unable to attract such newcomers. This is important because migration involves not only the relocation of people, but the shifting of incomes, purchasing power, needs, and attitudes (Bourne & Flowers, 1999). Thus, while certainly in flux, the Canadian demographic landscape remains far from equal. Part of the goal of this research is to identify the drivers present in the communities and regions that *are* attracting immigrants in order to better understand the contextual causes of these new settlement patterns.

3.3.3 A Rural-Urban Difference?

How might the economic and social outcomes of immigrants landing in the regions be different from their urban counterparts? Quantitative studies have revealed that there is a significant – and encouraging – difference in terms of income parity between immigrants who land in the regions and those who land in urban centres. Across the country, recent immigrants have lower incomes than other Canadians. Interestingly, however, this gap decreases as the community size decreases. Bernard (2008) has studied the differences in incomes between recent immigrants (defined in his study as any immigrant or refugee who obtained permanent residence between 1992 and 2003) and other Canadians, based on data from the year 2005. He found that the median income gap was 67 percent in very large urban areas, 32 percent in small urban areas, and 20 percent in rural and small town areas (Bernard, 2008). In fact, although

incomes are much higher in cities than in small towns for the population overall, the reverse is true for recent immigrants, for whom the median income is 16 percent higher in small towns than in very large urban areas (Bernard, 2008). Most striking is the geographical difference in the rate at which immigrants reach income parity: on average, recent immigrants in urban areas never reach income parity, but in the smallest locales, they have a 4 percent higher income than other Canadians after one year. This value is 19 percent after 13 years (Bernard, 2008). Figure 7 illustrates this point.

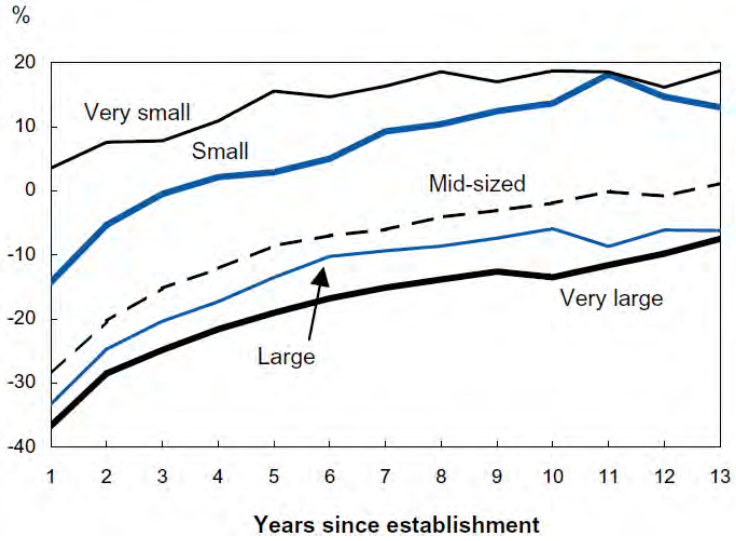

FIGURE 7: PERCENT DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE MEDIAN INCOME OF RECENT IMMIGRANTS AND OTHER CANADIANS OVER TIME
SOURCE: BERNARD, 2008

Commenting on these findings, the researchers hypothesized that immigrants are faced with an absence of their cultural kin in the regions, and therefore are pushed to learn the language and forge connections with non-immigrant networks more quickly. They also suggested that a foreign-earned university degree may be more valuable in remote or rural areas, where a lower proportion of the population has a degree (Bernard, 2008). While these factors likely play a role, we know that employers are driving immigration to the regions through direct job offers. Thus, the causal arrow may run in the opposite direction: immigrants only move to small communities when they have a guarantee of employment. They may even have been actively recruited by a local employer. Considering the empirical evidence showing that employment factors are the key driver of settlement (Krahn *et al.*, 2005; Derwing and Krahn, 2008), this seems more likely to be the direction of causation.

Although urban-rural differences in economic integration have been documented, little has been written about the ways in which the immigration experience itself might be different in small communities. In one exceptional study, Lai and Huffey (2009) investigated the lived experiences of immigrants in small communities across the province of Alberta. They found that these immigrants faced many of the same social challenges as those in urban areas, such as language difficulties, credential recognition and a lack of visible minority representation in organisations and politics. Importantly, they found that many small town immigrant residents had experienced discrimination in some form, though immigrants' opinions were divided on

whether they would have experienced more or less discrimination in an urban centre. Some felt that small communities are more welcoming because they are characterised by personal, reciprocal relationships. Others thought that racism and discrimination are more prevalent because small-town culture is more insular, and locals have little exposure to diversity. This study also found that some small-town immigrants felt that they were expected to represent all people from their national or cultural background, since there were few others from the same origin within the community.

A similar study by Baker, Arsenault and Gallant (1994) documented the settlement experience of recent immigrants in Moncton, New Brunswick. The researchers found that these immigrants, who had no common cultural community in Moncton, experienced high levels of stress and psychological problems stemming from their cultural isolation. Moreover, because these individuals were isolated from the general community fabric, their struggles went largely unnoticed. Reflecting on these findings, Varma (2003) contends that because rural and peripheral communities have lower populations in general, and lower cultural populations in particular, policies addressing diversity and settlement must be tailored to the specific rural and peripheral context.

Thus, there are many empirical and experiential similarities, but also some important differences, between the immigration experience in rural and urban areas. It is clear that issues of discrimination, racism, and accommodation cannot be written off in small communities. The next step, then, is to explore in more detail the nature and impact of new, significant immigration in the context of individual local communities.

4 METHODS AND CASE STUDY SELECTION

The methods of research undertaken for this paper involve quantitative and qualitative elements, including Census analysis, policy review and interviews with local actors. This chapter describes the research design, including the approach used to select case-study communities and the method of data collection in these locations. It also addresses methodological concerns.

4.1 Selection of Case Studies through Census Analysis

To select communities for study, 2006 Canadian Census data were used to identify small communities that are experiencing relatively high levels of immigration. The Census Subdivision (CSD) geographical unit was selected because it is the best representation of a municipal unit outside of large cities. CSDs contiguously cover the Canadian landscape. Three selection criteria were applied to the CSDs to select for community type, size and immigration levels (Table 4).

There is no universal or national definition of "rural." Indeed, different organisations and even different government agencies within Canada employ different definitions. The most applicable indicator in this case was the Statistics Canada "Rural and Small Town Area (RST)" classification, which can be applied at the CSD level. It is defined as all areas outside of Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations. In other words, RST areas exist anywhere outside of places that have an urban core population 10,000 or more, or where greater than 50 percent of the population commutes to such an urban centre (Du Plessis, Beshiri, Bollman, & Clemenson, 2001). Only CSDs classified as RST areas were considered in this study.

Next, a criterion for population size was applied. CSDs were considered only if they had a population of greater than 1,000 people. This criterion was to ensure that absolute immigration figures were sufficiently large. Moreover, this approach was based on the presumption that communities of this size would have some municipal governance structures in place to facilitate analysis.

Finally, it was necessary to measure levels of contemporary immigration. Many rural areas are home to settlers, mostly European, from earlier decades, but this is not the era of immigration that this paper aims to explore. To measure contemporary immigration, this method took advantage of the dramatic shift in source countries that has taken place since the federal Immigration Act of 1978. A high presence of immigrants from non-traditional source regions is indicative of contemporary immigration.

Canadian Census data provides information on the geographical origin of all immigrants.[4] Origins are broken down to the level of supra-national regions, and in some cases, individual countries. At the most disaggregated level, there are 24 regions listed that together cover all possible origins, shown in column 1, Table 5. Of the 24 disaggregated origins present in the Census, 17 were taken as "non-traditional source regions" (column 2, Table 5). A precedent

[4] The Census also provides origins for "recent immigrants" (those arriving within five years prior to the Census), but this was considered too short a timeframe for use in this study.

for this approach is found in Savelkoul, Gesthuizen & Scheepers (2011). CSDs were selected where the share of the population made up of immigrants from non-traditional source regions was greater than, or equal to, five percent.

TABLE 4: SELECTION CRITERIA FOR CASE-STUDY COMMUNITIES

Selection Criteria	Rationale
CSD is classified as a "Rural and Small Town Area" by Statistics Canada	Consider small communities only
CSD has a population greater than 1,000 people	Ensure that absolute numbers of immigrants are significant; ensure that municipal structure in place
CSD has a population of immigrants from non-traditional source regions greater than or equal to 5% of the total population	Select communities with relatively very high recent immigration levels

TABLE 5: GEOGRAPHICAL IMMIGRANT ORIGINS PROVIDED IN 2006 CANADIAN CENSUS

All geographical origins	Non-traditional geographical origins
United States of America	**Central America**
Central America	**Caribbean and Bermuda**
Caribbean and Bermuda	**South America**
South America	Africa
Europe	**Western Africa**
Western Europe	**Eastern Africa**
Eastern Europe	**Northern Africa**
Southern Europe	**Central Africa**
Italy	**Southern Africa**
Other Southern Europe	Asia and the Middle East
Northern Europe	**West Central Asia and the Middle East**
United Kingdom	Eastern Asia
Other Northern Europe	**China, People's Republic of**
Africa	**Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region**
Western Africa	**Other Eastern Asia**
Eastern Africa	Southeast Asia
Northern Africa	**Philippines**
Central Africa	**Other Southeast Asia**
Southern Africa	Southern Asia
Asia and the Middle East	**India**
West Central Asia and the Middle East	**Other Southern Asia**
Eastern Asia	**Oceania and other**
China, People's Republic of	
Hong Kong, Special Administrative Region	
Other Eastern Asia	
Southeast Asia	
Philippines	
Other Southeast Asia	
Southern Asia	
India	
Other Southern Asia	
Oceania and other	

SOURCE: STATSCAN, 2007B; MOST DISAGGREGATED LEVEL IN BOLD

Thirty-seven CSDs met these three-fold criteria. These communities exist in four provinces only: Ontario (four communities), Manitoba (12 communities), Alberta (10 communities), and British Columbia (11 communities). It is not altogether surprising that these four provinces feature most strongly: Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia are provinces with some of the highest absolute levels of immigration. They attracted 118,114; 32,642; and 44,183 new permanent residents in 2010 respectively (as demonstrated previously in Table 3). Though Manitoba's absolute numbers are lower (15,809 in 2010), its highly successful Provincial Nominee Program was responsible for 77 percent of the province's new permanent residents in 2011 (as demonstrated previously in Table 1). This program has been instrumental in directing settlement to the regions.

It is interesting that Quebec, which received a greater number of immigrants in 2010 than Alberta and British Columbia, has no small communities represented on this list. This absence reflects the continued dominance of the large urban centres, particularly Montreal, in terms of new immigrant settlement in that province. It also speaks to the relative failure of attempted regionalisation programs.

An exploration of the composition of these small-community immigrant populations suggests that, indeed, different immigrant attraction processes are taking place across Canada. First, a measure of concentration, by geographical origin, of the immigrant population was constructed measure the relative heterogeneity or homogeneity among new Canadians in the CSD. This measure, termed the "concentration ratio," is calculated simply as the number of immigrants from the most common non-traditional origin as a share of the overall immigrant population from non-traditional origins. Concentration ratio values range from zero to one, higher numbers reflecting greater homogeneity in the immigrant population in the CSD.

The results (Figure 8) show that the immigrant populations of some CSDs are very homogenous: 12 of the selected CSDs have concentration ratios between 0.90 and 1. An example of one such community is the Municipality of Bayham, Ontario. Bayham had a total population of 6,727 in 2006 (StatsCan, 2007a). It was home to 1,040 immigrants from non-traditional source regions (equal to 15 percent of the total population). The vast majority of these immigrants (955, or 92 percent) were from the Census origin of "Central America" (StatsCan, 2007b). The concentration ratio for this CSD is therefore 0.92.

Other communities, in contrast, are quite heterogeneous, serving as a home to new residents from a wide range of places. One such community is Pemberton, British Columbia. Pemberton had a total population of 2,192 in 2006 (StatsCan, 2007a). It was home to 190 immigrants from non-traditional source regions (equal to 9 percent of the total population). Unlike Bayham, however, no one origin dominates. Of the 190 immigrants, 60 (or 32 percent) are from the Census origin "Oceania and Other." It is also home to newcomers from Central America, the Caribbean and Bermuda, China, Hong Kong, Other East Asian origins and the Philippines (StatsCan, 2007b). Pemberton therefore has a low concentration ratio of 0.32.

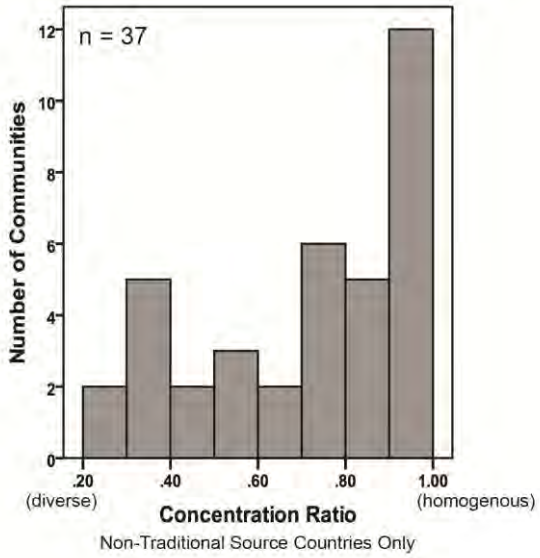

FIGURE 8: RELATIVE HOMOGENEITY OF THE IMMIGRANT POPULATION IN THE 37 SELECTED COMMUNITIES
SOURCE: AUTHOR, USING DATA FROM STATSCAN, 2007B

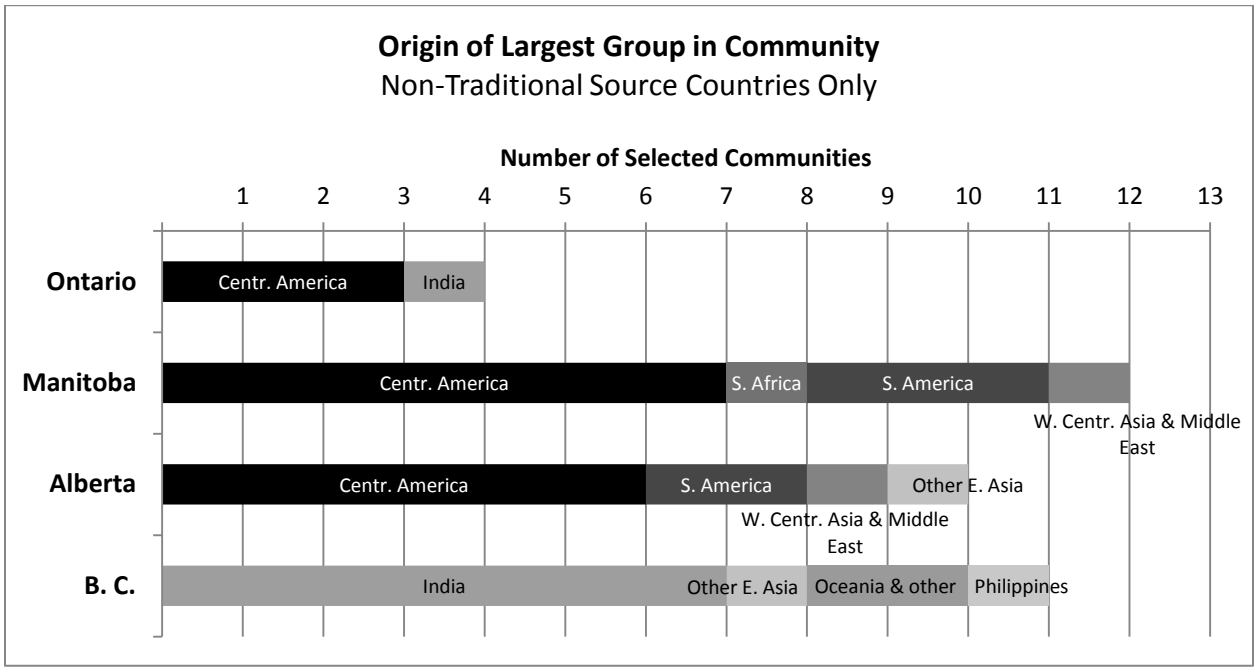

FIGURE 9: DOMINANT SOURCE REGIONS OF IMMIGRANTS IN THE 37 SELECTED COMMUNTIES, BY PROVINCE
SOURCE: AUTHOR, USING DATA FROM STATSCAN, 2007B

The variation in common geographical origins across the country is also revealing. Among the selected Ontario, Manitoba and Alberta communities, Central America is the most common dominant immigrant group from a non-traditional source region. This is evidence of

contemporary Mexican Mennonite migration (or re-migration) to Canada, which will be described in detail later in Section 5.1.5. In British Columbia, immigrants from India are most often the dominant group. Figure 9 shows the other geographical origins that are present in dominant numbers.

Thus, a quantitative analysis of Canadian Census data shows that, indeed, small-community immigrant attraction is occurring in Canada. Importantly, it also demonstrates that the composition of immigrant populations varies across the regions. This understanding suggests that a case-study approach can reveal more detail about the micro-level processes driving these different outcomes.

From the set of 37 communities that met the three-fold criteria, six case-study CSDs were selected such that there are cases present from each of the four provinces, as well as with a range of immigrant community compositions in terms of heterogeneity/homogeneity and dominant immigrant origins. CSDs with the highest levels of immigration were given priority.

Political or Census boundaries are not necessarily the most meaningful indicators of "communities." Indeed, the physical mobility and outside ties (such as work relationships) of residents, combined with broader structural forces and policies, connect places beyond such borders in important ways. Following the "network perspective" proposed by Wellman and Leighton (1979, p. 347) a "community" for the purpose of this research has been defined by considering social linkages and flows of resources, particularly as they relate to immigration. So, although CSD units were originally used in the quantitative analysis, case-study boundaries were ultimately delineated according to on-the-ground governance structures, relationships, and immigration processes discovered throughout the research process. Thus, in some cases, it made more analytical sense to consider a region or corridor rather than a single municipality. In other cases, the CSD stood out from its surrounding area and was thus considered in isolation.

The final case-study sites are: Morris and area, Manitoba; the Town of Deep River, Ontario; the County of Elgin, Ontario; the Resort Municipality of Whistler and the Squamish-Pemberton Corridor, British Columbia; the Town of Banff, Alberta; and the City of Merritt, British Columbia.

4.2 Interview Procedure

Following the selection of case-study sites, the main method of data collection in this study was a series of 17 qualitative, semi-structured interviews. As the main goal was to understand the process, outcomes and challenges of small-community immigrant attraction from a municipal and planning perspective, interview subjects were mainly municipal staff (such as planners and economic developers), members of government- or community-sponsored economic development organisations (such as Chambers of Commerce and Workforce Development Boards), or immigrant settlement service workers. One interviewee was an immigrant community member, and one was a staff member from a manufacturing firm. A full list of the positions, affiliations and locations of all interview subjects is included in Table 6.

Interview subjects had diverse backgrounds. Eight were female, while nine were male. About one-quarter of interviewees had immigrated to Canada, while the rest were born in the country. Between one and four individuals were interviewed from each case-study community.

TABLE 6: INTERVIEW RESPONDENTS

#	Position	Organisation	Community	Prov.
1	Economic Development Officer	Town of Morris	Town of Morris and area	MB
2	Executive Director	South Central Settlement and Employment Services	Town of Morris and area	MB
3	Production Manager and former Head of Human Resources	Westfield Industries	Town of Morris and area	MB
4	Economic Development Planner	Town of Deep River	Town of Deep River	ON
5	Project Manager	Renfrew-Lanark LIP	Town of Deep River	ON
6	Executive Director	Elgin Middlesex Oxford Workforce Planning and Development Board	County of Elgin*	ON
7	Settlement Service Worker (1)	Settlement Services in the Bow Valley, Banff Family Community Support Services (FCSS), Town of Banff	Town of Banff	AB
8	Settlement Service Worker (2)	Settlement Services in the Bow Valley, Banff Family Community Support Services (FCSS), Town of Banff	Town of Banff	AB
9	General Manager	Community Futures Howe Sound	Squamish-Whistler-Pemberton Corridor	BC
10	Director, Policy and Research	Go2	Squamish-Whistler-Pemberton Corridor	BC
11	President	Whistler Chamber of Commerce	Squamish-Whistler-Pemberton Corridor	BC
12	CAO	Village of Pemberton	Squamish-Whistler-Pemberton Corridor	BC
13	Manager of Development Services	Village of Pemberton	Squamish-Whistler-Pemberton Corridor	BC
14	Business and Economic Development Officer	City of Merritt	City of Merritt	BC
15	Economic Development Officer	City of Iqaluit	City of Iqualuit**	NT
16	Settlement Service Worker	Wellington County Settlement Services	Wellington County**	ON
17	Community Member	Welllington County	Wellington County**	ON

* An individual from the St. Thomas-Elgin Local Immigration Partnership was also consulted, but a formal interview was not carried out.

** Three respondents from outside of the case-study communities were consulted. Their knowledge and experience informed the general content of this paper.

Interviews were open-ended; guiding questions were tailored for the particular respondent and community. Guiding questions generally consisted of the following:

- Please describe your professional role. To what extent is your work related to attracting or settling immigrants in your community?
- Please describe the main demographic and economic characteristics of your community.
- How would you describe the state of immigration and diversity in your community?
- What do you think are the driving factors that are causing immigrants to settle your community?
- What are some of the challenges and opportunities that have arisen in your community as a result of the arrival of new immigrants?
- Do you consider your community to be a welcoming place for immigrants?

Due to the geographical scope of this study, all interviews took place over the phone, which were recorded and transcribed. Participants were informed about the goals, procedure and outcomes of the project via a written "Project Information Sheet" provided prior to the interview (provided in Appendix B). In most cases, they were also sent an interview guide in advance to help them prepare for the discussion. Participants were asked for verbal consent to be recorded before the formal discussion began. They were informed that they could refrain from answering any questions or end the discussion at any point. At the end of the discussion, participants were asked for verbal consent to have their name, position and affiliation listed in the documents produced. They were provided with contact information for the project supervisor and the McGill University Research Ethics Board in case of any concerns. Follow-up questions and discussions took place predominantly by email where necessary. Interviews took place between April and June, 2012.

Information on community demographics and employment obtained from interview subjects was bolstered by published information from Statistics Canada, municipal websites, and other sources, particularly where fewer interviews were conducted in the community. Local policy documents and plans were also reviewed. In addition, some other community experts were consulted on a more informal basis by phone or email.

4.3 Methodological Concerns

Some methodological concerns exist with both the quantitative and qualitative elements of this study. While Census immigration data is rich, it poses some challenges to measuring immigration, including the following:

- Immigrant status and origin is measured on the long-form Census, meaning that statistics are only known for one-fifth of the population and then extrapolated for the entire population. In small communities, where immigration numbers are already relatively low, this can produce a wide margin of error (StatsCan, 2010)[5].

[5] This margin of error will be wider in the 2011 data, where the long-form Census was not mandatory.

- Insofar as Census data provide a snapshot of community compositions every five years, they cannot capture individuals that come to a community and leave within that five-year period, making retention difficult to understand.
- The Census does not measure Temporary Foreign Workers, who are not Canadian citizens. This means that communities with high levels of Temporary Foreign workers were not necessarily identified within the 37 selected communities. However, as this paper will show, these individuals are very present in small communities and are important to consider.
- Finally, the use of 2006 data makes it impossible to measure changes since that date, which has in fact been a period of continued small-community immigration. Data for immigration in 2011 are not yet available.

Given these methodological limitations, the criteria used to select 37 "high immigration" small communities and the six case-study areas should not be understood as comprehensive indicators. Indeed, the consideration of certain regions as "traditional source regions" or not, the inclusion of temporary residents, and the incorporation of more recent data would significantly alter the communities which meet the criteria.

There are also some limitations to the interview method and participant selection. First, it would have been ideal if the researcher could have visited the case-study communities in person to better understand the social and spatial phenomena taking place, and to connect with interview subjects in person. Second, despite the public roles of most interview subjects, these individuals have incomplete and subjective information about their communities and the people who live in them. Thus, this paper should be understood as a compilation of facts and stories about selected communities in Canada that are dealing with new kinds of population growth and diversity. These facts and stories are a source of insights that can help advance our understanding of, and responses to, immigration in Canada.

5 CASE STUDIES: SMALL-COMMUNITY IMMIGRANT ATTRACTION DYNAMICS

In this chapter, the results of the Census analysis, policy review and interview research are presented. The results provide a response to the first research question of this paper: *What is driving immigration to small communities in Canada?* In this Chapter, five small-community recruitment dynamics are identified. Then, the case-study communities are presented, including historical, demographic and economic characteristics. The particular recruitment dynamics present in each location are described. Finally, the dynamics are summarised in Section 5.3.

5.1 Overview of Attraction Dynamics

A key question asked of interview subjects was: "What do you think is driving immigration to your community?" The answers to this question, combined with externally-obtained employment data, reveal that immigration to the small communities studied is motivated predominantly by employment needs. This is an important distinction: while municipalities and higher levels of government desire more regional immigration and create policy at all levels to facilitate it, the private sector is most often the operative actor in the process. This is not surprising, given the decentralised and market-oriented nature of new immigration policies, described earlier.

Through the case studies, five recruitment dynamics have been identified. In the first three dynamics, the operative actors are large employers: the manufacturing sector, the tourism sector, and the knowledge economy. The fourth dynamic, entrepreneurship, is different in that individual prospective immigrants create their own opportunities for employment. In the fifth and final dynamic – the draw of cultural communities – social and familial factors are most important, though economic considerations also play a role. Most communities are witnessing more than one dynamic, which causes interesting interactions. Below, each dynamic is introduced briefly and placed within broader economic trends occurring in rural and small town Canada. This discussion provides a framework for understanding the phenomena described in the case studies that follow.

5.1.1 The Manufacturing Sector

Rural and small town areas have witnessed significant economic and demographic restructuring in recent decades. The most important component of this reconfiguration has been the shedding of labour by primary industries in light of global competition and the adoption of new technologies (Rothwell, 2010; Rothwell & Bollman, 2011). A result of this process has been increasing pressure on rural areas to diversify their economy, particularly toward service provision (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011). Yet, the dominance of urban centres in terms of skill levels and service provision makes this re-orientation difficult (Alasia, 2010). Thus, manufacturing may be an option for economic development in rural areas (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011).

Canada's manufacturing sector accounted for 12 percent of occupations in the overall workforce in 2008 (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011). Ontario and Quebec are the dominant provinces in this sector; in 2010, almost one half of Canada's manufacturing sales came from Ontario. The manufacturing industry struggled during to the economic recession of 2008, though by 2010 signs of recovery were present, particularly in the automobile, petroleum, coal, and primary metal-manufacturing sectors. Petroleum and coal manufacturing is based in Alberta, while automobile and primary metal-manufacturing are more prominent in Ontario and Quebec. Though sales in these industries grew from 2009 to 2010, the growth in sales has not necessarily been correlated with job recovery (Paul & Cromey, 2011).

Interestingly, the share of total firms in the manufacturing sector was comparable in rural and small town areas (five percent) to urban areas (six percent), as of 2007.There has in fact been evidence of a "reverse core-periphery pattern," such that some manufacturing firms are relocating outside of the urban centres, contrary to the phenomena in most other industries (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011, p. 11). Yet these firms do not relocate to just anywhere: they tend to cluster in what are sometimes termed "edge cities" (Bourne, 1995, p. 31), such that rural and small town areas near to an urban centre are more likely to have manufacturing facilities (Rothwell & Bollman, 2011). Another interesting trend is that manufacturing activities are more likely to be part of the value chain of a resource sector in rural and small town areas (two-thirds of firms) than in urban areas (one-half of all firms). Two case-study communities – Morris, Manitoba and the County of Elgin, Ontario – are home to significant manufacturing sectors. Not surprisingly, they are both located within reasonable distance of a Canadian second-tier city.

Manufacturing firms in many rural and small town areas face acute labour shortages, in part due to the significant outmigration of working-age people from rural areas (Beshiri, 2005). In the case-study communities, it was found that, these firms require low- or semi-skilled workers in particular, although there is a need to fill some engineering positions as well. As a result, such firms are increasingly seeking labour from outside of Canada. Some firms in the case-study communities are recruiting directly from other countries, while others are engaging immigrants already residing in nearby urban centres. When employing newcomers to Canada, these employers face particular challenges relating to their worker's technical skills and language capabilities. This is an important concern with regards to workplace safety.

5.1.2 The Tourism Sector

The tourism sector accounted for 9.4 percent of all jobs in Canada in 2011 (Martin, 2012). Interestingly, the share of employment in the tourism sector in predominantly rural regions[6] is comparable to the share in urban regions (Beshiri, 2005). Within the sector, the food

[6] The term "predominantly rural region" is a definition of rural used by the OECD that is different from the Statistics Canada "Rural and Small Town" designation. A predominantly rural region is an area where greater than 50% of the population lives in a rural community; a rural community is an area with a population density of less than 150 persons/km2. This definition provides a broader, regional measure of rurality (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008).

and beverage industry group employs the most people across Canada (Martin, 2012); however, the accommodation industry is the largest tourism employer in predominantly rural regions. Like manufacturing, tourism represents an opportunity for rural economic development, as tourism activities can be used to replace job losses in the primary sector and capitalise on the recreational needs of the growing urban populations. As with many sectors, rural tourism is growing most in the areas near to urban centres (Beshiri, 2005), contributing to the increasing economic and demographic success of these peri-urban communities relative to the more "deep" rural communities that lag behind (Daniels and Lapping, 1996).

Although Atlantic Canada relies the most on the rural tourism industry (Beshiri, 2005), there are also some large non-urban tourism hubs in the Western provinces. Two such hubs – Whistler, British Columbia and Banff, Alberta – are studied in this paper. The 2010 Winter Olympics hosted in British Columbia helped to solidify the international reputation of these tourism areas.

Like the manufacturing sector, the tourism sector generally seeks low- and semi-skilled workers. As a result, the sector is characterised by a greater share of part-time jobs and lower wages. Moreover, the wage gap between tourism workers and the wider economy has been growing, expanding from $5.76 in 1997 to $10.93 in 2011 (Martin, 2012). In keeping with these national trends, the case studies in this paper also found that workers in the tourism sector require less training and are paid lower wages than their manufacturing counterparts in other communities.

Immigrant workers are extremely common within the tourism industry, holding 23 percent of all tourism jobs in Canada. In the case-study communities in this paper, tourism employers have previously relied on young adults from Canada and other (mostly Commonwealth) countries to fill their labour needs on a seasonal basis. Yet, as better-paying temporary work is emerging in Canada's oil and gas industry, these employers are finding it increasingly difficult to find workers. They are turning to more permanent immigration as a solution, aided by new policies that have created new avenues for permanent residency. Besides filling labour needs, many tourism employers find a diverse workforce to be an asset because international workers bring knowledge of languages and cuisines that add a competitive edge to the tourism offering.

In the tourism sector across Canada, average wages are lower for immigrant than non-immigrant tourism workers. Yet, immigrants have higher average annual earnings ($28,662) compared to non-immigrants ($25,706) because they tend to work longer hours (Martin, 2012).

5.1.3 The Knowledge Economy

In Canada, urban centres are home to more highly-educated and skilled individuals than rural regions; this variation is reflected in the distribution of high-skilled employment. In 2001, professional occupations made up 19 percent of employment in urban regions, versus only 9 percent in predominantly rural regions (Alasia & Magnusson, 2005). Indeed, rural regions have a heavier presence of firms in the primary sector and construction, and thus a greater proportion of low-skilled jobs. The gap in skilled employment between urban and rural regions

continues to increase. Thus, the emergence of the "knowledge economy" – economic activities that are highly technical, globalised, and professional – has generally been concentrated in urban areas (Alasia & Magnusson, 2005).

However, there are exceptions to the rule. Some rural areas are host to high-skilled employers, such as post-secondary institutions or research facilities. One case study in this paper (Deep River, Ontario) falls into this category. Since high-skilled workers are less common in the regions, knowledge employers in these areas must often recruit from universities or directly from overseas. As the universities of emerging nations continue to produce high-caliber graduates, and as Canadian post-secondary institutions are increasingly bringing in international students, new recruits are increasingly immigrants from non-traditional source regions. Thus, knowledge economy employers in the regions are becoming drivers of immigrant attraction as well.

5.1.4 Entrepreneurship

Self-employment makes up 21 percent of total employment in rural and small town areas, equivalent to 600,000 self-employed individuals. It is a more common form of employment in these areas than in urban regions (Bollman & Alasia, 2012). The prominence of self-employment is related to the fact that firms tend to be smaller in rural areas, with a greater number of firms per capita overall (Rothwell, 2010).

Though farming is a large component of rural self-employment, many other sectors are also prominent. In particular, self-employment in construction, professional, scientific and technical services has been increasing over time (Bollman & Alasia, 2012).

The loss of small local businesses such as convenience, grocery and hardware stores is a serious concern for those small communities that are witnessing population decline (Bunce, 1982). While the closure of businesses is a symptom of outmigration and retail consolidation, it also perpetuates the cycle of population decline by eliminating more jobs and services within the community. Even where population decline is not a threat, the aging of the "baby-boomer" generation is causing concerns around business succession: as business owners near retirement, there may be no one to carry on the business, resulting in closure. Though this is a concern across the country, it is of particular significance in rural and small town areas, where the share of self-employed persons of ages 55 to 64 is approximately 24 percent, compared to 21 percent in urban areas (Bollman & Alasia, 2012).

Therefore, there is both an opportunity and a need for new entrepreneurship in small communities (Bollman & Alasia, 2012). This role can be filled by immigrant entrepreneurs, who bring fresh capital, ideas and business strategies. Some municipalities are beginning to take up the attraction of immigrant entrepreneurs as a concerted economic development strategy. Four of the case-study communities display dynamics of entrepreneur attraction (the County of Elgin, Ontario, the City of Merritt, BC, the Town of Banff, Alberta and the Resort Municipality of Whistler, BC). In these cases, the draw of immigrant entrepreneurs was found to take place in two ways:

- An influx of immigrants brought in by other sectors creates market demands that are not filled by the existing businesses in the community, which immigrant entrepreneurs step in to fill; or
- Municipalities provide financial incentives or other kinds of support for business start-ups that aim to attract entrepreneurs of all types, and including immigrants.

Immigrants that moved to a small community to start a business are generally different from their counterparts brought in by large employers in that they bring significantly more financial resources with them. Many immigrants are eager to start their own business, especially in the face of barriers such as credential recognition that can prevent even highly educated individuals from finding employment elsewhere (LIP Renfrew and Lanark, 2012). Immigrants often bring different approaches to doing business that can challenge and enhance business practices in their new communities.

5.1.5 Cultural Communities

The final dynamic involves social and familial factors. In this case, established immigrant communities themselves are the draw for other members of their group. In this dynamic, family and friends enter the country either through family-class immigration streams or through word-of-mouth referral to existing employers in the community. Either way, the networks generated by cultural communities play a key role. Cultural-community drivers affect all immigrant groups and are present in each of the case studies to a degree, but one particularly prominent group in rural Canada is the Mennonite population. Mennonite communities are present in two of the case studies: Morris, Manitoba and the County of Elgin, Ontario. Their story is reviewed here because it clearly exemplifies the influence of historical settlement patterns and community networks in driving migration and is an important feature of rural immigration in Canada. Indeed, immigrants from Central or South America formed the largest immigrant group in 21 of the 37 selected CSDs with high immigrant populations (discussed in Section 4.1 and shown in Figure 9). Immigration from these regions is an indicator of contemporary Mennonite migration for reasons described below.

The Mennonites are a religious group with European origins. The Mennonite population spans many continents and is comprised of multiple sects and communities. The Mennonite account of Christianity can be generally described to emphasize community, peace, discipleship and adult baptism; however, different sects have divergent beliefs on some topics (Mennonite Historical Society of Canada [MHSC], 2012).

The history of Mennonites is a story of many migrations. The group first emerged during the Reformation (during the 16th century) in areas of Switzerland and Germany. Religious persecution, an inability to live according to their beliefs, and adverse economic conditions caused many of these communities to migrate to Russia at the end of the 19th century and to the Eastern US and Canada at the beginning of the 20th century (MHSC, 2012). The Canadian government encouraged Mennonite settlement by providing these communities with land, funding, and agreements about military service and education (Janzen, 2007). Many Mennonites from Switzerland and Germany settled in southwestern Ontario and the Waterloo

area, while many Russian Mennonites formed communities in Manitoba. Both of these areas are important sites of Mennonite communities today. With time, some also moved into the western provinces (MHSC, 2012).

In the 1920s, Canadian governments began to retract on their agreements regarding education, attempting to force Mennonite children into the public school system. This move caused tension among the Mennonite communities; some wished to leave, and indeed, many groups ultimately fled to Mexico and Paraguay to set up new colonies (Janzen, 2007).

In 1977 the Canadian government created a "delayed registration" policy that allowed Mennonites with Canadian heritage to reclaim their citizenship, even if they had not initially been registered by their parents (Janzen, 2011). Due to this new policy and in light of adverse economic conditions in Mexico, a culture of seasonal migration has developed as Mennonites work during the harvest season in both countries. Increasingly, however, these individuals have begun to resettle in Canada on a permanent basis in locations where Mennonite communities are already established.

This newest wave of Mennonite migration can be considered a case of "ethnic return migration," whereby members of an ethnic group are reunited after many years in different parts of the world (Tsuda, 2004). As such, Mennonite communities in Canada are not culturally homogenous despite how they may appear to outsiders. Given that they are being reunited from Mexico, Germany, Russia and Canada after decades apart, certain cultural and linguistic differences are present. Nonetheless, the presence of established communities provides an anchor for contemporary migration.

Although cultural and religious motivations have been most prominent in past Mennonite migrations, the importance of economic factors should not be overlooked. For example, adverse economic situations in Central and South America have been identified as the key drivers in bringing Mennonite populations back to Canada today (Mennonite Central Committee [MCC], 2012). Thus, although the "cultural communities" dynamic is not fundamentally employer-driven, economic forces are very present in this phenomenon as well.

The five immigrant recruitment dynamics just reviewed – employer-driven attraction to the manufacturing, tourism and knowledge sectors; immigrant entrepreneurship and cultural community networks – describe patterns that are identifiable in one or more of the case studies undertaken in this paper. Below, the unfolding of these dynamics in each of the communities is described in detail.

5.2 Case Studies

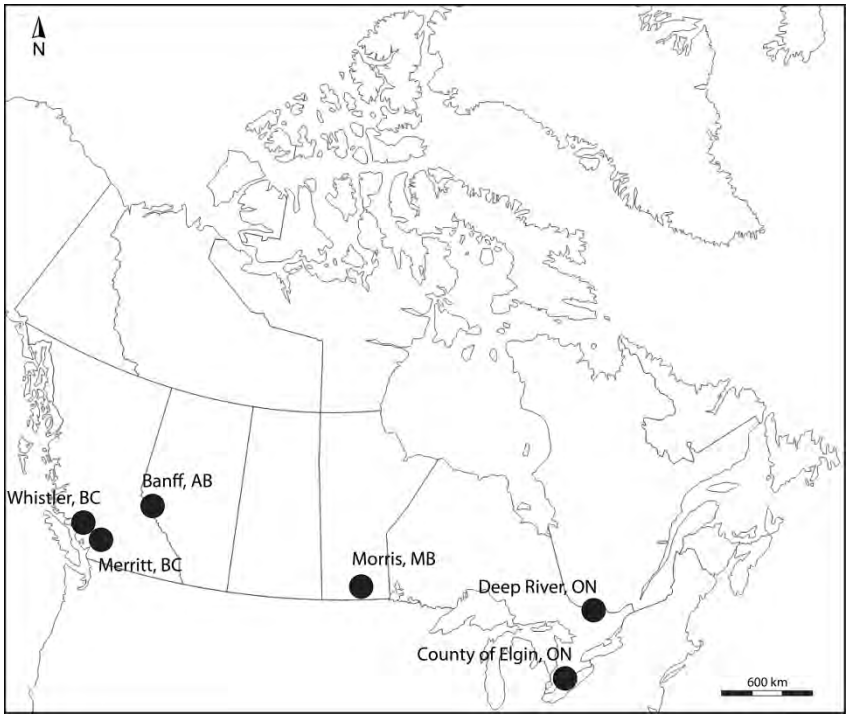

FIGURE 10: CASE-STUDY LOCATIONS

Six communities were selected for in-depth study in this paper: Morris and area, Manitoba; the Town of Deep River, Ontario; Elgin County, Ontario; the Squamish-Whistler-Pemberton corridor, British Columbia; the Town of Banff, Alberta; and the City of Merritt, British Columbia (Figure 10).

Each case study below provides a description of the municipality and its immigrant attraction phenomena. The nature of information provided by interview subjects varied among communities depending on what was important to the particular context. Thus, although the semi-structured interviews are the main source of information for the following section, the trends and phenomena described are supplemented by figures from Statistics Canada, municipal documents and community sources where necessary. A full set of comparable demographic, economic and migration data for each community and province studied can be found in Table 11, Table 12, and Table 13, located in Appendix C.

5.2.1 Morris and Area, Manitoba

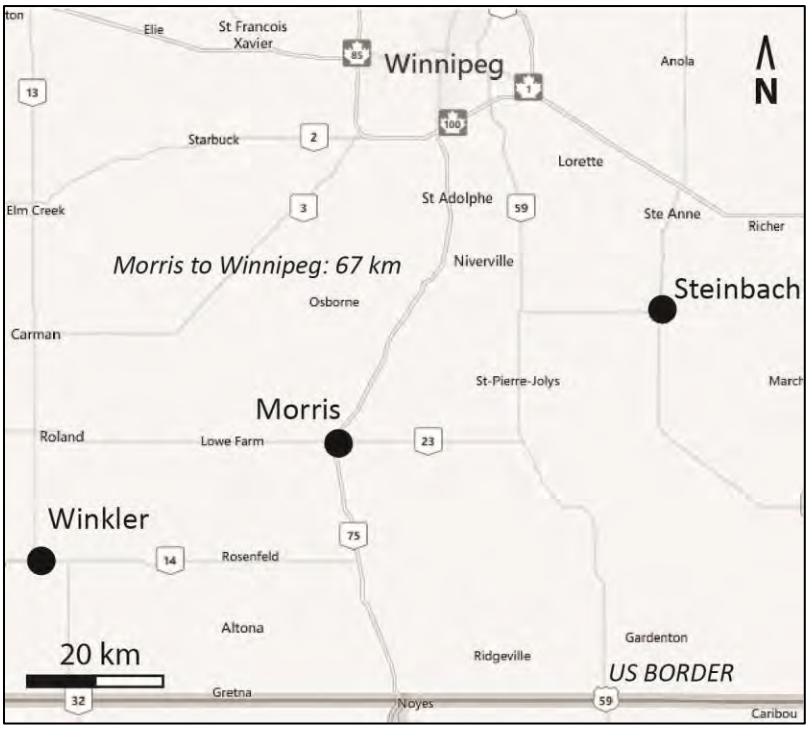

FIGURE 11: THE TOWN OF MORRIS AND SURROUNDING REGION
SOURCE: WWW.BING.COM/MAPS/, AUTHOR

Community Background

The Town of Morris, Manitoba, home to 1,797 residents, is located 67 kilometres (a one-hour drive) south of Winnipeg on the banks of the Red River (Figure 11). The Town of Morris sits within the Rural Municipality (RM) of Morris, which is home to another 2,999 people (StatsCan, 2012). The Town and the RM of Morris will be considered together in this case study, and they should also be understood as part of the broader south-central Manitoba region, which has a relatively consistent pattern of environmental cycles, economic activity, and growth and immigration trends.

Due to its proximity to the Red River, the Morris area experiences a major flood every three to four years. The town is surrounded by a large rain dyke that keeps the water out, but during these times, three of four road entrances are blocked and the community becomes a virtual island. This environmental reality makes growth and investment a tremendous challenge in and around the community.

Despite, or perhaps because of, this unique situation, the Town of Morris is home to a healthy cross-section of employment opportunities, including local and provincial government offices, headquarters for a school division, transport and logistics companies, agriculturally-based retail, and four small manufacturing firms. In the Rural Municipality of Morris, manufacturing is dominant: there are approximately 20 manufacturing plants of various sizes in this area that range in size from five to 300 employees. Many of these industries manufacture

products for the regional agricultural industry, given the importance of agriculture in this part of Manitoba, although other products are also fabricated.

Historically, southeast Manitoba has been ethnically diverse, as it has been the site of settlement by Mennonites, Germans, Ukranians as well as francophone communities, all of which are still present today. As of the 2006 Census, both the Town and the RM of Morris were home to approximately 11 percent immigrants (175 individuals in the Town and 305 individuals in the Rural Municipality), close to half of whom have arrived since 1991 (StatsCan, 2007a). The majority are from Central America (22.9 percent of immigrants in the Town and 75.4 percent of immigrants in the Rural Municipality) – an indicator of the presence of Mexican Mennonites, for whom southeastern Manitoba is an important migration destination. Western Europe and the US are also common source countries (StatsCan, 2007b).

FIGURE 12: MORRIS IN A FLOOD YEAR (L), MORRIS STREETSCAPE (R)
SIGN READS: "LOTS AVAILABLE FOR NEW CONSTRUCTION STARTING AT $28,434"
SOURCES: WWW.CBC.CA/NEWS/, TOWN OF MORRIS

Immigrant Recruitment

Two major dynamics are driving immigration to the southeast Manitoba area. The first is the community-driven attraction of the Mennonite community. In fact, south-central Manitoba is the most important region of Mennonite settlement in Canada. Mennonites are drawn to the area because of their settlement history, migratory traditions in their culture, and most importantly, the critical mass of Mennonites already established. Although work in the agricultural industry was the impetus for this migration, many forms of employment are now common. In particular, many small businesses in the area are owned by members of the Mennonite community, from bakeries to electrician shops.

The second major dynamic present is manufacturer-driven recruitment. The manufacturers in the Morris area have a collective labour shortage of approximately 150 workers, which has motivated some manufacturing firms to pursue the recruitment of immigrant workers. The largest employer in the area, a manufacturer of grain augers with approximately 330 workers, has been the leader in this pursuit. In the mid-2000s, this company found itself struggling increasingly with recruitment, the wage rate continually driven up by the low levels of unemployment in the area (in 2006, the unemployment rate was 1.8 percent in the Town of Morris and 2 percent in the Rural Municipality, much lower than the province-wide

rate of 5.5 percent at the time). Ultimately, they may have had to relocate, as one manager remarked: "Our business was to produce augers worldwide. Well, if we weren't going to do it here, we would do it somewhere else. We would move it to south of the border." Instead, they embarked upon direct overseas recruitment of new foreign labour from Germany. Representatives travelled there twice to recruit new workers. Geographical targeting made sense for this company given the strong Mennonite community in the area. According to a manager at the firm:

> You have to understand the culture of our organisation together with the community that we reside. . . . The culture is typically a low-German or German-speaking Mennonite culture that's kind of been predominant over the last 50 years. So when looking at countries that could provide a good communication base, perhaps in that language, [German], because not everybody speaks English when they come to Canada, which is unfortunate. . . . The immediate solution was to look toward a skilled, first world country. We went to Germany looking for high engineered or high-experienced welding applicants.

These new German workers were brought to Canada initially as temporary workers, but with the explicit intent that the company would help them follow the channels through to permanent residency made possible by the Manitoba PNP. In one instance, the manufacturing company also used an overseas foreign recruitment program offered by the federal government. The new recruits were settled in proximity to the manufacturing plant in order to facilitate transportation to work.

Despite the waves of foreign recruitment, the firm was still short on labour as it continued to grow. In the late 2000s, human resources staff came to recognise the potential of immigrants who were already coming to Manitoba, most of whom were living among family and friends in Winnipeg. The firm set up a daily shuttle bus between the manufacturing plant and the City of Winnipeg, and immediately tapped into a large, eager labour force. This shuttle bus has been running for five years and is full of workers each day. The trip takes approximately one hour.

These new recruits come from a variety of backgrounds; workers from the Philippines are common given the large Filipino population in Winnipeg. Most come through the Manitoba PNP program, many through its family stream. The majority are completely untrained for the manufacturing sector, and many do not speak any English – both of which pose significant challenges in terms of communication, training and safety. However, this particular firm worked creatively to train them. For example, they ensured that there were translators in place for every language group and they partnered with local settlement agencies to provide language lessons and to create manufacturing "dictionaries" that would help workers learn important words. They also established an in-house welding school, where general labourers willing to invest their time could become trained as welders and work their way up to higher-level positions. Unlike the first waves of German workers who generally settled in Morris, most of these new workers continue to live in Winnipeg and commute to work. This enables them to remain with their cultural community in the city.

Experimenting with these creative programs has led to an expanded labour pool for this company. While initially they had to lower their standards to hire the untrained general

labourers with minimal language skills, they have found the new workforce to be productive, and they now have access to the valuable family and friend networks of their employees:

> Our primary way of recruitment is referrals. It is purely individuals [who] are proud to be at work – we have an awesome workforce – they will refer their friends or family, and we will hire them. There are some companies who are biased against hiring families because of family issues. But we fully embrace it – family, friends – generally we find that if you as an individual are a good employee, your friend probably is going to be a good employee as well. You're not going to want to refer a bad employee.

This company has been in direct communication with municipal officials in Morris throughout the immigrant recruitment process, and has been keen to share lessons learned with the municipality. The apparent success of this company's immigrant recruitment strategy stems from both the firm's physical proximity to Winnipeg and its willingness to approach recruitment and training in new ways. Certainly, the initiatives of this company are not yet common within the manufacturing sector.

Thus, both the agricultural and the manufacturing sectors in south central Manitoba are the main immigrant-attracting dynamics in this region, including in Morris. Moreover, the well-established Mennonite communities in the rural areas, and the other immigrant communities in Winnipeg, act as anchors for the attraction of other group members.

5.2.2 Deep River, Ontario

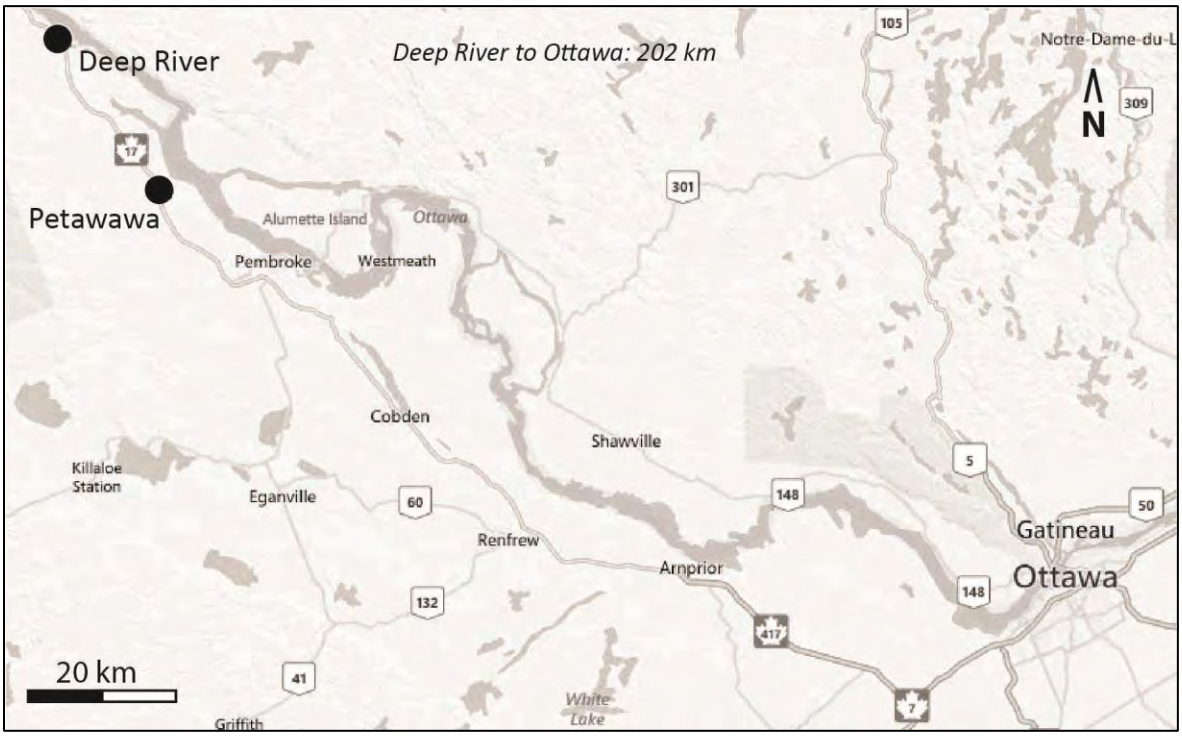

FIGURE 13: THE TOWN OF DEEP RIVER AND SURROUNDING AREA

SOURCE: WWW.BING.COM/MAPS/, AUTHOR

Community Background

Deep River, Ontario, is a community of 4,193 people (StatsCan, 2012) located 202 kilometres (a 2.5-hour drive) northwest of Ottawa along the Ottawa River (Figure 13). It sits in Renfrew County, home to 101,326 people (StatsCan, 2012). Renfrew County is wedged between the Quebec border to the east and Algonquin Provincial Park, which covers over 7,600 square kilometres, to the northwest.

This relative isolation means that Renfrew County is economically independent from the surrounding regions, relying to a great degree on two major employers: Atomic Energy of Canada Limited (AECL) Chalk River, a crown corporation that is an internationally-renowned nuclear research facility, and CFB Petawawa, one of Canada's fastest growing military training bases. AECL Chalk River, located just outside the Town of Deep River, currently employs over 3000 people, while CFB Petawawa currently has 5000 soldiers and 900 civilians on the payroll. Furthermore, this base is expecting the addition of many additional trainees and hundreds of millions in new federal investment over the coming years as a result of the establishment of a new fleet of Chinook helicopters (Butler, 2012).

While Deep River is now beginning to witness in-migration from Petawawa's military population, this has historically not been the case. Rather, the town's fate has been intimately tied to AECL Chalk River. It was built by the federal government during in the 1940s for the purpose of housing workers at the Chalk River facility. Deep River provided a new home to scientists and engineers, mostly those fleeing from Europe during the war, whose initial purpose was to work on developing the nuclear bomb. After the war, the laboratory continued to expand, and its mandate now to pursue nuclear development for peaceful purposes.

The government physically designed the town and established social amenities and organisations that would attract highly-educated individuals away from urban centres. This early attention to what is now seen as the "production of social capital" continues to play an important role today, as Deep River is home to the highest per-capita level of clubs in Ontario. One can join a yacht club, an acting group, the symphony or a Lego-building club, and many other groups.

FIGURE 14: HOUSING (L) AND RIVERFRONT (R) IN DEEP RIVER
SOURCE: TOWN OF DEEP RIVER

Recruitment of new high-skilled labour by AECL Chalk River continues to be the dominant source of new employment in Deep River. AECL has also produced a private spinoff nuclear development company that attracts a similar kind of high-skilled employees. The dominance of the knowledge economy in this small community means that income, education and employment levels have consistently been higher than the Ontario average. The median income in Deep River was $81,458 in 2006, compared to $69,156 across Ontario. Nearly one-third of the population over 15 years of age holds a university certificate, diploma or degree, compared with one-fifth of the population in Ontario overall (StatsCan, 2012). These characteristics make the Town of Deep River distinct from the surrounding Renfrew County.

Deep River was founded as a community of migrants and this fact has been incorporated as part of the community's identity. Immigrants make up a striking one-fifth of the population in Deep River (845 individuals). One-third of these newcomers have arrived since 1991 (StatsCan, 2007a). In recent decades, following the overall shift in immigration source countries in Canada, immigrants coming to Deep River are no longer mostly from European countries. In fact, there are now immigrants from at least 16 countries or regions in the town, an extremely high level of diversity for this size of community. Immigrants from non-traditional source regions make up 7.8 percent of the total population. India and China are important source countries (StatsCan, 2007b).

Immigrant Recruitment

The nuclear research industry drives high-skilled immigration to Deep River. According to the economic development planner of the community, AECL often recruits new workers via Canadian post-secondary institutions. Thus, the international nature of AECL employees reflects to a large extent the reality that many of the students in Canadian post-secondary institutions, especially in graduate-level scientific fields, are international students. Recruitment also happens through global industry networks at AECL and also at the smaller private nuclear research company in Deep River as described by the former Economic Development Planner:

> Their founder is Chinese, and his daughter is now president. They work in a world where the private-sector research labs, it's almost like a network. They will find people from all over the place, but I think it's just through their contacts. . . . So they certainly look beyond the Canadian borders and they find people from all over the place. There are people from the University of Toronto, but other ones are coming directly from China, or other Eastern European countries, or even the US. One guy was from Michigan State.

Information was not available concerning which specific immigration streams are being used by new hires to AECL. It is likely that many are coming through the Federal Skilled Worker Program as well as the newer Canadian Experience Class (which helps international students transition into permanent residency), since these programs target highly-educated individuals. Since the Ontario PNP has not had the breadth or significance as the PNPs have had in other provinces, it may play less of a role at this time.

The immigrant population in Deep River and the surrounding region has also expanded as economic immigrants bring their families to join them. Research in the region by the Local

Immigration Partnership of Renfrew and Lanark (2012) has also revealed that international marriages are relatively common in the area.

Thus, recruitment for the dominant knowledge economy in Deep River occurs through Canadian post-secondary institutions and global industry networks. The well-established nature of the nuclear research industry has resulted in a consistent level of affluence over time. As immigration source countries have shifted in Canada, diversity in the community has continually increased. Today, there is a very high level of ethnocultural diversity in Deep River, givenits size.

5.2.3 The County of Elgin, Ontario

FIGURE 15: THE COUNTY OF ELGIN AND SURROUNDING AREA
SOURCE: GEODEPOT.STATCAN.CA/, AUTHOR

Community Background

The County of Elgin is located in southwestern Ontario, stretching along the north shore of Lake Ontario (Figure 15). The County is comprised of seven constituent municipalities: the Town of Aylmer, the the Municipality of Bayham, the Municipality of Central Elgin, the Municipality of Dutton/Dunwich, the Township of Malahide, the Township of Southwold and the Municipality of West Elgin. The City of St. Thomas is also located in the County; however, it has a separate municipal government. Including St. Thomas, the County has a population of 87,461 residents (StatsCan, 2012). Several of Elgin's constituent municipalities have interesting immigration dynamics, so the unit of analysis for this case study is the County as a whole.

The northern part of the County, including the City of St. Thomas, is only 32 kilometres (a 20-minute drive) from London, an important second tier city in Ontario (also shown in Figure 15). It is quite common for individuals to live in the County of Elgin and work in London. The

high number of Elgin residents employed in the health-care sector, for example, is a result of this commuting pattern.

The manufacturing and agricultural industries, particularly automotive manufacturing, have been the dominant economic activities in Elgin County: before the economic recession of 2008, 21 percent of residents were employed in the manufacturing sector (County of Elgin, 2011). However, Ontario, and in particular southwestern Ontario and Elgin County, were hit devastatingly hard by the recession. The closure of the Ford assembly plant in St Thomas caused the loss of approximately 1,800 jobs alone; in total, the area lost approximately 6,000 jobs. The unemployment rate in the County jumped from 6.5 percent to approximately 11 percent after that and other closures (County of Elgin, 2011). While there has been an improvement in this rate recently, the situation remains difficult. For this reason, the County is taking steps to diversify its economy and expand its investment in the creative sector.

Partly because of the dominance of agricultural and manufacturing work in Elgin, average education levels in the County are lower than regional and provincial levels (County of Elgin, 2011). Indeed, while 20.5 percent of Ontario residents aged 15 and over had a university certificate, diploma or degree in 2006, only 8.7 percent of Elgin residents did (StatsCan, 2007a). These demographic patterns are in line with nation-wide observations in general (Alasia & Magnusson, 2005).

In the County of Elgin, 13.2 percent of residents (11,155 individuals) are immigrants, one-quarter of whom have arrived since 1991. There are important variations in immigration levels across the County, however: municipalities in east Elgin – namely the Town of Aylmer, the Municipality of Bayham and the Township of Malahide – have a disproportionately high share of immigrants, at approximately 20 percent of their populations. Across the County, Central and South America are the most dominant sources, making up 30 percent of the immigrant population (StatsCan, 2007b).

Immigrant Recruitment

The County of Elgin's immigrant recruitment phenomena are very similar to those in the Morris area. Like south central Manitoba, east Elgin is an important site of contemporary Mennonite migration, as Mennonites returning from other parts of the world found employment in the local agricultural industry, particularly after the federal government's "delayed registration" policy in the late 1970s. Mennonites are now present in many types of employment in the community. Anecdotal information provided by one respondent indicated that the total Mennonite population in the area is approximately 6,000-7,000 people. The 2006 Census indicated the presence of 3,360 immigrants from Central America and 775 from Eastern Europe (StatsCan, 2007b). With additional growth since 2006 and the inclusion of the Canadian-born Mennonite population, this figure is probably accurate.

Manufacturing sector-driven recruitment is also present, although due to the high unemployment levels in the area, not to the extent that it is in Morris. A respondent at the local workforce development board explained:

> On the one hand, we know that the economy is turning around, and we know that employers are going to start hiring again. But we do know, as well, that we don't have everybody that was working in 2008 back to work. And they're anxious to be back to work. So from a municipal standpoint it's a bit of a hard sell to say, 'Now we're going to take the tax dollars from the people who are currently working and go out and tell more people they should come here.' And people kind of question some of the logic behind that, and rightfully so, because in the short term it doesn't seem like a logical thing they should be doing. But, certainly in the long term it is something that is going to need to be addressed.

As this interviewee suggested, some firms in the area did survive the recession and are doing well, and some have been hiring foreign workers. These initiatives may, in part, be due to the relatively low educational levels in the area, as some firms may be unable to find the kind of skilled employees they require. This kind of recruitment takes place at the level of the individual firm and is not part of any overall strategy. Rather, it is simply part of "doing business," as the same community expert reflected:

> As social-service organisations, we get together and say 'We've really got to go out and tell people we should start hiring foreign-trained professionals.' Then we get [business] people in the room and they say, 'Well, come down to my office and take a look.' They're busy doing business.

Though there is no formal strategy, municipalities in the area have taken steps to help employers recruit immigrant workers by creating a program called "Global Experience @ Work." Through this program, they provide employers with access to information about how to recruit foreign labour. The Local Immigration Partnership Program is also looking at ways to connect agricultural employers with tools for international recruitment (St. Thomas-Elgin Local Immigration Partnership [LIP], n.d.).

A third recruitment dynamic is led by municipalities in Elgin that are developing new policies and programs to attract immigrant entrepreneurs. New enterprises may help to counteract outmigration and revive main streets. In addition, this is an attractive strategy because it is an easier "sell" to the public: entrepreneurs are not perceived as "taking the locals' jobs" in the way that employees of larger firms might be.

In Elgin, the first step in this policy development process has been to identify the need in an economic development plan; this is as far as the process has gone to date. Ultimately, local municipalities may use a combination of marketing and tax incentives to attract immigrant (or Canadian) investors. These municipalities do not necessarily have to focus their attraction strategies on potential investors overseas: nearby cities, where immigrants are already living, can be a source of newcomers. In Elgin this means looking to the second-tier City of London.

The role of the Ontario PNP in facilitating immigrant attraction to the County of Elgin is minimal, given the low impact of this program in the province overall. According to staff at the Thomas-Elgin Local Immigration Partnership, the vast majority of Low-German speaking Mennonite immigrants (95%) are coming through federal family class immigration streams.

Thus, the County of Elgin is the site of at least three immigrant attraction dynamics; recruitment is driven by a cultural community, the manufacturing sector and immigrant entrepreneurship. The latter two are, to date, not as impactful as the former, but will likely continue to grow if recently established local municipal strategies are successful.

5.2.4 Banff, Alberta

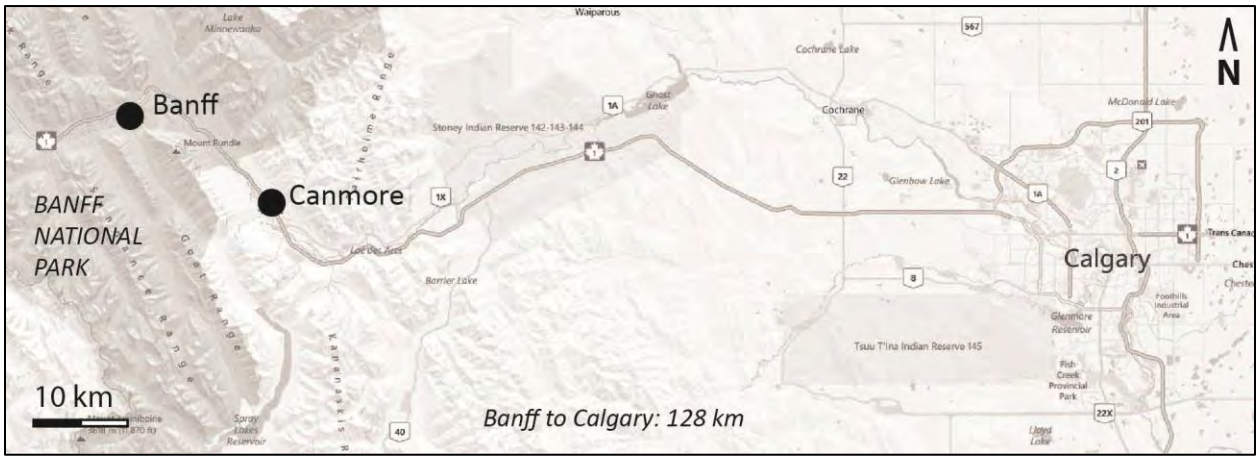

FIGURE 16: THE TOWN OF BANFF AND SURROUNDING AREA
SOURCE: WWW.BING.COM/MAPS/, AUTHOR

Community Background

The Town of Banff is situated within the boundaries of Banff National Park, on the slopes of the Rocky Mountains near the western border of Alberta (Figure 16). Banff is an internationally-renowned tourist site, providing many recreational and cultural opportunities for visitors. The permanent population is 7,584 (StatsCan, 2012).

Banff's location within a National Park puts it in a unique situation in terms of growth and development, as the municipality is unable to expand its boundaries. Furthermore, the town is subject to a "need to reside" policy, which stipulates that individuals may only live in Banff if they: are employed or own a business in Banff, have retired from such a position, are a full-time student in Banff, or are a spouse or dependent of someone who qualifies (Town of Banff, 2010). As a result the population of Banff is disproportionately young and employed. The median age in the community is 32.1 years, lower than the Alberta median of 36 years. The unemployment rate in 2006 was 1.6 percent, again, much lower than Alberta's rate of 4.6 percent. The business and retail sectors are the largest employers. These development restrictions also affect the cost of living in Banff: in 2006, average monthly rents were $931, compared to an average of $754 across Alberta (StatsCan, 2007a).

Twenty-four kilometres away from Banff on the road leading to Calgary sits the Town of Canmore, home to 12,288 residents (StatsCan, 2012). While Canmore is also close to the national park, it is not subject to the same development restrictions as Banff. Canmore is not considered within the unit of analysis for this case study, but it has important economic and demographic relationships to Banff that will be discussed. Calgary is 128 kilometres away from Banff.

FIGURE 17: THE BANFF SETTLEMENT AREA WITHIN THE NATIONAL PARK
SOURCE: AUTHOR

Sixteen percent of Banff's population, or 1,070 individuals, were immigrants in 2006 (StatsCan, 2007b). Almost half of these individuals arrived after 1991, and community experts have stated that the number of immigrants has risen dramatically since the 2006 Census. Banff's new Canadians come from a range of backgrounds. Immigrants from non-traditional source countries make up 57.5 percent of the immigrant population and 9.4 percent of the community population overall. East and Southeast Asia are the most important origins, reflecting the large Japanese, Filipino and Indian populations in the community (StatsCan, 2007b). There is a large temporary foreign worker population in Banff, although statistics for this population are not readily available. Canmore did not feature among the 37 selected communities with significant non-traditional source country immigration.

Immigrant Recruitment

In the 1990s, the dominant immigrant attraction dynamic to Banff was entrepreneurial recruitment. During this decade, many Japanese entrepreneurs settled in Banff, starting many businesses and bringing relatively large sums of investment dollars with them. Others came through the federal skilled worker program. Today, the Japanese community is well-established within the Town, their presence illustrated by changes in the community fabric such as an increased number of sushi restaurants and a Japanese section in the library.

Beyond entrepreneur attraction, Banff is a key example of the effect that a large, dominant tourism sector has on immigration in a small community. There is a surplus of low-wage, semi-skilled jobs, particularly in the hospitality sector. In the past, these positions had been filled almost entirely through temporary labour, mostly by young Canadian workers or foreign workers from Western countries who came through the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and on working holiday visas. This system provided a unique opportunity for young people from Canada and abroad to enjoy skiing and other activities while earning a living in Banff. However, it posed a number of challenges for employers, who constantly had to re-train workers, and for the municipality, which sometimes struggled to moderate the social habits of the young workers.

The approach to addressing the labour shortage has shifted dramatically with the introduction of the Alberta PNP in 2007 and the federal Canadian Experience Class in 2008. These policies provide an avenue for temporary foreign workers in skilled and semi-skilled positions to obtain permanent residency after a given length of temporary work (typically two to three years). These policies thus opened the door to a new kind of worker: individuals, largely from the Philippines and India, seeking to move permanently to Canada with their families. Under the Alberta PNP, skilled workers can bring their families to join them right away, while semi-skilled workers can do so once they gain their permanent residency. These policies have caused permanent immigration rates to Banff especially from the Philippines and India to skyrocket in recent years. These workers usually come to Canada to with the goal of accessing permanent immigration for themselves and their families. To do so, enter into semi-skilled jobs even though many are highly educated in their countries of origin. These immigrants face income challenges (particularly once they bring their family) that many members of the more-established Japanese community did not face upon arrival. The largest employers, such as hotels, are able to easily recruit these workers through their global networks. Other employers rely on third party recruitment agencies to help them find and sponsor new employees. According to an immigration service worker in Banff:

> It used to be that Banff was – it still is to a certain degree – [marked by] this transitory nature of university students or those that have graduated from high school coming in for a few months, working, and moving on – experiencing Banff and the national parks, and working in the service industry. And so there's always been a tendency to spend an awful lot of time training employees. Now with the foreign workers that are here year after year, they're transitioning into permanent residency, and they're tending to stay because they've built the community ties. Employers are actually being able to move on with other things like actual development, and not spend all their time training. . . . It's brought a level of incredible service into Banff that we haven't been able to provide in the past. . . . We've got really dedicated, well-educated, motivated leaders now in the workforce with our temporary foreign workers really leading the way and providing some consistency in the community.

Thus, employers have found that these new international recruits form a much more stable, reliable workforce than the young workers of the recent past.

Banff's immigrant attraction dynamics are thus dominated by the influence of the tourism sector, which attracts a large volume of temporary foreign workers. Because of new policy avenues, these new recruits are increasingly following paths to permanent residency, and are more likely to bring their family with them. The social and commercial composition of Banff has also been impacted by the attraction of immigrant entrepreneurs, particularly from Japan during the 1990s.

5.2.5 Whistler and the Squamish-Pemberton Corridor, British Columbia

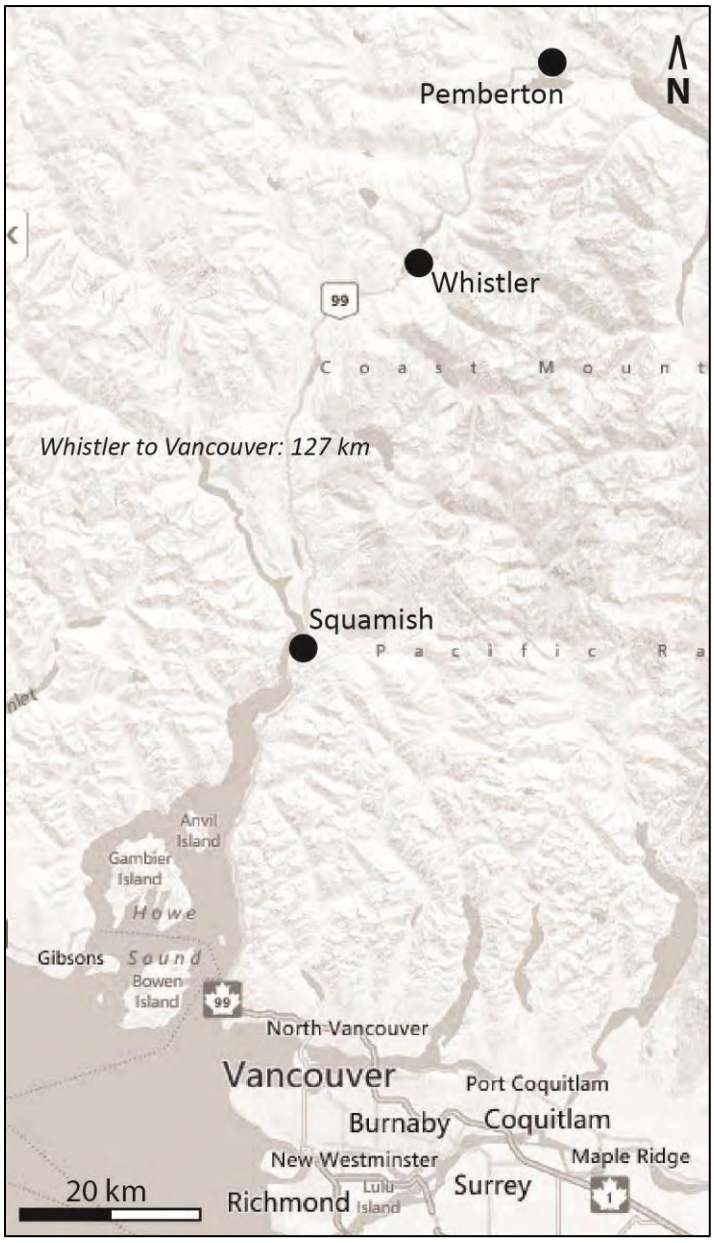

FIGURE 18: WHISTLER, SQUAMISH, PEMBERTON AND THE SURROUNDING AREA
SOURCE: WWW.BING.COM/MAPS/, AUTHOR

Community Background

The Resort Municipality of Whistler is located 127 kilometres (a two-hour drive) north of Vancouver (Figure 18). Like Banff, it is an internationally-renowned tourist destination. Whistler-Blackcomb, the company that owns the ski hill, is the dominant economic force within the community. The permanent population of Whistler is 9,824 (StatsCan, 2012); however, the actual number of people living in Whistler is much larger due to tourists and temporary labour, especially during the bimodal peaks of its tourist seasons (winter and summer). Due to its high

rates of growth in recent years, construction has also been a key source of employment in Whistler, particularly during the off-season.

Whistler has important economic relationships with the nearby communities of Squamish, to the southwest, and Pemberton, to the southeast, with populations of 17,158 and 2,369, respectively (StatsCan, 2007a). Many people live in Squamish or Pemberton and work in Whistler in order to overcome the prohibitive cost of housing in Whistler: average monthly rents in Whistler are $1051, compared to $801 in Squamish, $812 in Pemberton and $752 across British Columbia (StatsCan, 2007a). Approximately one person in every household in Pemberton drives to Whistler for work. Yet, each of these communities also has its own local economy. Squamish has a diverse set of employment opportunities in the knowledge sector as well as marine-based and tourism-based economies, and is experiencing rapid population growth. Squamish is classified as a Census Agglomeration rather than a rural and small-town area, so it did not feature from within the 37 selected communities. However, its important connection to Whistler led to its inclusion in the study. Pemberton was a member of the 37 selected communities. Pemberton is a more rural location. Unlike Whistler, the local economy includes forestry and agriculture components. There is also mining exploration underway nearby.

Just outside of Pemberton in Mount Currie is the Lil'wat Nation. This active First Nations community has created a number of programs and partnerships within Pemberton and abroad. The presence of this group has helped to broaden the way that diversity is understood by residents in Pemberton and the surrounding area.

Whistler has witnessed a number of changes as a result of its role in hosting the 2010 Winter Olympic Games, such as an increased international popularity, a greater diversity of tourists, and the expansion and improvement of the Sea-to-Sky highway that links Pemberton, Whistler, Squamish and Vancouver. This route has changed tourism and employment relationships in these communities: it is now possible, for example, for individuals to live in Squamish and work in Vancouver, where housing costs are extremely high.

FIGURE 19: THE RESORT VILLAGE IN WHISTLER (R), STREETSCAPE IN SQUAMISH (L)
SOURCES: WWW.WHISTLER-PROPERTY.INFO/, PRICETAGS.WORDPRESS.COM

Immigration numbers and levels of diversity are high in Squamish, Whistler and Pemberton, home to 21.1 percent, 15.7 percent and 16.4 percent immigrants from 21, 16 and 13 geographical regions, respectively (StatsCan, 2007b). Yet the composition of this diversity is quite different among these communities. In Whistler, the majority of immigrants are individuals from the United Kingdom and other traditional source countries, who are generally a high-income or high-asset population, given that they can afford housing there. Pemberton's immigrants, too, are mostly from traditional areas, again, with the United Kingdom being the largest group. Historically, Pemberton has welcomed agricultural immigrants, including from Holland, although their settlement patterns are closely tied to Whistler today. In Squamish, non-traditional source country immigration is much more prominent: these groups make up half of the immigrant population and 11.0 percent of the community population overall. One-third of all immigrants in Squamish come from India (StatsCan, 2007b).

Immigrant Recruitment

The drivers of immigration in Whistler are very comparable to those in Banff. Initially, a period of investment and settlement by immigrants from Europe and Japan generated an established population of high-asset individuals as property and business owners. These immigrants are drawn to Whistler for the natural amenities and lifestyle it offers.

As in Banff, the tourism sector is the dominant force attracting temporary and, more recently, permanent labour to Whistler. The tourism industry is a dominant force for immigration in British Columbia on the whole: an estimated 50,000 new jobs will be created in the British Columbia tourism sector over the next ten years. Currently, 32.2 percent of tourism workers in the province were not born in Canada, according to a member of Go2, a province-wide tourism support organisation. While this industry used to rely heavily on interprovincial Canadian migration, much of this labour force has been directed toward the booming oil sector in other western provinces, which pays higher wages.

The Working Holiday Visa program (now termed "International Experience Canada") has played a significant role in immigration to Whistler. In particular, advocacy by the Whistler Chamber of Commerce in 2006 encouraged the federal government to extend the Australian Working Holiday Visa from one year (as it is for workers from all other countries) to two years, and it can be renewed many times. This change has resulted in an especially large contingent of Australians in the community. It is not uncommon for individuals on this type of visa to eventually marry in Canada and thus become permanent residents.

Tourism employers in Whistler support and indeed push for the diversification of their labourers as it brings them business benefits. In fact, employers in the community are voicing a desire to extend the special policies for Australian Holiday Working Visas to other countries, possibly including the United Kingdom, New Zealand, the Czech Republic, Korea and Japan. Following the 2010 Winter Games, they are seeing more tourists from India, China, Hong Kong, and elsewhere, and it is important to be able to provide culturally-appropriate hospitality services. As described by a member of the local Chamber of Commerce:

> Because we are attracting many different cultures, the question is: are we really able to service them properly? Perhaps we're lacking in languages, perhaps we're lacking in food and beverage,

> and their needs. And I think as a community we're probably limited in that right now, because we really do cater to the guest who speaks English and or French. . . . Many of our members do prefer to hire workers from overseas because they have language skills, they have travel experiences, and many of them are highly qualified individuals who just happen to be travelling. Our members like to employ that type of individual because it adds to the guest experience at the front line.

Currently, the largest employers, such as the hotel chains, are leading the recruitment process via their global networks. Smaller employers, including the construction industry, tend to "piggyback" off of this recruitment and it is not uncommon for a hotel worker to work a second or third job with another employer. More recently, as in Alberta, the British Columbia PNP (through its Strategic Occupations Stream) has provided an avenue for temporary foreign workers in skilled and semi-skilled positions to obtain permanent residency after a period of time. Employment in the tourism sector in Whistler has been transformed by this policy, as immigrants seeking permanent residency become more common among the workforce. As in Banff, employers are expressing satisfaction with the more long-term, committed nature of the labourers they are recruiting through these new streams. A member of the local Chamber of Commerce also emphasized the positive impact that this stability has on the local community:

> If the employer has only to recruit every two years, then that's a cost saving, it's a time saving. You really are investing in the individual, and hopefully that individual will decide to make Canada their home, in which case they decide to go into the permanent residency process. Then you have a long-term employee, you have a long-term community member. So then you're really beginning to build community, as opposed to dealing with recruitment on an annual basis, which is very temporary.

Yet, unlike in Banff, where the vast majority of these individuals settle within the community, immigrants working in Whistler often do not live there. Instead, they settle in Squamish, or sometimes Pemberton, where housing is more affordable and where life less oriented toward tourism. This settlement pattern has been enabled by daily regional busses that run between Squamish, Whistler and Pemberton. Unfortunately, the Squamish-Whistler bus was eliminated in September of 2011, as it was not profitable to maintain. However, it is safe to assume that the existence of this bus in the years prior influenced settlement patterns.

Another key difference between Banff and Whistler is that Whistler is not subject to development restrictions or a "need-to-reside" policy that restricts residency to individuals with employment in the municipality. This difference means that while housing is still extremely expensive in Whistler, there have been opportunities to construct new units order to meet some of the demand. The 2010 Olympic Athlete's Village has been converted to both market-oriented and affordable housing, which has eased development pressure in Whistler and the surrounding communities to a degree. The ability to build housing in Whistler also explains the prominence of the construction industry as an employer.

In summary, as in Banff, entrepreneurship and the tourism sector are the main immigrant attracting dynamics present in Whistler. These phenomena have spillover impacts on the nearby communities of Squamish and Pemberton.

5.2.6 Merritt, British Columbia

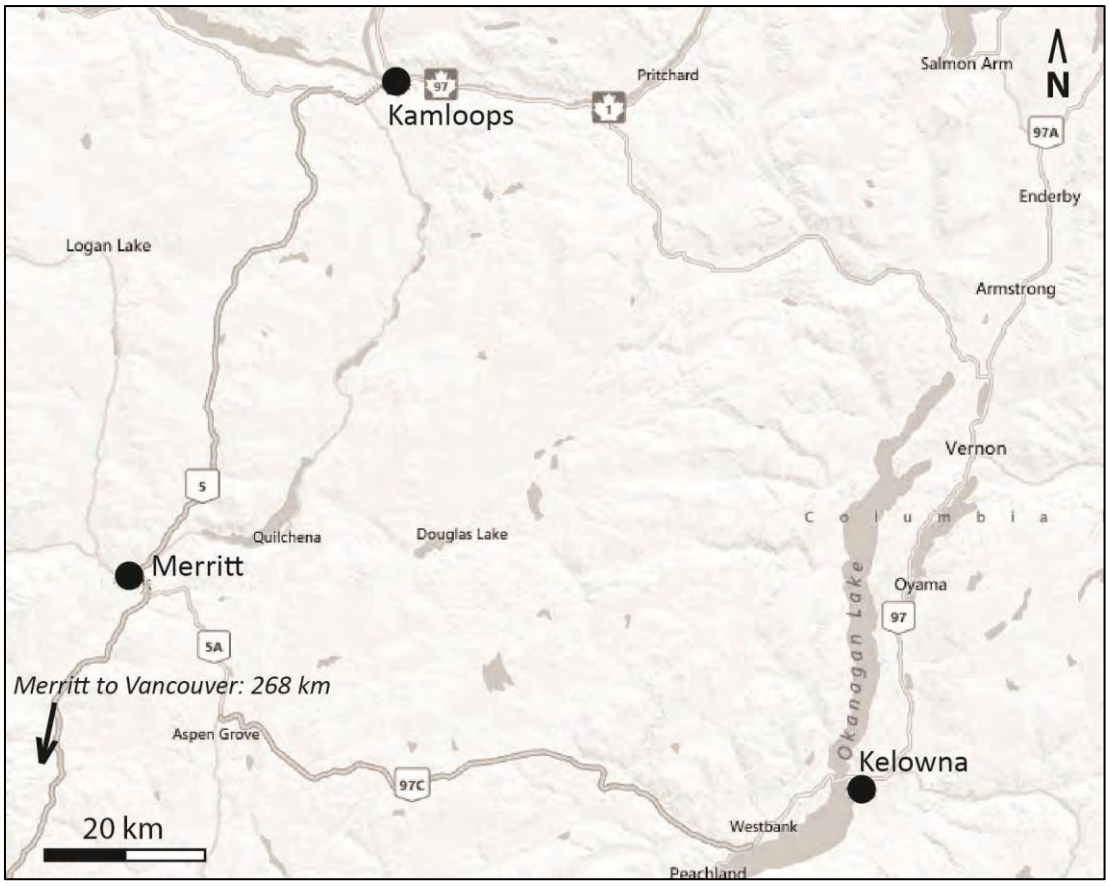

FIGURE 20: THE CITY OF MERRITT AND SURROUNDING AREA
SOURCE: WWW.BING.COM/MAPS/, AUTHOR

Community Background

The City of Merritt is located in the heart of the Nicola Valley in the southern British Columbia interior. It sits at the junction of several regional roads and the Coquihalla highway, 128 kilometres from Kelowna, to the southeast, 87 kilometres from Kamloops, to the northeast (Figure 20). Its population is 7,113 (StatsCan, 2012).

When the Coquihalla highway was completed in 1990, it spurred significant economic and demographic growth in Merritt. Unlike the other case-study communities in the West, Merritt's economy is not based on tourism, but rather on occupations in transport and equipment operation, primary industries and manufacturing (StatsCan, 2007a). Agriculture (mostly ranching) and forestry are dominant, along with copper mining and the processing of forestry products (City of Merritt, n.d.). Employment in Merritt is relatively self-contained: two-thirds of residents work within the Census Subdivision where they live, compared to only one-third of people province-wide (StatsCan, 2007a).

In 2006, 12.8 percent of Merritt's population were immigrants. One-third of these individuals are originally from India – a community of approximately 290 individuals in Merritt –

while others were from other areas in East Asia as well as the United Kingdom (StatsCan, 2007b). The vast majority of immigrants (79.4 percent) arrived in Canada prior to 1991 (StatsCan, 2007a).

FIGURE 21: MERRITT FROM A VIEWPOINT (L), THE MERRITT VISITOR'S CENTRE (R)
SOURCES: CITY OF MERRITT, WWW.BRITISHCOLUMBIA.COM

Immigrant Recruitment

The entrepreneurship dynamic is dominant in Merritt. Many Indian immigrants have come to Merritt in business roles, similar to the Japanese communities in Banff and Whistler. The presence of an active Sikh society in Merritt is an indicator that the community has become well-established. These entrepreneurs tend to run commercial and retail businesses, ranging from furniture stores and restaurants, to hotels and trucking agencies. A key driver of this process is the British Columbia PNP Business Immigrants Stream, which has a minimum net worth requirement for entry. The net-worth requirement is twice as much within the Vancouver and the Abbotsford Metropolitan Areas, where it is $800,000, rather than beyond it, where it is $400,000 (Welcome BC, n.d.). This important detail encourages these entrepreneurs to settle in regional areas. Merritt's strategic location vis-à-vis the provincial road network makes it an attractive location for such entrepreneurs. Family-class and community-driven attraction is also impactful in Merritt, especially as the Indian community becomes more established.

The City of Merritt does not have any policies directly encouraging immigration; however, it has taken economic development actions to attract new business in general. In 2012, Council adopted a bylaw to create a tax incentive for both new businesses and expansions to existing businesses, whereby municipal taxation is phased in over a four-year period (Swartzburg, 2012). The city has also used promotion tools to market Merritt, according to a municipal staff member, "as an investment centre, a lifestyle choice for people, and a place to do business and recreate." Furthermore, housing costs in Merritt are quite reasonable compared to the larger nearby centres of Kamloops and Kelowna, where housing costs have posed a massive challenge for immigrants (Teixera, 2011). This is another source of newcomer attraction.

Some other forms of government assistance are available for new and growing businesses in small communities throughout British Columbia and across Canada. One interesting example is the Community Futures network. Community Futures organisations are

funded by the federal government and have offices across Canada, with over 30 in British Columbia. They provide loans to small businesses, generally in the range of $5,000 to $150,000, to help them get started or expand. Interestingly, however, according to a manager at the local Community Futures office, this opportunity is not often used by immigrant entrepreneurs even in British Columbia where immigrant-run businesses are quite common. He hypothesized that this is due in part to cultural approaches to investment: immigrant entrepreneurs are more likely to borrow funds from family and friends than from banks or alternative institutions. A municipal staff person in Merritt also noted the different perspectives that some immigrant entrepreneurs bring, explaining that they tend to promote a more "collective" atmosphere within the business community. The distinct approaches of immigrant investors can have an important impact on local communities and of the success of programs to support them.

In summary, entrepreneurial attraction is primarily driving immigration to Merritt. This is facilitated through municipal incentives for businesses. As this process continues, the attraction of cultural communities will play an increasing role.

5.3 Toward a Typology of Small-Community Immigrant Attraction

From the very different immigrant attraction dynamics present in the case studies described above, a typology of these dynamics can be constructed. By understanding the type of employees targeted and the nature of diversity that results from these different dynamics, local actors involved in crafting immigrant recruitment strategies can more proactively take the steps necessary to make their community more welcoming. Table 7 summarises these dynamics.

TABLE 7: A TYPOLOGY OF SMALL-COMMUNITY IMMIGRANT ATTRACTION DYNAMICS

	Communities where present	Immigrant type targeted	Recruitment strategy	Nature of diversity resulting
Manufacturing sector	Morris, MB County of Elgin, ON	Untrained or semi-skilled Engineers Welders	Direct overseas outreach Connect to nearby cities Referrals from existing employees	Presence of immigrants from fewer origins simplifies training and support needs
Tourism sector	Banff, AB Whistler, BC	Untrained or semi-skilled Temporary foreign workers Holiday visa programs	Global networks (hotel chains) Piggybacking by small employers	Diverse origins actively sought in order to serve diverse tourists
Knowledge economy	Deep River, ON	Highly educated	Global industry networks Canadian post-secondary institutions (job fairs)	Diversity of origins results but is not intended
Entrepreneurship	County of Elgin, ON Banff, AB Whistler, BC Merritt, BC	High levels of assets	Tax incentives for business start-ups/expansion Marketing of community lifestyle Typically led by municipality	Few origins result due to cultural networks among immigrant entrepreneurs
Cultural communities	Morris, MB County of Elgin, ON	Predominantly family class streams	Social relationships Word-of-mouth	Few origins result due to cultural networks

There are certainly other dynamics that exist in small communities in other regions of Canada that have not been addressed in this paper. For example, the oil and gas industry, particularly in the western provinces, is a strong force for the recruitment of foreign workers, often on a temporary basis. The same is true of northern mining employers. However, as with tourism sectors in the west, policy changes have opened up new avenues for temporary workers to obtain permanent residency and this is changing the shape of many remote resource-oriented communities. But, since these attraction phenomena are quite recent, such communities were not identified by the selection process used in this paper because it involved the use of 2006 Census data.

Another dynamic not examined by this research is attraction by the health sector. As the Canadian population continues to age, increasing strain is being placed on the healthcare system across the country. Currently, targeted programs led by professional regulatory organisations have facilitated some health sector-related immigration. However, immigrants working in this sector are distributed throughout institutions across the rural and urban landscape; as a result, they do not appear in large groups within communities as do those coming for other occupations.

In future research, therefore, this typology could be expanded to include these and other immigrant attraction dynamics.

6 ANALYSIS: CHALLENGES, RESPONSES, AND LOCAL ACTORS

In this chapter, the case-study communities are cross-analysed to identify themes and commonalities in the challenges resulting from immigrant attraction. These challenges as well as the resulting local responses are reviewed and summarised in light of the research questions.

6.1 Local Challenges

Small communities wishing to welcome and retain immigrants face a double challenge. Not only must they be concerned with their ability to provide for the particular cultural needs of newcomers from different backgrounds, but most are also struggling to retain their long-term population in the first place. Trends of rural outmigration, especially of young people, have been well underway for quite some time (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008; Reimer, 2002), as discussed in Section 3.3.1.

A key question asked of interview subjects was: "What are some of the challenges that have arisen in your community as a result of the arrival of new immigrants?" From an exploration of the six case-study communities, seven major challenges emerged:

- The need to provide settlement and long-term services for new residents
- A lack of affordable and appropriate housing
- Inadequate transportation systems
- A poor supply of suitable employment for dependants and career advancement
- A lack of cultural amenities
- New diversity in the schools
- Local community tolerance

Some of these challenges are faced by all members of the community – not just immigrants – but they can be compounded for newcomers depending on their particular status, experience and access to resources. The following sections describe each of the challenges in detail and provide examples of responses that have been taken at the local level by municipalities, employers and community members.

6.1.1 Initial and Long-Term Settlement Services and Training

Challenge

Initial settlement assistance and orientation is one of the most immediate needs of immigrants upon their arrival to a new community. Faced with a completely new context, newcomers often need help finding housing, navigating the banking system, and becoming oriented within the town and the local schools (St. Thomas-Elgin LIP, n.d.).

Beyond these initial requirements, many immigrants require other kinds of support on the medium to long term. Language training can be crucial, particularly for semi-skilled economic migrants who may come with less-developed language abilities. These workers may also require job training, depending on the situation in which they were hired.

Spouses and family members tend to have additional service needs since they often come to a new community with lower levels of language and cultural knowledge, and without having a guarantee of employment – this theme that emerged often throughout the interviews across nearly all case-study communities. Family members and dependants may require language training, skills development or assistance seeking employment or enrolling in further education. Particularly if they are not working, these individuals may be in need of opportunities to meet and interact with others in the community to prevent social isolation.

Even where settlement services exist, they may face challenges in reaching out to newcomers in the community. A major barrier can be a lack of knowledge among community leaders and newcomers about the kinds of services available, and how to access them (St. Thomas-Elgin LIP, n.d.; LIP Renfrew and Lanark, 2012). Moreover, some regional settlement agencies have very large, dispersed catchment areas and are unable to provide complete coverage. This was the case in South-Central Manitoba, for example.

Response

Immigrant service infrastructure varies significantly among the case-study communities. Some have comprehensive immigrant-service programming, while others rely more on existing "mainstream" services and individual interactions to meet the needs of newcomers.

Immigrant-settlement services remain under the jurisdiction of the federal (and some provincial) governments. Therefore, these upper government levels play the leading role in setting up and funding immigrant services. In the case-study communities where formal services exist, they most commonly provide initial settlement needs and language training. Formal settlement services usually have regional catchment areas, so the community of study was not the only community served by the organisation. The two Ontario case studies fall within a Local Immigration Partnership area. Table 8 illustrates the different kinds of services and programs in place.

Though there are many existing services in the case-study communities, research has shown that they are not always accessible to or used by newcomers for a variety of reasons (St. Thomas-Elgin LIP, n.d.; LIP Renfrew and Lanark, 2012). Where settlement services are absent, unknown, or lacking resources, initial settlement assistance generally happens on a one-on-one basis with municipal staff instead. This adds an important personal element to welcoming. However, a lack of institutional capacity can limit such initiatives: municipal staff are generally short on resources, time, and the necessary training to provide this service in a consistent manner. One staff member at the Town of Morris reflected on this challenge:

> There's so much that's done purely on a volunteer basis which never gets tracked or recorded anywhere. The number of hours those people put in is amazing. [But] this one German family landed here about 30 or 35 months ago. I just recall that there were times when there was just nobody there to do anything. So one afternoon I basically left the office and got in my car and went and picked them up. And we had to find winter clothing for them, because they arrived here like January 1. I had to actually go into Winnipeg with them to the large centre because some of those clothing are not available here. We need to do a better job of having people available to do that. But again: one of the challenges of a small community.

TABLE 8: IMMIGRANT SERVICES AND PROGRAMS IN THE CASE-STUDY COMMUNITIES

Community	Organisation	Services/Role	Group Served	Lead Funding Source
Morris and area, MB	South Central Settlement and Employment Services	- initial settlement services - interpretation - area resource connections - education for children and adults - employment assistance - cultural training - organising community events	Temporary workers and permanent residents	Provincial
	Services offered by manufacturing firm	- shuttle bus to Winnipeg - housing assistance - on-site language training - production of "manufacturing dictionaries" and other resources - welding school	Employees at firm	Employer (portion of language services funded by province)
Deep River, ON	Local Immigration Partnership of Renfrew and Lanark	- strategic planning for immigrant attraction, support and retention - capacity building of local organisations	All community members and organisations	Federal
County of Elgin, ON	St. Thomas-Elgin Local Immigration Partnership	- strategic planning for immigrant attraction, support and retention - capacity building of local organisations	All community members and organisations	Federal
	Mennonite Community Services	- newcomer settlement - employment assistance - transportation - interpretation - family education - Low German radio station - thrift shop	Newcomers	Provincial and Federal
	YWCA St Thomas-Elgin Immigrant Services	- initial settlement services - language classes - networking circle - referral to other resources - assistance with immigration process - cross-cultural training and diversity issues	New immigrants, government assisted refugees	Federal
Whistler, BC	Squamish Immigrant Settlement Service	- connections to resources - interpretation - referral to training programs - women's health program - education and workshops - immigration assistance	New immigrants and refugees	Provincial
Banff, AB	Town of Banff Family Community Support Services and Calgary Christian Immigrant Services (partnership)	- immigration assistance - workshops for temporary foreign workers	Temporary foreign workers	Alberta Ministry of Employment and Immigration
	Settlement Services in the Bow Valley (housed at Town of Banff Family Community Support Services)	- initial settlement services - school support (students and parents) - immigration assistance - referral to community services - language classes - personal coaching - support to local agencies and organisations	Immigrants who are permanent residents and local organisations	Citizenship and Immigration Canada
Merritt, BC	None discovered in research			

SOURCE: AUTHOR, BASED ON INTERVIEW FINDINGS AND SERVICE ORGANISATION WEBSITES

Sometimes members of the local community respond to the need for settlement support. For example, in Morris, a volunteer-settlement network has emerged, where a steering person calls upon local helpers when a new family arrives in town. In other cases ethnocultural communities also step in to help new arrivals. For example, the Chinese community in Deep River has established a local Chinese Association that, in addition to arranging community events, Chinese lessons and other activities, works to welcome new Chinese immigrants to Deep River. They do this by connecting them with housing opportunities, information and local support networks. Community-driven immigrant services are an important part of the solution to settlement challenges, but they are reliant on volunteers and word-of-mouth.

The most proactive example of service delivery is Banff. The municipality's Family and Community Support Services (FCSS) department holds a consultation with agencies, non-profits and individuals providing support and services to the Banff community three times per year. At these meetings, the municipality gathers feedback about how it can better facilitate service provision in the town. From this process, it was identified that settlement support – for both temporary foreign workers and those who had transitioned into permanent residency – was lacking in the community. As a result, municipal staff pursued and obtained funding to set up two in-house settlement service programs, as shown in Table 8. These programs provide services for immigrants before and after gaining permanent residency, thus providing continuous support over an immigrant's lifetime in Canada. The most unique feature of Banff's programming is that it is overseen from *within* the municipality, giving settlement staff direct access to decision-makers. In reference to this direct access, an immigration settlement worker at the municipality said the following:

> I don't know if that would happen in many other municipalities if the settlement program wasn't housed out of this department, because then the organisation would have to come convince the community services department, convince Town Council, convince the entire municipality – planning and all that – that it is a need, that it is of worth. . . . All of our coworkers are on board to say, 'Yes, this is certainly a need, and how can we change our programs to accommodate the changing face in the community?'

Currently, the staff at the FCSS are also pursuing funding to set up a Local Immigration Partnership as the first wave of the LIPS is being rolled out in the West. This would allow them to undertake long-term strategic planning for immigrant welcoming in the community.

Some employers have become directly involved in the provision of services to their workers. The manufacturing firm in Morris has provided language training, a shuttle bus service to and from Winnipeg, and a welding school. Funding for the services comes largely from the company itself, though workers are expected to commit some time and money (50 percent of the time spent on language training is paid; a fee is charged for the use of the shuttle bus; and no time spent in the welding school is paid, though opportunities for advancement result). Local actors in Morris found creative opportunities for collaboration by bringing in staff from the local settlement service agency to run some of the workplace training programs.

Immigrants' service needs are wide-ranging. The case studies have demonstrated that there is a role for the municipality, the community and employers to play in service provision.

However, the federal and provincial governments remain the primary source of funding and programming for service organisations. Thus, intergovernmental coordination is a key determinant in establishing immigrant services.

6.1.2 Affordable and Appropriate Housing

Challenge

The housing of newcomers poses a significant barrier to immigrant settlement in the majority of the case studies. The availability of small-unit rental housing is a particular problem, as small communities are generally dominated by single family housing. Having an appropriate, affordable place to live is crucial not only for its own sake, but because it is one of the most important components of integration – it enables a new resident to pursue other matters, such as training and employment (Guay-Charette, 2010; Danso & Grant, 2001).

In the communities where semi-skilled work or family ties are the main reason for migration, new immigrants tend to have low wages (or no initial employment) and are therefore unable to invest in homeownership immediately. They require rental units at least until they can become more financially stable. Even in the case of higher-skilled immigrants with better wages, economic immigrants often arrive without their family, and then sponsor them to come at a later date. They require small units in the interim.

The communities where immigration is predominantly driven by the tourism sector face the greatest housing challenges. By no coincidence, these towns have high amenity values, attracting middle- and upper-class newcomers from urban centres through a process that has recently been recognised in academic literature as "rural gentrification" (Nelson & Nelson, 2011; Stockdale, 2010). Following their "desire to 'escape' the city and connect to an idealized rural space," wealthy urban professionals purchase homes or second homes in rural or peripheral areas with high amenity values (Nelson & Nelson, 2011, p. 443). This phenomenon has been noted in both North America and Europe. In Whistler and Banff, these wealthy newcomers are not only from other regions of Canada, but from other countries – particularly European and Pacific Asian countries. The influx of wealthy newcomers is further facilitated by the emergence of information technologies that permit certain professionals to do their work from these locations (Nelson & Nelson, 2011). Communities witnessing rural gentrification experience a myriad of social, cultural, and economic impacts as a result. One important economic change is that the wealthy newcomers, by investing in existing and new building stock, act to drive up housing prices in the area (Stockdale, 2010), a phenomenon clearly observed in the case-study communities.

In Banff, the problem of housing affordability is further compounded by its status as a National Park which prevents the municipality from expanding its boundary. Banff has a "need to reside" policy, whereby only individuals and their families with work or investments in Banff can live there. Importantly, workers in the tourism industry are paid much less than in other sectors, compounding the challenge of affordability.

Respondents in non-tourism-oriented communities also listed housing as a key challenge. The development industry is often unable to keep up in the face of accelerated population growth, resulting in a general housing shortage. Unit size also plays a key role. One respondent recalled a story of a new hire to AECL who wanted to live in Deep River, but ultimately settled in a neighbouring community that could offer her a one-room apartment, as there were none available in Deep River. The lack of small units also has an indirect impact on the availability of housing for newcomers: in Deep River, the lack of condominium-style housing keeps the local aging population in family homes that could otherwise be freed up for use by incoming families.

In contrast, some small communities have less intense growth pressures and therefore a lower cost of housing. In such areas, housing affordability can actually be a driver of immigration. In Merritt, real estate is significantly more affordable than in the nearby larger centres of Kelowna and Kamloops, presenting an extra incentive for entrepreneurs who are considering starting a business in the community.

Response

Municipalities have responded to housing concerns in a variety of ways. In Deep River and Morris, municipal staff are working with local housing developers to promote continued development. The Town of Morris has also amended its zoning bylaw to reduce the minimum unit size in order to enable the construction of smaller units. Whistler used the opportunity of the 2010 Olympic Games to convert a portion of the new athlete housing into affordable units, which eased pressure in the housing market. Nearby communities such as Pemberton have seen fewer new residents in recent years as a result.

Employers of semi-skilled temporary foreign workers are required to ensure that their employees have access to adequate housing. Many large employers, such as hotel chains, have responded to this need by providing staff accommodations on the job site. This is the case in both Banff and Whistler. The amount charged to the employee for these accommodations is limited by regulations to one-third of their wages. Food coupons are typically also provided. If immigrants' families join them in the community, however, they must enter the housing market as they cannot stay in staff accommodations. Here, they are faced with a lack of availability and high prices. As a result, immigrant families often opt to share housing with others. Even single workers often enter shared housing arrangements, and not always for negative reasons. An immigrant settlement worker in Banff explained:

> If they have the opportunity to live alone in staff accommodations, they'll choose the house that has seven people, because it's community-based, it's group-oriented, it's the way of cooking meals together, spending time together: it's those cultures that operate in a more group dynamic. We were concerned when we did our Census – . . . it's a red flag when they indicate they are living with 'X' number of people. So then they were individually interviewed and said, 'Well, I had an opportunity to be in staff accommodation, but I would have been on my own. I prefer to be with this family, or these friends, or these coworkers.' This isn't the situation across the board, but . . . it's interesting that it's a choice, not a demand.

In Morris, the principal manufacturing company that recruits foreign workers has partnered with the local housing authority to locate available apartments and housing for those individuals wishing to live near the plant.

The provision of housing is clearly a key task for communities wishing to attract new immigrants. Although the case-study communities display a number of creative responses to housing shortages, there is a need for more collaboration between municipalities and employers in the matter.

6.1.3 Accessible Transportation

Challenge

Most small communities are characterized by a complete lack of public transit, and car ownership is economically and logistically out of reach, at least initially, for many immigrants. Transit can be an important tool to address housing shortages in small communities. It also enables access to settlement support, training opportunities and health care in most rural areas, where services tend to be spread out or located in far off urban centres.

Banff and Whistler are the only case-study communities that have public transit, in the form of local bus systems. These routes generally circulate to major employment hubs. In Banff, low-income residents and their dependents have subsidized transit access. All other communities are completely car-reliant.

Response

Formal municipal responses to transportation concerns were limited to the Town of Banff. Since there are regulatory limits on further housing development, transportation is being used as a solution to the housing shortage. Local municipalities have come together to create the Bow Valley Regional Transit Services Commission, which is currently in the process of determining a route and securing buses for a regional transit service. The intent is to provide transportation between Banff and the nearby Town of Canmore, 20 minutes away. This service will enable workers in Banff to live in Canmore without needing to own a car.

In other communities, some municipal staff cited examples of personally driving newcomers to appointments or on shopping trips in times of need. In Morris, some local volunteers have also provided this service on an intermittent basis; in other communities, local settlement agencies fill this role. Most respondents felt that a more complete long-term solution is required, however.

Some employers have also become involved in transit. The manufacturing firm in Morris has created a daily shuttle service to transport workers back and forth between Morris and Winnipeg (a one-hour journey), where many of the workers live. Employees are charged an amount for this service. The company has found this to be a successful way to recruit individuals seeking employment but unwilling to leave their cultural community in Winnipeg. However, no employers provide transportation services that can help workers beyond their

commuting needs, nor do they serve the families and dependants of workers, who often have even less access to transportation services.

There is certainly a need for more attention to transportation on the part of municipalities and employers. Initiatives such as regional bus systems or local shuttle services hold great potential for addressing housing concerns as well as providing access to an array of important services for newcomers.

6.1.4 Supply of Suitable Employment

Challenge

Krahn *et al.* (2005) have shown empirically that employment is the most important factor in immigrant retention in regional communities, followed closely by the presence of an established cultural community. Similarly, the Welcoming Communities Initiative lists employment opportunities as the most important characteristic of a welcoming community, emphasizing in particular that immigrants must be provided with the option to do work that is fulfilling and challenging, in keeping with their past experience and training (Esses *et al.*, 2010). Responses from interview subjects in the case-study communities support this statement.

Some communities, such as the County of Elgin following the financial crisis, are struggling to employ their population in general. Their inability to offer employment severely compromises their ability to attract immigrants.

Although the situation in the County of Elgin is common for small and rural communities in Canada, it is not typical among the case-study communities since most are home to employers facing labour shortages. In these cases, finding employment in the first place is not a challenge for the economic immigrants they hire, who already have a job before coming to a community. However, it can be challenge for those who come as family-class immigrants, including the spouses and family members of economic immigrants, particularly if their language skills are minimal. But finding employment can also be a challenge even for those who are highly educated and have strong language abilities. For example, in Deep River, employment opportunities outside of AECL Chalk River are few:

> What happens in Deep River most of the time is . . . that a spouse is hired by AECL, the family comes over. The other spouse is highly educated and ready to work and can't find work because they may not be a professional in the way the other spouse was, or they have language barriers, or the translation of experience is not seamless from their country of origin to Canada. . . . This can go on for many, many years. That can also lead to out-migration.

> I am familiar with a family who has the same situation: the husband is employed at AECL and the wife is a Master's of Physics. She has not been able to obtain employment. She continues taking English classes and volunteer opportunities to enhance her Canadian resume. But they are considering moving, because living on one salary with whatever many kids, and whatever other responsibilities they have is not suitable for them. So that's a huge issue as well, that we don't have the entry-level or middle-management positions available in other organisations.

This issue was also revealed in research by the Local Immigration Partnership of Renfrew and Lanark (2012). Communities where unemployment rates are high, or where one or two employers or industries dominate the economy, struggle to provide the array of employment opportunities required by immigrants and their families.

Employment satisfaction comes not only from having a job that pays adequately, but also from doing work that is appropriate for one's background and training. Many immigrants sacrifice work as professionals in their home countries to enter semi-skilled fields in Canada such as through the tourism sectors in Banff and Whistler. After obtaining permanent residency and, usually, bringing their families to join them in Canada, immigrants in these small communities often find that opportunities to pursue their previous vocation in these relatively small tourism-oriented communities are scarce. This was illustrated by the reflections of one service worker in Banff:

> I remember a couple of weeks ago speaking to a young Filipino girl. She left the Philippines to come here to work as a room attendant – a minimum wage, low-skilled occupation. She left a career as a computer engineer. Now that she's gained her permanent residency, she's looking at what she can do to re-enter the career that she left. . . . Those higher level jobs are very rare and hard to come by. So she said, 'What do I do? I love Banff. Do I sacrifice my career as a computer engineer to stay in a place that I love, or do I go to a different community . . . to take a better job and a potential for advancement?'

This respondent also pointed out that the lack of alternative employment opportunities is a barrier to retention of all community members, not just new Canadians. Indeed, the declining demand for farm labour, the seasonal nature of some rural employment, and the lack of alternative employment opportunities have been acknowledged as the cause of economic stagnation in rural areas for decades (Bunce, 1982).

Response

Communities with a low level of employment opportunities from large employers, such as the County of Elgin, have responded to the challenge of immigrant attraction by adopting a strategy of recruiting immigrants as entrepreneurs who can help to generate jobs in the community. As discussed previously, both the County of Elgin and the City of Merritt are beginning to adopt this strategy in earnest. Small municipalities don't necessarily have to focus their attraction strategies on potential investors overseas: nearby cities, where immigrants are already living, can be a source of entrepreneurs as well.

Other municipalities are providing assistance to existing employers in their search for new labour and talent. In Morris, the municipality worked with the large employer who was driving immigration to collect lessons learned and share best practices with smaller employers who also faced labour shortages. In Elgin County, municipalities have created a program called "Global Experience @ Work," where they provide employers with access to information about how to recruit foreign labour.

Finally, the efforts of municipalities to diversify their economies can help to address the challenge of providing suitable, fulfilling employment to highly-educated immigrants working semi-skilled jobs. The Whistler Municipal Council and Chamber of Commerce have recently

expressed interest in widening the array of employment opportunities available in the community, in light of their current reliance on the tourism industry. As a member of the Chamber of Commerce commented, “When tourism’s challenged, it means that the entire community is challenged.” Indeed, its reliance on one monolithic industry makes Whistler’s economy vulnerable and produces an economic slowdown in the tourism off-seasons of the fall and spring. Leaders in Whistler are looking to industries that can be complementary to tourism, and that capitalise on their existing assets such as new fibre optic cables installed for the Winter Games. Industries such as education and technology and communications are being considered. Typically, the primary intent of economic diversification strategies is not to provide more fulfilling labour to new Canadian residents, but this can be a positive spinoff effect of this strategy.

In summary, municipalities are responding to the challenges of connecting new Canadians with suitable employment by undertaking entrepreneurial recruitment, by connecting potential workers to employers and by diversifying their economies, all actions that benefit the community as a whole.

6.1.5 Availability of Cultural Amenities

Challenge

New residents from other countries, particularly non-traditional source countries, require commercial, cultural and religious amenities that may not be readily available in small Canadian communities. These amenities are a key component of immigrant retention. Even in Deep River, where immigrants are drawn by a high-paying employer to a community with many existing social organisations, a lack of cultural infrastructure can drive families away, as one staff member and researcher at the Local Immigration Partnership of Renfrew and Lanark commented:

> Those barriers unfortunately come right down to lifestyle. They can get the job of their dreams, and the salary of their dreams, and the inexpensive home, and all the clubs and services for their children and family. But when it comes down to their core values of food, religion, and spouse or future romantic relationships . . . they’re willing to leave in order to satisfy those areas of their life.

Access to cultural needs – food, religious and cultural institutions – enables new residents to live healthy and fulfilling lives in their new community. Indeed, as this researcher stated, “If you can’t eat the food you’re used to eating, it becomes a daily reminder that that community doesn’t really fit you.” The provision of such amenities can be difficult, especially in the case of communities that are home to newcomers from a wide array of backgrounds.

Access simply to other members of one’s cultural community also plays an important role in retention. As the staff member and researcher at the Local Immigration Partnership of Renfrew and Lanark explained:

> The trends are that young professionals arrive here perhaps as a single person, and due to their cultural traditions, they wish to engage in relationships or marriage with those belonging to their culture. Because of the broad mix of individuals coming from different countries, there isn’t an

> ample source of individuals that they can date or become involved with from their specific culture. So you'll see young profs taking jobs and banking a bunch of cash working at AECL and then leaving to go and get married and date other people in the Toronto area specifically, Montreal as well.

These factors combined – access to religion, food and people with whom to form relationships –create a strong draw away from the small community to urban centres where these amenities and resources are much more widely available. Communities must find ways of addressing these needs and desires of their new residents.

Response

Local community members, mostly established immigrants, have been the leaders in responding to cultural needs, particularly where there is a critical mass of members of a particular group providing a demand for a service or amenity. This is demonstrated most clearly in the case of religious places of worship and community centres. For example, the Mennonite communities in south central Manitoba and Elgin County have constructed many new churches. In the County of Elgin, some of these churches have congregations of up to 700 people. Services are carried out in German rather than English. These churches are not only places of worship; they are the social and cultural hub of the Mennonite community.

It is common for places of worship to double as cultural community centres, even for establishments of a smaller size. In Deep River, after having rented space in a hall for worship and events for five years, the Muslim community came together to form a non-profit organisation with the goal of acquiring a permanent centre. The group purchased an old church and established an Islamic Centre which now serves approximately 15 families in the Ottawa Valley, the vast majority of whom are immigrants. A Chinese Association has also been created in Deep River. This group organises community events, provides a Chinese school for children, and supports Chinese newcomers to Deep River in a variety of ways. Merritt is home to a very active Sikh society and temple (Poon, 2012).

In addition to facilitating a cultural community's own functions, such community organisations can provide interesting opportunities for relationship building with the wider community. For example, on one occasion, the Boy Scout club visited the mosque in Deep River for a tour and a brief introduction to Islam. The Chinese Association's mandate includes the intent to "actively participate in local community functions together with other organisations" (Deep River Chinese Association, 2008). The Sikh temple hosted a class of grade five and six students and provided information about the religion (Poon, 2012).

Obviously, immigrants from different origins will have different religious needs. One option is to create centres that serve more than one faith. Where appropriate, new immigrants may join existing congregations. This is often a welcome phenomenon, given the declining number of churchgoers in Canada. In Banff, one congregation has swelled from approximately 20 people to over 120 as new residents from the Philippines and India join the church.

Municipalities and employers have generally remained uninvolved in the establishment of places of worship, with the exception of the Town of Banff. Here, one of the local businesses

has provided space to act as an Islamic prayer room and the key is held by a service worker within the municipality. As of yet, no one uses the space; it is unclear whether this is due to lack of demand or lack of awareness of the resource. Still, this is an interesting example of a more proactive approach to the provision of cultural amenities.

Access to culturally-appropriate food is a second major need of many new immigrant residents in small communities, especially for those with dietary restrictions, such as in the case of halal food. The changing food landscape in these communities is evident in the emergence of new restaurants. For example, in Deep River, an Indian restaurant and a home-based sushi business have recently been established. However, the presence of restaurants is not the same as access to groceries that residents can use in their homes. In Banff, for example, the vast array of ethnic food outlets largely serves the tourist population rather than immigrant workers. In Deep River, the non-immigrant residents are the main source of business for "ethnic" restaurants:

> The people who are consuming those ethnic foods are largely the non-immigrants in the community. They love the access at lunch hour to any type of cuisine that they can imagine. That's great, and that's certainly something that contributes to the retention factor, in that we have Canadian-born individuals that are so interested in the culture and diversity that these newcomers bring to their community.

It is interesting that the increased visibility of diversity in the commercial realm may actually be a source of retention for all members of the community, not just immigrants.

The inclusion of new kinds of food in local grocery stores is more difficult. A certain level of demand is required for this to be profitable for grocers; as well, they may have difficulty sourcing such products. The grocery stores in Banff are generally able to offer such products given the large immigrant populations in this community. In Deep River, the Chinese community has worked with the local grocer to source some products they require, yet immigrant residents in Deep River still struggle to meet their dietary needs and many drive to Ottawa in order to access their desired food products.

The case studies have demonstrated that local community members, particularly established immigrant residents, have taken the lead in providing access to social, cultural and religious opportunities. The presence of a "critical mass" of members of a particular group is important in facilitating this provision. Places for worship and gathering have been established based on volunteer efforts in a number of communities. Small business has also addressed cultural needs, such as through the creation of ethnic restaurants. However, full access to culturally-appropriate foods may require more than just market-oriented solutions.

6.1.6 Capacity of Local Schools

Challenge

Perhaps even more than in the workplace, schools are a key site where the dynamics of new diversity play out in immigrant-attracting small communities. Many respondents

mentioned teacher support and parental orientation as important needs in the face of increased diversity in the schools.

The presence of students from immigrant families challenges schools in two major ways. First of all, language can be a barrier, as many of these children are very new to Canada and do not speak English at home. In Banff, the recent influx of families gaining permanent residency has raised the percentage of students requiring English as a Second Language (ESL) training from approximately 10 percent to 35 percent within a very short timeframe. Teachers are unequipped to deal with such a change in class composition, and provincial ESL programs are not always readily available. Importantly, language challenges apply to students from immigrant families with both low- and high-income status. For example, many students from the well-established, business-oriented Japanese community in Banff require similar language support to the students whose parents work as semi-skilled workers.

The second main challenge for schools relates to cultural attitudes around education, particularly on the part of parents. Again, this challenge transcends class lines. As one service worker explained:

> [Many immigrants] are coming from a school culture where the parents drop the kids at the school gate, and then it would be the height of rudeness to inquire about your child's education or to be active in it. So, suddenly they're here with their kids, and they're being asked to partake and be engaged. They're welcomed into the school, there's an open-door policy and, 'Come to parent teacher meetings!' They just don't even know how to approach that.

Even in communities other than Banff where the influx of new students has been less dramatic, culture and language are important challenges for the school system.

Response

Only one municipal response to the challenges of local schools arose in the case-study interviews. In Banff, the municipality retains direct and regular communication with the school system, which is somewhat rare. This contact has enabled the development of a support program where a staff member of the municipality's immigrant service division works regularly in the schools in order to build their capacity to address immigration-related challenges. Outreach to teachers, administration and parents has helped to sensitize these actors to the issues at stake. This staff member is also working to create a peer-mentoring program, where more established students from immigrant families provide support to newcomers. The experience in Banff suggests that more attention needs to be paid to the younger members of immigrant families across all immigrant-attracting communities.

6.1.7 Generation of Community Tolerance

Challenge

The social fabric of small communities is changing as a result of immigration. Diversity is increasing in schools, churches and workplaces, and main streets are populated with new kinds of retail and places of worship. It has been shown that racism and discrimination are present

not only in urban areas, but also in rural locations (Lai & Huffey, 2009). In these communities, discrimination can be reflected in direct comments or actions from other community members, disadvantages in the workplace, or in the lack of minorities reflected in municipal leadership positions (Qadeer, 1997). Ensuring the generation of community tolerance is an important task for immigrant-attracting communities.

It should be noted that the discussion of tolerance in this paper is limited because immigrants were not the main interview subjects in the case-study communities. Moreover, minorities will not necessarily speak out about experiences of discrimination, as one immigrant settlement worker pointed out:

> It's hard to get an open, honest opinion because many immigrants, when you ask them about how has it been, . . . they would say nothing. They don't want to speak up in case for whatever reason it comes back on them. Not that it ever would, but that's their perception. So everything we hear is very positive, which can be good, but it also makes it challenging as far as continuing to evolve our programming to support their needs, because we don't know what the needs truly are.

Moreover, immigrants can be hesitant to complain about settlement challenges because, sometimes, the conditions in Canada are much better than their prior situation, regardless of difficulties they may face (LIP Renfrew and Lanark, 2012). Perspectives on tolerance in this section reflect the thoughts of municipal staff, community experts and immigrant service workers.

Respondents pointed out that Canadians tend to be very polite; discriminatory sentiments from long-term community members are thus expressed more in underlying rhetoric or "grumbling." Four major reasons for unwelcoming feelings toward immigrants were mentioned. First, a feeling that new Canadians are taking local jobs from long-term residents was a key issue. As one immigration programmer in the Deep River area explained:

> We have certainly had our challenges in terms of perception or personal bias [and] the notion, 'Immigrants are taking our jobs. Why would we support a project geared toward improving the access of immigrants to the local labour market, when my brother in law has been unemployed for four years?' So this mentality has certainly been in the background.

Sometimes, local residents are unaware of the history of immigration in their region and the benefits it has brought in the past (St. Thomas-Elgin LIP, n.d.). Another point of contention surrounds how immigrants spend their money; in Banff, there is a perception that immigrants are not benefitting the local economy:

> There are those in the community that say that the new immigrants that are coming in aren't supporting local business – they're sending all of their money home to support their families back in the Philippines or India, so there are those grumblings there. It's little pockets – there aren't demonstrations happening or whatnot, but you certainly do hear about it.

Furthermore, long-term residents may also feel negatively toward immigrants when they feel that immigrants are not "integrating." Respondents in the Manitoba area described that, given the large size of the local Mennonite populations, it was not uncommon for Mennonites to be perceived as isolating themselves. This isolation has been viewed negatively

by some long-term residents. In this way, local community members are projecting norms of integration onto new residents. Further complicating the matter is the fact that opportunities for "integrative activities" are not always available (St. Thomas-Elgin LIP, n.d.).

Finally, "grumblings" emerged surrounding issues in the schools: some long-term resident parents in Banff, where there has been a huge influx of new students from immigrant families, felt that their children's education was being compromised by the increased attention to ESL students.

Response

In general, most respondents felt strongly that their community was "welcoming." Four major community characteristics were identified that contributed to tolerance in the community: a history of diversity in the area, the involvement of immigrants in "mainstream" clubs and activities, the "neighbourly way" of small communities, and the influence of supportive employers on community perceptions.

Respondents in Deep River and Morris attributed what they saw as high levels of tolerance in part to the history of their communities as longstanding hosts to immigration. Morris was historically inhabited by waves of agricultural settlers form Germany, Ukraine and other places. The region is also home to a number of prominent francophone communities. According to a municipal staff person in Morris, this makes the area quite unique:

> Many places around Morris are somewhat ethnic in nature. . . . Morris has become a real melting pot, far more akin to Winnipeg than other communities. Rural communities tend to be somewhat what I would call "uni-ethnic," in other words, a single or two or three ethnic groups, and that's about it, or backgrounds. Morris has been quite diversified for a long time.

Although the Town of Deep River was established much more recently, it too has hosted immigrants from day one. This was similarly felt to positively contribute to the acceptance of newcomers:

> One of the fabrics of the community is there's a very unusually high level of clubs. So if you look at things like the yacht and tennis club, for instance . . . the commodore of the club may or may not be from an immigrant community, but certainly a number of them have been. I think it's one of the reasons people like it here, because . . . you can sort of be yourself. . . . It's just not thought of that much, and I think it goes back to the fact that the community roots are based in immigration anyway. It's just kind of an everyday thing, and it's not a big deal.

Since "diversity" is built into the collectively-imagined identity of these communities, acceptance of newcomers comes more easily. The above quote also illustrates a second community characteristic that was understood to build tolerance: the involvement of immigrants in existing clubs and activities. This was particularly emphasized in communities such as Deep River that have very active community organisations. The benefits of involvement were seen to have a dual nature: the immigrant has an opportunity to forge connections within the wider community, while at the same time, long-term community members have an opportunity to interact with immigrants and break down barriers.

Informal connections also had a role to play in cultivating tolerance. In Pemberton, one of the most rural of the communities investigated, the community's collective identity is premised upon its "small-town feel" and its "neighbourly way." Residents generally place a high value on social relationships and family-to-family interactions. This was perceived as a key way in which diverse individuals and families could interact. One municipal staff person in this community described the impact that such opportunities had had on his own family:

> I've partaken in a number of cultural events at people's homes, as neighbours. That's where you'll see the Japanese say, 'Come over, we'll do this because it's our culture and we want to share it with you.' So, it isn't advertised, it's more, invite your group of neighbours, come on in. The same goes for religious beliefs – Muslim, Jewish – we're invited to different events. I think it's great for me and the family because we're exposed to this in a very intimate way.

Like the respondent above, many interview subjects reflected upon the importance of exposure to diverse others in community members' daily lives.

Finally, in the communities where one or two economic sectors are dominant, employers themselves can in fact influence levels of tolerance. One respondent in Banff described how the major employers in the tourism industry conveyed, either formally or informally, to the town how important immigrant recruitment was to their business, and therefore to the community:

> Employers in Banff have such a major say about everything. They really do drive everything that is done here, tourism and the hospitality sector. So, if the major employers in the community are saying 'These people are coming and we want them here because they are reliable employees, hard-working, great work ethic,' the rest of the community really kind of falls into line with that. So you don't get that public outcry. You don't get people writing letters into the local newspaper saying, 'These people are taking our jobs!'

A widespread understanding of the importance of immigration to the economic health of the community contributes to community-wide tolerance in such places.

While these four characteristics were shown to contribute to the tolerance of new residents, they are just that – characteristics – that have developed almost naturally. Most communities had no explicit, directed programs to generate tolerance or acceptance, with two exceptions. Banff has a program that reaches out to teachers and administrators in the local schools, and the County of Elgin had held a multicultural festival. But there were no education campaigns within the communities, antiracist training in workplaces, or programs to encourage minority representation in local politics, for example. Indeed, it is incredibly important for individuals to see themselves reflected in the fabric of the community, even in small ways: one respondent in the County of Elgin described the joy that a man from the Democratic Republic of the Congo expressed when he saw his home country's flag represented at their multicultural festival.

6.2 Summarising the Responses to Immigrant Attraction

The case studies have strongly illustrated that a wide array of outcomes of immigrant attraction is possible and that a great range of responses to challenges exist among the communities. These responses depend on the communities' local capacity, history, geography,

and policy environment, and also on the nature of diversity in the first place. Responses range from reactive to proactive, from top-down to bottom up. Table 9 provides an overview of the responses taken by local actors to the challenges of crafting a welcoming community. The following section considers the specific role of planners. The discussion section (Chapter 7) considers the gaps in these responses and the opportunities for improvement in order to better cultivate welcoming communities.

6.3 The Role of the Planner

Municipal "planners" interviewed in this research project were physical or development planners, economic development officers, and staff in community service departments. In some cases, given the limited staffing and institutional capacity in small municipalities, one individual would fill multiple roles. Respondents were asked, directly and indirectly, to reflect on their role in immigrant settlement and accommodation. This section reviews the planners' perceptions of their role and discusses the ways in which their actions relate to immigration.

In Banff, the municipal community service staff were part of a division with an explicit mandate for immigrant settlement and support. Clearly, they were aware of their role in local immigration. They were intimately involved in the provision of initial settlement services, support to local schools and the initiation of language training programs.

Respondents in an economic development position were more likely to state that there was a relationship between their work and immigrant attraction or settlement than physical development planners. Economic development officers emphasized their responsibility to attract new investment, achieve community growth, and help existing employers access the labour force they require. Beyond the work of attracting newcomers, these actors also tend to play a very personal, one-on-one role in settlement. Often, it is their job to personally greet and orient new families, as in the case of the economic development planner in Deep River:

> We didn't have any kind of formal strategy necessarily. But when one of our employers . . . were going to hire somebody new, they'd interview whoever they were going to hire and I would take the family around and give them a feel for the community. And it happened that almost every time I did that it was an immigrant, an immigrant family.

In other communities, volunteer networks stepped in to help staff perform this orientation role. Although these approaches add an important personal element to welcoming, the time and resource constraints of staff, along with the unreliability of volunteers, have resulted in some newcomers falling through the cracks, such as in Morris:

> This one German family landed here about 30 or 35 months ago. I just recall times when there was nobody there, just nobody there to do anything. So one afternoon I basically left the office and got in my car and went and picked them up – we had to go and find winter clothing for them, because they arrived here like January one. I had to actually go into Winnipeg with them to the large centre because some of those clothing are not available here. And so, we need to do a better job of having people available to do that. But again: one of the challenges of a small community.

Ultimately, this family left the community. Clearly, a lack of formalized settlement services can be a burden to those municipal staff tasked with newcomer orientation: when new

residents are landing from different countries and continents, their needs are much greater than typical newcomers. Most small community municipal staff do not have training to help them deal with the cultural and racial dimensions of immigrant settlement.

TABLE 9: RESPONSES OF LOCAL ACTORS TO IMMIGRANT WELCOMING CHALLENGES

	Municipal-led responses	Employer-led responses	Community-led responses
Initial And Long-Term Settlement Services And Training	Settlement programs Services for permanent residents Language classes Case-by-case assistance by municipal staff Local Immigration Partnerships	Partnerships with service organisations for the provision of language classes In-house job training	Volunteer-based assistance Cultural groups provide services to newcomers from their own background Local Immigration Partnerships
Affordable And Appropriate Housing	Developer outreach and incentives Zoning changes Capitalise on opportunities (Whistler Winter Games)	Staff accommodations Partnership with local housing authority to locate housing for newcomers	Shared housing
Accessible Transportation	Regional bus service Case-by-case assistance by municipal staff	Shuttle service between employment and common place of residence of workers	Volunteer-based assistance
Supply Of Suitable Employment	Recruitment of new business Programs that connect employers to immigrant job-seekers Diversification of local economy	Optional training programs Opportunities for advancement within firm New immigrant businesses create jobs	---
Availability Of Cultural Amenities	Provide space for religious services	---	Petition local businesses to diversify offering Develop cultural retail Establish of places of worship
Capacity Of Local Schools	Capacity-building with teachers and administrators Establish peer-mentoring programs for immigrant students	---	Provide alternative learning opportunities (*eg.* Chinese school)
Generation Of Community Tolerance	Organise cultural events	Communicate the value of immigrant workers to the community	'Neighbourly' interactions History of diversity helps with acceptance Welcoming of immigrants into 'mainstream' clubs and activities

Some economic development officers also described their role in monitoring the retention of newcomers to the community, as explained by the economic developer in Morris:

> I have personally tracked [retention], somewhat, but more of a mental informal tracking rather than documentation. . . . I do try to keep my finger on that pulse as much as I can; again, bearing in mind it's about a point-one percent emphasis in my role.

As there were no formal programs in place to assess the outcomes of attraction and settlement initiatives or employer-driven hiring practices in any of the case-study communities, these municipal staff members are usually a critical source of such informal information.

Physical and development planners were less likely to affirm that their work related to immigration issues, stating the provincial or federal jurisdiction over these matters as a reason they are not involved. However, they were conscious of their role in providing affordable, appropriate housing and developing local and regional transportation accessibility. One also stressed the importance of the involvement of all community members, including new residents, in public hearings for development projects.

When asked how their municipalities are dealing with the challenges associated with immigration, many respondents emphasized that they serve immigrants in the same way as other residents. This approach was evident in statements such as, "If somebody comes to us, whether they're an immigrant or not, we try to welcome everybody so we're not really treating anybody differently." While it is important to be fair in the application of municipal services and policies, this attitude also fails to acknowledge that newcomers may have different needs or require alternative kinds of accommodation. This attitude is therefore reflective of the notion of planners as neutral or objective actors, which, as discussed in Section 2.4, is not always the case.

In summary, local economic developers play an important role in immigrant attraction, while physical and development planners have a greater role in settlement through zoning bylaw amendments for housing and through transit development. Staff in community service departments can provide immigration settlement services where they have the mandate to do so. These local actors tend to play a very personal role in welcoming immigrants one-on-one, a response that has benefits and drawbacks. Planning responses to an influx of diverse newcomers have been largely reactive rather than proactive and have sometimes not acknowledged particular cultural differences or needs.

7 DISCUSSION: RESPONDING TO THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS

In Chapter 3, a review of current immigration policy in Canada shed light on important new directions. This chapter explained that federal immigration policy is increasingly geared toward the "regionalisation," "marketisation," and streamlining of immigration. In other words, new regulations aim to select newcomers for existing labour opportunities, to encourage them to settle in areas outside of the major metropolises, and to make the process as fast as possible.

The Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs) are a significant element of these policy directions. The PNPs are series of bilateral agreements that have decentralised significant elements of immigration control from the federal to provincial governments. Provinces can now design their own immigration programs and selection streams. Some provinces have also become responsible for immigrant-service provision; in others still, municipalities have been directly recognised as central actors in immigration.

Thus, local actors, including in small communities, are increasingly empowered to make influential decisions around immigrant attraction. These powers are not limited to members of the public sector. As this research has demonstrated, employers are playing a particularly significant role. Because the new "marketised" immigrant selection criteria favour prospective immigrants with offers of employment, employers are able to pursue direct immigrant recruitment strategies to address labour shortages. Employers' strategies are supported by public and quasi-public organisations in local communities (such as municipalities, Chambers of Commerce and Workforce Development Boards) who introduce policies, programs or financial incentives to facilitate the attraction of immigrants.

Furthermore, policy changes have also enabled existing immigrant community members to play a role in immigrant attraction: family-class immigration streams and new paths to permanent residency in many provinces provide avenues for existing immigrants to recruit their families and extended networks. By contributing to the establishment of a critical mass of immigrants in a particular community, employer-driven recruitment catalyses cultural community-driven recruitment, which in turn facilitates further economic immigration.

The empowerment of local actors in the immigration process has been the starting point of the research questions in this paper. The heightened role of local governments, organisations, and people in managing immigration – indeed, in directly crafting their local demographics – presents several important questions regarding these actors' motivations and capabilities. In small communities in particular, a lack of institutional capacity and knowledge are key concerns. This final chapter revisits each of the research questions and summarises the relevant findings and conclusions that have emerged.

7.1 Immigrant Recruitment Dynamics

7.1.1 Structural and Individual Migration Drivers

The first research question for this paper asked: *what is driving immigration to small communities in Canada?* In Chapter 2, existing theories about the causes of international migration were reviewed, showing that international wage differentials, individual and household decision-making, national and global market structures, and social relationships inside and across borders are all important operative factors.

The information gathered from the case-study communities demonstrated the presence of five distinct immigrant attraction dynamics, which were summarised in Table 7. The first two dynamics, both employer-driven, describe flows to the manufacturing and tourism sectors. These observed processes can be understood by considering Piore's (1979) dual labour market theory of international migration (reviewed in Section 2.1), which posits that modern industrial societies produce an intrinsic demand for low-wage, low-skill labour. This intrinsic demand, according to Piore (1979), is produced by structural inflation (wages for low-skill jobs cannot be raised because it would threaten the wage hierarchy across the nation's economy) and status motivation (though there may be native labour available, such jobs are considered undesirable by native workers). This demand also stems from the declining availability of workers who used to fill these positions, namely teenagers and women, as these individuals enter other areas of the labour force (Massey *et al.*, 1993). This phenomenon was particularly observed in the case of large tourism employers in Whistler and Banff, who have seen many of their previous temporary labour sources diverted to the booming Albertan oil sector. Also in line with dual labour market theories, formal recruitment strategies in the manufacturing and tourism sectors (and also in the knowledge economy, discussed next) are led by employers or by governments acting on employers' behalf.

The third dynamic, recruitment by the knowledge economy (identified in Deep River), was also employer-driven. However, employers sought extremely high-skilled, rather than low-skilled labour. In this case, it is clear that Canada's slowing native population growth and the difficulty faced by small communities in retaining residents is producing the need for recruitment, rather than structural inflation or status motivation.

The fourth dynamic describes the situation where municipalities and their local business networks recruit immigrants with a significant degree of personal wealth to establish enterprises in the community. This dynamic reflected elements of neoclassical migration theory, proposed by Todaro (1969), which says that individuals use a cost-benefit analysis when making the decision to migrate. In this case, prospective entrepreneurs consider the cost and the risks associated with relocation compared to the expected gains from doing business in Canada. Tax incentives and other programs in the receiving communities (such as in Merritt) act to balance the equation in favour of moving. In the case-study communities, it was found that as the immigrant business community grows, institutional and network factors also begin to play a role in attraction.

Finally, immigration was also found to be driven by existing cultural communities. Theories about migrant networks (Massey, 1990a; Massey *et al.*, 1993) are useful in understanding this process. As migrant populations grow over time, they generate networks among themselves as well as with others who have remained in their country of origin. For those still in the country of origin, these networks provide access to information about the destination, contacts with immigration gatekeepers, and housing and employment upon arrival (Goss & Lindquist, 1995). These relationships reduce the costs and risks and therefore increase the likelihood of migration, such that migrant flows become self-sustaining and independent of economic factors over time. Community-driven attraction affects immigrant groups in all case studies; particularly prominent were the Mennonite communities established in central Manitoba and the County of Elgin.

In summary, a range of immigration dynamics were discovered in the case-study communities. A key takeaway is that although government policies facilitate or help direct these flows, they are most often driven by employers and economic demands.

7.1.2 The Role of Local Context

Having identified the drivers of, and actors involved in, immigration to the case-study communities, this research also explored the impact of several contextual factors. Policy, historical and geographical factors were all found to play an important role. The policy context, in particular, impacts the outcomes of the immigration process. The differences in PNP structures among the provinces were found to have different outcomes at the local level. The unique avenue provided by the Manitoba, Alberta and British Columbia PNPs for semi-skilled temporary foreign workers to access permanent residency has dramatically shifted settlement patterns in these communities over the course of only a few years. Manitoba's openness to family class immigrants in its PNP has facilitated a higher degree of community-driven immigration. In contrast, small communities in Ontario are still largely reliant on federal immigration streams to bring in newcomers as the PNP is not well-developed. They are, nonetheless, benefitting from the Local Immigration Partnerships that have been established across this province.

Historic settlement patterns also matter. The establishment of Mennonite communities since the start of the last century is now the draw for new waves of Mennonite migration to south central Manitoba and the County of Elgin. Moreover, staff in Deep River, Morris and Pemberton attributed current levels of tolerance to a history of diversity in their locale. This history, they felt, helped to generate customs of cross-cultural interaction and "neighbourliness" in the day-to-day life of their communities today.

Finally, the geographical context plays an important role. For example, despite their similar immigrant attraction dynamics, Banff and Whistler have responded quite differently to housing shortages because Banff is subject to a unique geographical limitation – the municipality cannot expand its boundary. Therefore, Banff has opted to create a regional transit system to enable immigrant employees to live in a nearby community and commute to work. Whistler, in contrast, has pursued the construction of market-rate and affordable housing within the municipality itself. Proximity to urban centres is also important, illustrated by the

manufacturing plant in Morris that has capitalised upon its proximity to Winnipeg for labour recruitment.

Local actors are increasingly empowered to make influential decisions around immigrant attraction in small communities. When crafting attraction strategies, these actors – municipalities, employers and community members – must be aware of the different potential recruitment dynamics and how they may impact the community on the short and long term. Only then can attraction strategies be accompanied by proactive plans to address the challenges and opportunities that new immigration will bring. In other words, only then can the community prepare to be "welcoming."

7.2 Outcomes of Small-Community Immigration

7.2.1 Different Drivers Produce Different Kinds of Diversity

The second research question in this paper set out to determine: *what challenges and opportunities are created as a result of small-community immigrant attraction?* First, an important observation was that the type of diversity cultivated in a community depends on the recruitment dynamic present. Employers in the tourism sector, such as those in Banff and Whistler, have an incentive to recruit workers from a diverse range of backgrounds in order to better serve their international clients. Meanwhile, the ethnocultural networks developed by immigrant entrepreneurs in a community tend to result in a clustering of individuals from the same background, as with the Indian community in Merritt or the Japanese community in Banff.

Neither a diverse nor a homogenous outcome is necessarily more desirable; they each present different challenges and opportunities. Concentrated ethnocultural communities can be a source of bonding ties, mutual norms and trust that are important for immigrants, especially in the early stages of integration, but also throughout their lifetime. As demonstrated in this research, the presence of a "critical mass" of group members is very important when it comes to establishing cultural amenities, including places of worship and access to culturally-appropriate food. This critical mass can also retain young immigrants who seek relationship partners from their own background – an issue that has been recently identified in Deep River. Yet there are also downsides. Ethnocultural concentrations can inhibit group members from accessing resources and building connections within the wider social fabric of the community. This situation may impede immigrants from learning the local language or finding housing or employment, ultimately limiting social and economic integration. This is the case for some members of the Mennonite communities in south central Manitoba and the County of Elgin, particularly in sects where religious beliefs discourage certain kinds of participation or learning. Of course, integration may not be desired by some individuals.

7.2.2 Challenges and Opportunities

In this paper, seven main challenges resulting from small-community immigration were identified:

- The need to provide settlement and long-term services for new residents
- A lack of affordable and appropriate housing
- Inadequate transportation systems
- A poor supply of suitable employment for dependants and career advancement
- A lack of cultural amenities
- New diversity in the schools
- Local community tolerance

These challenges were laid out in Table 9. The findings parallel the characteristics of a welcoming community outlined in work by the Welcoming Communities Initiative. This alignment indicates that this research has been successful in investigating welcoming community forces at work in specific locations, and provides support to both research agendas.

A key finding in the present research is that the challenges associated with small-community immigration are not discrete, but closely interrelated. This means that solutions can impact multiple challenges simultaneously. As an illustration, both Banff and Morris have addressed local housing issues through transportation-oriented solutions, providing opportunities for immigrants to work in their community but live elsewhere. There are other opportunities for synergy, too. For example, English as a Second Language (ESL) programming in schools can be linked to language classes for community members. Similarly, outreach to parents of schoolchildren, like in Banff, can be used as an opportunity to connect immigrant families to other resources.

All residents of a community – immigrant and non-immigrant residents – stand to gain from changes that make the community more welcoming. For example, a diverse offering of housing types and accessible transportation benefits all members of a community and responds to a longstanding need of rural and remote communities. Diversification of the economy, which can be used to address the challenge of supplying suitable employment for immigrants, also brings widespread benefits. It is certain that Canadian-born residents in Whistler will have many more employment opportunities themselves if the community is successful in bringing educational institutions or technology sector employers to the community. Furthermore, the development of cultural amenities, including access to culturally appropriate food and worship opportunities, holds great potential for economic redevelopment. It can bring about the revival of main streets and the adaptive reuse of underused sites, as in the case of the Islamic Centre in Deep River that took over an old church. Cultural amenity development can also result in:

- The revival of existing church congregations, as in Banff
- Increased restaurant dining options, as for the lunchtime working crowd in Deep River
- Interesting learning opportunities, such as when a grade five and six class visited the Merritt Sikh Temple to learn about the religion

These examples illustrate that the presence of ethnocultural diversity within a community can broaden the perspectives of long-term residents in a positive way. If the challenges presented by small-community immigrant attraction are framed and understood as interconnected issues that generate opportunities for overall community development and cultural growth, they can indeed provide an impetus for visionary community change.

7.3 Strengthening Local Responses

7.3.1 The Role of Local Actors

The third research question in this paper had a policy-oriented element, asking: *How are local actors – municipalities (especially planners), employers, and community members – responding to the challenges and opportunities presented by immigrant attraction, and how can their efforts be strengthened?* As demonstrated by the case studies, local actors are taking a wide array of responses to the challenges and opportunities presented by immigrant attraction. Table 9 summarised the responses taken by municipalities, employers and community members, and Section 6.3 highlighted the particular role of planners in the case studies. Below, the existing responses of these local actors are discussed.

Municipalities

Municipal governments are important actors in immigrant welcoming, particularly in today's decentralised immigration policy context. Institutional capacity within these governments is a key determinant of the extent to which they can take steps toward cultivating a more welcoming community.

The first way municipalities are involved is in the attraction strategy itself. For example, Elgin and Merritt are developing incentives and marketing campaigns to bring in more immigrant (and non-immigrant) investors. Other municipalities let employers lead attraction, but provide them with supportive programs. These programs can connect employers with individuals looking for work (as in Elgin) or help leading employers to share best practices with other companies (as in Morris). In other instances, municipalities limit their role in attraction, while employers are supported by Chambers of Commerce, workforce development boards, and other quasi-public organisations. The Chamber in Whistler, for example, has been extremely active in helping employers attract the labour they need. Recently, they successfully advocated for the extension of the Australian Holiday Working Visa program.

Municipalities also get involved in settlement and welcoming, but as the case studies show, reactive responses tend to be the norm. For example, the economic developers in Deep River and Morris began working with housing local developers, but only once they had noticed the loss of some potential residents due to their lack of appropriate and affordable units. Transportation planners in Banff are working to develop a regional transit system to alleviate housing pressures, but affordability concerns are already enormous. Most settlement services and training programs have been established and funded by higher levels of government.

The most proactive municipality in the case studies was Banff, where the Family Community Support Services division holds regular consultations with local actors and works to secure funding for multiple immigrant services and programs. They also partnered with a local business to provide Muslim prayer space within the community, although it is not yet being used. Banff's success illustrates that municipal responses are most successful when there is an official staff member or division with a mandate to address immigration issues.

Municipal actions relating to long-term immigrant attraction are rare. In many communities there is a need to invest more in diversifying the array of employment opportunities, providing cultural amenities, and generating community tolerance in order keep newcomers and their families in the community. No municipality in the case studies had been formally tracking retention to the community, which is an important first step to building long-term retention strategies.

Employers

The responses of local employers to immigration challenges were also quite varied. Not surprisingly, employers were found to respond when it required by regulations or driven by market factors. For example, employers of semi-skilled temporary foreign workers are required to ensure that their employees have access to adequate housing, resulting in the construction of staff accommodations in many cases. A manufacturing firm in Morris established a shuttle bus system between the plant and the City of Winnipeg could not obtain the workers it needed from the nearby community. It partnered with community organisations to provide language training, partly at a cost to the firm, when it found that their new workers could not speak English. These programs have been quite successful and well-received.

Employer responses face some limitations, however, since the scope of their programming will be directed toward their own workers. Moreover, when employers are the sole providers of support, workers can become more vulnerable to workplace abuse and mistreatment (Baxter, 2010). Yet, employers have many resources to deploy and should indeed be expected to contribute to immigrant welcoming initiatives, particularly where they are directly driving or benefitting from recruitment.

Community Members

Finally, local community members – both immigrants and long-term residents – have become involved in responding to challenges. In Deep River, an Islamic Centre and Chinese Association have been established by their growing cultural communities. Long-term residents in Morris have set up a volunteer network that helps newcomers on a one-on-one basis. Community-driven responses rely heavily on individual initiative and volunteer commitments. While some are flourishing, others could benefit from support from their municipalities or other government bodies.

In these ways, municipalities and other local organisations become key players in the gatekeeping and brokerage of international migration. They contribute to the formation of social relations that connect migrants and employers across time and space, generating self-sustaining international migration systems on the long term (Goss & Lindquist, 1995; Massey *et al.*, 1993).

7.3.2 Toward Stronger Policies, Programs and Actors

How might local actors go about forming the relationships, creating the synergies, and developing the skills necessary to cultivate more welcoming communities? Municipalities,

employers, and community members – through coordination with higher levels of government – are in many ways best positioned to understand and address the needs of new residents. A number of exciting initiatives have been discovered in the case-study communities. Some key elements of success that emerged from the case studies are:

- The designation of municipal staff or departments with the explicit mandate to address immigrant welcoming and settlement services
- The direct involvement of immigrant-attracting employers in the provision of housing, transportation, and training for new recruits
- The empowerment of local cultural communities, who understand best the needs of newcomers
- The establishment of partnerships and collaboration among local actors
- The pursuit of initiatives that address multiple challenges at once

Furthermore, there may be a role for alternative approaches to community development. For example, local co-operatives could undertake the development of affordable, appropriate housing in rural and remote areas. They could set up local transportation shuttles or provide start-up capital for small businesses that serve cultural needs. Researchers and policymakers have begun recognise the potential in such community investment initiatives in small communities (Ketilson, 2012).

Another answer is that local planners (broadly defined as municipal staff working in physical development, economic development or social planning roles; as well as individuals fulfilling planning roles in quasi-public organisations) need to take more of a leadership role in immigrant welcoming initiatives. Planners are well-placed to address many of the challenges associated with immigrant welcoming (Burayidi, 2003; Qadeer, 1997; Yiftachel, 1998). Relevant and important portfolios such as housing, transportation, service provision, and employment diversification are all within their scope. Furthermore, planners engage in the management of public space, which, as demonstrated in the case studies, is a key arena for the cultivation of tolerance, whether it is by the establishment of a Japanese section in the Banff public library or by the organisation of food festivals in Pemberton. Particularly in small communities, these individuals are well-connected to residents and in tune with local needs. Public engagement and consultation, also led by planners, are particularly important in the case of newcomers who do not yet have permanent residency, and therefore, are unable to vote in local elections.

Yet, as discussed in Section 2.4, individual planners are sometimes un- or under-equipped to address diversity head-on, lacking the language, knowledge and skillset to acknowledge cultural differences and understand minority needs (Burayidi, 2003). In this research, planners were indeed found to be underequipped in some cases. In general, there is a need for planners to undergo cultural sensitivity training in order to be able to interact with diverse newcomers more effectively. As well, planners should become familiar with the existing work on welcoming communities and have knowledge about the challenges associated with building them. Training should begin in the planning education system, but also reach out to existing planners through professional education. The Local Immigration Partnerships in Ontario provide a key example of such an initiative, by training local actors across immigrant-attracting communities and building their capacity to address immigrant welcoming issues.

Capacity building can also be achieved by introducing small-community immigration into academic and professional planning dialogue, including through journals, conference presentations and newsletters, as well as by increasing minority representation among planning practitioners and municipal leaders. On the long term, planners need to help communities think proactively about their role in immigrant attraction, and to articulate future visions that more explicitly embrace pluralism (Fainstein, 2000). They can help to craft diverse communities where "a broad range of overlapping activities create animation, inspiration and foster a vital public life" (Rogers, 1998, cited in Reeves, 2005, p. 31). Table 10 provides a summary of the key recommendations for planners in the cultivation of welcoming communities, drawing on the reviewed literature and the discussion above.

TABLE 10: CULTIVATING WELCOMING COMMUNITIES AT MULTIPLE LEVELS WITHIN THE PLANNING SYSTEM

Level of Influence	Key Recommendations
Individual Planners/Actors	More minority representation among practitioners and representatives (Qadeer, 1997) Cultural sensitivity training (Burayidi, 2003) Embrace alternative ways of knowing (Burayidi, 2003)
Planning Procedures	Directly engage minority groups in accessible language (Qadeer, 1997) Bring stakeholders together to share concerns and visions (Innes, 1996; Sandercock, 2000)
Planning System	Increase flexibility of regulations (housing, commerce) to incorporate minority needs (Qadeer, 1997) Support the development of specific cultural and religious amenities (Qadeer, 1997) Find more resources to implement plans
Community Visions	Articulate visions for the community that embrace pluralism (Qadeer, 1997; Burayidi, 2003) Advocate directly for minority groups (Fainstein, 2000; Davidoff, 1965)

A key issue identified in the literature is that the planning system is often limited in its ability to address minority needs because of cultural biases inherent in regulations (Qadeer, 1997). However, cultural bias was not found to be the dominant barrier to immigrant welcoming in the case-study communities. As an illustration, although there is a need to increase the amount of small-unit and affordable housing in most of the communities, planners were generally able to bring about the necessary zoning changes after having identified the problem (this occurred in Morris, for example). Similarly, in Deep River, no regulatory issues prevented the conversion of a church to an Islamic Community Centre and mosque. Ethnic businesses in many communities are thriving, especially in Merritt, Banff and Whistler.

Importantly, though, this research has revealed that welcoming initiatives in small communities are significantly limited by a lack of resources and institutional capacity. For example, though the Town of Deep River wants to develop more apartments and condominiums, developers are unable to keep pace with local demand and are focusing their efforts in larger, faster growing communities in the region. Many municipalities, such as Morris, would like to provide more settlement services, but funding is unavailable or the catchment area of existing agencies is too dispersed to provide full coverage. Similarly, the bus between Whistler and Squamish was recently eliminated due to profitability concerns.

Indeed, because development pressures are generally much lower in small communities, and because influxes of newcomers still translate to relatively small absolute numbers of people, it appears that space is less contested these places compared to urban settings, where spatial ethnocultural conflicts have been clearly documented. Instead, it is a lack of resources – in the form of finances, time, and skills – that truly pose a barrier to immigrant welcoming. This calls into question the decreasing role of higher levels of government in funding and supporting immigration processes. Though local actors may be best placed to facilitate regionalised immigration, and to craft local settlement and welcoming strategies, the continued financial and institutional support of higher levels of government, as well as of the employers who benefit from these processes, is vital.

8 CONCLUSION

Immigrant attraction to small communities is a growing reality in Canada. Manufacturers in rural areas are drawing an influx of semi-skilled workers to their plants; research institutions are generating diverse, highly-educated communities; and large hotel chains in tourist destinations are bringing in temporary workers en route to permanent residency. Immigrant business and community networks are growing and acting as magnets for further migration flows. These processes are facilitated by policies and programs at the federal, provincial and municipal levels. Though this phenomenon holds enormous potential to reinvigorate small communities and provide improved livelihoods for immigrants, there are a number of important associated challenges, ranging from the domains of physical development to community attitudes. Addressing these challenges is not only crucial, it is desirable as it holds the potential to expand the perspectives of local actors and generate infrastructure, social and cultural benefits for the community as a whole.

This paper has contributed to the literature on regional immigration by identifying the particular drivers and dynamics of immigrant attraction in the Canadian context. Further, it has investigated the challenges associated with cultivating welcoming communities in specific towns and regions, a research need identified by the Welcoming Communities Initiative. Finally, it has taken the important step of connecting work on regional immigration and welcoming communities to planning discourse, a link that has been previously lacking.

There are many avenues for future research stemming from this work. First, some potential immigrant attraction dynamics have been identified that were not explored in this paper, namely, recruitment to the oil, mining, agricultural and health sectors. Case studies in communities witnessing these dynamics should be carried out. Additionally, future research should reach out to immigrants and long-term community members to understand how settlement and welcoming are experienced by these important actors. Finally, longitudinal case studies should be carried out in order to understand how the drivers of immigration mature over time and to assess the success of welcoming initiatives on the long term.

Immigration policy and dynamics in Canada are changing rapidly. It is important for research and planning practise to closely monitor these changes and respond in relevant ways in order to ensure the best possible outcomes for all actors.

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APPENDIX A: WELCOMING COMMUNITY CHARACTERISTICS

Rank-ordered list of characteristics of a welcoming community reviewed in the Welcoming Communities Initiative Report titled "Characteristics of a Welcoming Community" (Esses *et al.*, 2010):

1. Employment Opportunities
2. Fostering of Social Capital
3. Affordable and Suitable Housing
4. Positive Attitudes toward Immigrants, Cultural Diversity, and the Presence of Newcomers in the Community
5. Presence of Newcomer-Serving Agencies that Can Successfully Meet the Needs of Newcomers
6. Links between Main Actors Working toward Welcoming Communities
7. Municipal Features and Services Sensitive to the Presence and Needs of Newcomers
8. Educational Opportunities
9. Accessible and Suitable Health Care
10. Available and Accessible Public Transit
11. Presence of Diverse Religious Organisations
12. Social Engagement Opportunities
13. Political Participation Opportunities
14. Positive Relationships with the Police and the Justice System
15. Safety
16. Opportunities for Use of Public Space and Recreation Facilities
17. Favourable Media Coverage and Representation

APPENDIX B: PROJECT INFORMATION SHEET

Project Information

Project Title: New Patterns of Ethnocultural Diversity in Small Canadian Communities: Understanding and assessing the role of planners in immigrant regionalization

Principal Researcher: Lindsay Wiginton, Master's Student, McGill School of Urban Planning
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Purpose of the Research

As my final Supervised Research Project for my Master's degree in Urban Planning, I (Lindsay Wiginton) am researching the nature of ethnocultural diversity in small towns and rural areas in Canada. I want to understand the experience of immigrants that settle in small towns and rural areas, as well as the impacts of this diversity on the communities themselves. I am interested in understanding the perspective of different citizens – long-term residents, new residents and community leaders.

Research outputs from this project will include a report submitted to the McGill School of Urban Planning and the McGill University Libraries. Other professional or refereed publications may also be generated. Findings will be used to understand the nature of the emerging ethnocultural diversity in small communities, and may be used to create new policy and help communities become more welcoming to newcomers.

Ethics Review

As a researcher at McGill, I am required to comply with stringent ethical guidelines on research as stipulated in McGill University policy and Tri-Council Policy Statement Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans. My research has been reviewed by McGill University's Research Ethics Board Office and granted clearance for this interview research.

Please do not hesitate to contact me or my supervisor at the contact information provided at the top of this document with any questions or concerns relating to this project or to your participation in it, either before or after the interview process. In addition, if you have any questions or concerns regarding your rights or welfare as a participant in this research study, you may contact the McGill Ethics Officer at 514-398-6831 or at lynda.mcneil@mcgill.ca

Many thanks for your participation!

APPENDIX C: CASE-STUDY COMMUNITY CENSUS PROFILES

TABLE 11: COMPARATIVE CENSUS DATA, DEMOGRAPHICS AND ECONOMY, 2006 (ONTARIO AND MANITOBA)

		Deep River - Town (CSD)	Elgin (CD)	**ON (Prov.)**	Morris - Town (CSD)	Morris - Rural mun. (CSD)	**MB (Prov.)**
Population	Population in 2011	4193	87461	**12851821**	1797	2999	**1208268**
	Population in 2006	4216	85351	**12160282**	1643	2662	**1148401**
	Growth rate 2006-2011	-0.5	2.5	**5.7**	9.4	12.7	**5.2**
	Population density per square km, 2011	82.3	46.5	**14.1**	294.6	2.9	**2.2**
Age (2006)	Median age	46.1	39.1	**39**	39.6	35.1	**38.1**
	% Pop. aged 15 and over	84.8	80.2	**81.8**	79.9	75.9	**80.4**
Housing (2006)	Total private dwellings occupied by usual residents	1785	32205	**4555025**	655	875	**448780**
	% Single-detached houses	75.6	76.7	**56.1**	82.4	89.7	**68.5**
	% Semi-detached houses	11.5	3.8	**5.7**	2.3	0.0	**3.1**
	% Row houses	0.0	3.1	**7.9**	2.3	1.1	**3.1**
	% Apartments, all types	12.0	14.9	**29.8**	12.2	8.5	**23.2**
	% Owned dwellings	79.8	76.4	**71.0**	75.6	83.4	**68.9**
	% Rented dwellings	19.9	23.6	**28.8**	25.2	16.6	**28.5**
Income and poverty (2006)	Median income - All census families ($)	81458	66410	**69156**	52319	50078	**58816**
	% in Low income after tax - All persons	5.6	6.2	**11.1**	12.2	10.2	**12.2**
	% in Low income after tax - Persons under 18 years	8.3	7.4	**13.7**	17.9	14.8	**15.9**
	Median monthly payments for rented dwellings ($)	625	655	**801**	451	475	**570**
	Median monthly payments for owner-occupied dwellings ($)	525	959	**1046**	542	468	**655**
Education (2006)	% Pop. 15 years and over with a university certificate; diploma or degree	29.7	8.7	**20.5**	5.5	6.6	**15.0**
	% of Postsecondary certificate, diploma or degrees from outside Canada	18.8	7.4	**21.5**	5.3	3.2	**11.2**
Labour force activity (2006)	Employment rate	52.8	64.2	**62.8**	63.1	70.7	**63.6**
	Unemployment rate	4.4	5.5	**6.4**	1.8	2	**5.5**
Area of occupation (2006)	Total experienced labour force 15 years and over	1935	45135	**6473735**	820	1480	**602150**
	% Management occs.	12.4	6.8	**10.3**	4.3	5.1	**8.5**
	% Business; finance and administration occs.	10.1	13.9	**18.6**	22.0	8.4	**17.3**
	% Natural and applied sci. and related occs.	30.5	3.3	**7.0**	3.0	2.4	**4.9**
	% Health occs.	3.4	6.0	**5.3**	12.2	5.7	**6.7**
	% Occs. in social sci.; education; govt. service and religion	9.3	5.8	**8.4**	6.7	5.1	**8.8**
	% Occs. in art; culture; recreation and sport	4.1	1.5	**3.1**	0.0	1.4	**2.3**
	% Sales and service occs.	20.2	20.5	**23.5**	20.7	16.6	**24.6**
	% Trades; transport and equip. operators and related occs.	7.2	19.7	**14.1**	18.3	20.3	**15.0**
	% Occs. unique to primary industry	1.0	7.2	**2.6**	6.7	29.1	**6.5**
	% Occs.unique to processing; manufacturing and utilities	1.3	15.3	**7.2**	5.5	5.7	**5.3**
Transportation modes to work (2006)	% by Car; truck; van; as driver or passenger	75.3	91.2	**79.2**	77.2	81.7	**81.0**
	% by Public transit	2.9	0.6	**12.9**	0.0	0.0	**8.9**
	% Walked or bicycled	20.4	7.3	**6.8**	22.8	14.4	**9.0**

SOURCE: AUTHOR, WITH DATA FROM STATSCAN, 2012; STATSCAN, 2007A

TABLE 12: COMPARATIVE CENSUS DATA, DEMOGRAPHICS AND ECONOMY, 2006 (ALBERTA AND BRITISH COLUMBIA)

		Banff - Town (CSD)	**AB (Prov.)**	Whistler - Distr. mun. (CSD)	Squamish - Distr. mun. (CSD)	Pemberton - Village (CSD)	Merritt - City (CSD)	**BC (Prov.)**
Population	Population in 2011	7584	**3645257**	9824	17148	2369	7113	**4400057**
	Population in 2006	6700	**3290350**	9248	14949	2192	6998	**4113487**
	Growth rate 2006-2011	13.2	**10.8**	6.2	14.8	8.1	1.6	**7**
	Population density per square km, 2011	1555	**5.7**	40.9	163.6	217.5	24.8	**4.8**
Age (2006)	Median age	32.1	**36**	32.2	35.9	32.7	42.2	**40.8**
	% Pop. aged 15 and over	88	**80.8**	87.5	79.6	80.6	81	**83.5**
Housing (2006)	Total private dwellings occupied by usual residents	2565	**1256200**	3910	5625	945	2820	**1643150**
	% Single-detached houses	21.1	**63.4**	24.8	53.6	12.2	62.2	**49.2**
	% Semi-detached houses	11.3	**4.8**	9.5	7.8	13.8	8.5	**3.1**
	% Row houses	12.1	**7.0**	20.7	14.1	27.0	5.5	**6.9**
	% Apartments, all types	54.2	**21.7**	43.6	18.0	39.2	16.5	**38.0**
	% Owned dwellings	41.7	**73.1**	54.9	76.2	65.1	70.2	**69.7**
	% Rented dwellings	58.5	**26.3**	45.0	23.7	34.9	29.8	**30.1**
Income and poverty (2006)	Median income - All census families ($)	68478	**73823**	77975	69085	61643	56178	**62346**
	% in Low income after tax - All persons	10.8	**9.1**	12.3	9	8.9	9.9	**13.1**
	% in Low income after tax - Persons under 18 years	4.3	**10.3**	9.6	10.9	3.1	15.9	**14.9**
	Median monthly payments for rented dwellings ($)	931	**754**	1051	801	812	580	**752**
	Median monthly payments for owner-occupied dwellings ($)	1318	**1016**	1475	1276	1566	670	**876**
Education (2006)	% Pop. 15 years and over with a university certificate; diploma or degree	21.1	**17.5**	28.9	14.0	18.3	9.8	**19.3**
	% of Postsecondary certificate, diploma or degrees from outside Canada	25.0	**14.1**	25.3	20.1	20.2	8.6	**23.0**
Labour force activity (2006)	Employment rate	86.1	**70.9**	81.1	70.4	85.7	57.3	**61.6**
	Unemployment rate	1.9	**4.3**	5.3	6.2	3.5	8	**6**
Area of occupation (2006)	Total experienced labour force 15 years and over	5130	**1928635**	6875	8825	1540	3435	**2193115**
	% Management occs.	17.2	**9.7**	17.5	10.4	21.1	8.6	**10.5**
	% Business; finance and administration occs.	11.3	**17.7**	12.5	13.5	11.7	10.0	**17.1**
	% Natural and applied sci. and related occs.	2.8	**7.5**	4.7	5.2	3.6	4.1	**6.3**
	% Health occs.	2.3	**5.4**	3.6	4.0	2.9	4.1	**5.5**
	% Occs. in social sci.; education; govt. service and religion	2.3	**7.1**	4.9	6.3	4.9	9.6	**8.1**
	% Occs. in art; culture; recreation and sport	3.7	**2.3**	4.9	3.6	7.1	0.9	**3.5**
	% Sales and service occs.	49.8	**22.7**	36.9	29.7	26.3	27.7	**25.3**
	% Trades; transport and equip. operators and related occs.	9.2	**18.2**	11.7	21.5	18.5	20.8	**15.5**
	% Occs. unique to primary industry	0.7	**6.1**	2.8	3.7	3.2	7.1	**3.9**
	% Occs.unique to processing; manufacturing and utilities	0.6	**3.4**	0.6	1.9	0.0	7.1	**4.2**
Transportation modes to work (2006)	% by Car; truck; van; as driver or passenger	38.6	82.2	62.0	88.2	82.2	83.5	79.3
	% by Public transit	3.5	9.2	16.1	2.7	3.0	0.0	10.3
	% Walked or bicycled	55.8	7.1	20.5	7.1	13.0	15.5	8.9

SOURCE: AUTHOR, WITH DATA FROM STATSCAN, 2012; STATSCAN, 2007A

TABLE 13: COMPARATIVE CENSUS DATA, IMMIGRATION, 2006

	Deep River - Town (CSD)	Elgin (CD)	**ON (Prov.)**	Morris - Town (CSD)	Morris - Rural mun. (CSD)	**MB (Prov.)**	Banff - Town (CSD)	**AB (Prov.)**	Whistler - Distr. mun. (CSD)	Squamish - Distr. mun. (CSD)	Pemberton - Village (CSD)	Merritt - City (CSD)	**BC (Prov.)**
All Source Countries													
Total pop. (for immigration counts)	4180	84260	**12028895**	1600	2665	**1133515**	6660	**3256355**	9245	14885	2195	6950	**4074385**
Total immigrants	845	11155	**3398725**	175	305	**151230**	1070	**527030**	1455	3140	360	875	**1119215**
% of Total pop.	20.2	13.2	**28.3**	10.9	11.4	**13.3**	16.1	**16.2**	15.7	21.1	16.4	12.6	**27.5**
Arrived before 1991	550	8370	**1884440**	125	145	**92535**	585	**295390**	675	1795	140	695	**605680**
% of Imm. pop.	65.1	75.0	**55.4**	71.4	47.5	**61.2**	54.7	**56.0**	46.4	57.2	38.9	79.4	**54.1**
Arrived 1991 to 2000	265	1460	**933545**	15	45	**27505**	215	**127960**	495	760	110	135	**335695**
% of Imm. pop.	31.4	13.1	**27.5**	8.6	14.8	**18.2**	20.1	**24.3**	34.0	24.2	30.6	15.4	**30.0**
Arrived 2001 to 2006	25	1320	**580740**	40	115	**31190**	270	**103680**	280	585	110	50	**177840**
% of Imm. pop.	3.0	11.8	**17.1**	22.9	37.7	**20.6**	25.2	**19.7**	19.2	18.6	30.6	5.7	**15.9**
# Geographical origins present	16	22		7	5		19		16	21	13	17	
Dominant origin	UK	Central America		Central America	Central America		Other East Asia		UK	India	UK	India	
# Immigrants in largest origin group	295	3360		40	230		240		335	965	100	290	
Largest group as share of immigrant population (concentration ratio)	0.35	0.30		0.23	0.75		0.23		0.34	0.31	0.27	0.32	
Non-Traditional Source Countries													
Total immigrants	325	4720		50	250		615		610	1630	190	490	
% of Total pop.	7.8	5.6		3.1	9.4		9.2		6.6	11.0	8.7	7.1	
% of Imm pop.	38.5	42.3		28.6	82.0		57.5		41.9	51.9	52.8	56.0	
# Geographical origins present	11	15		2	2		13		10	14	7	10	
Dominant origin	India	Central America		Central America	Central America		Other East Asia		Oceania & Other	India	Oceania & Other	India	
# Immigrants in largest origin group	80	3360		40	230		240		195	965	60	290	
Largest group as share of non-traditional immigrant pop. (concentration ratio)	24.5	0.7		80.0	92.0		0.39		0.32	0.592	0.32	0.59	
Visible Minorities													
Visible minority population	425	2020	**2745200**	0	0	109095	1115	**454200**	615	2345	190	800	1008855
% of Total pop.	10.2	2.4	**22.8**	0.0	0.0	9.6	16.7	**13.9**	6.7	15.8	8.7	11.5	24.8

SOURCE: AUTHOR, WITH DATA FROM STATSCAN, 2007B