

IN SEARCH OF WELCOMING
NEIGHBOURHOODS AND ADEQUATE
HOUSING: THE EXPERIENCES OF RECENT
NEWCOMERS IN NORTH BAY AND
TIMMINS, ONTARIO

Natalya Brown, Nipissing University
Anahit Armenakyan, Nipissing University

A Pathways to
Prosperity Project

January 2020

In Search of Welcoming Neighbourhoods and Adequate Housing: The Experiences of Recent Newcomers in North Bay and Timmins, Ontario

Natalya Brown, Nipissing University

Anahit Armenakyan, Nipissing University

A Pathways to Prosperity Project

January, 2020



Table of Contents

- Executive Summary..... 1**
 - RESEARCH QUESTIONS 2
 - SUMMARY OF KEY FINDINGS..... 3
 - RECOMMENDATIONS 4
 - RELATIONSHIP TO PATHWAYS TO PROSPERITY (P2P) THEMES 5
- Introduction 6**
- Related Literature 9**
- Background 11**
- Methodology And Data Collection..... 16**
 - SURVEY 16
 - FOCUS GROUPS AND INTERVIEWS..... 18
 - CONTENT ANALYSIS 19
- Results..... 20**
 - ACCEPTABLE HOUSING 20
 - HOUSING EXPERIENCES AND CHALLENGES 23
 - SAFETY, COMFORT, AND TRUST 28
 - NEIGHBOURHOOD INTERACTIONS 29
 - WELCOMING COMMUNITIES 35
 - SENSE OF COMMUNITY 35
 - MUNICIPAL MARKETING EFFORTS 37
 - Timmins: City With A Heart Of Gold 37
 - North Bay: Gateway Of The North..... 41
- Conclusions And Recommendations..... 45**
- Acknowledgments..... 48**
- Exhibits 53**

Table of Tables

Table 1. <i>Affordability, Suitability and Adequacy of Housing for Selected cities in Ontario</i>	14
Table 2. <i>Vacancy Rates for Selected cities in Ontario</i>	15
Table 3. <i>Number of Participants</i>	19

Table of Figures

Figure 1. <i>Survey Sample Profile</i>	18
Figure 2. <i>Happiness with Housing Conditions</i>	21
Figure 3. <i>Ease of Housing Search</i>	22
Figure 4. <i>Importance of Location Factors</i>	22
Figure 5. <i>Summary of Housing Experiences and Challenges</i>	27
Figure 6. <i>Perceptions of Neighbourhood and Neighbours</i>	28
Figure 7. <i>Interactions with Neighbours</i>	29
Figure 8. <i>Mains Themes for Neighbourhoods and Neighbours</i>	34
Figure 9. <i>Sense of Community</i>	36
Figure 10. <i>Timmins Logo</i>	38
Figure 11. <i>Timmins: Key Phrases in Marketing Communications</i>	39
Figure 12. <i>Timmins: Words/Concepts in Marketing Communication</i>	40
Figure 13. <i>North Bay Logo</i>	41
Figure 14. <i>North Bay: Key Phrases in Marketing Communication</i>	43
Figure 15. <i>North Bay: Words/Concepts in Marketing Communication</i>	44

Table of Exhibits

Exhibit 1. <i>Timmins Events Advertisements</i>	53
Exhibit 2. <i>North Bay Events Advertisements</i>	55
Exhibit 3. <i>Words/Concepts Count from Cities Communication Channels</i>	57

Executive Summary

The Settlement Program of the Department of Citizenship and Immigration Canada identifies newcomers' integration into Canadian society as key to the successful realization of the economic, social, and cultural benefits of immigration (IRCC, 2019). The Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot is a community-driven program that is specifically designed to spread the benefits of immigration to smaller communities, such as North Bay and Timmins (Ontario) (Immigrate to Canada, n.s.). There can be advantages for immigrants who settle in small- to mid-size urban centres, such as North Bay and Timmins due to access to more affordable living. There are also advantages for small- to mid-size urban centres, such as North Bay and Timmins, which are able to attract and retain immigrants. Access to acceptable housing is a key characteristic of a welcoming community and neighbourhood characteristics shape opportunities for newcomers. Understanding how welcoming these communities are is important to understanding the geographic dispersal of immigrants.

The objectives of our research project were three-fold. First, we examined those community housing characteristics identified by recent newcomers that facilitate or hinder their integration into the North Bay and Timmins communities. Second, we examined the neighbouring behaviours and interactions of recent newcomers in North Bay and Timmins areas and their perceptions of their neighbourhoods. Finally, we examined the marketing efforts of the settlement agencies and municipal agencies in order to foster welcoming neighbourhoods and to create a sense of community for newcomers.

Research Questions

Our three main research questions were:

1. What challenges to acquiring adequate, suitable, and affordable housing do newcomers face during their integration into the North Bay and Timmins communities and how have their housing outcomes changed over time?
2. How do newcomers' housing experiences and neighbouring behaviours and interactions impact the creation of sense of community and their perception of North Bay and Timmins as welcoming communities?
3. What marketing approaches/messages have settlement agencies and municipal agencies in these two cities used to foster welcoming neighbourhoods and to create a sense of community for immigrant newcomers?

To answer our research questions, we surveyed and conducted focus groups with recent immigrants and conducted interviews with settlement workers, city staff, and community volunteers in North Bay and Timmins. We also conducted a conceptual content analysis of marketing materials of the regional settlement agencies and municipal agencies distributed over a five-year period. Particular attention was paid to materials related to welcoming communities, anti-racism, immigrant integration, and diversity.

Summary of Key Findings

- There are gaps in rental availability that particularly impact newcomers: rooms, short-term rentals, and 3-bedroom apartments. Most participants were able to access adequate and suitable housing over time. The majority of participants reported landlord issues linked to language skills with lack of knowledge of tenants' rights exacerbating problems.
- The evidence suggests that newcomers in North Bay and Timmins are more likely than other residents to spend more than 30% of their gross income on housing costs.
- Housing outcomes improved for most participants with half moving from being renters to home owners within 3 years. Others languished with less than suitable housing. Employment, language skills, social networks, and family size were key factors.
- Newcomers find their neighbourhoods safe and quiet and their neighbours kind, helpful, and friendly, contributing to sense of community through shared emotional connection (e.g., repeated positive interactions) and integration and fulfillment of needs (e.g., help/advice) dimensions. Overall, newcomers feel welcomed by the communities and residents.
- Employment and job market experiences play a bigger role than housing and neighbouring experiences in perceptions of North Bay and Timmins as welcoming communities.
- Marketing efforts in North Bay and Timmins differ in their targeting and communication approaches. North Bay seems to aim at attracting international skilled newcomers, while Timmins puts an emphasis on meeting labour market needs by catering to international students and touting well-paying entry level positions. Both cities draw attention to the quality of life and work-life balance in a small city by highlighting the Northern Ontario nature as well as the range of family friendly social and cultural events.

Recommendations

To improve the newcomers' experience in settling in Northeastern Ontario, we make the following recommendations

- Continuous monitoring of the housing, labour, transportation, and service capacity of the communities enrolled in the Settlement Program
- Investment in a range of affordable rental options: short-term, single-occupant, family-oriented apartments and rooms
- Development of special short-term financial packages for newcomers to tackle issues related to housing, transportation, and other settlement issues
- Expansion of settlement workshops and courses beyond commonly offered language courses. More frequent offerings of workshops/courses on:
 - rights and responsibilities of landlords and tenants to assist newcomers in understanding of the rental market and avoiding discrimination or deception,
 - job preparedness to educate and prepare newcomers on labour market and employer expectations, and
 - starting a business in Northeastern Ontario to support newcomers in their employment and self-employment plans
- Enhancement of promotional campaigns and events aimed at both groups ,locals and newcomers, on the benefits of immigration and cultural diversity for the economic development of their communities
- Encouragement and support of neighbourhood events and activities to improve and motivate more active social interaction particularly in the winter months

Relationship to Pathways to Prosperity (P2P) Themes

This research project relates to three research themes prioritized by P2P:

- ***Location Decisions of Immigrants to Canada:*** The regionalization of immigration has been encouraged by policymakers. Our study adds to the growing literature on the housing and neighbouring experiences of newcomers in Canada's small- and mid-sized urban centres.
- ***Role of Settlement Sector and Not-for-Profits in Canada:*** The role of municipalities and their agencies in immigration has been growing. There is a gap in immigration scholarship on the role of municipalities in Canada's smaller cities and our study aims to contribute to this area.
- ***Health and Well-being of Immigrants in Canada:*** Safety, comfort, trust, sense of community, and sense of belonging are key indicators of life satisfaction and well-being. In our study, we measure recent newcomers' perceptions of safety, comfort, trust, sense of community, and sense of belonging in their neighbourhoods and the wider community.

Introduction

Access to affordable, suitable, and adequate housing in neighbourhoods where newcomers feel comfortable is necessary for the successful integration of immigrants into a community (Murdie and Teixeira, 2003). Ray and Preston (2009) argue that neighbourhoods are important for understanding social inclusions. McMillan and Chavis (1986) define sense of community as “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to be together” (p. 9). While sense of community is important for individual and community well-being, is it particularly important for immigrants (Kee and Nam, 2016). Hombrados-Mendieta et al. (2013) found that low sense of community resulted in diminished life satisfaction for immigrants; while Kitchen et al. (2015) found that positive sense of belonging was associated with full-time work and home-ownership, and that immigrants place a greater importance in knowing and trusting their neighbours. Understanding how welcoming these communities are is important to understanding the geographic dispersal of immigrants (Drolet and Robertson, 2011).

The majority of newcomers/immigrants to Canada settle in the metropolitan areas of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver, with 55 percent of them residing in these three cities in 2015 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2017). In that year, Toronto alone received 79% of all permanent residents in Ontario (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2017). Concerns for regional development and a more balanced distribution of Canada’s population have spurred efforts to encourage immigrants to settle in areas outside these metropolitan cities (Teixeira, 2011; Simone and Newbold, 2014). Although there is a growing body of work examining migration to smaller urban centres in Canada, there is still much work to be done. Teixeira and Drolet (2016) argue, “scholarship needs to address the new realities of immigration outside

major Canadian urban areas” (p. 1). In particular, they note that comparatively little is known about the housing mobility of recent immigrants in small- and mid-sized cities in Canada. There is also a dearth of longitudinal research for smaller urban centres (Murdie et al., 2006).

Most urban centres in Northeastern Ontario experienced a decrease in population between 2011 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). This contrasts with the situation across the entire province of Ontario, which experienced a population increase of 4.6% over the same time period (Statistics Canada, 2017). Within the northeast region, North Bay and Timmins experienced the largest (-3.8%) and third largest (-3.2%) declines, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2017). Although both cities face skill shortages and youth out-migration, their housing markets and economic and demographic challenges are not identical. Immigration is a key part of current and proposed municipal strategies to address the demographic and economic challenges facing both communities. Both cities have developed comprehensive strategic plans to promote the settlement and integration of immigrants in their communities, including engaging in marketing efforts in order to attract newcomers and to foster cross-cultural respect and build a sense of a welcoming community (City of North Bay, 2007; Timmins Economic Development Corporation, 2010; Welsh, 2012).

Thus, the objectives of our research project were three-fold. First, we examined community characteristics identified by immigrant newcomers that facilitate or hinder housing integration in North Bay and Timmins areas. Second, we examined the neighbouring behaviours and interactions of immigrant newcomers in North Bay and Timmins areas along with their perceptions of their neighbourhoods. Finally, we examined the use of marketing messages by settlement agencies and municipal agencies in order to foster welcoming neighbourhoods and to

create a sense of community for immigrant newcomers. Explicitly, our three main research questions were:

1. What challenges to acquiring adequate, suitable, and affordable housing do newcomers face during their integration into the North Bay and Timmins communities and how have their housing outcomes change over time?
2. How do their housing experiences and neighbouring behaviours and interactions impact the creation of sense of community and their perception of North Bay and Timmins as welcoming communities?
3. What marketing approaches/messages have settlement agencies and municipal agencies in these two cities used to foster welcoming neighbourhoods and to create a sense of community for immigrant newcomers?

To answer our research questions, we surveyed and conducted focus groups with recent immigrants and conducted interviews with settlement workers, city staff, and community volunteers in North Bay and Timmins. We also conducted a content analysis of marketing materials of the regional settlement agencies and municipal agencies distributed over a 5-year period.

The results indicate that most participants were satisfied with the suitability and adequacy of their housing but were less satisfied with the affordability and/or availability of housing in the community. While the participants in our study felt safe and comfortable in their neighbourhoods and with their neighbours, their interactions with neighbours were very limited and superficial and did not create a strong source of sense of community. Nevertheless, there was evidence of overall sense of community and participants felt that they lived in welcoming communities.

Proximity to public transit was one of the most important housing characteristics sought by the newcomers. Meanwhile, marketing efforts of the municipalities and settlement agencies in both cities emphasize the beauty of natural environment and employment opportunities along with the comparably more affordable housing options in Northern Ontario versus the rest of the province. The difference in the communications seem to come from the types of newcomers these two communities attempt to attract with Timmins emphasizing abundance of well-paying entry positions particularly in mining, while North Bay stresses availability of more professional positions.

Related literature

Welcoming communities recognize that immigration is a two-way process in which the host community and newcomers work to build an environment that is accepting of newcomers (Biles, Burstein, and Frideres, 2008; Bommers, 2012). In order to attract and retain newcomers, smaller urban centres must implement strategies to foster respect for diversity and cultivate a welcoming community (Drolet, Robertson, and Robinson, 2010). According to Teixeira (2008), successful integration into a community requires “the attainment of two basic needs: access to a neighbourhood where the newcomer feels comfortable, and housing that is adequate, suitable and affordable” (p. 255-256). Teixeira and Drolet (2017) stress the importance of access to adequate, suitable, and affordable housing in the initial stages of settlement in a new community to the social, cultural, and economic integration of newcomers into the host community. Mata and Pendakar (2013) posit that the neighbourhood serves as a space for the development of social capital. Neighbourhood characteristics shape opportunities of their residents and provide important context for social interactions.

There can be advantages for immigrants who settle in mid- to small-size urban centres in Canada, including better labour market outcomes (Bauder, 2003), more suitable housing conditions (Brown, 2017; Simone and Newbold, 2014), and greater opportunities for homeownership (Simone and Newbold, 2014). There are also advantages for small- to mid-size urban centres that are able to attract and retain immigrants, including meeting labour demands and driving population renewal. Many small- and mid-sized cities across Ontario are experiencing skill gaps and slowly aging and declining populations. Frideres (2006) found evidence that immigrants are interested in residing in third-tier cities with populations less than 100,000. In fact, many immigrants are choosing to reside in smaller centres (Williams et al., 2015).

Researchers have identified housing availability among the many factors influencing immigrant settlement location (Bauder and Sharpe, 2002; Ray, 1998). Some of the other factors that explain migration to small- and mid-sized cities include lower cost of living, less crowding, educational opportunities, family reunification, and lifestyle choices (Simone and Newbold, 2014; Walton-Roberts, 2005, 2011). The challenges faced by immigrants in these communities include accessing acceptable housing and transportation, finding employment appropriate to their skills and experience, and community tolerance (Wiginton, 2013). Teixeira and Drolet (2017) find that small- and mid-size cities have difficulty attracting and retaining newcomers due, in part, to expensive and/or deficient housing markets that are not able to accommodate the needs of newcomers. In addition, in smaller communities there is limited access to immigrant services and there is less diversity (Krahn et al., 2005). Williams et al. (2015) find that immigrants in second- and third-tier Canadian cities have lower perceptions of quality of life than Canadian born individuals, consistent with findings in first-tier cities.

While research into the experiences of immigrants in Canada's small- and mid-sized urban areas is burgeoning, this area still lags significantly behind in comparison to the extant literature on the experiences of immigrants in Canada's major metropolitan areas. Research on housing experiences is particularly thin (Carter et al., 2008; Teixeira, 2009; Teixeira and Drolet, 2017; Wilkinson, 2013). The majority of research on the experience of immigrants in the housing market are national in scope or focus on the major metropolitan areas (Teixeira and Drolet, 2017). Simone and Newbold (2014) argue that we should expect different rates of housing satisfaction, housing trajectories, and housing conditions between immigrants residing in first-, second-, and third-tier cities. There is also limited research on the neighbouring behaviours and perceptions of immigrants in smaller communities (e.g. Brown, 2017). Finally, there is a gap in immigration scholarship on the role of municipalities in Canada's smaller cities (Guo and Guo, 2016).

Background

The region of Northeastern Ontario has been facing economic and demographic challenges over the last two decades and has been identified as a region that could benefit from immigration. Many of the urban centres in the region are experiencing declining populations and youth out-migration. Labour shortages, particularly in the mining sector, and concerns about shrinking tax bases have prompted efforts by individual municipalities to attract immigrants. Traditionally, these urban centres attract a small percentage of newcomers to Canada and, in contrast to Southern Ontario, have relatively small proportions of visible minorities. The disparities in economic opportunities between communities in Northeast Ontario and those in Southern

Ontario as well as the presence of well-established social networks in Southern Ontario may help to explain the distribution of newcomers.

North Bay's population fell by 3.8% between 2011 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). Meanwhile, the population of Timmins fell by 3.2% between 2011 and 2016 (Statistics Canada, 2017). This contrasts with the population increases of 4.6% and 5% experienced by the province of Ontario and Canada, respectively, over the same time period. According to the 2016 census, 29.1% of the population hold immigrant status in Ontario (Statistics Canada, 2017). The percentages are significantly lower for North Bay (5.6%) and Timmins (3.4%) (Statistics Canada, 2017). Less than 2% of the population in Timmins identified as visible minorities in the last census, while in North Bay the proportion is slightly higher at 3.3% (Statistics Canada, 2017). For a comparison, 29.3% identified as visible minorities in the province of Ontario, (Statistics Canada, 2017). Meanwhile, in 2016, the average household income in North Bay and Timmins (Ontario) was below the provincial average at \$42,737 and \$47,731 respectively (Statistics Canada, 2017), and immigration is considered to be a key part of current and proposed municipal strategies to address the demographic and economic challenges facing both communities.

North Bay created the *North Bay Newcomer Network* in 2005, as part of the city's immigration-centred economic development strategy. This city-led committee with community stakeholders from the private and public sector was charged with several immigration-related goals including raising the national and international profile of North Bay, identifying needs in key areas such as health, education, and housing, and conducting an inventory of social services key to immigrant settlement. Later, the *North Bay and District Multicultural Centre (herein, Multicultural Centre)* was established in 2008 to deliver settlement programming in the districts

of Parry Sound, Nipissing, Temiskaming, and Cochrane. A satellite office of the Multicultural Centre was established in Timmins in 2011. In addition, many initiatives to attract and retain immigrants to the Timmins area are spearheaded by the Timmins Economic Development Corporation. Recent efforts to attract newcomers to the Northeastern region include the development of a regional immigration portal—the *Northeastern Immigration Portal*—which features over 40 communities and provides information in seven languages (i.e., English, French, [Simplified] Chinese, Spanish, Arabic, Punjabi, and Filipino). Both North Bay and Timmins are featured on the portal, with North Bay also establishing its own stand-alone immigration portal—*North Bay Immigration*. More recently, North Bay and Timmins were among the 11 communities selected to be part of Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada’s (IRCC) Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot Program (IRCC, 2019) aimed at assisting rural and northern communities in attracting foreign workers of varying skill levels. The trend of an increasing number of immigrants settling in North Bay and Timmins is expected to continue in the near future.

Access to *adequate*, *suitable*, and *affordable* housing is essential in the initial stages of settlement in a new community for the social, cultural, and economic integration of newcomers into a host community (Teixeira and Drolet, 2017). According to the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) Housing Standards, acceptable housing is “adequate in condition, suitable in size and affordable” (CMHC, 2019). As per CMHC report, ‘*adequate housing*’ does not require major repairs according to residents, ‘*suitable housing*’ has enough bedrooms for the size and composition (i.e., age, sex, and relationships among members) of the household, and ‘*affordable housing*’ costs less than 30% of before-tax household income (CMHC, 2019). Table 1 shows a comparison of North Bay and Timmins with a selection of cities in Northern and

Southern Ontario in terms of housing affordability, suitability and adequacy from the last census conducted in 2016. The percentage of households spending more than 30% of their income on shelter costs is higher in North Bay in comparison to those in Timmins and the other cities in Northern Ontario, but is comparable to those in Southern Ontario. North Bay and Timmins both fare well when it comes to suitability in comparison to cities in Southern Ontario. Finally, the housing stocks in North Bay and Timmins are older and this is reflected in housing adequacy.

Table 1. *Affordability, Suitability and Adequacy of Housing for Selected cities in Ontario*

City/Region	Affordability (Percentage of households spending 30% or more on shelter costs)	Suitability (Percentage not suitable)	Adequacy (Percentage of homes needing major repairs)
North Bay	26.2	2.3	7.8
Timmins	21.9	2.8	8.5
Sault Ste. Marie	20.8	2.1	7.1
Greater Sudbury	21.5	2.3	7.6
Hamilton	25.2	4.5	6.3
Toronto	33.4	9.6	5.4
Ottawa	22.5	4.1	5.6
Ontario	27.7	6.0	6.1
Canada	24.1	4.9	6.5

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (2019)

Both cities, like the other cities in Northern Ontario, have higher percentages of dwellings in need of major repairs compared to the other cities in the province. Meanwhile, rental housing availability differs between the two cities, with Timmins having healthier vacancy rates than North Bay between 2014 and 2018. Table 2 shows a comparison of vacancy rates in North Bay and Timmins with a selection of cities in Northern and Southern Ontario. Vacancy rates of less than 3% are not considered healthy for any rental housing market. Low vacancy

rates mean that there are fewer units available for people to rent, which can have impacts on rental rates and broader housing affordability within a community. Vacancy rates dipped in North Bay between 2016 and 2018, while they improved slightly in Timmins over the same period.

Table 2. Vacancy Rates for Selected cities in Ontario

City/Region	Vacancy Rates		
	2014	2016	2018
North Bay	2.5	3.7	1.1
Greater Sudbury	3.8	4.1	2.1
Timmins	4.1	5.1	5.2
Sault Ste. Marie	1.7	2.9	6.2
Ottawa-Gatineau (ON)	2.6	2.8	1.6
Toronto	1.6	1.3	1.1
Hamilton	2.1	3.8	3.1
Ontario	2.3	2.1	1.8

Source: Statistics Canada, Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation (2019)

Methodology and Data Collection

Given the breadth and richness of the subject matter, we opted for a mixed methods approach.

We received ethics clearance from the Nipissing University Research Ethics Board in September 2017 to conduct surveys, focus groups, and interviews with newcomers and key informants (i.e., settlement workers, municipal staff members, and community volunteers working with immigrants). Since our focus is on recent newcomers, we surveyed and conducted focus groups with newcomers who had moved to Canada within the last 8 years and moved to the North Bay or Timmins areas within the last 5 years at the time of data collection.

Survey

The survey was a self-administered questionnaire that was available online in English on Survey Monkey between December 2017 and January 2018. The survey asked participants about their experiences in acquiring adequate, suitable, and affordable housing, their interactions with neighbours, perceptions of their neighbourhoods, and sense of community. The items related to *adequate, suitable, and affordable* housing were based on the definitions from the CMHC discussed earlier (CMHC, 2019). For *neighbourhood interactions* and *perceptions of neighbourhoods*, we used items modified from the General Social Survey on Social Identity (Statistics Canada, 2014). For *neighbourhood interactions* there were 6 items; participants were asked how often they spoke with neighbours, whether they had invited neighbours into their homes or had been invited into neighbours' homes, how many of their neighbours they know, whether they had provided assistance to neighbours, and whether neighbours had provided them with assistance. For *perceptions of the neighbourhood* there were 20 items for which

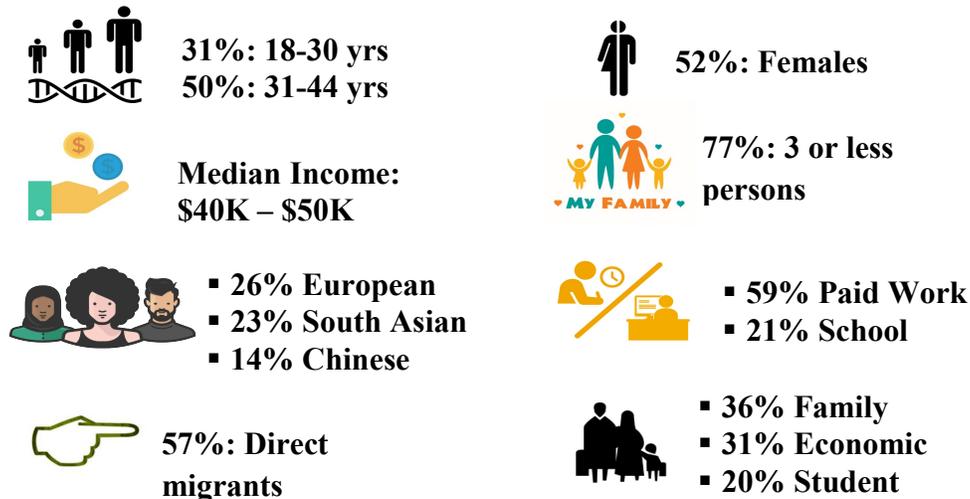
participants indicated the level of friendliness, helpfulness, trust, comfort, and safety. Finally, we used 20 items to measure *sense of community* and its four dimensions – membership, shared emotional connection, influence, and integration and fulfilment of needs – as defined by McMillan and Chavis (1986).

Survey participants were recruited through the distribution lists of the settlement agencies in North Bay and Timmins, through postings on Facebook and Kijiji, and posters placed in locations frequented by newcomers. As the survey was relatively lengthy, we offered survey participants the opportunity to enter draw for a \$200 gift card upon completion of the survey. Fifty-nine individuals responded to our recruitment messages of which 44 submitted responses. The sample size for the survey was smaller than we hoped. Given the data from the latest census, our target population of recent newcomers ranges from 400-500 persons (Statistics Canada, 2017), leading to a response rate of about 13%. Twenty-six of the survey participants were from North Bay, compared to 18 from Timmins. In future iterations of this study, the survey will be made available in French. This is particularly important for the Timmins area, where approximately 40% of the population identifies as Francophone.

Figure 1 summarizes the demographic data of the survey participants. The majority of survey participants were between 31 and 44 years old (50%), with 31% of participants between the ages of 18 and 30 years. Gender was fairly evenly distributed with 52% of participants identifying as female. The majority of participants were from Europe, South Asia, or China. More than half of the survey participants were direct migrants (57%), arriving directly in North Bay or Timmins from their country of origin, with the majority migrating in the Family and Economic class categories. International students made up 20% of survey participants. Median household income ranged between \$40,000 and \$50,000, and the average household size was

three persons. Paid work was the main activity for survey participants (59%), followed by studying (21%).

Figure 1. Survey Sample Profile



Focus Groups and Interviews

The focus groups in North Bay were conducted in the Winter and Spring of 2018 and the focus group in Timmins was conducted in the Fall of 2018. Focus group participants were asked about their housing preferences and experiences, their interactions with neighbours, and their general perceptions of their respective communities. Each participant was compensated with \$25 each for their time. We arranged the composition of the participants in the three groups to ensure some degree of homogeneity. The first focus group in North Bay consisted mainly of employed individuals, with strong English language skills, and some financial resources. The second focus group in North Bay consisted of mostly unemployed individuals with limited English language skills and limited financial resources. Volunteers assisted with translation for this focus group. Finally, the focus group in Timmins consisted of international students or family members of international students. There were 8 participants in one focus group held in Timmins, while there were a total of 23 participants in two focus groups held in North Bay.

Between the Fall of 2017 and the Fall of 2018, we conducted face-to-face and phone interviews with key informants who included 3 settlement workers, 4 municipal staff members, and 10 community volunteers working with immigrants. Given the small number of settlement workers and municipal staff members working on immigration matters, we will not identify them separately from the other key informants in order to protect their identities. The focus groups and interviews were audio recorded and these recordings were then transcribed. Each member of the research team analyzed the qualitative data separately to identify themes and patterns that emerged from the data. Later, we met to discuss and agree on the themes and patterns in order to increase the reliability of the analysis (Patton, 1990). Table 3 shows the number of participants for the survey, interviews and focus groups.

Table 3. *Number of Participants*

	Participant Group	Total
Survey	Newcomers	44
Interviews	Key informants	17
Focus Groups	Newcomers	31

Content Analysis

Finally, in order to answer our final research question on how the municipalities and settlement agencies have used marketing to foster welcoming neighbourhoods and to create a sense of community for immigrant newcomers, we conducted a conceptual content analysis of a sample of marketing materials of the two municipalities and their settlement agencies. For our sample, we collected print and online materials distributed between 2014 and 2018. These materials included handouts, brochures, Facebook postings, a relocation guide, an employer guide, and the immigration portals for each city. We started with a tentative list of pre-defined

concepts, and then added and deleted new concepts as the analysis progressed. Ultimately, we identified 21 and 19 words/concepts for North Bay and Timmins, respectively, and then coded for frequency.

Results

In this section, we present the results from survey, focus groups, and interviews grouped by themes, followed by the results of the content analysis of the municipal marketing efforts. The analysis of the survey results revealed that more than half of the survey participants (55%) own their current residence, with 28.6% of renters in our sample indicating that they plan to buy a home in the area in the next 2 years. Thirty-two percent of survey participants plan to move from their current residence in the next year. The majority of participants live in single-detached homes (64.5%), with less than 10% living in low-rise apartments. On average, participants have changed residences once since moving to the region and 77.4% of participants have lived in their current residence for a year or more.

Acceptable Housing

As a reminder, according to the CMHC Housing Standards, acceptable housing is adequate in condition, suitable in size and affordable; *adequate housing* does not require major repairs according to residents; *suitable housing* has enough bedrooms for the size and composition (i.e. age, sex, and relationships among members) of the household; and *affordable housing* costs less than 30 percent of before-tax household income (CMHC, 2019).

In terms of adequacy, 77% of survey participants were happy with the state of their current residence. Just over 17% of survey participants indicated that their residence needed major repairs (e.g., defective plumbing or electrical wiring, structural repairs needed to walls, floors, and ceilings), while 43.3% indicated that their residence needed minor repairs (e.g., missing or loose floor tiles, bricks or shingles, defective railing or siding). With respect to suitability, 73.4% of survey participants were happy with the number of bedrooms in their current residence, while 86.7% felt that their current residence had enough bedrooms for their family size. Finally, 56.7% of survey participants indicated that housing expenses exceeded 30% of their gross household income, while only 36.7% felt that it was easy to find a home within their budget. Figure 2 shows survey participants' ratings on the condition of their current residence and housing in general in their respective communities, while Figure 3 shows the survey participants' opinions on ease of housing search in terms of budget, size, and location.

Figure 2. Happiness with Housing Conditions

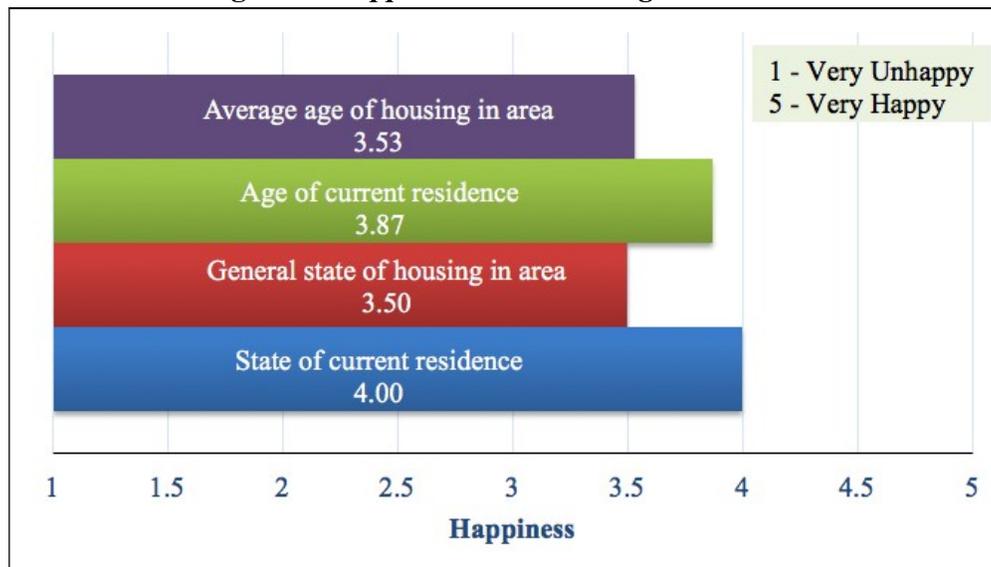
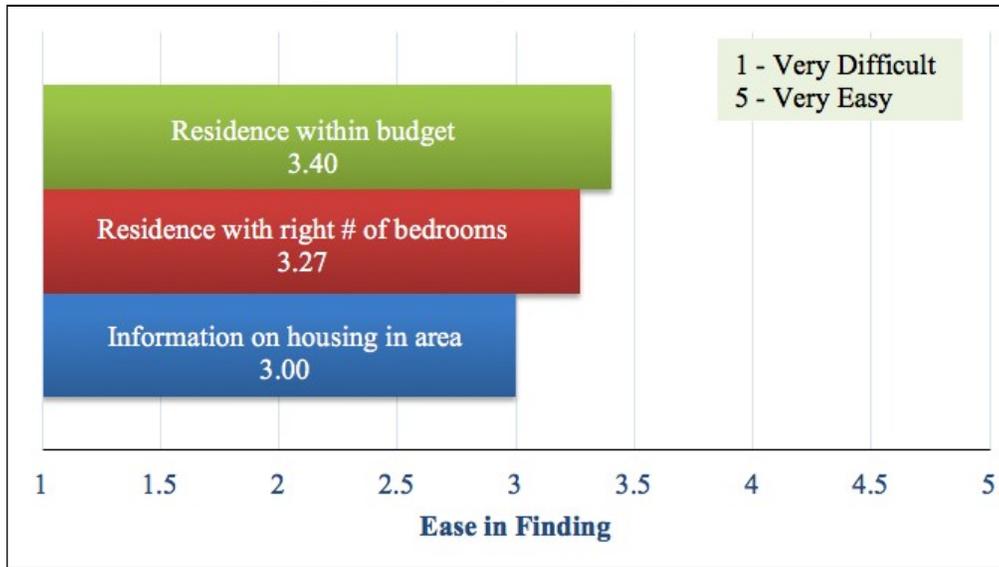
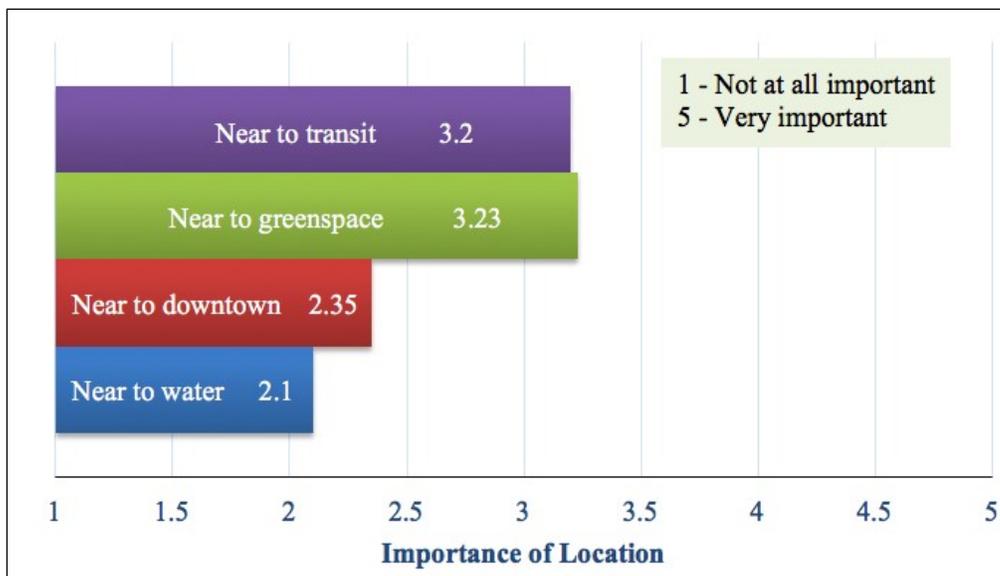


Figure 3. Ease of Housing Search



Being near to public transit and being near to green space were rated more important than being near to the city centre (downtown) or near to water (see Figure 4). Forty-three percent of survey respondents indicated that one or more members of their household used public transit, with 26.7% indicating that someone in their household used public transit on a daily basis.

Figure 4. Importance of Location Factors



Housing Experiences and Challenges

The challenge most commonly mentioned by focus group and interview participants was *gaps in rental availability*, particularly for rooms, short-term rentals, and 3-bedroom apartments. In both North Bay and Timmins, newcomer participants and key informants discussed the difficulty in finding rentals that met their needs, with one newcomer in North Bay commenting, “I don’t think there are enough apartments generally. It’s very much shaped by seniors ...;” while another lamented, “I think there are very few 3-bedroom apartments in North Bay.” Another newcomer from North Bay expressed frustration at finding a room to rent:

“When I first moved to this place, before I came, I tried to search for a room to rent ... I wasn’t planning to come with my family initially. So, I was just looking for probably a room that I could live. I was trying to contact people on Kijiji or what have you. There were a few challenges, but eventually I was lucky to get a woman to take me into her family and accommodations and that was rare.”



**LOW AND
EXPENSIVE
RENTAL STOCK**

Meanwhile in Timmins, a key informant gave a similar assessment of the rental situation there stating, “We are very low on renting stock. It is not unmanageable, we do have vacancies;” while another key informant acknowledged, “the lack of rental housing is a challenge for attracting people.” International students have tried to overcome the challenge of availability by sharing with a large number of roommates. One international student in Timmins complained, “In Timmins there is so many difficulties to find house. So many children are living in one room – 7 or 8 students are living ... with one bathroom and one kitchen.”

The next most commonly mentioned challenge was *issues with landlords*. Some participants described situations in which they were misled or coerced by landlords or

experienced discrimination. In Timmins, one participant complained, “We previously booked a room but when I came here, the person who gave us the room said someone misguided us. When we arrived here there was no room ... we had to find something at the last minute.” Also in Timmins, one newcomer had experiences with an overbearing landlord. “She is looking after the cleanliness of whatever [space] she is occupying but her landlady always controls ... she feels very controlled.” Another newcomer in North Bay felt deceived by his landlord, stating

“We just didn’t take notice of the small lies, between lies, between the small print, we didn’t take care about finding that so we just signed. It is not a normal one, a normal rental contract ... I can’t understand but I do not like this kind of trick.”

A woman renting a room in Timmins felt taken advantage of by her landlord stating “One room and occasional use of the kitchen. Just for the use of the kitchen [the landlord] added to the original rent \$200.” Similarly, a newcomer in North Bay complained, “He wanted me to pay for the period that he probably would not get anybody in the house ... He really gave me a tough time and I never experienced such before with any landlord.” Another newcomer in North Bay had challenges finding a family-friendly landlord:

**LANDLORDS
WHO COERCE
OR
DISCRIMINATE**

“I was looking for a house for my family, people would always like say, “Oh we don’t want somebody that has kids making noise” or we were looking at a three-bedroom flat and he said, “Oh, you are too many, it is a small three-bedroom flat.” What is small about a three-bedroom flat? It is small - it is not going to fit a family of five? So, somehow I think it is kind of a challenge for people that have children... because of the noise or whatever. And then they find out you are many in the house, which is another issue for some landlords.”

One community volunteer in North Bay recalled, “Some things come up and I say, “No, landlords are not allowed to do that.” The language is such a barrier. At first it is very overwhelming.” Another community volunteer working with refugees recounted, “There have been some [landlords] who said they are not willing to rent to refugees. You start thinking, ‘Is it a racist thing or a fear?’ ... and more often than not I think it is just that refugees don’t come with the kind of guarantees [landlords] are looking for. Granted the committee gives them a guarantee but really that is only for a year.”



**LANGUAGE IS A
BARRIER**

Meanwhile, while many struggled, some participants had no difficulty in finding adequate and suitable housing. One newcomer in North Bay stated, “I think, I am okay with my current housing situation because we have enough bedrooms for us and also for my family, my kids.” A key informant from Timmins noted, “The range of apartments is from low quality to high quality. I would say it probably is on the lower quality side of renting stock.” Another key informant expressed concern at the age and condition of rental in downtown Timmins stating, “The apartments close to downtown are all older. I’ve seen a few that are run down ... there are holes and wires sticking out but I’ve seen these places ... why are they still renting?” The larger than average family size of some newcomers created challenges, while others, particularly international students, struggled to find furnished apartments. Overall, comments were mixed when it came to *adequacy* and *suitability*.

Most participants felt that purchasing a home was more achievable in North Bay and Timmins, relative to the Greater Toronto Area, with several able to purchase a home within 2 years of moving to the region. In contrast, participants expressed surprise at the expense of renting in both communities. One key informant acknowledged the role that housing prices might have in attracting newcomers.

**PURCHASING IS
BETTER THAT IN
THE GTA**

“So, the average cost of a home in Timmins right now is \$187,000 for a three-bedroom bungalow, which would be a fairly new brick home with a yard. We recognize that as a very competitive advantage; however, people have to actually come here and see things first to get a sense of it.”

One newcomer described her and her husband’s experience in the housing market in North Bay saying, “He thought [the rental] was a little expensive ... and later we bought a house. I think like two or three years later.” One newcomer in North Bay described a trade-off between house prices and adequacy:

“There’s more maintenance to do with houses in this area because of the climate ... and you see that lot of the housing stock around North Bay looks tired a bit, maybe because it is quite costly to maintain houses here, maybe ... So it’s affordable, so whatever, I guess, what you save in the mortgage you can put in the maintenance. So I think the housing prices are about right personally in North Bay.”

In describing the rental market, one key informant stated, “[Newcomers] are shocked with how expensive rent is in North Bay;” while another said, “As a general rule it is hard in North Bay. Rents are very high.” The situation is similar in Timmins with one key informant stating,

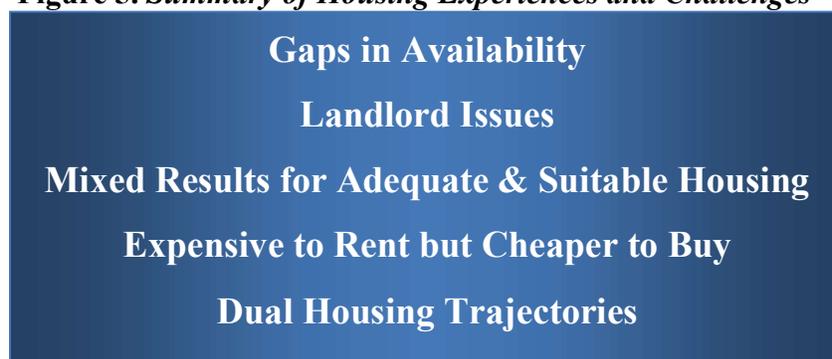
“Timmins is very expensive, it’s a mining town. To have a one bedroom ... that’s not even an apartment that is just a room with a table and a bed and a sink is \$550 to \$600. Especially for an international student when they are paying 3 times what a domestic student is paying, it’s a huge hit so they are having to not only pay for one person but bunking with other people to share the cost.”

Another key informant in Timmins wondered, “I don’t know how they feed themselves after having to pay housing. What’s left for disposable income?”

While we observed *dual housing trajectories*, most newcomer participants experienced improvement in their housing situation over time. For example, more than half of the focus group participants from North Bay moved from the rental market to owning their own home within three years. For those newcomers with strong language skills, ability to find steady employment, arriving with financial resources, and having the support of family or friends, affordable housing prices meant that they were able to transition from the rental market to home-ownership fairly quickly. As one newcomer stated, “We could not have done that without the support of family members, and without actually finding long-term sustainable employment.” Other participants continue to languish in less than ideal housing situations with employment, language skills, social networks, and family size as key factors. Having the support of a sponsorship committee assisted one refugee family in improving their housing situation, as one volunteer stated, “They were in an apartment and their sponsoring group got them into this apartment ... they were able to move into a townhouse. They like it much better, and their group did help them make that move.”

Figure 5 provides a summary of the results from the qualitative analysis of the data from focus groups and interviews.

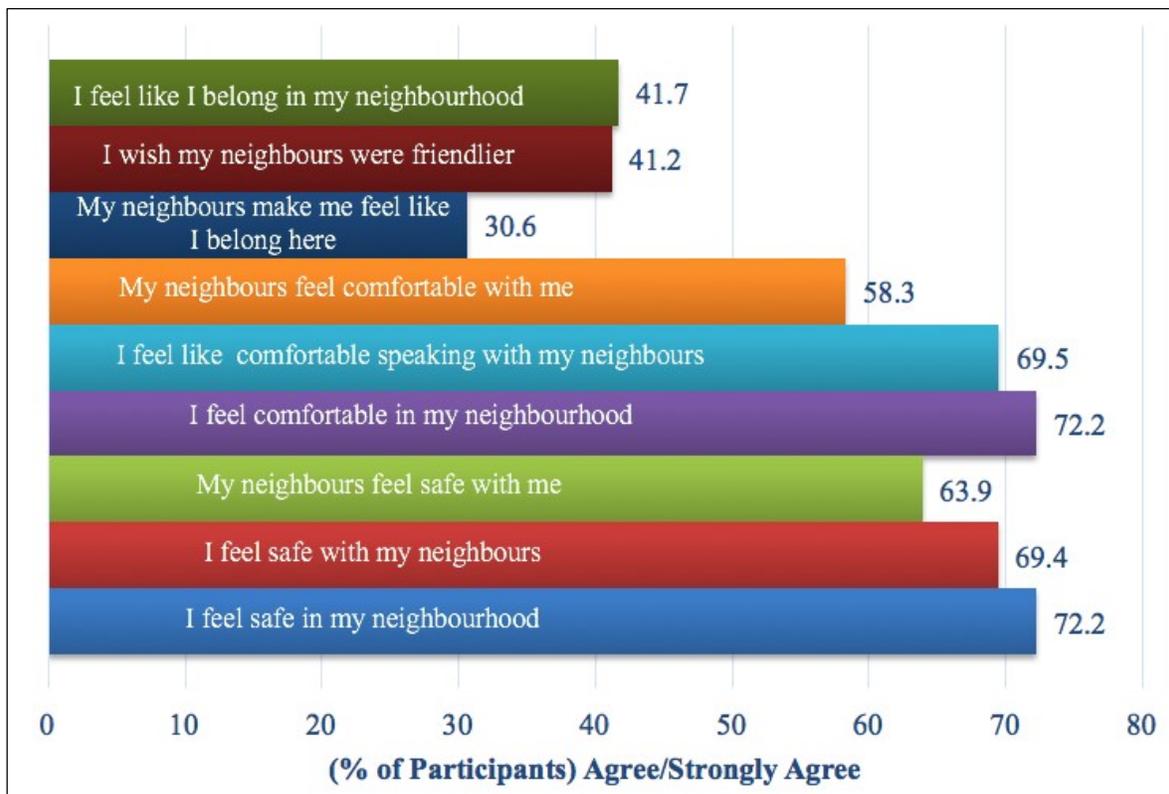
Figure 5. Summary of Housing Experiences and Challenges



Safety, Comfort, and Trust

The majority of survey respondents felt comfortable and safe in their current neighbourhood, felt safe and comfortable speaking with their neighbours, and felt that their neighbours felt comfortable and safe around them. However, only 42.7% of respondents felt that they belonged in their current neighbourhood, with 30.6% agreeing or strongly agreeing that their neighbours made them feel like they belonged. Just over 36% of survey respondents trusted or completely trusted their neighbours, with a higher percentage trusting or completely trusting colleagues from work or school (60%). Less than 29% of survey participants indicated that they knew many or most of their neighbours. Figure 6 provides a summary of survey participant perceptions of their neighbourhoods and their neighbours.

Figure 6. Perceptions of Neighbourhood and Neighbours



Neighbourhood Interactions

Figure 7 provides a summary of interactions between survey participants and their neighbours.

The majority of survey respondents speak with a neighbour at least once per week (75.7%).

However, most participants had never been invited into a neighbour's home, nor had they invited

a neighbour into their own residence. Thirty percent of participants know many or most of the

people in their neighbourhood, while 57.9% indicated that they know a few of the people in their

neighbourhood and 13.2% indicated that they did not know any of the people in their

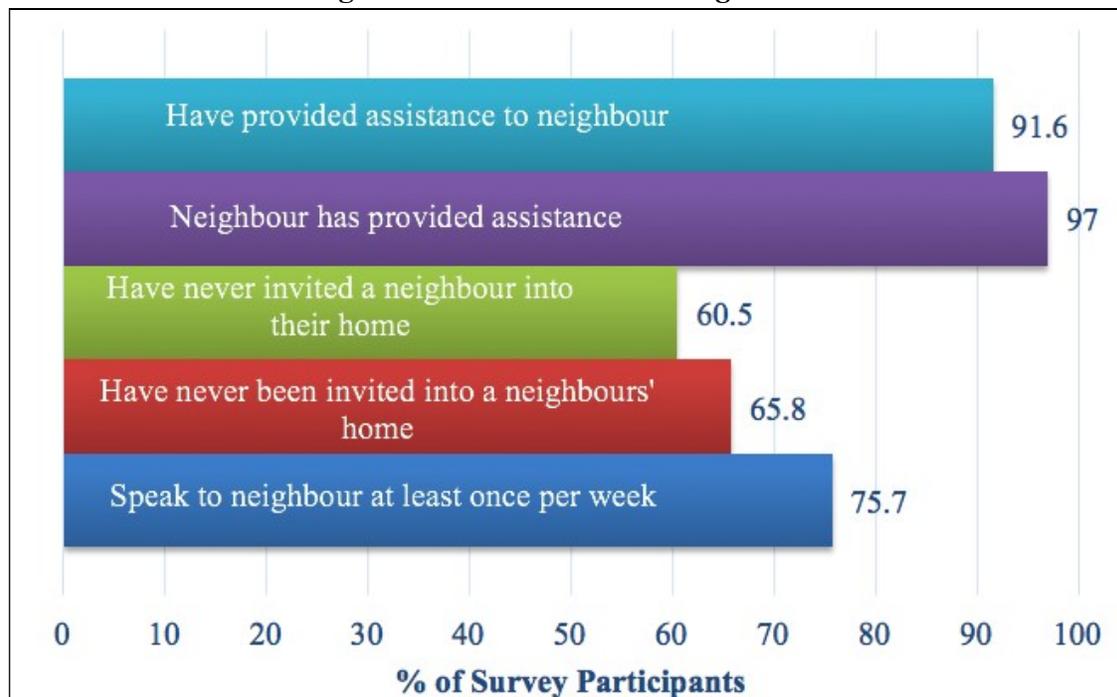
neighbourhood. Almost all survey participants had received some form of assistance from a

neighbour in the last year and had provided assistance to a neighbour in the last year. The most

common form of assistance provided to or received by newcomers in their neighbourhood had to

do with home maintenance or yard work (70%), followed by transportation (20%).

Figure 7. Interactions with Neighbours



Turning to the data from the focus groups, newcomers felt that their neighbours were *kind* or *helpful*. An international student from Timmins commented, “They treat us nicely and make us feel comfortable with them from our point of view,” while another said,

“I think it’s quite a good place to live. As a student also because when we lived in India we didn’t go to places without our parents. It was quite hard for us. When we arrived, people here are quite helpful. What we have observed from our experience I think it is a good place to live.”

Newcomers in North Bay expressed similar sentiments with one stating, “My neighbourhood is good, very kind, very helpful,” and another spoke of the assistance provided by his neighbour, saying, “I also learned tricks from them like ...use the snowblower.” Despite not knowing her neighbour, a newcomer from North Bay appreciated a kind gesture from a neighbour, stating, “I don’t know my neighbour, but we are very good to each other. Every Christmas, you always see cards from everybody ... even though I don’t know them. So, but whenever anyone is passing by they are kind.”

In keeping with the results from the survey, newcomers appear to interact frequently with neighbours but the interactions are superficial, limited to mostly *small talk*. Newcomers described the interactions as “just a quick greeting” or a “quiet acknowledgment.” Some newcomers were quite fine with this level of interaction, while others would prefer to be more involved. For example, one newcomer in North Bay stated, “I am very happy to be here and to meet nice people and talk with them, just a short small talk rather than just straight [long] conversation,” and another “I have never initiated anything; they never initiated anything.” Meanwhile, another newcomer in North Bay commented,

“I think my neighbourhood is good, but just one thing just is that we still feel not very involved ... Everybody just looks like their faces are familiar, but you don’t know their names and you just say hello and you don’t have kind of talk – real talk.”

Newcomers also pointed to a *winter chill* – a noticeable decrease in interactions and activities during the winter months. One newcomer from North Bay put it best:

“There was a summer-winter distinction for sure ... if you bump into them in the winter, you know, it will be like December and they will be like “Yeah, when the snow melts come on by, come visit us on the porch,” and that’s like in seven months or something.”



**WINTER CHILL
REDUCES
INTERACTION**

In North Bay, the relatively *high proportion of seniors* was seen as a contributing factor to the quietness of neighbourhoods, with newcomers mostly seeing this as a positive characteristic of their neighbourhoods. One newcomer commented, “Yeah, I really like my place. This whole street is seniors. So it’s quiet and calm,” and another said, “We’ve had it pretty nice ... so far pretty nice – partly because three of our neighbours are retired and so, you know, they like to just kind of sit on their porch.” Meanwhile, another newcomer seemed concerned saying, “In our neighbourhood, you can find more older people than young guys.”

The majority of newcomers in the focus groups in North Bay and Timmins expressed feelings of *safety* in their neighbourhoods. For example, one newcomer in North Bay stated “Yeah, generally I felt my neighbourhood and neighbours are really nice. And they are just very peaceful and nice to each other.” However, two newcomers in North Bay raised concerns about the *illicit drug trade* in the city. One newcomer described the first time she was made aware of the issue, saying,

“I remember clearly when I was trying to look for accommodation and I was – when I see some houses I mentioned it to colleagues, and they said, “You don’t want to live in that kind of neighbourhood, you know. It’s full of drug addicts, it’s full of all this kind of stuff.” I think this is very important.”

Another newcomer voiced surprise at learning how close the problem was to her home.

“I’m just reminded – I recently learned that we have a drug house in our neighbourhood. My family was taking a taxi and the taxi driver was like, “Oh yeah, here’s the cocaine house. Here’s the drug house.” And I was like, “Oh, okay.”

In Timmins, there was concern that international students might experience *isolation*. Due to the lack of housing availability in the city core, many students have to find housing in the smaller surrounding communities. One key informant voiced this concern, saying, “To these students, these would be very isolated communities. They are coming from India with hustle and bustle and they are going to communities with five thousand people and trying to find jobs. I feel bad for the students having to be bussed because the housing crisis is dire over here.” One international student lamented, “We don’t have any neighbours. We hardly get time to connect with neighbours.” Another international student described her interactions as limited to her room-mates or fellow students, saying “We just talk to friends in the college... if they’re living in the same place, we connect with them. Some students are in touch with us that we have classes with.” Limited English language skills often play a role, with one key informant describing her friend’s isolation, saying, “She hasn’t been able to meet very many people. I want to introduce her to some of my friends but there is a *language barrier*,” while another stated, “It has to be difficult if you are only one of 5 people that speak your mother tongue because this is such a small community.” Finally, another key informant felt, “It is a challenge depending on how their English level or language level ... how outgoing they are or if they have a shy

personality.” The isolation might be due in part to *self-segregational tendencies*, as one key informant noted,

“I just find the community stays as a whole together... even the atmosphere at the college where one culture just sticks together and another together. It doesn't happen all the time but that is a trend I see. It's not about the community not being welcoming. Maybe it's the fear of the unknown. These are new students and what do they know ... they are going to stick with people they know.”

Such tendencies were also noted in North Bay, as one newcomer commented, “It's almost like silos, all of those different cultures and maybe not so much integration between them.”

When it came to evidence of *discrimination*, newcomers were more reticent to discuss the topic. However, key informants in both North Bay and Timmins felt it was an existing problem, with one key informant in North Bay saying, “We continue to hear from [newcomers] that they are facing discrimination within our community.” One key informant in Timmins tried to explain newcomers' silence on the topic:

“A lot of people are afraid of rocking the boat in the event that it affects your status but having to complain about discrimination doesn't affect your status, ... you need to say something. It needs to be brought to light so it doesn't happen again.”

Another key informant from North Bay tried to explain the situation, saying, “Sometimes when they are the first person within amongst their neighbours who is a racialized individual they may get comments from neighbours about feeling unsafe being there.” Meanwhile another key informant in Timmins pointed to what they felt was the source of the problem:

“I think it's just people are misinformed based on what they have heard in the past. All these newcomers are coming over and taking jobs and as a result Canadians are being left on the side because we are helping other people.” Clearly we aren't

having enough children, our population is aging. So how do we continue in this country without bringing in newcomers?”

Despite the hesitance to complain, one newcomer in North Bay was willing to say this much:

“I feel like North Bay needs newcomers more than we need it ... it’s kind of difficult being a newcomer and being like a pioneer also. It’s almost like the people you meet you almost have to educate them about different people and different cultures of the world – not everybody, but there is kind of a dominant culture here and it’s hard to kind of break into ... When you go out for a meal at a restaurant, they are on top of you like flies, you know. But the other side of that sometimes when you are getting services at a supermarket or something like that, there is a full-on interview process: “Who are you? Where have you come from? Why are you here? Are you passing through? Where are you going?” And I find these kinds of questions sometimes a bit intrusive and I wish they wouldn’t recognize that I have a different accent or whatever. I just wish they would be like “How are you today?” or “Did you see this?” ... like questions that they would ask a regular Canadian.”

Figure 8 summarizes findings from the qualitative data with respect to neighbourhoods and neighbours.

Figure 8. Mains Themes for Neighbourhoods and Neighbours



Welcoming Communities

In the survey, we defined a welcoming community as a community where you would not hesitate to participate in activities for fear of being harassed, ridiculed, or discriminated against. The interactions with kind and helpful neighbours seemed to overcome concerns over isolation and discrimination. It was, overwhelmingly, expressed by the study participants as survey and focus group participants felt that they live in welcoming communities with 83.3% survey participants answering, “Yes” to the question “In general, would you say that you live in a welcoming community?” Only 10% of survey respondents selected “No” with the remaining indicating that they “did not know.” One focus group participant in North Bay disagreed with the majority saying, “I don’t believe North Bay is a welcoming community, but not like a racial or discrimination level, just on the job market.” In fact, despite the focus on housing and neighbourhoods, several participants in North Bay and Timmins expressed concerns about their ability to find gainful employment and how this impacted their perceptions of the communities.



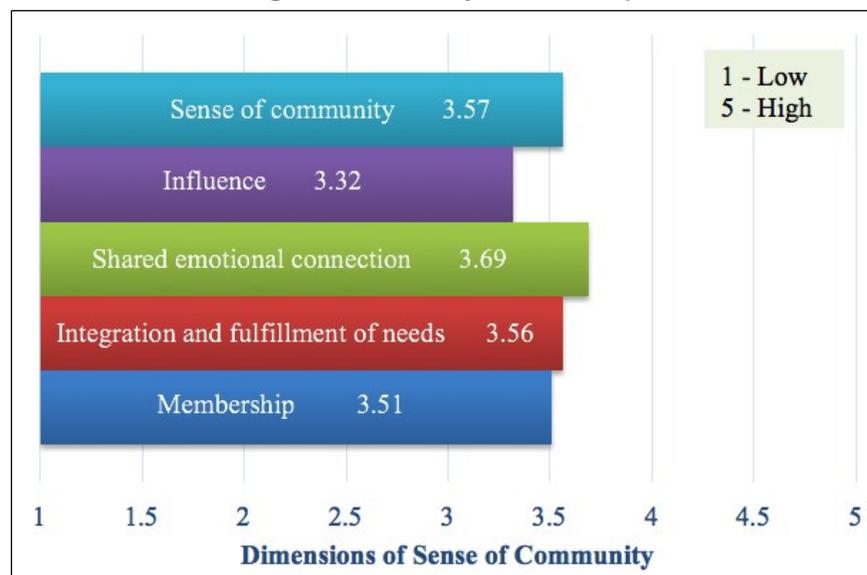
**IT FEELS LIKE I
BELONG HERE**

Sense of Community

McMillan and Chavis (1986) describe *sense of community* as “a feeling that members have of belonging, a feeling that members matter to one another and to the group, and a shared faith that members’ needs will be met through their commitment to be together” (p. 9). According to McMillan and Chavis (1986), there are four elements necessary to have a sense of community: membership, influence, integration and fulfillment of needs, and shared emotional connection. The results from the survey participants suggest that newcomers felt that there was a sense of community in their neighbourhoods and with their neighbours; with an average score of 3.57 on a 5-point scale for overall sense of community (Figure 9). However, within the individual

dimensions of sense of community, it was noted that participants scored highest in shared *emotional connection* (3.69) and *integration and fulfillment of needs* (3.56), but lowest in *influence* (3.32). Through the shared of experiences, such as surviving a harsh winter or attending social gatherings, the score for shared emotional connection suggests that newcomers have been somewhat able to form a common identity with their neighbours and other members of the community. The score for integration and fulfillment of needs suggests that newcomers find being a part of the neighbourhood or community beneficial and rewarding. Evidence of *membership* is also present, as one focus group participant from North Bay commented, “Whatever it is, I would like to be out. So that’s my feeling - it feels like I belong here.” The relatively superficial interactions between newcomers and their neighbours might explain the lower score for influence as they may not have had ample opportunities to influence their neighbours or be influenced by their neighbours. Several focus group participants expressed a desire to be more involved. One newcomer from North Bay in describing interactions in her neighbourhood said, “Because everybody is busy ... and you only have a minute to say hi, and nothing more than a few seconds ... I don’t know, it just feels like it is not so involved.”

Figure 9. Sense of Community



Municipal Marketing Efforts

For the municipalities of North Bay and Timmins, the goals of marketing efforts in the context of immigration were two-fold. First, both cities hoped to attract and retain newcomers by promoting the positive aspects of their respective communities and improving the experience of newcomers within their communities. Improving the experience of newcomers in the communities is tied to the second goal of creating welcoming communities by altering the attitudes and perceptions of denizens towards newcomers. As such, marketing efforts were targeted at both newcomers and established community members.

While similar at first glance, the messages employed by the two cities are different. As such, Timmins puts an emphasis on its labour market by emphasizing the low competition in comparison to that in Southern Ontario and stresses the availability of well-paying entry level positions. Meanwhile, North Bay seems to be targeting mostly highly skilled internationally qualified newcomers. Both cities feature the beauty of the Northern Ontario nature as well as the range of social and cultural activities and events. Below is the summary of our analysis of the marketing efforts separately presented for Timmins and North Bay.

Timmins: City with a Heart of Gold

The Northeastern Ontario Immigration portal—the main immigration portal for the immigrant settlement program—describes the City of Timmins (population est. 43,000) as a regional hub serving a catchment of 150,000 with a history of gold mining that continues to present opportunities in research, aerospace, mining supply and manufacturing. The city is presented as a diverse and vibrant community, including French and Indigenous people, embracing newcomers

and welcoming new residents. Annual Welcome to Timmins Night, Multicultural Festival and National Aboriginal Day activities are three of the celebrated events of the community. The city's main industries are health care, manufacturing, and mining with 10 key major employers on these industries (Northeastern Ontario Immigration, 2019).

The City of Timmins' main website—City of Timmins: Home—re-emphasizes the city's newly introduced brand logo (Figure 10) that is aimed at communicating the history of Timmins (the red and white part of the logo), its resources (the green and blue part of the logo) and opportunities (the yellow part of the logo) "of all kinds, for everyone" to stress that Timmins is a community that "wants you to succeed, whatever your definition of success is. And we have the services, the facilities and the people to help you do it" (Timmins Brand Portal, 2019a). The strongest emphasis of the city's main message is placed on the notion of opportunities and it is confirmed by our findings. The themes of opportunities to grow and opportunities to start a career (Figure 11) surfaced in our interviews as well.

Figure 10. *Timmins Logo*



As previously stated, for Timmins, meeting labour market needs appears to be the central goal in marketing efforts. Marketing efforts include attendance at conferences, conventions, and job fairs and hosting social and cultural events such as the Multicultural Festival, Diwali festivities, Welcome to Timmins Night, and the International Day of Elimination of Racial Discrimination (see examples of ads in Exhibit 1). Efforts have been focused on the secondary

North Bay: Gateway of the North

While emphasizing the natural beauty of North Bay's (population est. 54,000) waterfront area and proximity of the “active downtown” area to Toronto (“just a three-and-a-half hour drive north of Toronto on a four-lane highway”), the Northeastern Ontario Immigration portal immediately highlights the employment opportunities in a number of professions, industries, and trades while stressing the importance of work-life balance (Northeastern Ontario Immigration, 2019b). The city proudly points to the economic benefits of its immigration programs by heralding the fact that 70 first generation immigrant-owned businesses are contributing to the economic canvas of the city. The city's main industries are construction and advanced manufacturing, information technology, health care, education, mining supply and services, retail and commercial sector, and tourism with 12 key major employers in these industries.

The city’s logo also emphasizes the advantages of the location with “Just North Enough to be PERFECT” motto (Figure 13). The topic of location is one of the prominent themes emerging from interviews with key informants; they highlight the advantages of North Bay’s location in terms of proximity to two major cities (Ottawa and Toronto) as well as the natural environment, while recognizing the potential barriers (e.g., traveling costs).

Figure 13. North Bay Logo



According to North Bay’s stand-alone immigration portal and employer guide, the city recognizes “immigration as an economic growth strategy.” While the central goal appears to be attracting highly skilled internationally trained newcomers, North Bay’s marketing messaging also focuses on family, work-life balance, and educational opportunities. The city created a relocation guide and an employer guide to encourage the hiring of internationally trained workers. Resources have been allocated to encourage entrepreneurs to relocate to North Bay. As one key informant stated, “We offer assistance as we can with start-up programs that might be applicable to newcomers who want to start their business or potentially make connections with employers based on the skill sets of the newcomers that were arriving.” The city’s immigration portal is the primary tool for attraction. Recruitment efforts have been limited due to financial constraints.

“There are very few methods in place or mechanisms in place right now to focus on attraction ... we do one marketplace a year where there was an initial focus on recruitment of professional newcomers who would be open to relocating. So that would be either by way at the job fair – we would represent the city and our employers who had postings at the time, and we would set up a booth... We have tools in place to help with when they’re here. But recruitment or attraction of going out and getting them here, that has been very limited as far as efforts.”

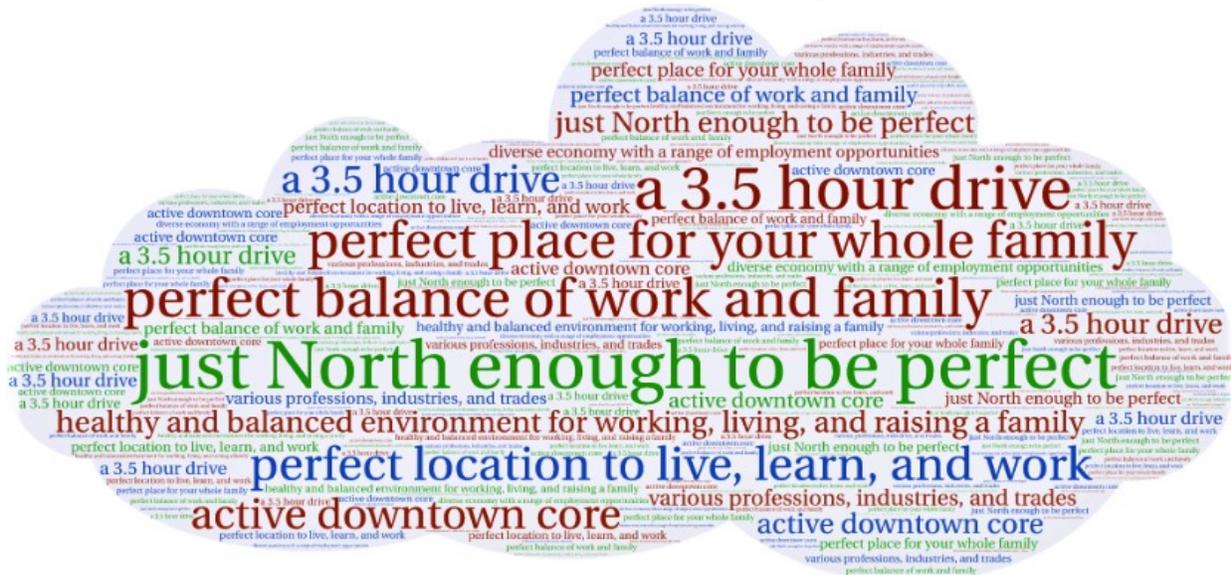
**LIMITED
RECRUITMENT
EFFORTS**

The city’s location is seen as both positive and negative, as one key informant stated, “So as far as barriers, there is certainly geography, which could be a barrier or an advantage depending on how you look at it.” The distance from Toronto, the natural environment, and access to lakes and rivers feature prominently in marketing materials.

“We do talk about proximity, but again it goes back to sometimes it can be a barrier and sometimes that can be an advantage. We choose to look at it as you’re just three hours away. If you do have family in Toronto you can certainly go for a weekend, then be able to be back at work on Monday. So definitely proximity to larger urban centre, both Ottawa and Toronto is certainly something that we position as an advantage.”

The settlement agency is the main source of messaging targeted at current residents that promotes tolerance and celebrates diversity (Figures 14, 15). The agency hosts workshops and events such as the Multicultural Showcase on Canada Day, the International Day of Elimination of Racial Discrimination, and the Drum and Dance Festival (see examples in Exhibit 2).

Figure 14. North Bay: Key Phrases in Marketing Communication



Conclusions and Recommendations

Interest in the experiences of immigrants who choose to reside outside of Canada's large metropolitan areas is growing. This study contributes to the limited research on the role that housing and neighbourhoods play in the integration of newcomers in Canada's smaller cities. We should expect newcomers to face different housing conditions and have different experiences than those living in first- or second-tier cities (Simone and Newbold, 2014). It is important to assess the capacity of these communities to welcome newcomers and the role that municipalities play in creating welcoming communities.

Affordability difficulties impacted a large percentage of the recent newcomers to North Bay and Timmins that participated in our study, compared to the general population in these communities. Rental rates were perceived as very high by both newcomers and key informants, while buying a home was seen as more affordable for those with the resources. Participants fared better when it came to suitability and adequacy, although rates of inadequate housing and unsuitable housing were higher when compared to the general population. Overall, the majority of recent newcomers that participated in our study were happy with the adequacy and suitability of their current residence. Some perceived a trade-off between adequacy and affordability. Recent newcomers faced gaps in rental availability, particularly with three-bedroom apartments, rooms, and short-term rentals. Particularly in North Bay, there was a perception that apartments and condominiums were geared towards the senior population. Social capital played an important role in the improvements in the housing conditions for participants. Issues with Landlords included deception and discrimination, with language barriers exacerbating things.

Although the recent newcomers in our study felt safe and comfortable in their neighbourhoods, there was less evidence of a sense of belonging and participants expressed low

levels of trust for neighbours, especially in comparison to the levels reported in Ray and Preston (2009). Newcomers see their neighbourhood as a place where people can get help, with newcomers often receiving and giving help. Their interactions with their neighbours appear to be superficial for the most; however, one in ten newcomers report receiving help from neighbours during an emergency and one in ten newcomers report assisting a neighbour in the form of employment opportunities. This last point might reflect the fact that some of the newcomers in our study arrived with a job in hand or to start their own business. In Timmins, self-segregational tendencies among international students from the same region limited their interactions with neighbours and the surrounding community.

The majority of participants felt that Timmins and North Bay are welcoming communities, with some noting that the housing market was more welcoming than the job market. Participants shared a few instances of discrimination, which for the most part reflected ignorance on the part of residents of why newcomers would move to their communities in the first place. Newcomers felt that there was a sense of community in their neighbourhood and with their neighbours, with shared emotional connection as the strongest dimension and influence as the weakest dimension. Given the nature of neighbourhood interactions that newcomers indicated in our study, it is not surprising that they may not have not had the chance to influence their neighbours or be influenced by them. However, it appears that these interactions were sufficient for them to have formed a common identity with their neighbours.

While Timmins emphasized the low competition in the labour market and the availability of well-paying entry level positions and paid considerable attention to the growing international student population, North Bay placed emphasis on recruiting experienced internationally trained individuals and entrepreneurs to create new businesses or to purchase existing ones. Both cities

feature post-secondary educational opportunities and lifestyle choices – considerations that have been identified in the literature as explaining migration to mid- and small-sized cities. Both cities have spent considerable resources delivering messaging touting the importance of immigration and promoting positive images of immigrants. Still, newcomers continue to experience discrimination (e.g., landlords taking advantage of newcomers) in both communities.

In order to meet the needs of newcomers, whose numbers are expected to increase considerably in the next decade, both cities need to engage in continuous monitoring of the housing, labour, transportation, and service capacity of their communities. Given the issues with rental availability, investments in a range of affordable rental options—short-term, single-occupant, family-oriented apartments and rooms—are needed. Both cities have financial assistance packages for newcomer entrepreneurs, but both cities should consider the development of special short-term financial packages for newcomers to tackle immediate issues such as housing, transportation, and other settlement concerns. The settlement agencies host several workshops and courses throughout the year; however, these workshops tend to focus on language skills. An expansion of settlement workshops and courses offerings on the rights and responsibilities of landlords and tenants to assist newcomers in understanding of the rental market and avoiding discrimination or deception, job preparedness to educate and prepare newcomers on labour market and employer expectations, and starting a business in Northeastern Ontario to support newcomers in their employment and self-employment plans would align well with their existing efforts. Both cities should enhance the reach of their promotional campaigns and events aimed at both locals and newcomers on the benefits of immigration and cultural diversity for the economic development of their communities, as misinformation still persists. Finally, in an effort to boost neighbouring interactions and build trust between neighbours, the

cities should encourage and support neighbourhood events and activities to improve and motivate more active social interaction particularly in the winter months. Such efforts could potentially contribute to more inclusive communities that reduce the self-segregational tendencies.

Acknowledgments

Funding for this project was provided by a grant from Pathways to Prosperity. Work on this project would not have been possible without the support and cooperation of the North Bay and District Multicultural Centre, the Timmins and District Multicultural Centre, and the Timmins Economic Development Corporation. We would like to thank our research assistants, Katie Calcaterra, Pauline Greene, and Claudette Brown. Finally, we would like to thank Melanie McVeety and all our volunteer translators.

References

- Bauder, H. (2003). Immigrants in urban labour markets: Place of birth and immigrant concentrations in British Columbia. *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*, 12:174-204
- Bauder, H. & Sharpe, B. (2002). Residential segregation of visible minorities in Canada's gateway cities. *The Canadian Geographer*, 46:204-222.
- Biles, J., Burstein, M. & Frideres, J. (2008). Canadian society: Building inclusive communities. (In J. Biles, M. Burstein and J. Frideres (Eds.), *Immigration and Integration in Canada in the Twenty-first Century*, (pp. 269-278). Montreal-Kingston: McGill-Queens University Press).
- Bommes, M. (2012). *Immigration and Social Systems – Collected Essays of Michael Bommes*. Christina Boswell and Gianni D'Amato (Eds.), Anja Lobert, trans. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press.
- Brown, N. (2017). Housing experiences of recent immigrants to Canada's small cities: The case of North Bay, Ontario. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 18(3):719-747. DOI: 10.1007/s12134-016-0498-5.
- Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation. (2019). Housing Standards. Retrieved October 28, 2019 from https://cmhc.beyond2020.com/HiCODefinitions_EN.html#_Housing_Standards
- Carter, T.S., Morrish, M. & Amoyaw, B. (2008). Attracting immigrants to smaller urban and rural communities: Lessons learned from the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 9:161-183.
- Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2017). Facts and Figures – Immigration Overview: Permanent Residents. Last Modified May 3, 2017. Retrieved May 27, 2017 from <http://www.cic.gc.ca/english/resources/statistics/menu-fact.asp>
- City of North Bay. (2007). *Immigration Plan for the City of North Bay, Ontario*. North Bay: City of North Bay, Mayor's Office of Economic Development, October 2007.
- Drolet, J. & Robertson, J. (2011). Settlement experiences of family class immigrants in a small city: Kamloops, British Columbia. Metropolis British Columbia Centre for Excellence for Research on Immigration and Diversity. Working Paper Series no. 11-19.
- Drolet, J., Robertson, J., & Robinson, W. (Fall, 2010). Settlement experiences in a small city: Voices of family class immigrants and settlement workers. *Canadian Social Work Journal, Special Issue on the Settlement and Integration of Newcomers to Canada*, 12(1):218-223.
- Frideres, J.S. (2006). Cities and Immigrant Integration: The Future of Second- and Third-Tier Centres. *Our Diverse Cities*, 2:3-8.

- Guo, S., & Guo, Y. (2016). Communities: Neighbourhood-based initiative to facilitate the integration of newcomers in Calgary. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 48(3):45-67. <https://doi.org/10.1353/ces.2016.0025>
- Hombrados-Mendieta, M. I., Gomez-Jacinto, L., Dominguez-Fuentes, J. M., & Garcia-Leiva, P. (2013). Sense of community and satisfaction with life among immigrants and the native population. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 41(5), 601–614.
- Immigration and Citizenship (n.s.), Rural and Northern Immigrations Pilot. Retrieved December 13, 2019 from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/immigrate-canada/rural-northern-immigration-pilot.html>
- IRCC (2019). Citizenship and Immigration Canada: Settlement Program, Government of Canada (Last updated August 16, 2019). Retrieved December 13, 2019 from <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/transparency/program-terms-conditions/settlement.html>
- Kee, Y., & Nam, C. (2016). Does sense of community matter in community well-being? In Y. Kee, S. J. Lee, & R. Phillips (Eds.), *Social factors and community well-being* (pp. 39–56). Cham, Switzerland: Springer International Publishing.
- Kitchen, P., Williams, A. M., & Gallina, M. (2015). Sense of belonging to local community in small-to-medium sized Canadian urban areas: a comparison of immigrant and Canadian-born residents. *BMC Psychology*, 3(1):28. <http://doi.org/10.1186/s40359-015-0085-0>
- Krahn, H., T. M. Derwing, & Abu-Laban, B. (2005). The retention of newcomers in second- and third-tier Canadian cities. *International Migration Review*, 39(4):872-894.
- Mata, F., & Pendakur, R. (2014). Social Capital, Diversity and Giving or Receiving Help Among Neighbours. *Social Indicators Research*, 118(1), 329–347. <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11205-013-0419-3>
- McMillan, D. W., & Chavis, D. M. (1986). Sense of community: A definition and theory. *Journal of Community Psychology*, 14, 6-23.
- Murdie, R. A., Preston, V., Ghosh, S., & Chevalier, M. (2006). *Immigrants and housing: a review of Canadian literature from 1990 to 2005*. Ottawa: Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation.
- Murdie, R., & Teixeira, C. (2003). Towards a comfortable neighbourhood and appropriate housing: immigrant experiences in Toronto. In *The World in a City*, ed. P. Anisef and M. Lanphier. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 132-191.
- Northeastern Ontario Immigration. (2019a). *Timmins*. Retrieved July 20, 2019 from <http://neoimmigration.ca/communities/timmins/>

Northeastern Ontario Immigration. (2019b). North Bay. Retrieved July 20, 2019 from <http://neoimmigration.ca/communities/northbay/>

Ray, B. (1998). A comparative study of immigration housing, neighbourhoods, and social networks in Toronto and Montreal. Ottawa: Canadian Mortgage and Housing Corporation.

Ray, B. & Preston, V. (2009). Are immigrants socially isolated? An assessment of neighbors and neighboring in Canadian cities. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 10:217-244.

Simone, D. & Newbold, K.B. (2014). Housing trajectories across the urban hierarchy: Analysis of the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, 2001-2005. *Housing Studies*, 29(8):1096-1116.

Statistics Canada. 2014. General Social Survey – Social Identity. Retrieved on May 5, 2015 from: <https://www.statcan.gc.ca/eng/survey/household/5024>

Statistics Canada. 2017. *Ontario [Province] and Canada [Country]* (table). *Census Profile*. 2016 Census. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001. Ottawa. Released November 29, 2017. <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E> (accessed August 01, 2019).

Statistics Canada. [Table 34-10-0128-01 Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, vacancy rates, apartment structures of six units and over, privately initiated in urban centres of 50,000 and over](#)

Statistics Canada. [Table 34-10-0127-01 Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, vacancy rates, apartment structures of six units and over, privately initiated in census metropolitan areas, https://doi.org/10.25318/3410012701-eng](#)

Statistics Canada. [Table 34-10-0129-01 Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, vacancy rates, apartment structures of six units and over, privately initiated in urban centres of 10,000 to 49,999, https://doi.org/10.25318/3410012901-eng](#)

Statistics Canada. Housing suitability by housing tenure, suitable, % distribution 2016, Canada and census metropolitan areas and census agglomerations, 2016 Census – 25% Sample Data. Retrieved on October 28, 2019 from <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hlt-fst/housing-logement/Table.cfm?Lang=E&T=22&Geo=00&view=2&housing=2&SP=1>

Teixeira, C. (2008). Barriers and outcomes in the housing searches of new immigrants and refugees: a case study of 'Black' Africans in Toronto's rental market. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 23(4):253-276.

- Teixeira, C. (2009). New immigrant settlement in a mid-sized city: A case study of housing barriers and coping strategies in Kelowna, British Columbia. *The Canadian Geographer* 53(3):323-339.
- Teixeira, C. (2011). Finding a home of their own: Immigrant housing experiences in Central Okanagan, British Columbia, and policy recommendations for change. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 12:173-197.
- Teixeira, C. & Drolet, J. (2016). Settlement and Housing Experiences of Recent Immigrants in Small- and Mid-sized Cities in the Interior of British Columbia. Retrieved on May 27, 2017 from <http://p2pcanada.ca/files/2016/01/Settlement-and-Housing-Experiences-of-Recent-Immigrants.pdf>
- Teixeira, C., & Drolet, J. (2017). Settlement and housing experiences of recent immigrants in small- and mid-sized cities in the Interior of British Columbia. *Journal of Housing and the Built Environment*, 33(1):19-43. DOI: 10.1007/s10901-017-9550-9
- Timmins Brand Portal (2020). The Brand Story. Retrieved January 25, 2020 from <http://www.timminsbrand.ca/the-brand-story/>
- Timmins Economic Development Corporation (2010). Timmins Settlement Strategy Plan to Promote Settlement and Integration of Immigrants in the Community. Retrieved May 27, 2017 from <http://www.timminsmulticultural.ca/Timmins%20Settlement%20Strategy%20Plan%20to%20Promote%20Settlement%20&%20integration%20of%20Immigrants%20in%20the%20Community.pdf>
- Walton-Roberts, M. (2005). Regional immigration and dispersal: Lessons from small- and medium-sized urban centres in British Columbia. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 37(3):12-34.
- Welsh, A. (2012). HR North: An Analysis of HR Practices of SMEs in Northeastern Ontario. Research report prepared for the North Bay Newcomer Network.
- Wiginton, L.K. (2013, August). *Canada's Decentralized Immigration Policy Through a Local Lens: How Small Communities are Attracting and Welcoming Immigrants*. Brandon, MB: Rural Development Institute.
- Wilkinson, L. (2013). Introduction: Developing and Testing a Generalizable Model of Immigrant Integration. *Canadian Ethnic Studies*, 45(3):1-7.
- Williams, A. M., Kitchen, P., Randall, J., Muhajarine, N., Newbold, B., Gallina, M., & Wilson, K. (2015). Immigrants' perceptions of quality of life in three second- or third-tier Canadian cities. *Canadian Geographer*, 59(4):489–503. <https://doi.org/10.1111/cag.12221>

Exhibits

Exhibit 1. Timmins Events Advertisements

FREE EVENT! #WTTN2016

Welcome to TIMMINS Night

Come learn what volunteer opportunities are available with our 120+ exhibitors!

Please bring a **NON-PERISHABLE FOOD ITEM** and/or **WASHED STUFFED ANIMAL** as a donation for the Timmins Food Bank & Cochrane District EMS

September 7th
6:30pm – 8:30 pm
McIntyre Curling Club
85 McIntyre Road,
Schumacher

TIMMINS
TIMMINS
J'Y TIENS.

Featuring local non-profit organizations, this free trade show is a great opportunity for new, old and future residents to learn more about Timmins.

Hosted in partnership by:

- Timmins Local Investigation Partnership / Partenariat d'investigation local de Timmins
- Timmins & District Multicultural Centre / Institut Multicultural de Timmins
- Tourism Timmins
- Timmins Economic Development Corporation / Corporation de développement économique de Timmins
- Timmins Chamber of Commerce / Chambre de commerce de Timmins
- The Village Centre / Le Centre de développement communautaire - Village
- YOUR DISTRICT OF TIMMINS OIA

For more information contact:
Melanie-Lynn Lafreniere
Timmins & District Multicultural Centre
705-269-8622 | mlafreniere@timminsmulticultural.ca

The Timmins and District Multicultural Centre has been receiving an increasing number of complaints from clients who are experiencing racism and discrimination in our communities.

To move forward and address this in a positive and productive way, we invite you to attend a group session to voice YOUR concerns and help shape how WE move forward.

All discussions will be strictly confidential.

Please register for this support group session
vindrasahadeo@nbdmc.ca

Let's work together to make our communities a more welcoming place for all.

Exhibit 1. Timmins Events Advertisements(cont.)

**NEW TO TIMMINS?
JOIN US EACH MONTH!**

FIRST FRIDAYS FOR NEWCOMERS



If you're a newcomer to the community, join us on the first Friday of each month for an evening of making connections and sharing ideas over coffee! This informal get-together will help you get comfortable in Timmins and make connections with like-minded individuals. Come alone or bring a friend. We look forward to seeing you!

7 to 9:30 PM
Christopher's Coffee House
 (35 Pine St. S.)



Organized by

 National Immigration Partnership
 Timmins & District Multicultural Centre

Hosted by


INTERESTED IN CRICKET?



Be part of a team *Make some friends*
Play in tournaments *Have fun*
Get involved *Meet new people*

 Timmins & District Multicultural Centre 
 Immigrant Settlement Services

For more information or to join the Timmins Cricket Team please contact Melanie at 705-269-8622 or at mlafreniere@timminsmulticultural.ca

Exhibit 2. North Bay Events Advertisements



**Do you have a
business to promote?
Do you have products to sell?**

The North Bay & District Multicultural Centre
invites you to our

Newcomer Business Showcase

November 24th, 2017 6 pm - 9pm

Display your business, sell your products and meet
community members during the
29th Annual Old Fashioned Christmas Walk.

Please register at cindytibbles@nbdmc.ca



THE EMPLOYER ENGAGEMENT WORKSHOP SERIES FOR A DIVERSE WORKFORCE PRESENTS:

**MOVING FORWARD FOR A DIVERSE WORKFORCE
PRESENTATION & EMPLOYER NEEDS ASSESSMENT**

8:30 a.m. Registration + Breakfast | 9:00-10:30 a.m. Presentation | 10:30-11:00 a.m. Networking

Join us for a presentation from a local employer highlighting the advantages of newcomer talent.

Are you an employer? Do you work with employers? Then we want to hear from you!
How is diversity working for you? What challenges are you facing? What tools and resources do you need?

**JOIN US ON
DECEMBER 17
CLARION RESORT**

FREE BREAKFAST SESSION
Register by Dec.14
KaitMorris@nbdmc.ca
705-495-8931



Exhibit 2. North Bay Events Advertisements (cont.)

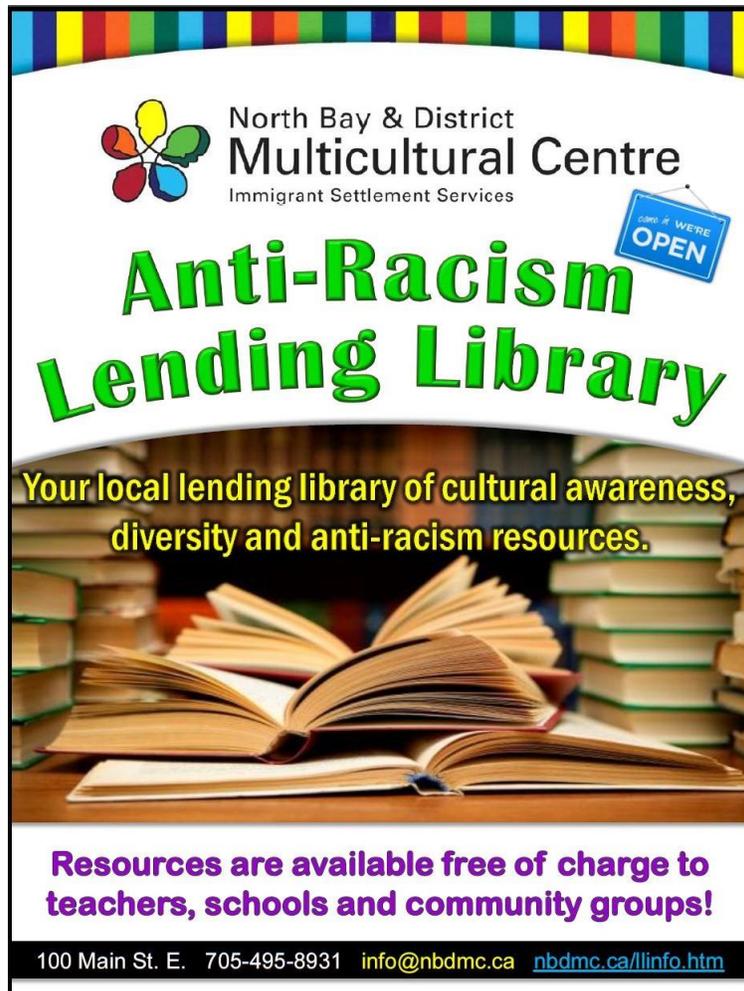


The advertisement features a dark blue background with several white snowflake icons hanging from the top. On the left and right sides, there are illustrations of a girl and a boy in winter clothing. The text is centered and includes the event title, date, time, location, and registration information.

Family Ice Skating Event

Sunday March 11th, 3pm - 4pm
at West Ferris Arena
(42 Gertrude Street East, North Bay)

Register before March 8th at cindytibbles@nbdmc.ca / 705-495-8931
If you need to borrow skates you must let us know your shoe size



The advertisement has a white background with a colorful rainbow border at the top. It features the logo of the North Bay & District Multicultural Centre, which consists of a stylized flower with five petals in different colors. Below the logo is the text 'North Bay & District Multicultural Centre' and 'Immigrant Settlement Services'. The main title 'Anti-Racism Lending Library' is written in large, green, bold letters. A blue sign with the word 'OPEN' is positioned to the right of the title. Below the title is a photograph of several open books on a table. The text 'Your local lending library of cultural awareness, diversity and anti-racism resources.' is written in yellow. At the bottom, there is a purple text box with the message 'Resources are available free of charge to teachers, schools and community groups!'. The footer contains the address, phone number, email, and website.

North Bay & District
Multicultural Centre
Immigrant Settlement Services

Anti-Racism Lending Library

OPEN

Your local lending library of cultural awareness,
diversity and anti-racism resources.

**Resources are available free of charge to
teachers, schools and community groups!**

100 Main St. E. 705-495-8931 info@nbdmc.ca nbdmc.ca/linfo.htm

Exhibit 3. Words/Concepts Count from Cities Communication Channels

Words/Concepts	Mentions (2014-2018)			
	Timmins		North Bay	
	City Immigration Portal	City and Settlement Agency Facebook Postings	City Immigration Portal	City and Settlement Agency Facebook Postings
Business/Companies/Industry	29	97	28	63
Community	28	74	39	32
University/College/Training/Educational Opportunities	21	99	33	56
Opportunity/Opportunities	18	45	15	14
Immigration/Immigrant(s)	16	65	19	22
Employer/Employment	13	37	23	45
Diverse/Diversity	10	19	25	12
Newcomers	8	39	23	48
Family	4	62	17	54
Culture	4	66	9	10
Welcome/Welcoming	3	91	8	5
International	2	55	19	14
Students	1	49	3	18
Housing	1	35	1	0
Neighbourhood	1	7	1	0
Refugee	0	38	0	5
Discrimination	0	19	-	-
Racism	0	15	-	-
Development	15	40	-	-
Perfect	-	-	12	3
Environment	-	-	11	21
Heritage	-	-	11	23
Downtown	-	-	5	7
Winter	-	-	1	10