

Our diverse cities

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Rural Communities

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Immigration in the New Rural Economy¹

BILL REIMER

Concordia University

The recently published 2006 Census results appear to support the conclusion that rural Canada is in trouble. Population in rural and small towns grew by only 1% between 2001 and 2006 (well below the national average of 5.4%), urbanization continues with less than 20% of our population living in places with a population of 10,000 or less, and what growth does occur is most often found in rural places with proximity to urban centres (Statistics Canada 2007a).²

In the past, we have relied on immigration to deal with such problems. When the Canadian government needed workers to build our major cities, it turned to Europe and the United Kingdom; when the government decided to increase the population in the West, it created major incentives to bring Northern Europeans to the prairies. In both formal and informal ways, immigration has been a primary strategy for population growth and allocation.

It no longer seems to work for rural growth, however. Immigrants, like the Canadian population in general, seem to prefer urban over rural centres (Bollman et al.; Bruce) (Beshiri and Alfred 2002). Even those who locate initially in rural areas appear to drift to urban ones within a few years (Houle). Only in rare circumstances do we see instances where immigration is sufficient to create the institutional capacity and migration streams that suggest more sustainable growth (Silvius and Annis).

It is therefore timely that the Metropolis Project should turn its attention to the issue of

rural immigration. If we are to formulate appropriate policy and program responses, we must first seek to understand the dynamics driving the population changes, identify the bases for immigrants' choices, and explore the nature of their experiences upon arrival. These are within the domains of research and practice – and they are the primary objectives of this edition of *Our Diverse Cities*.

Populating rural spaces

To many, it is not self-evident that rural places need more population. If people choose to move to the cities, they ask, why must the government be concerned? If structural changes encourage this movement, why must we change those structures? From these points of view, population growth initiatives arising among rural people make sense if they wish to retain their lifestyle, but the intervention and support of governments should not be expected since the majority of the population lives in urban regions.

This position overlooks the many ways in which rural and urban people and places are inter-dependent, however. Rural areas provide the commodities that give us a positive balance of trade, they hold the sources of our water, the location of recreational and natural amenities to which we turn to be refreshed, they contain much of our biodiversity, they process most of the urban pollution, and they contain a large part of our social and cultural heritage. Without the people to extract, process, and transport those commodities, safeguard those amenities, and sustain our heritage, we would all be worse off – rural and urban alike.

Maintaining an adequate population base has become a challenge in many places, however, since the number of people required for commodity production has dropped significantly with economic and technological developments (Bollman et al.). The expansion of international competition has exacerbated this problem so that

¹ Many of the insights presented in this article are the result of my 10 years of collaboration with colleagues on the New Rural Economy Project (<http://nre.concordia.ca>). I wish to acknowledge the support of the Social Science and Humanities Research Council and our many partners and colleagues during those 10 years. John Biles and Julie Boyer have provided invaluable support for this publication.

² Centres with more than 30% commuters to nearby urban centres show 4.7% growth (Statistics Canada 2007b).

net incomes have declined below the level where they can sustain family or community integrity. In order to survive, for example, most farm households must include off-farm income (Keith 2003). As a result, we find that the availability of non-primary sector employment has become an essential ingredient to most primary production and the maintenance of relatively diversified rural communities an important contributor to successful commodity production. For this, an adequate level of population is required to justify and support the commercial, educational, health and other services on which commodity and industrial production depend (Collins).

Bollman et al. set the scene for the population dynamics in rural areas. They describe how the rural Canadian population is growing, but not as fast as the urban population. They point out how it is the primary sector that has felt the major effects of population loss, while the manufacturing sector in rural areas remains relatively strong, and they identify the important role of urban-adjacency for settlement patterns – as young families and retirees move to rural communities within commuting distance of urban centres.

Within these general patterns, considerable diversity exists, however. In a study of demographic trends, Mwansa and Bollman (2005) indicate that 33% of the rural communities in their study show consistent population growth over the 1981 to 2001 period. Even 24% of rural non-metro-adjacent communities showed such growth. Clemenson and Pitblado document important exceptions to the rural-urban migration trends – both in terms of time period and age range. This theme of “exceptions within the general trends” is picked up by many of the authors in this volume – providing an important guide in the search for solutions. It is within this context that we examine rural immigration.

Rural immigration

Immigration to rural areas appears subject to the same forces driving internal demographic trends (Houle; Rose and Desmarais). Most immigrants go to urban centres or soon move there if their initial destinations were rural (Houle). As with urban immigrants, rural immigrants have higher levels of education and are more likely to be employed than non-immigrants in their respective locations (Beshiri and Alfred 2002; Beshiri 2005) although both of these levels are lower than

those who settled in urban regions (Bollman, et al.) also show how the patterns of immigration have changed since 1996 – creating new conditions for recruitment and retention.

Employment opportunities, social support, language, amenities, and community response continue to provide the key factors influencing both recruitment and retention of immigrants (Bollman et al.; Bruce; Houle; Long and Amaya). Rural immigration reflects these forces – often creating particular challenges (Reimer et al.). Since employment is a key element in both immigration policy and practice, for example, it is little wonder that rural employment challenges go hand in hand with immigration ones (Collins).

In spite of facing many of the same forces as urban regions, there are several key differences that make rural immigration issues and challenges special, however. We will outline some of them below in terms of four characteristics distinguishing rural and urban places. In many cases, these characteristics place rural areas at a disadvantage when policies are formulated with urban places in mind and they should therefore get special attention for both research and program implementation.

Distance and density

Rural communities and people are basically defined in terms of their distance from each other and from major population centres (du Plessis et al. 2001). They are equally characterized by lower densities both across communities and within them. As a result, they do not have the advantages of agglomeration economies that often drive the urbanization process. From an immigration perspective, distance and density are in turn likely to affect the awareness, services, institutional completeness,³ diversity, and network structures that function to attract and retain immigrants (Steinbach; Reimer et al.).

Being farther from the centres of economic, social, and political power, the knowledge of rural places is less likely to be available or accurate for potential immigrants. This will work in both directions – representations of rural opportunities are less likely to be included in immigrant recruitment programs and potential immigrants are less likely to request information related to rural areas and issues (Long and Amaya; Sorenson; Steinbach). Under these conditions,

³ “Institutional completeness” is the extent to which an ethnic group can meet the service needs of its community.

Rural areas provide the commodities that give us a positive balance of trade, they hold the sources of our water, the location of recreational and natural amenities to which we turn to be refreshed, they contain much of our biodiversity, they process most of the urban pollution, and they contain a large part of our social and cultural heritage. Without the people to extract, process, and transport those commodities, safeguard those amenities, and sustain our heritage, we would all be worse off – rural and urban alike.

proactive initiatives are necessary to offset this disadvantage.

Long distances and low densities also mean that the extent and range of social and institutional services are likely to be relatively low in rural areas (Halseth and Ryser 2006). We know that the availability of services is an important factor in the selection of destination for all types of migrants (Mills and Legault; Zehtab-Martin and Beesley). In addition, the lower population densities mean that the institutional completeness of particular immigrant groups is likely to be very weak – thereby reducing their attractiveness and retaining power. The importance of this type of characteristic is reinforced by several of the examples in the following readings where specific actions and programs have been developed to build such completeness – often with dramatic results (Kaache; Silvias and Annis; Steinbach).

Distance and density will also act to weaken the social networks that are so important to immigration (Portes 1997; Potter 1999). As Bollman et al. point out, while the price of transporting goods and information is declining, the price of transporting people is not. For immigrants, however, the latter is one of the most important factors – partly for their own movement, but more important for the establishment of networks supporting such movement. Moving from one location to another is a stressful and risky activity even where short distances are involved. International relocation creates even greater risks, so the process of visioning, planning, and moving are seldom taken without the level of trust and confidence being substantial. Building this trust is easiest and most effective within face-to-face exchanges – thus requiring the movement of people, often over a long period of time. Tourism, family gatherings, business, and cultural events often provide the venues for such exchanges, but their

cost increases dramatically when rural travel is included. Once again, the opportunities for increasing knowledge, confidence, and trust are therefore reduced (Steinbach).

Economic structures

Rural places are also relatively unique by virtue of their economic structure. In Canada, they are rooted in commodity production – and although there has been a shift in the way we have extracted them, our trade in natural resources remains an overwhelming feature of rural places (Clemenson and Pitblado). This means that the employment, skill, and sectoral features of rural areas remain special in many respects (Leach; Sorensen) (Beshiri 2001; Beshiri and Alfred 2002). Even with the increase in the importance in manufacturing and service industries, the demands and nature of rural labour remain different than the urban environment. In response, we find that the demands on immigration are also different – with a higher proportion of primary-sector workers, selective demand for high skilled jobs, and low demands for professional employment (Bollman et al.; Long and Amaya; Sorensen). The employment, income, and certification challenges that affect all recent immigrants will have particular implications for rural places (Reitz 2005). Immigration programs must therefore take into account these special characteristics if they are to be successful.

Amenities

Rural places are also often distinguished by their amenities – usually in the form of natural resources. Mountains, lakes, rivers, beaches, and “wide open spaces” are only some of the many attractions for national and international visitors alike. They also provide potential destination attractions for immigrants – but most likely on a highly selective basis (Bruce; Silvius and Annis; Simard; Sorensen). Youth may seek the snow

Analysis of migration, media representations, and networks will therefore be required if we are to identify the particular challenges and opportunities faced by rural people, communities, and immigrants. We need to document the general trends and patterns, of course, but the literature here suggests that particular attention should be paid to regional and local variation – especially in a longitudinal manner.

and adventure of the mountains while young retirees move to the quiet of the lakes and rivers, for example. The process for destination selection based on amenities is most likely to be different than migrants seeking work or safety. Although we have several anecdotal tales of foreign purchase of retirement and amenity locations in rural areas, systematic research regarding the details is hard to find. Tourism, seasonal migration and marketing brochures will most likely play an important role in this process.

Heritage and identity

Finally, rural places can be distinguished from urban by the heritage, identity and related infrastructure that they contain. Many urban residents have rural roots – through family, employment, or experience. Our media, businesses and politicians make considerable use of this legacy – often arguing that the institutional and value foundations of our nation are rooted in elements of our rural heritage and nostalgia. In spite of the distortions and self-serving nature of many of these representations, they point to an importance of place which is hard to deny. By virtue of the fact that people grew up “here” – and struggled to create the homes, businesses and institutions that make each place unique, they contain significant value – especially for those with family or experiential connections (Ouattara and Tranchant). In many cases, it is the particularities of the place that maintain their social and personal relations – much as a micro-climate favours a particular type of biological diversity. The particular place and the social relations it supports, therefore, can serve as a destination to which potential immigration may flow (Nurse).

Heritage and identity dynamics can also form the basis for resistance to immigration, however (Vatz Laaroussi). Amor provides examples of the way in which social homogeneity may act as an obstacle to social inclusion of “strangers”. Reimer et al. show how such ethnic and religious

homogeneity may also provide immigration opportunities for local places (cf. also Bruce; Lane; Silvius and Annis). What is unclear are the conditions under which these opportunities can emerge. Although research on such issues is well advanced within an urban context, the special conditions and dynamics in rural places remains underdeveloped.

Immigration policies, action and research

The community development literature makes clear that successful initiatives for change emerge from a combination of local action, collaboration and supportive policy (Mills and Legault; Silvius and Annis) (Baker 1994). This is useful advice since each rural area provides different combinations of the key factors outlined above – creating variation in attractiveness, policy and opportunities for local action. However, smaller communities often lack the capacity to investigate, initiate programs and manage the demands of immigration, compounding the spiral of population decline (Moussa-Guene; Vatz Laaroussi). Their relative cultural and social homogeneity can often exacerbate this condition, making the introduction of diversity susceptible to misunderstanding and prejudice. Under these conditions, the support of flexible regional programs and organizations becomes critical (Leach et al.; Rose and Desmarais).

Several of the following articles document initiatives of this nature and in the process point to opportunities for rural immigration that would otherwise be neglected. Mentoring programs (Kaache; Raache; Yorn and Ouellet), targeted recruitment (Bruce; Silvius and Annis), migrant workers programs (Ferguson; Long and Amaya; Preibisch), and community support initiatives (Allen and Troestler; Lopez; Nolin and McCallum; Ouattara and Tranchant; Silvius and Annis), are some of the examples discussed in the articles below – all promising programs reflecting the social and institutional innovation which has always been a part of our rural history (Radford).

The authors remind us that these initiatives are all intimately connected to the policy regimes in which they operate. The description of the Manitoba and Quebec initiatives reported by the authors make clear that such policies can alter the general trends in significant ways. We need to explore the processes that make this possible.

Canada provides a useful opportunity for learning about the importance of such policies and programs since we have considerable variation across the country. Most of them are based on employment as the key element in those policies (Radford), but there is sufficient variation in the policy and local responses to provide insights regarding the important role of the social and institutional dimensions involved (Long and Amaya; Nolin and McCallum; Radford). Collins reminds us that there is much to be learned from international comparisons as well – particularly with the Australian experience since we share so many similarities.

Considerable research is required. Distance and density will continue to play an important role in rural opportunities even as their impacts change through technological, economic, social and political processes. Analysis of migration, media representations and networks will therefore be required if we are to identify the particular challenges and opportunities faced by rural people, communities and immigrants. We need to document the general trends and patterns, of course, but the literature here suggests that particular attention should be paid to regional and local variation – especially in a longitudinal manner. Comparison among regions will allow us to separate various effects and at the same time give us basic material for adjusting programs to regional characteristics. Local examples, case studies and comparisons are also necessary in order to understand the ways in which communities identify potential immigrants, reorganize themselves for their integration, and minimize social exclusion in the process.

Research on the characteristics of rural economies, amenities, and heritage is also required – including how they are represented to potential immigrants. The manufacturing sector seems particularly strategic for the future, but this general finding needs to be adapted to different regional and local assets. Research regarding the interdependence of the various economic sectors, amenities, and heritage at the

local level will go a long way to facilitating good programs and strategies.

We do not know a great deal about the conditions under which the social inclusion of immigrants thrives in rural communities. Most of this type of research has taken place in urban centres where the larger population provides greater opportunity for individual and institutional diversity and the range of services can greatly increase the capacity of different ethnic, cultural, and language groups to co-exist. In Canada, most of our rural research efforts have been limited to the investigation of language differences in small towns – most often focused on our two official languages (Jackson 1975). The insights from this work now need to be extended to other language and cultural groups in anticipation of the policies that can make immigration to rural areas a more general occurrence.

As in the past, immigration will be a crucial element of Canadian strength and quality of life in the future. We have already demonstrated the many ways in which the Canadian economy, social organizations and cultural richness have flourished under the mix of skills, intelligence and efforts of a strong immigration program. If it is to continue we must direct our energy and resources to expanding beyond the boundaries of our major cities. We now have the capacity to identify and document the implications of each of the options. What we need are the resources and effort to gather the data and conduct the analysis.

About the author

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Negotiating Religious Pluralism

Following earlier international comparative editions of this publication, which focused on Multicultural Futures and National Identity and Diversity, Metropolis supported a special issue of this magazine titled "Negotiating Religious Pluralism: International Approaches." This issue, guest edited by Matthias Köenig (University of Bamberg, Germany), includes more than 20 articles on how Australia, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, Germany, Greece, India, Indonesia, the Netherlands, New Zealand and Norway address issues arising from religious pluralism.

To obtain a copy, please contact canada@metropolis.net.

In this paper, the demographic structures and trends of the immigrant population, particularly visible minorities, are reviewed in the context of the overall demographic features of rural Canada.

Immigrants to Rural Canada

RAY D. BOLLMAN, ROLAND BESHIRI AND HEATHER CLEMENSON*
Statistics Canada

By 2026, Canada's population growth is projected to be solely reliant on the arrival of immigrants (Statistics Canada 2003). At that time, the number of deaths in Canada will be greater than the number of births, causing the natural population balance to be negative. If Canada wants to continue along a path of demographic growth, this will necessarily be driven by immigration.

The direct corollary for rural areas is that if they want their population to grow, they must attract internal migrants and/or international immigrants. Hence, more and more rural communities are attempting to increase their population by expanding their development programs to include both domestic retention and immigrant attraction programs.

In this paper, the demographic structures and trends of the immigrant population, particularly visible minorities, are reviewed in the context of the overall demographic features of rural Canada.

What is rural?

"Rural" is distance and density – specifically, long distances from major urban centres and low population density. There are a number of ways to implement a definition of rural with Statistics Canada databases (du Plessis et al. 2001). Throughout this paper we use the Organization of Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) definition of rural regions. *Predominantly rural regions* are census divisions (CDs – counties, regional districts, regional municipalities and other types of provincially legislated areas) where more than 50% of the population lives in a rural community. A *rural community* has a density less than 150 persons per square kilometre. The *predominantly rural regions* are disaggregated into three sub-regions: rural metro-adjacent regions, rural non-metro-

adjacent regions and rural northern regions; *intermediate regions* are CDs where 15% to 49% of the population lives in rural communities; and *predominantly urban regions* are CDs where less than 15% of the population lives in a rural community.

The history of rural demography

In general, Canada's rural population has grown in most intercensal periods since Confederation (Bollman 2000). However, in some provinces – particularly in Newfoundland and Labrador and in Saskatchewan – the rural population has been declining continuously since World War II.

In the 1950s and 1960s, there were net migrations out of rural Canada. However, replicating the pattern in the United States, rural migration patterns showed a "turnaround" in the early 1970s as rural areas achieved positive net migration (Rothwell et al. 2002a). Then, again mirroring the pattern in the United States, there was a "turnaround of the turnaround" (Joseph and Keddie 1991) and rural areas suffered net losses from migration in the late 1970s. The patterns have fluctuated since that time (Rothwell et al. 2002a).

Rural Canada has typically suffered from net out-migration and periods of positive net in-migration have been fleeting. As the natural population balance (births minus deaths) becomes negative, the ability of rural Canada to attract in-migrants or immigrants will be the only way for to achieve population growth.

Not every community wants demographic growth. There are reasons for accepting a slowly declining population – both to conserve the

* Opinions expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Statistics Canada.

environment and to maintain other benefits of low population density. As suggested by Browne (2002), perhaps “the rational response is the one you never hear publicly: ‘Don’t panic, let the numbers fall. It will be good for us.’ ”

A major part of the demographic history of rural Canada was the arrival of settlers (largely from Europe) to extract, harvest and process natural resources for export. The demand for commodities for export caused the settlement of rural Canada as illustrated in the writings of Harold Innis – from the fur trade (Innis 1927) to the cod fishery (Innis 1940a) to the demand for newspapers that caused the demand for paper (Innis 1951) and his editing of the diary of A.J. McPhail who led the movement for the co-operative marketing of wheat from the Prairies (Innis 1940b).

The next factor in Canada’s rural demographic history is the influence of the “increasing value of human time” (Schultz 1972). This would appear to be good – real wages are going up. However, in the primary sector, this means there is on-going pressure to substitute machines for workers. As a result, over time, fewer and fewer workers are needed to export more and more wheat, lumber, minerals and fish. This is the challenge for Canada’s rural communities. Regardless of the price of the commodity being shipped from the community, there will be fewer and fewer workers involved as technology is substituted for workers. The population of communities dependent upon primary sector employment will continually decline *unless* the communities find new goods or services to “export” – either selling to a nearby city or to another country. What can a community export? Freshwater (2003) argues that manufacturing, almost by default, will be the mainstay of “successful” rural communities in the future. Rural Canada is competitive in increasing its share of Canada’s manufacturing workforce (Bollman 2007).

Another feature driving the demography of rural Canada is the pattern of internal migration. Regardless of the level of net out-migration or net in-migration, there has been a consistent pattern that rural areas gained more than they lost from internal migration in each age class from 25 to 69 years of age (Rothwell et al. 2002a; with provincial details in Rothwell et al. 2002b). Rural areas are competitive in attracting immigrants in these age groups. Generally, younger adults with young families are moving to rural

communities within commuting distance of their job in the city (Bollman 2000). Generally, early retirees are moving to reside permanently in their former (now refurbished) summer cottage or to areas with strong scenic and recreational amenities. In these communities, there is a growing demand for all types of service workers – from plumbers to doctors to snow plow operators.

Immigrants in rural Canada

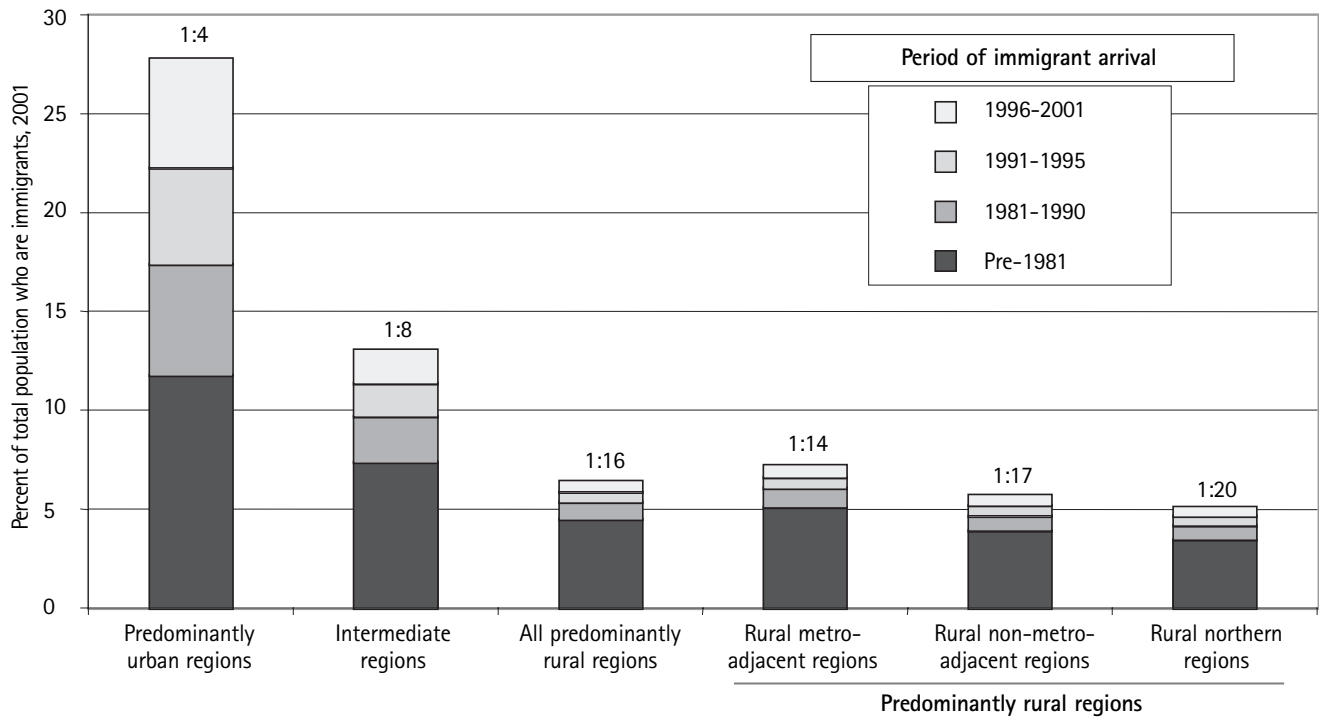
In 2001, in predominantly rural regions, only 6% of the resident population (1 in 16 persons) was born outside Canada (Figure 1). By far the vast majority had arrived in Canada prior to 1981. Contrast this to the demographic structure in predominantly urban regions. In 2001, 28% of the total population had been born outside Canada – and more than one-half of these residents had arrived in Canada since 1981. Thus, if you meet an immigrant in rural Canada, this person almost certainly arrived in Canada before 1981. If you meet an immigrant in a large city in Canada, the odds are that this person has arrived since 1981.

Beshiri and Alfred (2002) and Beshiri (2004) have documented the patterns:

- In both rural and urban regions, immigrants (especially immigrants post-1981) have a higher level of educational attainment than the Canadian-born. This difference is greater within predominantly rural regions than within predominantly urban regions.
- In predominantly rural regions, immigrants are more likely to be employed than the Canadian-born. The pattern is reversed in predominantly urban regions where immigrants are less likely to be employed than the Canadian-born. However, in all geographic regions, new immigrants (who arrived between 1996 and 2001) are the least likely to be employed. The exception is rural northern regions – one would tend to have a job before moving to the north.
- In predominantly rural regions, the more recent immigrants are more likely to be working in farming, mining, gas and oil and lumbering, compared to immigrants who arrived prior to 1981.
- In predominantly rural regions, recent immigrants are less likely to be working in trades, transport or manufacturing occupations, compared to immigrants who arrived prior to 1981.

FIGURE 1

Immigrants represent a low share of the predominantly rural population, but over one-quarter of the predominantly urban population



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 2001.

- In rural northern regions, recent immigrants are more likely to be in professional occupations related to management, business, finance, science and engineering, health, education, government, etc., compared to immigrants in northern regions who arrived prior to 1981.
- In each geographic region, the more recent the period of arrival, the lower the level of earnings of the immigrants.

In terms of immigrant arrivals per 100 residents over the last two decades, the number peaked in 1993 (Figure 2); it peaked in each type of region during this period. However, predominantly urban regions were much more attractive (at least with this measure) than intermediate or predominantly rural regions. Within each type of predominantly rural region, the peak was also 1993 (1992 in rural northern regions) (Figure 3). Rural regions adjacent to metro regions were somewhat more attractive. However, with immigrant arrivals in the range of 0.08 to 0.17 per 100 residents across all types of predominantly rural regions in 2005, the ability of rural regions to attract immigrants overall is much lower than the corresponding rate for

predominantly urban regions (1.24 immigrant arrivals per 100 residents).

Even though the average rural region does not attract many immigrants, some predominantly rural regions are very successful in attracting immigrants. Using our calculation of immigrant arrivals per 100 residents, out of 288 census divisions in Canada, 9 of the top 30 census divisions in the 2000-2001-2002 periods were predominantly rural regions (Beshiri, 2004). More recently, in the 2003-2004-2005 periods, two of the top 6 regions were predominantly rural regions:

- Toronto: 2.34 annual immigrants per 100 residents;
- Mississauga: 2.18 annual immigrants per 100 residents;
- Montréal: 1.60 annual immigrants per 100 residents;
- Steinbach (Man.): 1.58 annual immigrants per 100 residents;
- Vancouver: 1.48 annual immigrants per 100 residents;
- Winkler, Morden, Altona (Man.): 1.16 annual immigrants per 100 residents.

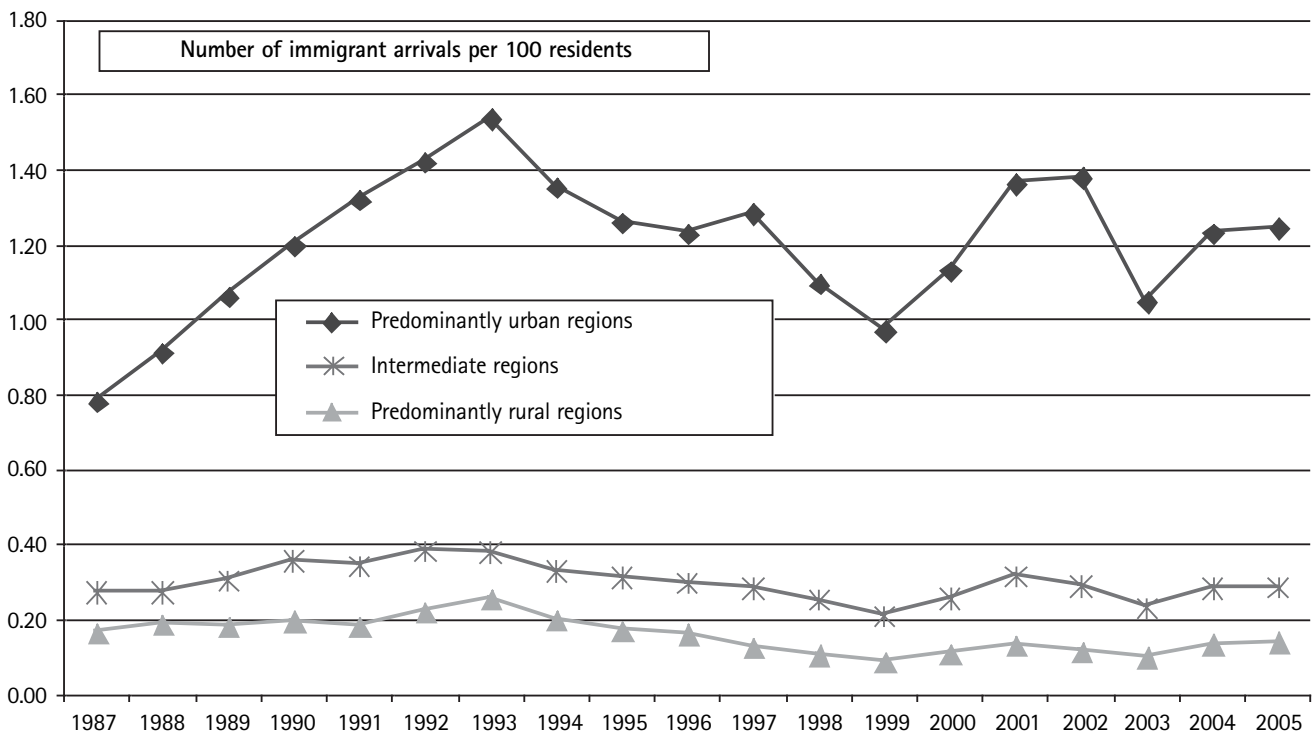
The towns of Steinbach / Winkler / Morden / Altona are well-known success stories in Manitoba – certainly in terms of their ability to attract immigrants. In each case, there has been a three-decade focus on local economic development. Due to the success of manufacturing jobs as a strong contributor to local job growth, there has been an ongoing demand for workers. One strategy was to build on the region’s Mennonite heritage to attract immigrants from Eastern Europe. In addition, they have effectively utilized the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP).¹ The rate of immigrant arrivals is relatively large in terms of the size of the resident population and these towns are facing all the resource challenges of immigrants learning a new language and learning a new way of living. However, the absolute numbers are small in the context of 244,000 immigrants to Canada in 2005. In the three-year period from 2003-2004-2005, Steinbach received 524, 1,048 and 1,087 immigrants. In the same three-year period, Winkler and its neighbouring communities received 431, 570 and 591 immigrants. This flow, measured relative to the resident population, caused Steinbach to be ranked 4th and Winkler 6th in Canada in this period.

In the case of Steinbach and Winkler, successful local economic development spurred the efforts to attract immigrants to fill the job vacancies. In the case of Kola, Manitoba, the school was in danger of closing (Stevenson 2007). Local action to attract immigrants has been sufficient to gain a reprieve for the school. Twenty-six families have arrived and have contributed 160 new people to a community of 500 residents. Local jobs were available – partly because better paying jobs in Alberta’s oil patch were attracting local workers to move. In fact, only one-half of the 26 new families have stayed. However, the school remains open and enrolment is projected to increase. The community is continuing its recruitment efforts.

The general observation for rural Canada is that a very small diversion in the destination of the overall flow of immigrants can and does have an important impact on the receiving rural community.

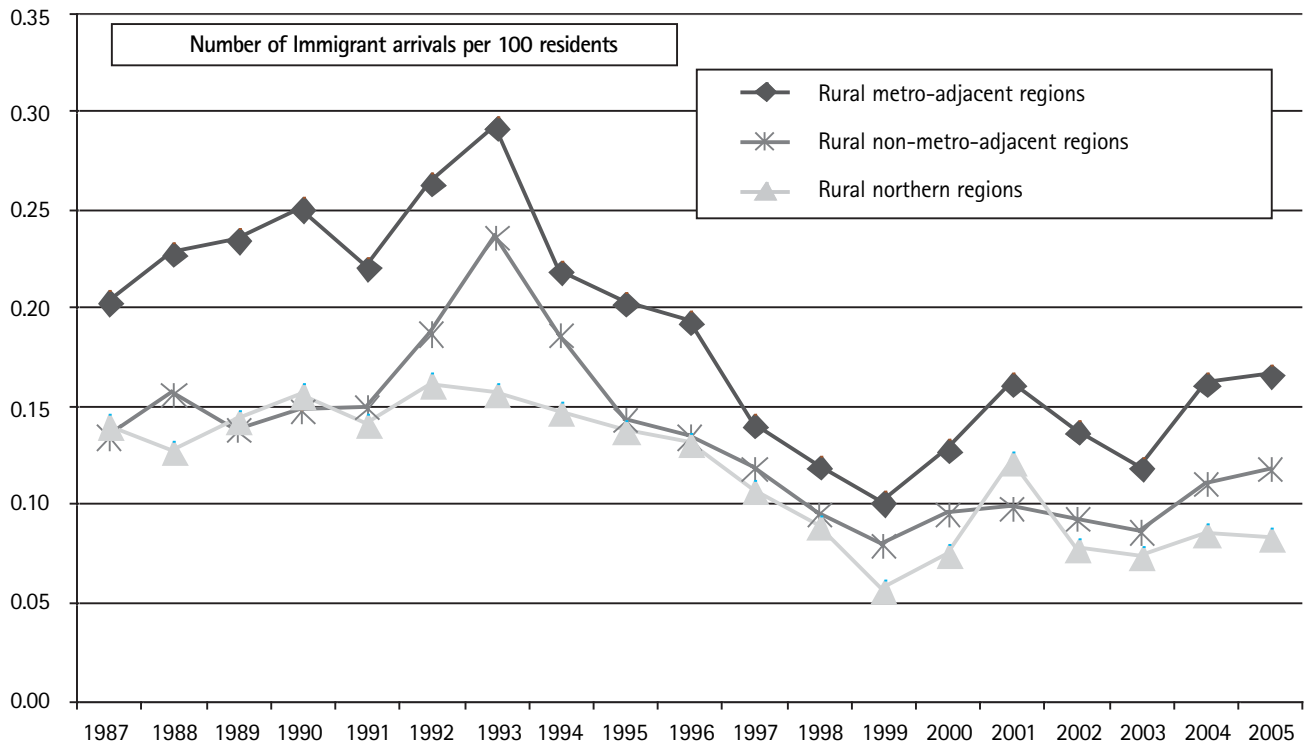
¹ For more information see www.immigratemanitoba.com.

FIGURE 2
The number of immigrant arrivals per 100 residents peaked in all types of regions in 1993



Source: Statistics Canada. Annual Population Estimates (CANSIM Table 051-0035).

FIGURE 3
**Immigrants per 100 residents to each type of rural region peaked in 1993;
 rural metro-adjacent regions remain somewhat more attractive**



Source: Statistics Canada. Annual Population Estimates (CANSIM Table 051-0035).

Visible minorities and Aboriginal people

In 2001, 50% of Canada’s population lived in predominantly urban regions, which attracted 88% of the visible minority immigrants who arrived in the 1996 to 2001 period. In 2001, 30% of Canada’s population resided in predominantly rural regions, but only 3% of visible minority immigrants who arrived in the 1996 to 2001 period chose to live in a rural region.

As reported by Caron-Malenfant et al. (2007), there has been a major change in the place of origin for immigrants arriving in Canada’s larger cities. By 2001, a relatively larger share of recent immigrants was from China (including Hong Kong), India, the Philippines and Sri Lanka. However, in smaller cities and in each of the rural zones, a relatively larger share of recent immigrants was still coming from traditional places of origin – the United States and the United Kingdom. Thus, policy attention to visible minority immigrants is (largely) a metropolitan issue.

To put this into perspective for a rural policy discussion, note that the federal *Employment Equity Act* (1986) identifies the visible minority population as those *other than Aboriginal*

(emphasis added), who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour. Issues relating to the “as defined” visible minority population is the task of one federal government department and the issues relating to the Aboriginal identity population is the task of another federal government department. In 2001, the visible minority population that was born outside Canada represented 16% of Canada’s predominantly urban population but only 1% of Canada’s predominantly rural population (Figure 4). Visible minority immigrants are a metro demographic.

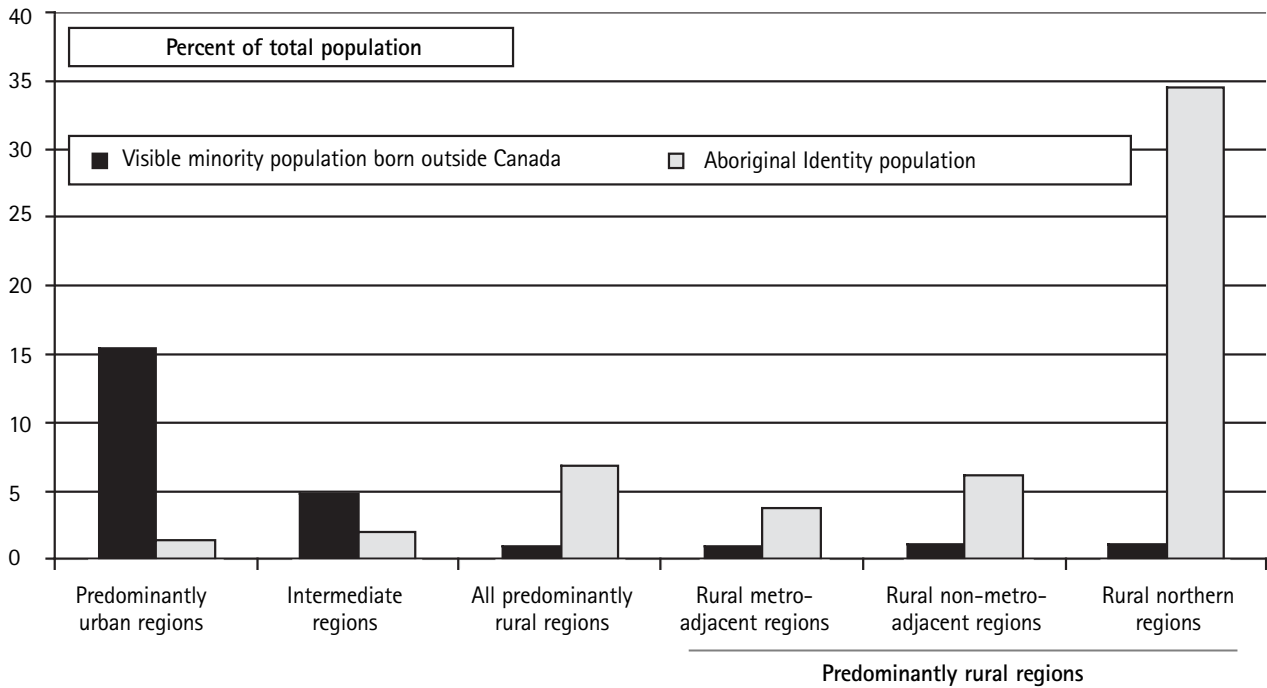
In rural Canada, perhaps more focus should be placed on the Aboriginal population in the context of future rural development. Overall, 7% of the population in predominantly rural regions reported an Aboriginal Identity in 2001. In rural northern regions, one-third of the population reported an Aboriginal Identity (Figure 4).

To conclude

Canada’s rural communities were settled to export commodities. For decades, machines have

FIGURE 4

Visible minority immigrants are a larger share of the urban population – Aboriginal identity population is a larger share of the rural population



Source : Statistics Canada. Census of population, 2001.

been substituted for workers. Communities dependent on primary sector employment have been challenged to find a new good or service to export in order to maintain employment levels. Manufacturing is one opportunity. For some communities, opportunities exist as vacation and/or retirement destinations.

The vast majority of immigrants go to metro destinations. However, some rural communities are proactive in creating jobs and they can attract immigrants. In terms of their capacity to attract immigrants, two of the top six census divisions in Canada are predominantly rural census divisions. These flows are small in the grand scheme of immigration – but they are large in terms of the contribution to the rural community. A small change in the choice of destination by immigrants can have a significant impact on rural community demographic growth. Visible minorities are not a major demographic group in rural regions, while rural Aboriginal populations should be recognized as a significant demographic in the future development of rural Canada.

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In this article, I use the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada to further study the early secondary migration patterns of new immigrants to Canada in terms of its time, geography, and labour characteristics.

Secondary Migration of New Immigrants to Canada

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Immigrants in Canada are highly concentrated in some cities and regions. In 2001, 39% of all immigrants were living in one metropolitan area, Toronto; 14% were found in Vancouver and 12% in Montréal. Only 23% of immigrants were established in regions outside the seven largest urban centres in Canada; this compares to 53% of the overall Canadian population. Recent projections show that these trends are likely to continue in the future, leading to an increased concentration of immigrants and visible minority groups – mostly in the metropolitan areas of Ontario and British Columbia (Statistics Canada 2005).

The issue surrounding high geographical concentration and the apparent incapacity of smaller towns and rural areas to attract and retain immigrants was addressed by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC 2000 and 2001) and was later identified as a policy priority in a statement by former Immigration Minister Denis Coderre (Abu-Laban and Garber 2005). Why, in the case of secondary migration of new immigrants, are new immigrants choosing to change their initial residence in Canada after only a few months – sometimes after a few weeks – in the country? In one of the few papers dealing with this subject, Nogle (1994) showed that during the first year following their arrival in Canada, recent immigrants have a very high rate of internal migration, which diminishes very rapidly thereafter, in accordance with increasing length of residence. According to Nogle, this hypermobility pattern relates to the process of adjustment to the destination country. This pattern

could be related to the specific refugee resettlement process by which their geographic concentration is the result of their initial dispersal. The first stage of resettlement takes place within a highly constrained context dictated by refugee policies; it is followed by a secondary migration, which is often motivated by a need to get closer to their ethnic community already settled in the country of destination (Desbarats 1985). In Canada, the initial destination of refugees is determined by their sponsors, whether government or private (CIC 2001). But initial dispersion is offset by secondary migration, which occurs within a few years after arrival; this pattern has been statistically documented for Vietnamese immigrants (Hou 2005).

In this article, I use the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada to further study the early secondary migration patterns of new immigrants to Canada in terms of its time, geography, and labour characteristics.

Data and methods

The data I use come from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC). The survey is designed to study new immigrants' adaptation processes to the Canadian society, in terms of labour market participation, housing, educational credentials and language. A module of residence histories ("places where lived" module) studies the identification of migrations since landing in Canada and tracks individuals

* Views expressed in this article are those of the author and do not necessarily reflect those of Statistics Canada.

in their successive residences across the country. The LSIC is a three-wave panel survey and, at the present moment, only the data from Waves 1 and 2 are available.

The sampling frame of the LSIC was taken from the administrative database of Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) on all immigrants landing in Canada. Some basic information (age, sex, class of immigrant, country of origin) was also extracted from this database and added to the survey data file. The survey frame was built over a 12-month period between October 2000 and September 2001 by simply adding new monthly landings. The initial sample size was determined in such a way as to obtain 5,000 completed core interviews at Wave 3. This gave an initial sample allocation of 20,322.

Wave 1 took place about six months after landing (between April 2001 and March 2002); Wave 2 occurred about two years after landing, and Wave 3, four years after landing. In all three operations, collection was done over a 12-month period and a majority of interviews were conducted face-to-face. Given non-responses, unresolved or untraced immigrants and other reasons, the final number of respondents was 12,040 at Wave 1 and 9,322 at Wave 2. The total sample represents about 160,800 new immigrants aged 15 years old and over, who landed in Canada in 2000-2001, regardless of their status as main applicants or dependants. Children, as well as immigrants applying from within Canada, are excluded from this target population. All calculations made and all results shown in this article are weighted to represent this population of new immigrants (immigrants aged 15 at admission are excluded).

The statistical method is survival analysis and I describe and analyze the first migration, which comprises 87% of all migrations, of new immigrants in Canada since landing, using Kaplan-Mayer estimates. In this article, a migration is defined as a change of province, urban area (census metropolitan area and census agglomerations) or census sub-division of residence. Any change of residence within the same urban area is not treated as a migration.

I mainly study migration by examining characteristics at landing. Most of these characteristics are recorded from the database of immigrants maintained by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, which is used to define the sample frame for the survey.

Time, geographical and socio-economic effects

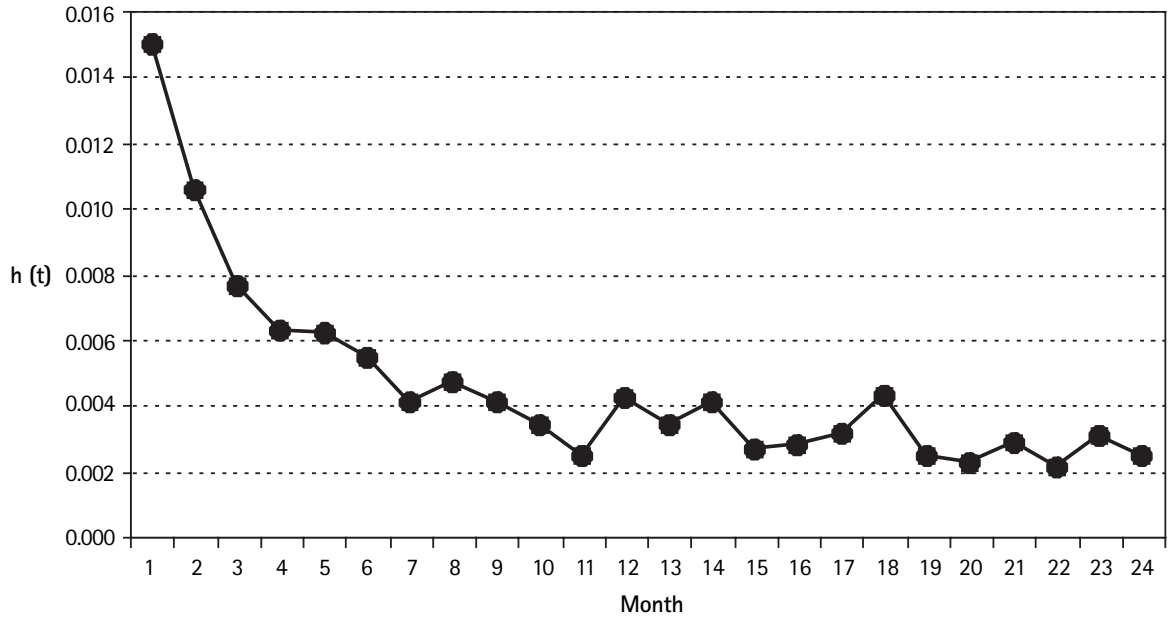
Since new immigrants are followed from the moment they enter Canada, it is thus possible to track their entire internal migration experience until Wave 2 of the survey. Chart 1 shows the effect of time since landing in Canada on internal migration of new immigrants during their first 24 months of residence in Canada. Panel A displays monthly hazard rates and Panel B the cumulative probability of migrating for the entire weighted sample. The main feature of Chart 1 is the elevated migration rate during the very first three months following arrival in Canada. At this juncture, more than 3% of new immigrants have changed their place of residence. From the sixth month on, the level of migration is much lower and slightly decreasing. After 24 months in Canada, little more than 10% of new immigrants have moved from their residence at landing to another city or region. The pattern of migration rates following admission to Canada is a good, if not a dramatic, example of the *axiom of cumulative inertia*, as proposed in the Cornell model of migration developed in the 1960s (Toney 1976): the probability of migration diminishes as duration of residence increases. What is striking, though, are the very high rates of migration at the beginning of the resettlement process.

In this pattern we should expect refugees to contribute with high migration rates because of their initial residential placement. Refugees quickly change their residence after arrival. In Chart 2, Panel A, we use a slightly different graphical presentation of migration intensity: instead of a curve, we propose a graph bar representation showing the cumulative proportion of new immigrants who migrated within a given period of time. In Chart 1 the cumulative proportion of migrating immigrants, by immigration category, after 1, 3, 6, 12, and 24 months in Canada is shown. After three months in Canada, Chart 2-A shows that 6.4% of refugees have moved to another community, while only 3.7% of the economic immigrants and less than 2% of the family class immigrants have done so. After 24 months, 15% of refugees, 12% of economic immigrants and 6% of family class immigrants have migrated to some other place in Canada. These findings confirm the high level of migration of refugees, as observed by others. One explanation for the high migration rates displayed by refugees is the smaller size of the community where they are sent (Nogle 1994;

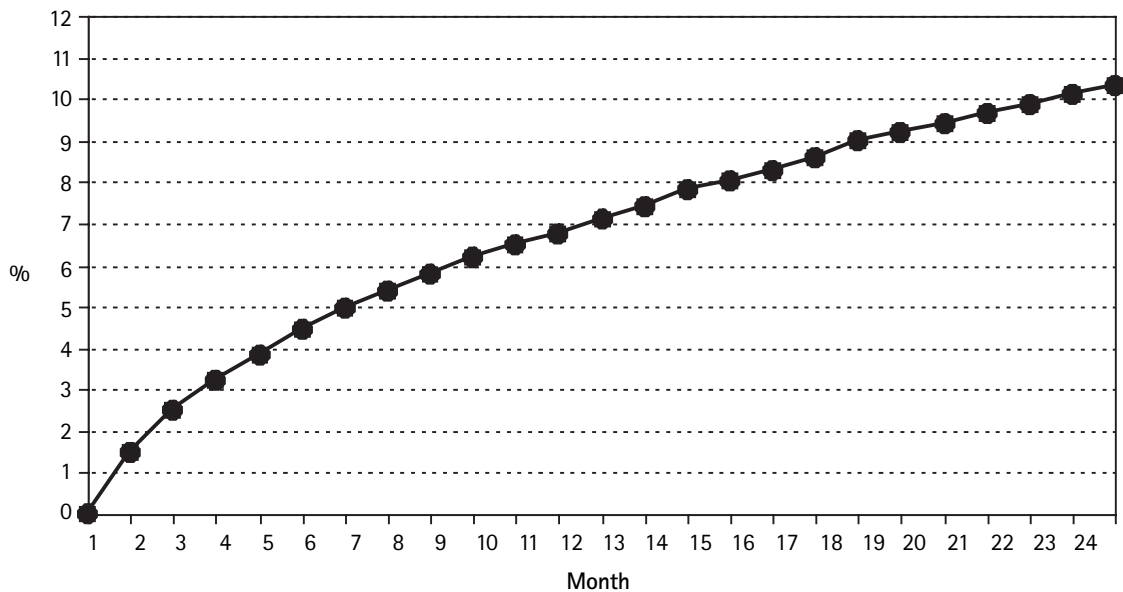
CHART 1

Hazard rate and cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating during the first two months in Canada

Panel A. Monthly Hazard Rate



Panel B. Cumulative percentage



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

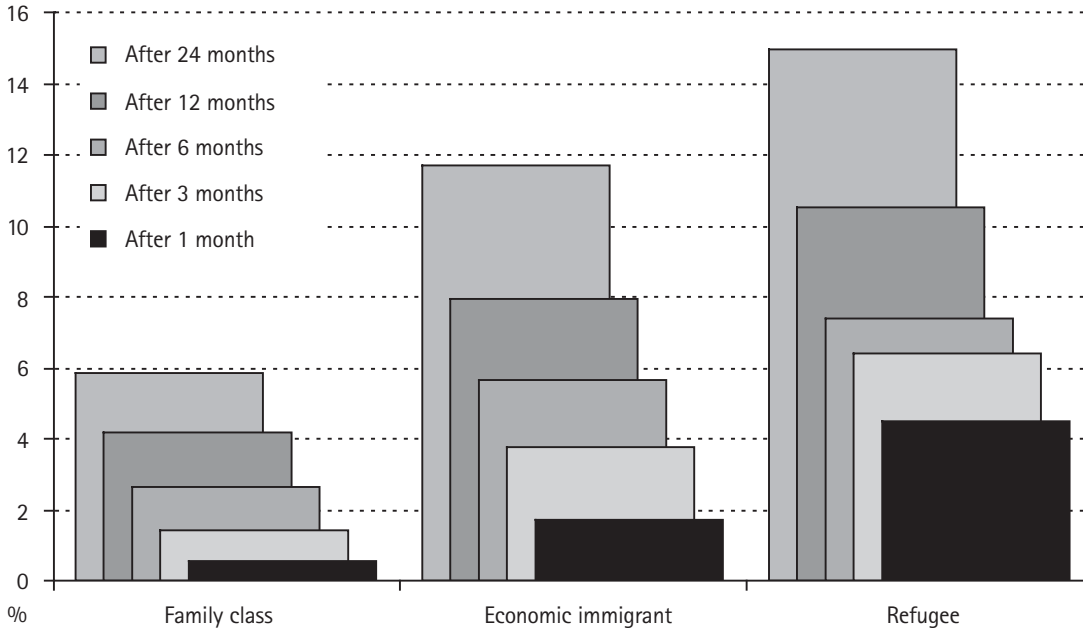
CIC 2001). CIC concludes on this topic that “small cities may not be capable of influencing the rate of out-migration of refugees in a major way, since only a small fraction of the answers point directly to matters they have some control over” (CIC 2001: 33). Another related characteristic of

the refugee population is that many of them do not choose their initial place of landing in Canada, because they must initially settle in the community inhabited by their sponsors (Chui 2003). More than 22% of refugees did not choose their current place of residence during Wave 1, a phenomenon that

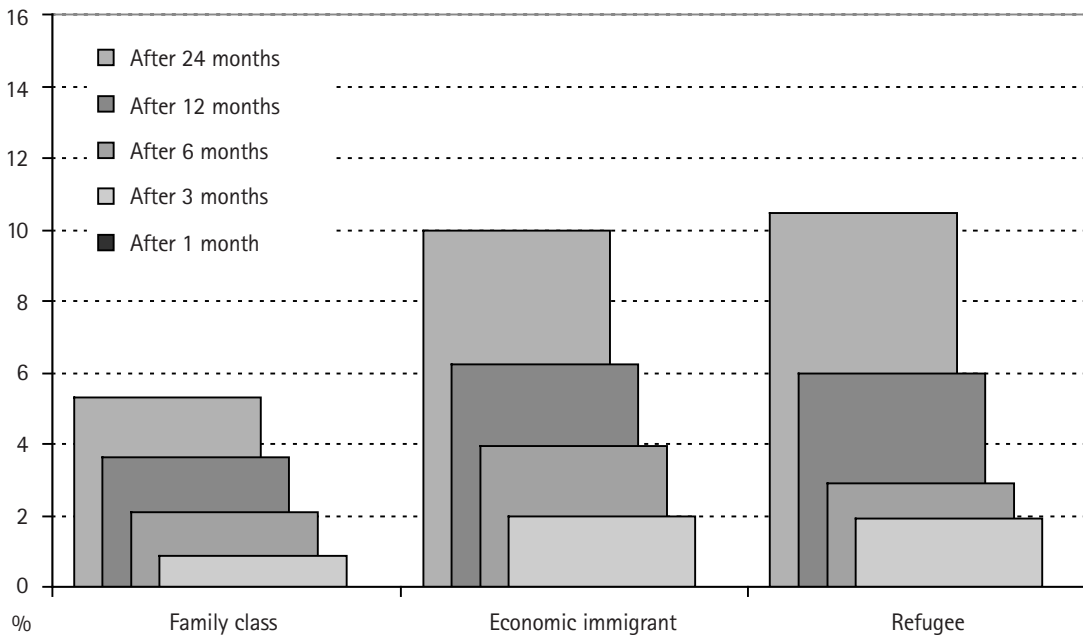
CHART 2

Cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating at different points in time, by immigrant category

Panel A. All time points



Panel B. Rate at one month set to zero



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

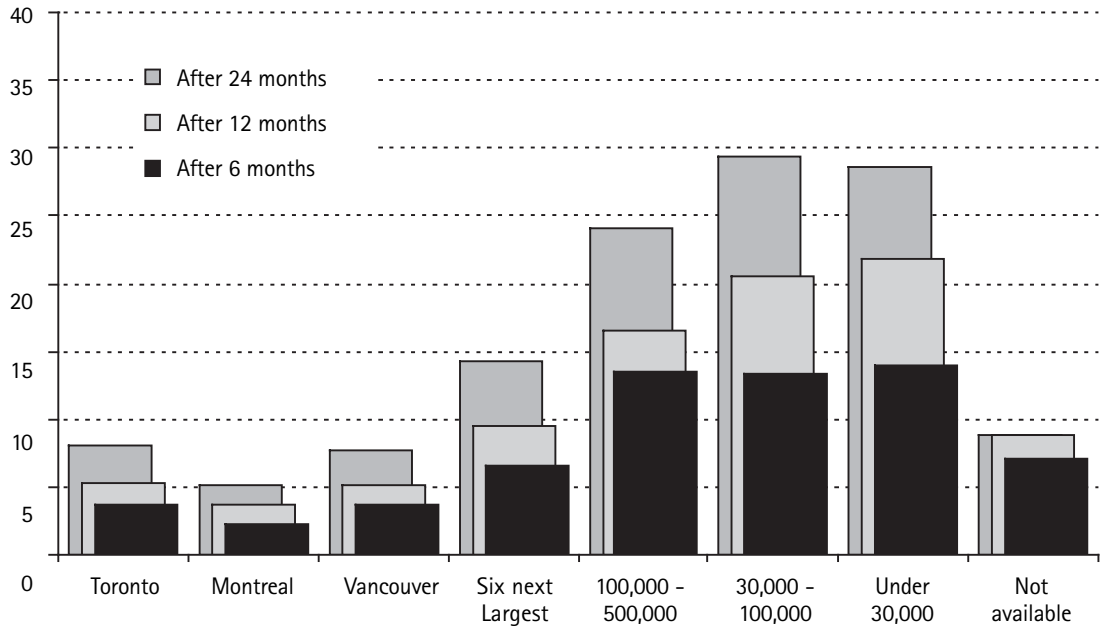
virtually does not exist for economic and family class immigrants. This also contributes to explaining the high out-migration rate of refugees.

But our findings show that the internal migration pattern of refugees is more a matter of

timing than it is one of intensity of migration *per se*. The difference in migration intensity between refugees and economic immigrants is mostly attributable to refugees' high rates of migration during their first month in Canada. To

CHART 3

Cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating at different points in time, by type and size of first place of residence in Canada



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

illustrate this, we set migration rates during the first month in Canada to zero. We obtained Panel B of Chart 2 by computing migration intensity after the first month in Canada; migration returns were established at 10% for refugees as well as for economic immigrant after two years in Canada. The original difference between these two groups (11.7% and 15% after two years in Canada) is mainly attributable to what happened during the first month in Canada.

In the early stages of resettlement within Canada, the geographic mobility of new immigrants is significantly lower for family class immigrants and higher (double, actually) for the rest of immigrants. Refugees do not affect the whole picture since this group represents only 6% of all immigrants. Economic immigrants are the most numerous contingent with 67%, while family class constitutes 27% of new immigrants. Chart 1 thus reflects the early internal migration pattern of new immigrants to Canada.

The geography of immigrants in Canada is of great interest to government agencies, urban and regional planners, and provinces. Immigrants are highly concentrated and small communities do not seem to be able to retain the immigrants they receive. As to city size, there is no doubt that large urban centres have a better retention

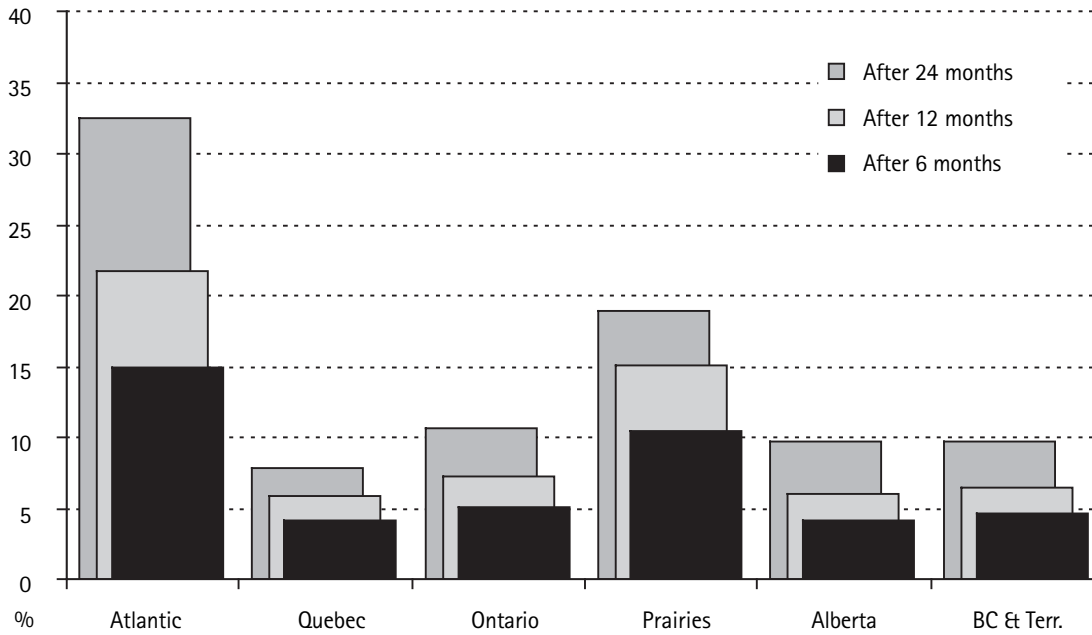
rate of immigrants than other communities of 500,000 inhabitants or less which have lost more than 25% of their newly established immigrants after two years in Canada (Chart 3). The Montréal, Toronto and Vancouver (MTV) triad was able to retain 92% of their new immigrants two years after landing, with Montréal being the MTV agglomeration with the highest retention percentage (95%). This percentage reaches 85% in the group of urban centres formed by the six next larger cities after MTV (Québec, Ottawa-Gatineau, Hamilton, Winnipeg, Calgary and Edmonton). In smaller communities, up to 15% of new immigrants had moved within six months after arrival, compared to 3.7% in the case of Toronto and Vancouver, and to 2.3% in Montréal.

Regional differences in migration rates are pronounced between the Atlantic provinces and other regions (Chart 4). The Atlantic has the highest mobility rate of immigrants and this might be partly due to the fact that this region includes none of the nine large urban centres.

Another concern raised regarding internal migration of immigrants is the extent to which it is similar to that of the Canadian population as a whole. For labour economists, internal migration is a mechanism that allows for the

CHART 4

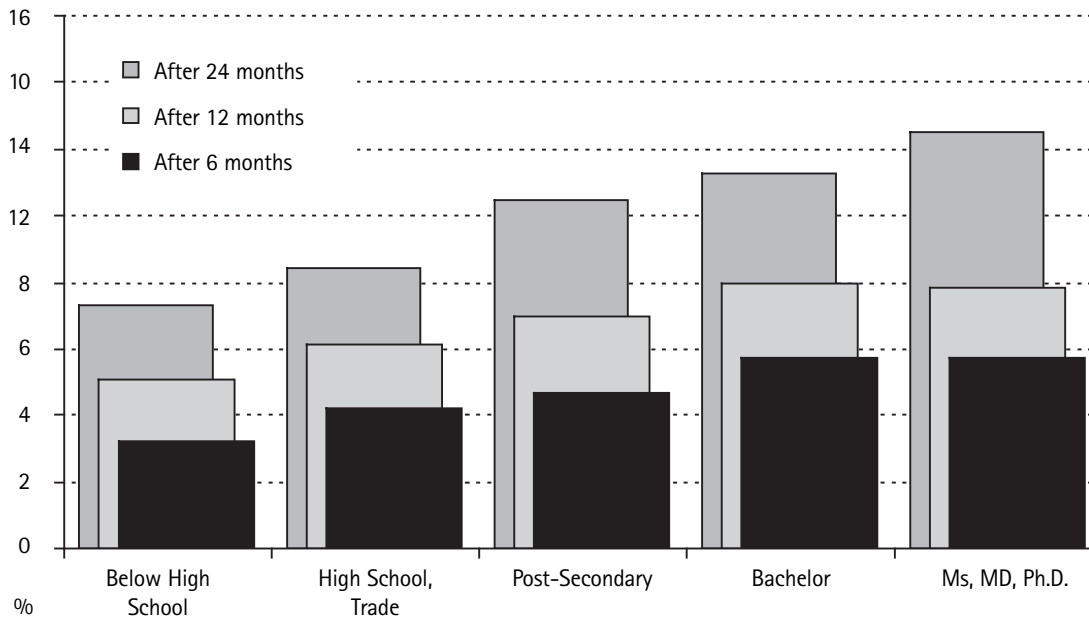
Cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating at different points in time, by region of first place of residence in Canada



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

CHART 5

Cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating at different points in time, by level of education (diploma) at admission



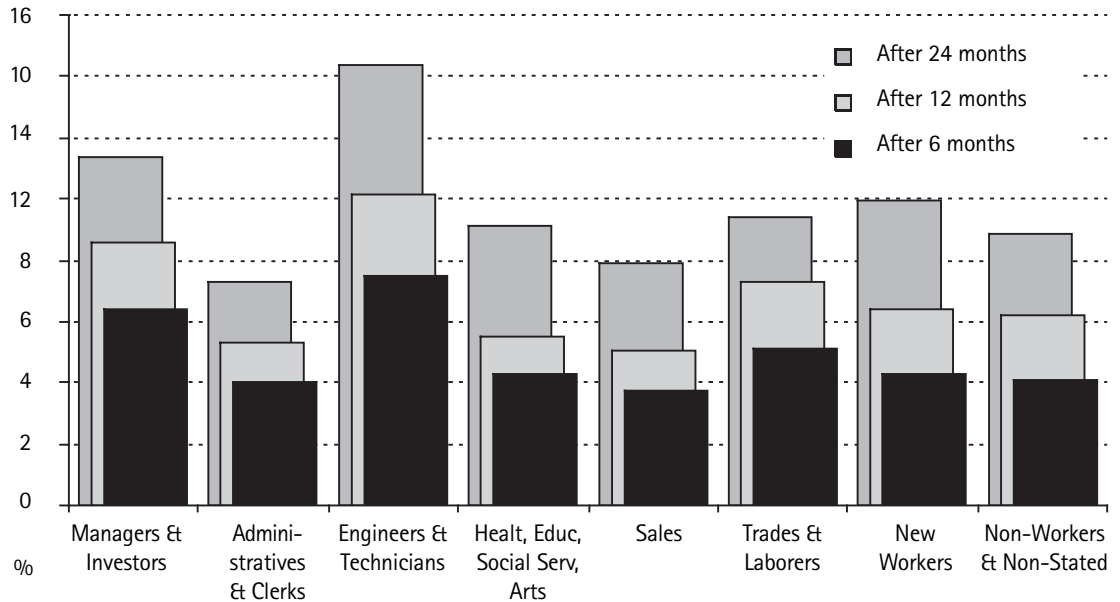
Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

redistribution of the labour force from regions where it is overabundant to regions where it is in short supply (Ritchey 1976). Do new immigrants

behave like the mainstream population? Do human capital and labour force use have the expected and increasing impact on internal migration?

CHART 6

Cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating at different points in time, by occupation declared at admission



Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

The effect of education illustrates the role of human capital on migration behaviour: people with higher education are generally open to a geographically larger labour market and are more aware of employment opportunities existing elsewhere through better information channels. This hypothesis holds for new immigrants as the more educated also have higher rates of geographic mobility (Chart 5). Migration rates increase with each education level, and one notices a sharp difference between the holders of at least a post-secondary diploma and the other groups, who migrate less. After 24 months in Canada, the rate of migration among immigrants holding a graduate degree (more than 12%) is roughly twice that of immigrants who have not completed high school (about 7%).

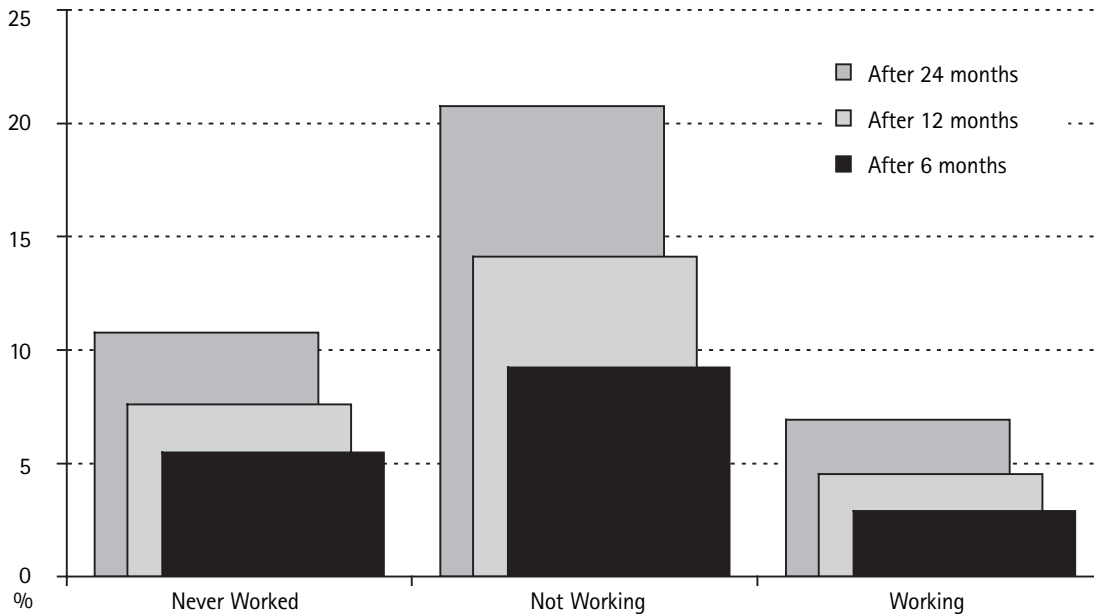
The picture that emerges from the classification of occupation at admission is slightly different (Chart 6). Most occupational groups display a similar migration rate: after 24 months in Canada, between 8 and 10% of landed immigrants choose to resettle within the country. One group has a markedly different migration behaviour: engineers and technicians display the highest migration rate among all groups. Managers and investors share with this latter group the highest migration intensity, while personnel in administrative positions and in sales display the lowest migration

rates. However, and except for engineers and technicians, the differences between these occupational groups are not great and therefore might not resist a multivariate analysis.

For labour economists, the real question is not what the effects of the labour situation on the migration rate might be on education or occupation, but rather how they impact the labour market situation. The Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada provides retrospective information on the job situation of new immigrants who are on the labour market. This information permits the reconstitution of the labour market history of immigrants since their arrival in the country. Labour market participation it is not a characteristic at landing, but rather a time-varying covariate – that is, a variable that can be updated each time a change occurs in the working life of respondents. This is possible because the survey provides complete job histories, analogous to residence histories. We have defined three basic job situation categories: employed (part or full time), unemployed (with previous work experience), and never employed in Canada (a person is considered to never have been employed in Canada until he or she has secured his or her first job in Canada).

Job situation has a definite impact on migration rates among new immigrants (Chart 7). In

CHART 7

Cumulative percentage of new immigrants migrating at different points in time, by job situation

Source: Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada, own calculations (weighted data).

particular, respondents not working but with work experience acquired following their admission to Canada display a high migration intensity: after two years in Canada, more than 20% have migrated compared to 10% for respondents who never worked in Canada. Employment reduces migration rates significantly, especially when compared to previously employed individuals (7% versus 21%). From the point of view of human capital and position on the labour market, internal migration of new immigrants seems to be motivated by the same factors as for natives: a desire to increase individual well-being.

Conclusion

The main conclusion of this paper could be that new immigrants to Canada migrate like natives. In other words, they migrate in search of a first job or a better job, or to take advantage of their level of education or professional competencies. One indication of this is their rate of migration by geographic origin: Atlantic Canada, the central Prairies (Manitoba and Saskatchewan) and, in general, medium- and small-sized regions have a much lower rate of retention than the larger provinces and the large urban centres. In this context, our findings confirm previous works on internal migration of immigrants in Canada (Lin 1998, Newbold 1996)

However, such a conclusion must be amended by certain specific features that must be taken into account. The first is the effect of time on the migration rates of new immigrants. The absence of cumulative inertia on migration rates during the initial stages of landing is worth mentioning and corroborates a similar finding by Nogle (1994). Nogle explains this hypermobility as “merely a function of adjustment to the destination country” and concludes that the initial period may be crucial to an understanding of the adjustments of immigrants” (p. 45). An alternative explanation of this specific migration pattern would be to consider it as an additional step in the resettlement process. Within this framework, migration from abroad would be a first step to reach Canada, but often another move might be necessary to complete the intended journey. In this sense, the use of the term “secondary” to identify internal migration of immigrants is justified. The very high internal migration intensity that takes place immediately after arrival could be explained by the fact that secondary migration constitutes the completion of an unfinished journey between a given origin abroad and a final destination within Canada. A significant number of new immigrants clearly did not land where they wished to settle, and decided to move to a place they feel is a better-suited destination for them.


A striking example of this is given by refugees with high migration rates during the first month following their arrival. This hypermobility is not solely a characteristic of refugees, as economic immigrants also tend to resettle in large numbers. This phase of very high migration lasts about six months and is of the same intensity for both groups of refugees and economic immigrants. The immigrants entering as family class constitute an exception to this pattern. Given the structure of incorporation as members of constituted households, these landed immigrants likely adopt migration patterns similar to those of formerly established immigrants or, in some cases, of Canadian-born migrants.

Additional studies are needed to better understand the migration patterns of immigrants as compared to those of natives. But at this point it is clear that the freedom to move within Canada is used by a number of new immigrants to attain specific goals (and new destinations) established before or immediately following landing, better suited to their expectations and aspirations in the new country.

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RELIGION
AND ETHNICITY
IN CANADA




EDITED BY
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Religion and Ethnicity in Canada

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Religion and Ethnicity in Canada explores six major religions in Canada: Judaism, Hinduism, Sikhism, Buddhism, Islam, and Chinese religions. The book also discusses the place of religion in Canadian society as it pertains to the formation of government policies, the ebb and flow of immigration and the economy, and the laws and standards of education.



Future growth for rural and small town Canada lies in attracting and retaining immigrants as well as migrants from within Canada. This article examines trends in migration into and out of rural and small town Canada from 1971 to 2001 and illustrates that while there have been periods of net in-migration, young people and the more elderly continue to leave rural areas and small towns.

Recent Trends in Rural-Urban Migration

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It is widely recognized that new immigrants will be the major way of increasing the Canadian population and work force by the year 2026 (Statistics Canada 2003a). This will be the case for both urban and rural areas. As the natural population balance (births minus deaths) becomes negative, the ability to attract and retain migrants from other parts of Canada or immigrants will be the only way for demographic growth in rural and small town (RST) Canada.¹

This pre-supposes that rural and small towns will have something to offer migrants, but a general perception, among the population at large, is that rural and small town areas are declining, so why would either Canadian-born residents or immigrants choose to move to these areas? During the 1996 to 2001 census period, fewer than 32,000 of immigrants to Canada went to rural and small town (RST) areas of the country, that is, less than 0.4% of the total RST population in 2001 (9 million). It was found that immigrant mobility behaviour within Canada points to employment opportunities as one of the most important reasons why immigrants move, other than to live near friends and/or family (CIC 2001; Statistics Canada 2003b). Neither Canadian-born migrants nor immigrants will choose to move to a community with no employment opportunities or other quality of life advantages. The future of many rural communities hinges on whether they

can retain their present population as well as attract new residents. So what is the current situation in rural and small town Canada?

Rural population growth

The total population of rural Canada has grown in most intercensal periods since Confederation (Bollman 2000). Though the total population has increased, rural Canada has grown at a slower rate than urban Canada. Hence, the share of Canada's population living in rural areas is declining. However, as with all data, the larger picture masks tremendous diversity at the local level. For example, in some provinces, notably in Newfoundland and Labrador and in Saskatchewan, the rural population has been declining continuously since World War II.

Traditional rural industries

Historically, primary and resource-based industries provided the engines of growth in most of rural

* Views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Statistics Canada.

¹ Specifically, rural and small town (RST) refers to the non-CMA/CA population, where a CMA is a census metropolitan area and a CA is a census agglomeration. A CMA has an urban core population of 100,000 or more, while a CA has an urban core population of 10,000 to 99,999. CMAs and CAs include all neighbouring municipalities where 50% or more of the workforce commutes to the urban core (see du Plessis et al. 2001).

and small town Canada. Single-industry communities, whether forestry, fishing, energy or mining, dispersed farm settlements and related agricultural service centres have long characterized Canada's rural areas and small towns. But most primary and resource-based industries have become technologically savvy, substituting machines for labour in commodity production, and no longer offering employment to large numbers of workers. Improved industrial productivity has not necessarily meant more jobs and many resource-based communities can no longer support a large employment base as in the past. In other cases, resource over-utilization and depletion have led to downsizing, plant closures and loss of employment.

Though for some rural communities natural resources continue to be a driving force, many rural and remote areas have had to look for new goods or services to export from their community in order to maintain their work force. Such new goods and services might require a labour force with different skills than in the past. Some rural communities have natural amenities that have been developed for tourism (exported in the sense that people from away will spend money in the community). Others have diversified based

on new opportunities in manufacturing. In fact, rural Canada is competitive in manufacturing and since 1976, has been increasing its share of Canada's manufacturing workforce (Bollman 2007). It has been argued that by default, opportunities for creating jobs in the future will necessarily be, for most rural communities, in the manufacturing sector (Freshwater 2003).

The historic boom and bust economy of rural regions has contributed to population migration ebbs and flows across Canada as one region has shed labour and another has demanded new workers. As such, economic growth and decline and regional development are partly reflected in the trends and patterns of internal migration.

Rural internal migration

The majority of the data noted here are taken from the detailed analyses of recent migration patterns in rural Canada published by Rothwell et al. (2002a) and summarized in the Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin series (Rothwell et al. 2002b). Some updates of that data have been taken from a series of analyses of the internal migration patterns of Canada.

It is generally believed that rural Canada suffers from net out-migration and that periods

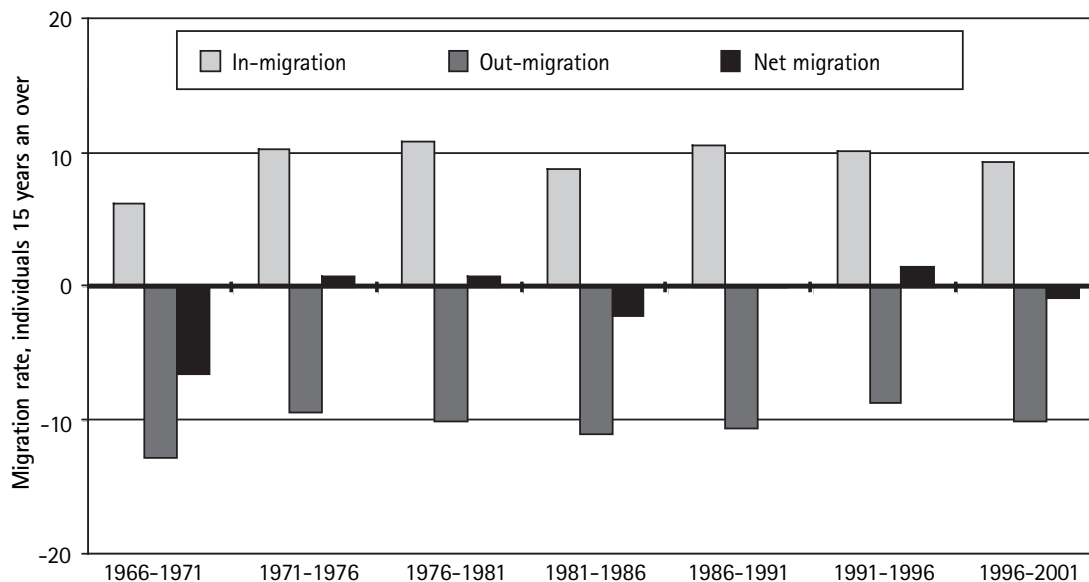
TABLE 1
Canada: Migration between larger urban centres (LUC) and rural and small town areas (RST) for individuals aged 15 and over, 1971 to 2001

	1966-1971	1971-1976	1976-1981	1981-1986	1986-1991	1991-1996	1996-2001
Non-movers							
RST	4 889 295	5 583 510	5 378 435	4 548 210	4 663 105	4 907 775	4 839 030
LUC	10 274 340	11 496 590	13 214 775	15 067 120	16 492 170	17 715 770	19 058 385
Internal migrants							
RST to LUC	771 595	582 700	599 905	563 965	554 505	469 985	545 435
LUC to RST	349 170	633 090	647 150	451 475	552 450	545 665	498 540
Total net migration to RST	-362 425	50 390	47 245	-112 490	-2 055	75 680	-46 895
RST							
In-migration rate	6,2	10,3	10,8	8,8	10,6	10,1	9,3
Out-migration rate	12,7	9,4	10,0	11,0	10,6	8,7	10,1
Net migration rate	-6,5	0,8	0,8	-2,2	0,0	1,4	-0,9
LUC							
In-migration rate	6,7	4,8	4,3	3,6	3,3	2,6	2,8
Out-migration rate	3,3	5,2	4,7	2,9	3,2	3,0	2,5
Net migration rate	3,4	-0,4	-0,3	0,7	0,0	-0,4	0,2

Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1971 - 2001.

Note: RST In-migration rate = $((LUC-to-RST) / ((RST\ non-movers)+(RST-to-LUC))) * 100$
RST Out-migration rate = $((RST-to-LUC) / ((RST\ non-movers)+(RST-to-LUC))) * 100$
LUC In-migration rate = $((RST-to-LUC) / ((LUC\ non-movers)+(LUC-to-RST))) * 100$
LUC Out-migration rate = $((LUC-to-RST) / ((LUC\ non-movers)+(LUC-to-RST))) * 100$

FIGURE 1
Rural and small town Canada migration rates



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1966-2001.
Rural and small town refers to the population outside Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs).

of net in-migration have been few and far between. Certainly, in the 1950s and 1960s, there was net migration out of rural Canada. However, rural and small town Canada experienced net out-migration from 1981 to 1991 and again from 1996 to 2001, but experienced net in-migration between 1971 and 1981 and from 1991 to 1996.

Comparisons of the average out-migration with average in-migration for the provinces, over the period 1971 to 1996, generally show that rural and small town areas in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario had net in-migration while Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan and Manitoba had the highest net losses of population through out-migration. These trends were similar during the 1996 to 2001 period, though only Ontario and Alberta had net in-migration; British Columbia showed a small net out-migration and Newfoundland and Labrador, Saskatchewan and Manitoba still recorded the highest net losses.

Who is leaving or coming to rural and small town Canada?

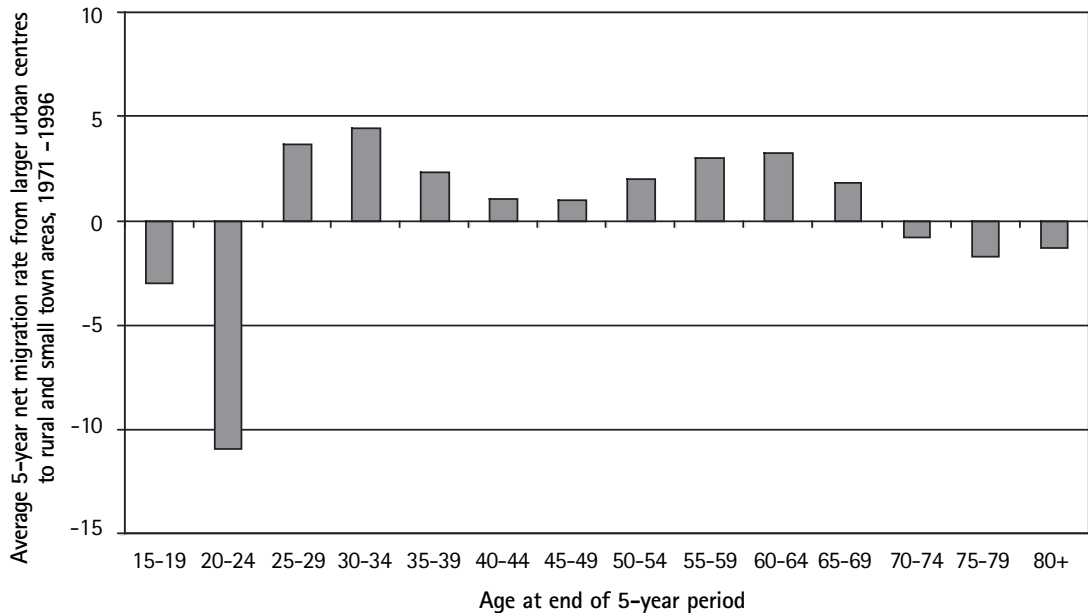
Looking at who moved over the census periods from 1976 to 1996 shows that out-migration rates from rural and small town areas were highest among youth, and highest of all in the 20-24 age range (Figure 2). This trend in youth migration also held during the 1996-2001 period, where

data show that more young people aged 20 to 29 left rural and small towns than moved in (Pitblado 2007). As the 25-29 age range was found to be net in-migrants in the Rothwell study (2002a and 2002b), the great numbers of youth in the 20-24 age group who leave probably overwhelm the in-migration numbers of the 25-29 group during the 1996-2001 period. This is largely education-related out-migration whereby young people in rural areas usually have little choice, other than to migrate, to continue their schooling and to find employment opportunities commensurate with their skills. In fact, the three most important reasons that youth have given for leaving rural communities were lack of employment opportunities, education and social opportunities. When asked what would attract them back, creating more jobs and providing more social and recreational opportunities were the major items on their list (Malatest 2002).

For the population over 70 years of age during the census periods from 1976 to 1996, more moved out of rural and small town areas than moved in, possibly seeking to be closer to specialist health care services available in larger urban centres. This was observed for all people aged 60 and above in the 1996 to 2001 period, again higher out-migration for the above 70 age group, possibly outweighing any net in-migration by the 60-69 age group.

FIGURE 2

In-migration in rural and small town Canada exceeds out-migration in all age classes from 25 to 69 years



Source: Statistics Canada, Census of Population, 1971-1996.

For all other age groups, rural areas are competitive in attracting in-migrants (i.e. more individuals move in than move out). Over the period from 1976 to 1996, there is a consistent pattern of rural areas gaining more than they lost from internal migration in each age class from 25 to 69 years of age. Similarly, all age groups from 30 to 59 from the 1996 to 2001 period also showed net in-migration. Generally, younger adults with young families are moving to rural communities within commuting distance of their jobs in the city and early retirees move to reside permanently in their former summer cottages or move to rural areas rich in outdoor and recreational amenities (Bollman 2000).

Higher education also implies higher mobility. Over the period from 1971 to 1996, the rate of out-migration was generally higher with each level of educational attainment. That is, the higher the level of education, the higher the rate of out-migration from rural and small town Canada. But this also held true for in-migration: individuals with a university education had a rate of in-migration three times higher than those with less than grade nine. Overall, in the 1970s and 1990s, rural and small town Canada experienced a net in-migration, a brain gain, in each group of educational attainment. Only in the 1980s was there an evident brain drain.

Although there are exceptions, similar observations may be made for university- and college-educated health care workers, especially for individuals from these occupations who are 30 years of age and older (Pitblado, 2007).

In terms of labour force activity, both the employed and the unemployed had fairly stable rates of out-migration from rural and small town Canada during the 1971 to 1990 period and lower rates from 1991 to 2001. In four out of five intercensal periods from 1971 to 1996, unemployed persons had a higher propensity to leave rural and small town areas.

In terms of in-migration, the lowest rates for both the employed and unemployed were recorded in the period from 1981 to 1986. This contributed to the overall net out-migration of the 1980s. During the 1991 to 1996 period, data show a net in-migration for the employed and unemployed, more due to higher population retention rates than higher in-migration. However, from 1996 to 2001, a lower in-migration rate contributed to net out-migration of the general Canadian workforce from rural areas of the country.

Rural communities need a strategy

What do such migration trends mean for the future of rural and small town Canada? There is tremendous diversity within rural Canada and

not all is negative. In general, rural areas adjacent to large urban areas have tended to benefit from urban proximity through “urban spill-over,” as areas where commuting to a job in the city or to the amenities that the city offers enables young families and early retirees to enjoy both worlds: countryside living and an urban lifestyle. The closer a community is to a large urban centre, the higher the rate of population growth and the higher the probability of positive population growth. However, not all rural communities located near large urban areas are able to grow and not all communities distant from large urban centres have been declining. For example, while 58% of communities within 25 kilometres of a metropolitan centre experienced population growth in all four consecutive intercensal periods from 1981 to 2001, the population of 5% of communities within the 25 kilometre radius declined continuously over the entire period. In these cases, even close proximity to a large urban centre was not sufficient to stimulate population growth. Conversely, at least 5% of communities located 200 to 299 kilometres from a metropolitan centre grew continuously over the 1981 to 2001 period. Therefore, some rural communities are competitive despite their distance from major urban centres and markets, and a significant number of rural places are growing faster than the average urban area (Bollman 2007).

This complexity and diversity implies that some rural areas and small towns might be well positioned to attract future migrants, whether focused on attracting former sons and daughters, other Canadian-born residents or immigrants. Targeted recruitment of skilled workers for specific labour and professional shortages, such as health care professionals, has been a strategy already pursued by some rural communities. While the net migration patterns of recent years have had more to do with population retention (lower out-migration) than population attraction, the latter strategy will, of necessity, need to become more of a focus given the trend of natural population decline. Whether a “come back” strategy to attract former residents or a strategy targeted at new and recent immigrants will be the more advantageous in the long run, is a question yet to be answered.

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*Ethnic and immigrant-origin diversity are highest within urban centres and (except for the Weak MIZ category) lower in rural areas. Religious diversity, on the other hand, is high in both the most and least urban centres with its lowest levels in the mid-MIZ categories. This provides some important qualifications on the usual assumption that urban areas are unequivocally the most diverse locations from an ethnic or cultural point of view.**

Ethnic and Cultural Diversity in Rural Canada: Its Relationship to Immigration

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Concordia University

Canada has a long history of ethnic and cultural diversity due to immigration. It has led to considerable research regarding the ways in which these different groups and people relate. However, the usual focus of this research has been on the urban context, with little elaboration of the ways in which diversity and immigration are related in rural places. In order to overcome this bias, we will use Statistics Canada data to investigate the levels of diversity in terms of ethnicity, religion, and place of origin. Our goal is to understand the role of cultural and ethnic diversity in rural Canada and its effects on the processes of rural immigration.

Ethnic and cultural diversity

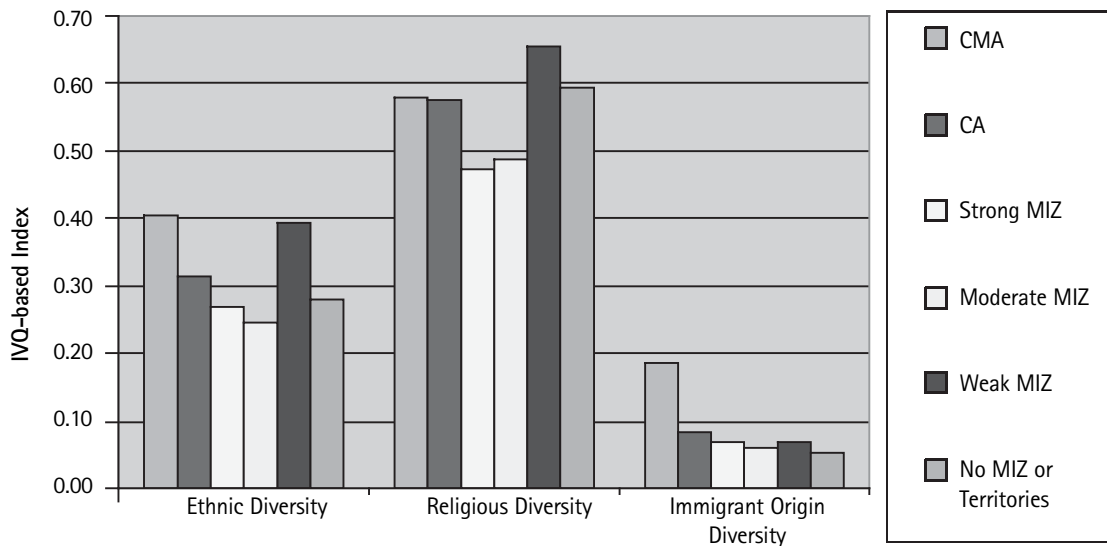
The literature consistently identifies employment, kinship or ethnic networks, social services, and a welcoming community as key elements in the attraction and retention of immigrants (Portes 1999). In his study of successful cities, Richard Florida has reinforced these claims by highlighting the importance of life-style and natural amenity characteristics for settlement decisions (Florida 2002). However, little research has focused on the ethnic and cultural characteristics of smaller communities, particularly as they relate to immigration (Yang and Ebaugh 2001).

There are many anecdotal examples of the way in which local diversity might enhance (e.g. Southern Manitoba) or hinder (e.g. Hérouxville, Quebec) the process of immigration in smaller centres. In the former case, the shared ethnic and religious values of the Southern Manitoba communities provided a basis for the identification of potential immigrants and the local social cohesion to develop a plan and process for integration when they arrive. In the latter case, the concerns for the protection of local values stimulate and reinforce an exclusionary statement which is certain to discourage such immigration. However, it is unclear from this type of evidence exactly what are the conditions under which ethnic and cultural diversity (or its opposite, homogeneity) is likely to lead to the enhancement or the hindrance of the integration of immigrants. To do so, we must move beyond the level of anecdotal information to a level of analysis which is more extensive. This article provides some basic analysis to this end.

The Canadian Census provides several types of information that reflect the ethnic and cultural characteristics of the population. In most of the censuses, there are questions regarding the ethnic origins of the population as they are identified

* MIZ –Metropolitan Influence Zone

FIGURE 1
Average values of three indexes of diversity – CSD level 1991



through birthplace. Every ten years, information is provided about the respondents' religious identifications. We can also identify the national origin of immigrants in the more recent censuses, thereby providing additional indirect information about their ethnic and cultural characteristics. In the following analysis, we will examine these types of data.

The dynamics of ethnic and cultural diversity are most likely to operate at the level of communities or small areas, especially in rural regions. For that reason, we have chosen to conduct our analysis at the census subdivision level (CSD).¹ Although not a perfect match for functioning communities, it comes closest to the representation of municipalities, towns, villages, and other forms of settlements that are expected to reflect these dynamics.

We constructed a measure of the level of ethnic diversity by calculating the Index of Qualitative Variation (IQV)² for the ethnic origins with which people identified. The 61 ethnic origins in the 2001 census were grouped into 12 regions of origin for the purpose of this index.

For the 1991 census, we used eight groups. We only used ethnic origins for individuals who identified themselves as belonging to only one ethnic group. Individuals identifying themselves with multiple ethnic groups were not included in this analysis. A similar index was constructed for religious diversity using the nine most frequent religious groups and including "no religion" for both 1991 and 2001. Finally, we constructed an index of the diversity of immigrants' national origins by combining these origins into nine regions in addition to a non-immigrant category for the 1991 data and 13 regions plus the non-immigrant category for 2001. IQV-based indexes were then constructed from these groupings.

The basic characteristics of these three indexes are provided in Figure 1 for six classifications over the rural and urban continuum. The metropolitan influence zone (MIZ) is a concept that geographically differentiates the areas of Canada located outside census metropolitan areas (CMAs) and census agglomerations (CAs). CSDs outside of CMAs and CAs are assigned to one of four categories according to the degree of influence (strong, moderate, weak or no influence) that the census metropolitan area has on them (du Plessis et al. 2001). The assignment is based on the percentage of their population employed in the labour force that has a place of work in the urban core(s) of CMAs or CAs. The zones they form around CMAs and CAs progress through the categories, from "strong" to "no" influence, as distance from the CMAs and CAs increases.

¹ Analysis was conducted using 2001 Statistics Canada Census data which included census subdivisions (CSDs) with populations of greater than 199.

² Diversity is measured by an index of qualitative variation (IQV), based on the number of groups and the proportion of each group within a census subdivision (CSD). The formula for IQV is as follows: $(k/(k-1)) * (1 - \sum p_i^2)$, where k denotes the number of categories and p indicates the proportion of individuals within each category.

TABLE 1

Correlations between three indicators of diversity (Rural CSDs only; N = 2291; p < .01)

	Immigration Diversity	Ethnic Diversity	Religion Diversity
IVQ - Index of immigration origin Diversity, 1991	1	.510	.515
IVQ - Index of Ethnic Diversity, 1991	.510	1	.697
IVQ - Index of Religious Diversity, 1991	.515	.697	1

Two primary characteristics are noticeable from these results. First, when measured at the CSD level, ethnic and immigrant-origin diversity are highest within urban centres and (except for the Weak MIZ category) lower in rural areas. Religious diversity, on the other hand, is high in both the most and least urban centres with its lowest levels in the mid-MIZ categories. This provides some important qualifications on the usual assumption that urban areas are unequivocally the most diverse locations from an ethnic or cultural point of view.

Second, we note that the overall values of immigrant origin diversity are much lower than the other two. This implies that within each CSD the range of origins for immigrants is relatively narrow – a pattern that generalizes across regional types. This suggests that community-focused strategies for attracting immigrants should be quite different from provincial or national ones – especially where diversity issues are concerned. Communities concerned about increasing immigration levels, for example, may be better off adopting a targeted approach – building on their existing diversity structure rather than a more expansive strategy. In rural areas this means

thinking about diversity as a phenomenon across communities rather than within them.

Table 2 provides results from the correlation analysis of these three indicators of diversity. It shows that all are positively related at the rural CSD level – a result that is consistent with our understanding about ethnic, cultural, and religious activities. Communities with a relatively high level of ethnic diversity are also likely to show religious diversity and diversity among the origins of its immigrant population. To explore the implications of this pattern for the attraction of further immigrants, we need a measure of recent immigration with which to compare these values.

Immigration (1991 to 2001)

To this end, we have constructed an indicator of the level of recent immigration into the CSDs examined. Using the information in the census regarding the number of immigrants arriving during the 1991 to 2001 period, we constructed a measure of the percentage of such arrivals by the population of the CSD at 2001. This provides an indication of the relative success (on a pro-capita basis) that each CSD has had in attracting

FIGURE 2

Average percentage of Immigrants per CSD by MIZ categories – 1991 to 2001

(Standard deviations in parentheses)

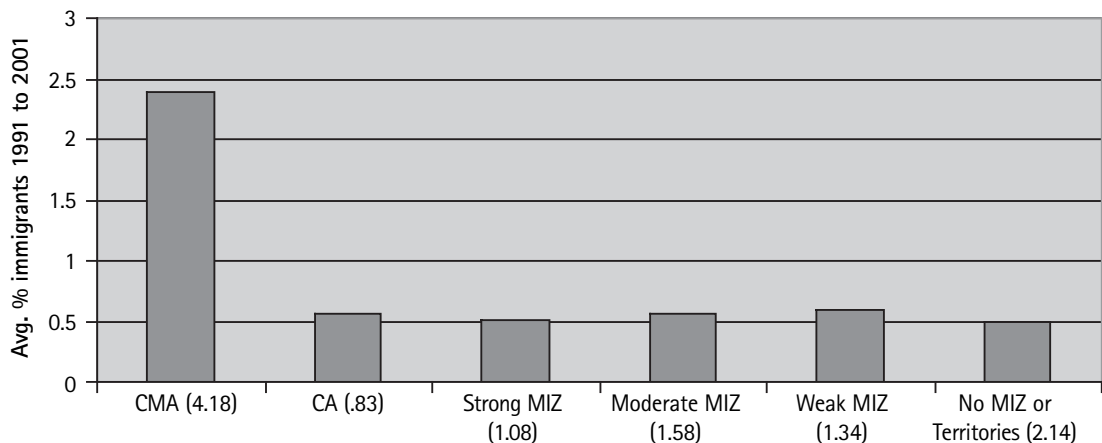


FIGURE 3

Average percentage of immigrants per CSD by provinces – 1991 to 2001
(Standard deviations in parentheses)

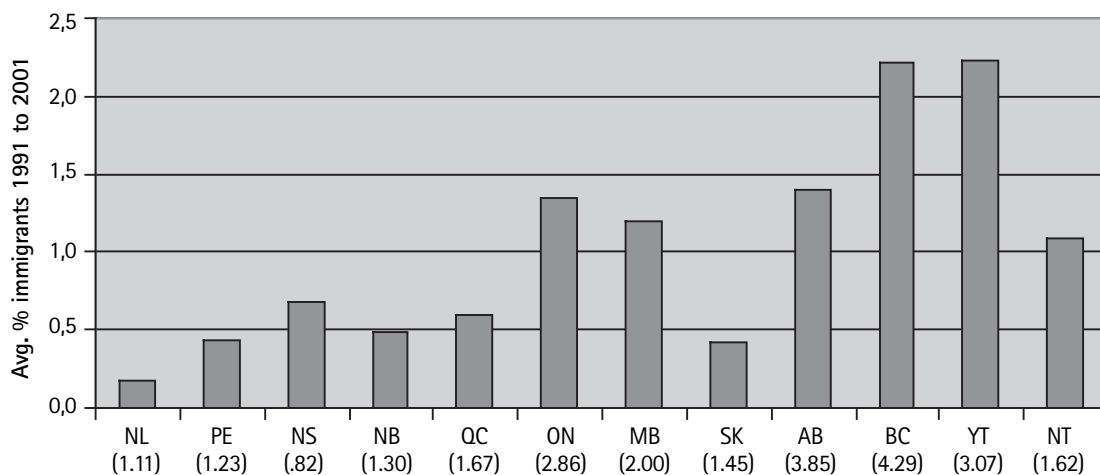


TABLE 2

Multiple regression of % of immigrants 1991 to 2001 in rural CSDs by selected 1991 CSD characteristics
(Adjusted R² = .061; N = 2280)

	Unstandardized Coefficients	Std. Error	Standardized Coefficients Beta	t	Sig.
(Constant)	-.317	0.218		-1.456	.145
Immigration origin diversity index, 1991	4.785	0.503	.244	9.518	.000
Ethnic diversity index, 1991	-.537	0.186	-.094	-2.892	.004
Labour force participation rate, 1991	.011	0.003	.090	3.662	.000
Religion diversity index, 1991	.213	0.127	.052	1.677	.094
Unemployment rate, 1991	-.002	0.003	-.020	-.786	.432
% pop. 15+ with post-secondary education, 1991	-.002	0.004	.014	-.619	.536

immigrants in recent years. We used this to examine the possible impacts of ethnic and religious composition on immigrant arrivals.

The results in Figure 2 reflect the well-known conclusion that immigrants tend to move to the most urban locations. However, the standard deviations within each of the MIZ types alert us to the fact that there is considerable variation within these categories – particularly in the CMA and No MIZ categories.³ This reinforces the importance of investigating the local conditions in each CSD.

The results in Figure 3 illustrate some important differences in levels of immigration by province. They show, for example, that per capita immigration levels for CSDs in Ontario, Manitoba, Alberta, British Columbia, the Yukon,

and other Territories are relatively large by comparison to the other provinces. Once again, the standard deviation values show that the variation within each province is considerable. This provides an opportunity for comparative analysis to examine in more detail the conditions that may be conducive to relatively high immigration flows. Our strategy is to employ multiple regression techniques to identify the relative importance of these factors.

Table 2 provides the results from an initial model to test the relative importance of our three diversity indexes for attracting immigrants. Starting with conditions in 1991, we examined the relative increase in immigrants over the subsequent ten years. We included three economic variables of the CSD in order to compare them with variables shown in the literature to be important to immigration: education levels, labour force participation levels, and employment

³ Value is larger (.58), ethnic diversity is not significant, while religious diversity and the unemployment rate are significant.

levels. In each case, these are characteristics of the CSDs, not of individuals. The results confirm the importance of all three of our diversity measures – even when the economic variables are controlled. In all cases, the diversity indexes remain significant.⁴

The results also indicate some important points regarding the relationship between diversity and the level of immigration. The positive sign of the Immigration Origin Diversity index indicates that recent immigration rates are highest within those CSDs with relatively high diversity among all previous immigrants' countries of origin. Those CSDs with a diverse immigrant background, therefore, are more likely to have higher rates of immigrant flows. On the other hand, ethnic diversity is negatively associated with recent immigration rates. This means that CSDs with relatively homogeneous ethnic compositions are more likely to have received a greater proportion of immigrants between 1991 and 2001. A provincial-focused analysis of this phenomenon reveals that Manitoba particularly reflects this pattern.

Conclusions

This analysis reveals that social and cultural diversity remains an important consideration when interpreting rural immigration. This is especially important when considering such diversity at the local level. Regions and communities whose histories of immigration reflect a diversity of national origin are more likely to receive recent immigrants than those with relatively homogeneous immigration backgrounds. This is to be expected since processes of knowledge transfer and social support are most likely facilitated through the networks established within a history of immigration.

Ethnic diversity, however, does not seem to function in the same way. In this case, relatively homogeneous CSDs are the ones that have experienced the higher rates of immigration from 1991 to 2001. We are left to speculate that the particular ethnic-related values within those centres provide access to networks or attractive characteristics for particular types of immigrants. Southern Manitoba, where the cultural and religious traditions of the Mennonites

provided a strong basis for immigration, provides a good example of processes that may be involved in this type of immigration.

This analysis provides directions for policy and local action. It reinforces the importance of assessing the local conditions and assets as part of an immigration strategy. Both diversity and homogeneity in ethnicity and culture emerge as potential assets for action. In general, diversity among previous immigrants seems to provide fertile ground for newcomers – establishing networks and local supports that can facilitate recruitment and integration. At the same time, ethnic homogeneity may also be used to serve as a basis for immigration streams. Through strategic targeting and culture-appropriate support services, local communities and regions may build the trust and confidence that immigrants need to feel secure. Common values and customs can facilitate this process.

For provincial and national agencies, these results suggest that flexibility in their immigration programs is the best strategy. It must be a flexibility that allows local regional groups and communities to search for and construct the approach best suited to their local assets – including the cultural and religious ones.

With respect to the research objectives, this is simply the beginning of the work. We have demonstrated the importance of diversity for immigration and shown how it has implications for the rural context that are somewhat unique. However, the processes behind the general statistics remain unclear. In our analysis we have found that not only diversity but the type of religious or ethnic group is also of importance for immigration flows. Yet we have not been able to examine how they work at the local level: when homogeneity acts as a barrier to immigration, when it can facilitate such movement, and how it relates to the processes by which homogeneity is turned into diversity. These promise to be important directions of investigation, not only for rural places, but for Canadian society in general.

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⁴ These values are similar for urban regions with the following exceptions: the adjusted R² value is larger (.58), ethnic diversity is not significant, while religious diversity and the unemployment rate are significant.

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Nethrn-BC

(New Emerging Team for Health in Rural and Northern British Columbia)

NETHRN-BC is a community of academics, policy-makers, and graduate students pursuing research on the social determinants of health in rural and Northern Canada in general, and in British Columbia in particular. The team is based in the Faculty of Social Sciences at the University of Victoria and directed by Canada Research Chair, Dr. Aleck Ostry (MA, MSc, Ph.D.). This project is funded by the Canadian Institutes for Health Research (CIHR) through to 2011. This program is multidisciplinary and guided by leading investigators including historians, epidemiologists, geographers, psychologists, sociologists, and statisticians. While based in BC, this project has links to rural health projects, academics, and institutions in other provinces and internationally. We have structured NETHRN-BC around several linked research projects which provide opportunities for the development of Master's and Ph.D. degrees and post-doctoral work broadly directed towards enhancing analysis of the social dimensions of rural health.

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Regional and rural Australia is experiencing a shortage of new businesses and workers across the spectrum, from professionals to unskilled workers. This is perhaps the greatest challenge facing the Australian "bush," as regional and rural Australia is popularly referred to, today.

Immigrants in Regional and Rural Australia

JOCK COLLINS

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Australia is one of the most significant immigration countries in the world today (Collins 2000; Burnley 2001), with immigrants comprising a larger proportion of the population than any country other than Israel and Luxembourg, and a greater percentage of the workforce than any country other than Switzerland (OECD 2004). Despite its vast area, Australia is also one of the most urbanized nations in the world today with most people living in the metropolitan areas of Australia's East coast. Immigration has enhanced this process of urbanization, with immigrants more likely to settle in large cities such as Melbourne, Sydney and Brisbane than other Australians (Burnley 2001). For example, the latest available (2001) census data shows that some 40% of new immigrants to Australia settle in New South Wales (NSW), mostly in Sydney: between 1997 and 2002, 93.5% of NSW immigrants settled in Sydney (DOTARS 2003). Many recent reports (e.g. DOTARS 2003) point out that the corollary of this largely urbanized immigrating flow is that too few immigrants settle in regional and rural areas of Australia. This constrains population growth as well as economic growth in these areas.

Between the years 1991 and 2001, the population of regional Australia rose by 11.7% compared to a population growth in Australian cities of 13.3%. While the population of Australian cities grew at 1.3% per annum over this period, the non-coastal parts of regional Australia grew at only 0.1% per annum, a trend that DOTARS

(2001) predicts is set to continue. This relative population decline in non-coastal regional and rural Australia leads to population shortages and constrains regional business growth and economic development in these areas. In particular, there is a severe shortage of professionals (doctors, health and education professionals in particular) and highly skilled workers in regional and rural Australia: while professionals comprise 20% of the population in metropolitan areas, they comprise only 11% to 12% in the regions and, as DOTARS (2003) points out, there is a similar under-representation of people with advanced and immediate clerical, sales and service skills in regional Australia. Moreover, regional Australia has also suffered from a shortage of seasonal unskilled workers preventing many rural producers in particular from harvesting their crops.

In other words, regional and rural Australia is experiencing a shortage of new businesses and workers across the spectrum, from professionals to unskilled workers. This is perhaps the greatest challenge facing the Australian "bush," as regional and rural Australia is popularly referred to, today. Recent changes to Australian immigration policy are meant to encourage new immigrants to settle in regional and rural areas by offering additional points to new immigrants with skills in demand, a policy that is more established in the Canadian context where it is called "regionalization" (Ghanem 2005; Hyndman and Friesen 2005; McGrath 2005 and Mills 2005).

This article probes the history of immigrants in regional and rural Australia, the forces leading to the adoption of the new policy of redirecting new immigrants to the bush and the mechanisms by which this policy has been enacted.

The literature

There is extensive literature about the history of immigrant communities in Australia (Price 1976; Jupp ed. 1998, 2001) and patterns of immigrant settlement (Burnley 1976, 2001). Most of the research to date into the economic and social impacts of Australian immigration has focused on the metropolis. However, despite the smaller numbers, immigration has had a significant impact on regional and rural Australia for a long period. Research on immigrant groups in rural and regional Australia has focused on historical accounts (Hempel 1960; Burnley 2001; Borrie 1953; Lancashire 2000; Frost 2000), community studies (Huber 1977; Kelly 1983) and studies of settlement needs (Gray et al., 1991; Anscombe and Doyle 1997). Huber (1977), Kabaila (2005) and Kelly (1983) analyzed the social interaction and integration of Italian migrants to Griffith. They found that Italian immigrants formed close-knit communities with a strong capacity for internal social and economic support. Some other historical account of immigrant groups in rural industries during the 19th and 20th centuries include research on Southern Europeans (Price 1963), Dutch (Hempel 1960), Italian (Pascoe 1988), Germans (Borrie 1953), Scandinavian (Lyng 1939) and Chinese immigrants (Lancashire 2000; Frost 2000).

One key theme that emerges from this literature is the important role that immigrant entrepreneurs played as pioneers of minority immigrant settlement in the Australian bush. In particular, many regional and rural towns had a Greek Milk Bar (Collins et al. 1995), a Chinese Restaurant (Wilton 1988) or a Lebanese Haberdashery (Wilton 1988) dating from the post-World War II period if not before. While there is a solid body of research into immigrant entrepreneurship in Australian cities (Collins et al. 1995; Lever Tracey et al. 1991; Collins 2003) there has not been any systematic and recent research into immigrant entrepreneurs in regional and rural Australia. Exceptions include work by de Lepervanche (1984) on Indian immigration to rural areas of Eastern Australia, and by Gray et al. (1991) on immigrants of non-English speaking background (NESB) in rural areas of New South Wales and

Queensland. Although they both provide some historical accounts of settlement the process in rural areas and outline key elements of the settlement needs, they did not explore the formation of immigrant entrepreneurs.

In contrast, there is a substantial body of empirical knowledge and literature accumulated around immigrant entrepreneurship in the context of US agriculture, particularly Midwestern (Salamon 1985, 1987) and Californian rural communities (Tsukashima 1998; Wells 1991). Some literature, particularly in the domain of rural sociology, has focused on the socio-economic position of rural ethnic minorities (Snipp 1996; Kuvlesly 1989; Naples 1995). The literature on the interplay between ethnicity and economy has addressed distinctive ethnic business strategies developed by some immigrant groups entering rural industries (Bonacich and Modell 1980; Thukashima 1991; Light 1972). Similarly, more recent research on immigrant entrepreneurship and ethnic groups in rural New Zealand (Krivokapic-Skoko 2001, 2004) emphasized a substantial relationship between the changes of immigration policy and the settlement patterns of particular immigrant groups. The significant and multifaceted contribution to the development of rural communities and rural industries was recorded as well (Krivokapic-Skoko 2005).

The emergence of regionalization of Australian immigration policy

These developments in immigration policy are very significant: for nearly six decades of post-War Australian immigration, there has been no attempt to redress the urbanization of immigrant settlement and redirect new immigrants to the Australian bush. It was not until this century, after more than 50 years of large-scale immigration, that policy-makers have attempted to redirect new immigrants into regional and rural settlement. What led to this belated change? Two key drivers can be identified. The first relates to the environmental critique of a largely urbanized immigration program, a push factor. The second relates to the demand for people and for workers in the bush, a pull factor. These will be discussed in turn.

In Australia, unlike Canada, there is a long-established environmental critique of immigration, as critics have linked immigration to problems of overcrowding, congestion, pollution, the standard of living and the poor state of the environment in Australian cities since the mid-1960s (AIPS 1971).

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Groups such as Australians for an Ecologically Sustainable Population (AESP) and Australians Against Further Immigration (AAFI) (Hage 1998: 165-178) and mainstream environmental groups such as the Australian Conservation Federation have been very critical of immigration on environmental grounds. This has led to a strange coalition of voices from the Right (Pauline Hanson's One Nation party, One Nation 1998) to the (normally Left) Green movement to oppose immigration. Indeed, at the 1996 Australian federal election, the Australian Democrats, the Greens and One Nation all advocated a policy of zero net migration, largely on environmental grounds. But this environmental critique of immigration is not limited to small, fringe political parties. NSW Labor Premier Bob Carr, who stepped down in early 2006, became the most outspoken critique of Australian immigration since Pauline Hanson. Carr blamed immigration for Sydney's problems of pollution, congestion and overcrowding and called for substantial cuts in annual immigration intakes because Sydney is the largest recipient of the nation's annual immigration intake.

While this is not the place to assess this environmental critique, the impact of new immigrants on a city like Sydney is not a simple one. It is dependent on a number of factors, including the rate of out-migration, whether new immigrants settle in established areas with infrastructure or in the new urban fringes, the investment in public transport and the rate of urban consolidation (Collins 1991: 313-319). Put simply, it is possible to have continued or increased immigration along with improvements in Sydney's environment. Despite this, the sustained critique by Bob Carr struck a federal nerve. However, in recent years Australia's permanent and temporary immigration intake has increased considerably as unemployment rates fell to 30-year lows but skill shortages remained. In 2005-2006, for example, the permanent planned immigration intake was 140,000, the biggest intake in nearly 20 years, while temporary visitors who were granted the right to work in Australia

increased from 212,000 in 2000 to 325,000 in 2004. Despite these increases, more than half of all firms in Australia reported in 2005 that they faced skill shortages (Riley 2005). This meant that reducing national immigration intakes was not an option, but rather, that redirecting new immigrants out of Sydney and other large Australian cities, the *push factor*, was.

The *pull factor* for this new policy lay in the problems that regional and rural towns had in attracting workers to fill labour shortages across the skill spectrum and, in many places, to counter the trend of declining population, particularly the young and well-educated. This use of international migration to attract entrepreneurs (business migrants), professionals and skilled migrants and their families to settle in regional and rural Australia has the potential to benefit rural and regional Australia by redressing these population and skill shortages.

How successful is the regionalization of Australian immigration policy?

New policy initiatives that attempt to attract new permanent and temporary immigrants to regional and rural Australia have been introduced. These include giving more points to permanent residence applicants – who face, like Canada, a “points test” to get selected – if they settle in non-metropolitan areas. It also included introducing new visas and migration paths. Specifically, new migration initiatives such as the Regional Sponsored Migration Scheme (RSMS), the Regional Established Business in Australia programme and the Skills Designated Area Sponsored Visa (SDAS) – which helps regional businesses to find suitable applicants for skilled vacancies who can then be sponsored through the RSMS – have been introduced. These programs have grown significantly in recent years. For example, the number of SDAS migrants has increased from 1,000 visas granted in 2000-2001 to 7,547 in 2003-2004, when 61% of those who entered under this visa settled in Victoria (DIMIA 2005b: 2). The RSMS has also grown significantly in recent years. Since its introduction in 1996 to

Since its introduction in 1996 to the end of 2004–2005 more than 11,000 visas have been granted under this scheme, with 3,100 (or nearly 30% of the total) arriving in the 2004–2005 year.

the end of 2004–2005 more than 11,000 visas have been granted under this scheme, with 3,100 (or nearly 30% of the total) arriving in 2004–2005. Preliminary analysis suggests that while the RSMS appeared to be remarkably successful, the SDAS was less so. Ninety percent of 500 RSMS primary applicants surveyed in 2004 said that the scheme met their expectations, 96% said that they were made to feel welcome in Australia, 98% said that migrating to Australia was the correct decision (DIMIA 2005a: 2). On the other hand a survey of SDAS entrants found that “the SDAS visa is falling short of its aims, with 64% of SDAS migrants with sponsors in regional Victoria, for example, not living in regional Victoria at the time of the survey.” (DIMIA 2005b: 3)

Given the recent substantial increase in the numbers of new immigrants settling in rural and regional Australia through RSMS, SDAS and other programs such as the Regional Established Businesses in Australia Programme and other visa categories, there is clearly a need to conduct new research in order to evaluate these programs from the point of view of federal, state, regional and local governments, regional industries and the immigrants themselves. This research needs to assess the outcomes across the range of visa types. No piece of Australia research has attempted to achieve such a comprehensive overview of the diverse pathways of new immigrants to rural and regional Australia or of the experience of the immigrants themselves who arrive under them. A new research program conducted by the author and others,¹ funded by the Rural Industries Research and Development Council (RIDC) with the support of the Australian Department of Immigration and Citizenship (DIAC), is one attempt to redress this situation. This research project will utilize a range of quantitative and qualitative methodologies to develop a number of research instruments: 1) Key informant interviews with business and government stakeholders at federal, state and

local levels; 2) A national questionnaire survey in 2006 of new immigrants (less than five years) in regional and rural Australia as the first year of a three-year (2006–2008) longitudinal survey of 100 new immigrants across the occupation spectrum in order to understand the forces that shape individual immigrant decisions to stay or leave; 3) Case studies on new immigrants in two regional and two rural towns in three states (NSW, Victoria and Western Australia) with a significant number of new immigrants; and 4) An exploration of comparative international perspectives derived from the experience of Canada, a country with a similar immigration experience to Australia that has recent experience in attempting to redirect new immigrants to regional and rural areas.

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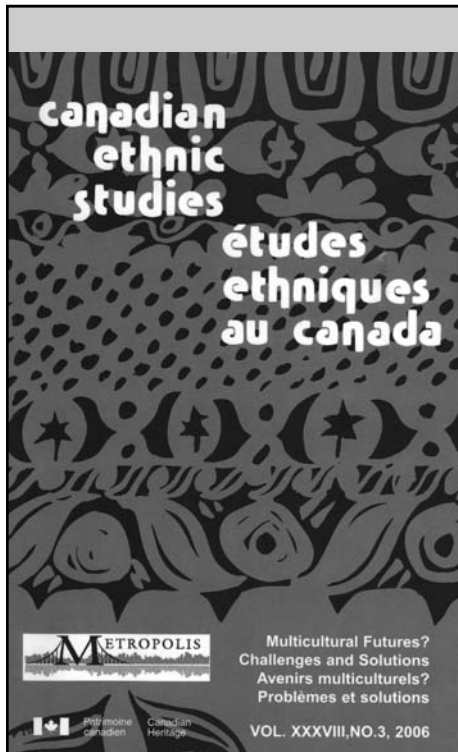
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Multicultural futures? Challenges and Solutions

Canadian Ethnic Studies

This special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies* focuses on multiculturalism and several of its serious challenges and potential solutions. Co-produced by Chedly Belkhodja (Université de Moncton), John Biles (Metropolis Project), Ian Donaldson (Canadian Heritage) and Jennifer Hyndman (Syracuse University), this issue covers a wide range of topics related to multiculturalism, including: approaches to multiculturalism adopted by Canadian provinces, federal multiculturalism and interculturalism in Quebec, ethnic accommodation in New Brunswick, the experience of recently arrived Portuguese-speaking Africans in Toronto, multicultural life in a Toronto school, public debates in other immigrant-receiving countries, and a content analysis of francophone media post-9/11. In addition, Kamal Dib, Multiculturalism Program, Canadian Heritage, offers an insightful perspective on the implications of Statistics Canada's 2017 population forecasts for Canadian multiculturalism.

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This article, based on a study for the Department of Canadian Heritage, comments on various lessons that have emerged in recent years from policies and practices aimed at attracting visible minorities and encouraging them to put down roots in smaller urban and rural centres.

Promoting the Presence of Visible Minority Groups across Canada

MEYER BURSTEIN

Canada has long been a country of immigration characterized by open, non-discriminatory admission practices. This openness, combined with globalization – economic restructuring, cheaper transport and advances in communications – has, in recent decades, contributed to a sea change in the composition of permanent and temporary migration. The most obvious result has been a dramatic increase in Canada's visible minority population. Canada is now home to roughly 5 million persons who self-identify as belonging to a visible minority group and nearly 2.5 million persons who affiliate themselves with a religion other than Christianity.

Taken at face value, these numbers suggest that visible minority Canadians have a strong, growing and pervasive influence on most aspects of Canadian life. Unfortunately, the real picture is somewhat bleaker. A growing number of studies are turning up evidence that the influence of visible minorities is tempered by their low incomes, poverty and social exclusion. It is also tempered by the fact that visible minorities (and religious minorities) are concentrated in a handful of major Canadian cities. This article, based on a study for the Department of Canadian Heritage, comments on various lessons that have emerged in recent years from policies and practices aimed at attracting visible minorities and encouraging them to put down roots in smaller urban and rural centres.

There exists a strong correlation, internationally, between the size of cities and the growth of their foreign-born populations. Size is also positively correlated with retention. This has produced a situation in which 95% percent of Canada's 5 million visible minorities live in a handful of metropolitan areas. (The comparable figure for the rest of the population is below 60%.) Furthermore, according to Statistics Canada, by 2017, the number of visible minorities will have grown to between 6.3 and 8.5 million persons while the rest of the population will have increased only slightly. The major factor responsible for this growth and for the concentration of visible minorities is immigration. Seventy percent of visible minorities are foreign-born (of the remaining 30%, many live at home with their parents), a proportion that is expected to hold through 2017. Indeed, if current immigration levels are maintained over the next decade, the foreign-born visible minority population will grow by twice as much as the native-born minority population.

Given these basic dynamics, any efforts to change the geographic distribution of visible minorities *must* focus on redistributing immigrants. Furthermore, policies that target visible minorities may be viewed as policies that target the stock of immigrants rather than the flow. Put a little differently, they target older cohorts of immigrants in place of newer ones. In this regard, it is worth noting that both federal

and provincial ministries with an interest in redistributing population unanimously favour policies that focus on in-coming flows. This reflects a collective judgment that it is easier to influence residence at time of arrival than several years down the road.

Provincial and federal involvement

Interest in attracting and retaining immigrants (and visible minorities) is strongest in the Atlantic, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Quebec. These provinces want people in order to offset population decline, to ensure cultural continuity (linguistic and “way of life”) and to ease labour market adjustment. There is also interest in preserving Francophone minority communities outside Quebec.

An equally fundamental reason, and one that speaks directly to federal interests, concerns multicultural diversity as a good in itself. This point is elaborated in the policy discussion below.

Other arguments for encouraging visible minorities to relocate in small and remote communities are to keep these sites from disappearing completely. Generally, immigration would not appear to be a viable option in these situations.

Constitutionally, responsibility for cities and towns rests with provinces and not with the federal government. There is, nevertheless, agreement among all three orders of government that a horizontal and collaborative approach to planning, policy development and service delivery is needed in order to rebalance population.

Within the group of federal agencies interested in urban and community development, a subset is also implicated in issues involving population dynamics and population distribution. This group includes the Department of Canadian Heritage, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Human Resources and Social Development Canada, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, Industry Canada, Infrastructure Canada, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and Western Economic Diversification Canada. These departments offer a range of programs that could be used to help achieve a more balanced distribution of the visible minority population.

Taking stock

The discussion below elaborates on three policy and practice concerns involving the distribution of visible minorities across Canada: (i) To clarify the goals underpinning policy development;

(ii) To define appropriate and reasonable targets for intervention; and (iii) To identify principles and strategies for engaging public and private interests.

Clarifying policy interests

Among the clear lessons emerging from recent efforts to recruit and retain immigrants is that regionalization policies require time, on-going commitment and resources. Since these inputs are in short supply, efforts cannot be squandered tilting against windmills. Policy designs must be realistic, effective and efficient.

The only absolute in the constellation of policy interests relates to discrimination and human rights. Members of visible minority groups, no matter where they choose to go, work or live in Canada are entitled to protection from overt discrimination. All governments share an interest in implementing these basic protections. Beyond this, however, the ground becomes uncertain and the calculus of gains and opportunity costs must be engaged. The most productive way to navigate through this tangle is top down, beginning with federal and provincial interests.

The three most prominent reasons for promoting a more balanced geographic distribution of the visible minority population focus on the urgent need by the Atlantic provinces, Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Quebec to offset pending population decline, to ensure cultural continuity (linguistic and “way of life”) and to ease labour market adjustment. A “special case” of this argument concerns Francophone minority communities outside Quebec.

In a strict sense, both provincial and federal interest (and that of Francophone minority communities) lies in people rather than immigrants; however, the reality is that the best (only?) way to increase population is to attract immigrants, and the majority of immigrants are members of visible minority groups. Under this account, regionalization policy, both nationally and provincially, is a necessary (second order) response to the tendency by immigrants to cluster. So too are subsidiary measures aimed at stabilizing regional populations (so that immigrants do not flow back to large cities), promoting cohesion and limiting political fractures, countering the formation of enclaves and distributing the burden of absorption. What makes local involvement critical is the emphasis on retention and the influence of local authorities in this domain.

There is ample evidence, both domestically and internationally, that employment and opportunities for advancement are critical factors in immigrant (or visible minority) recruitment and retention. There is also evidence that larger communities have higher retention rates than smaller ones.

Two other arguments have been advanced for encouraging the presence of visible minorities in smaller towns and cities. The first has to do with creating a bulwark against urbanization and preventing small communities from disappearing. In its most naïve state, this takes the form of replacing local population in remote and declining regions with immigrants (hence, visible minorities). There is little sympathy for this in policy circles, though the importance of procuring specialist skills (such as medical services) to ensure viability and to slow the rate of out-migration is readily accepted. The vehicle of choice for addressing this issue is not immigration but temporary migration, which does not require elaborate and expensive adjustment measures.

The second argument is more speculative. It originates in ideas put forward by Richard Florida, an American scholar, who links diversity with success in the global economy. The rather appealing proposition advanced by Florida is that cosmopolitan environments attract creative workers (an important component of the emerging knowledge economy) who, in turn, attract investment, which attracts still more creative workers. The resulting *virtuous circle* generates prosperity. Research in Ontario has provided support for this proposition; however, the case for linking *cultural and religious diversity* to economic performance is not particularly robust. And it is further weakened by the fact that the argument, in its original form, is directed exclusively to large cities.

More intriguing is an alternative formulation that, instead of focusing on the economy and economic self-interest, focuses on multicultural diversity as a good in itself. Diversity is a core value of Canada and a key feature of nation-building in which Canada is heavily invested in terms of its multicultural, citizenship and immigration programs. It is how Canada has chosen to brand itself. From this perspective, the rationale for regional policies to promote racial, ethnic, religious and cultural diversity is identical to the rationale underpinning immigration and multiculturalism. It represents an integral part

of Canada's strategy for coming to grips with globalization and modernity. In this sense, the public interest in promoting diversity and the values that nourish diversity is no different from the public interest in protecting against discrimination.

Defining targets

There is ample evidence, both domestically and internationally, that employment and opportunities for advancement are critical factors in immigrant (or visible minority) recruitment and retention. There is also evidence that larger communities have higher retention rates than smaller ones. This suggests that significant investments to increase the presence of immigrants and visible minorities should only be undertaken in the context of ample or growing job opportunities and a growing capacity to integrate newcomers building towards a critical, and self-sustaining, visible minority (numeric) threshold.

Specifically, what research and experience suggest is that policies to promote the presence of visible minorities in second- and third-tier cities focus on communities in three types of regions: predominantly urban regions, *growing* intermediate regions and *growing* metro-adjacent regions. (Formal definitions exist for these categories – compliments of the OECD – though an intuitive understanding will suffice for this article.) The emphasis on growth is important because, in the majority of cases, growing communities are located within growing regions which produce a wide range of job opportunities (the focus being on regional rather than local job markets). Non-metro adjacent and rural and remote communities should be *excluded* from promotional policies and should, instead, be served by temporary immigration programs. In this regard, it is worth noting that the above recommendation is consistent with the existing distribution of immigrants which reflects visible minority preferences.

Two other influential factors (for choosing promising communities) should be noted. The first involves the presence of educational

facilities, particularly universities. These serve as a stabilizing influence on minorities, a node for student recruitment, a reservoir of expertise to support local organizing efforts and a source of leadership. In this regard, Ontario is particularly well positioned, with ten universities located outside Toronto and Ottawa. The second factor to consider is the possibility of metro-adjacent towns being able to utilize, or tie into, proximate infrastructure for delivering orientation services, language and other forms of training and employment.

Of course, there will always be outliers such as Brooks, Alberta, or Saint-Léonard, New Brunswick. In the former case, Lakeside Packers has completely transformed the racial composition of Brooks, employing thousands of Sudanese shift-workers, many bussing in from Medicine Hat. It is difficult to identify a clear policy interest in repeating this “experiment”; in Saint-Léonard’s case, a single individual has succeeded in mobilizing an entire town to welcome immigrants. This is probably more useful as a testament to the importance of leadership than as a model to be replicated.

Principles and strategies of engagement

There is reason to be optimistic regarding the prospects of effecting modest change. Across Canada, there are an increasing number of successful or, to be more cautious, promising population “experiments” underway. None of these is directed squarely at achieving a more balanced geographic distribution of the visible minority population; however, the fact that most focus on immigration means that they amount to pretty much the same thing.

In looking at the current crop of projects, Manitoba and Quebec are clearly “ahead of the curve,” but British Columbia and Nova Scotia also bear watching. So too, does Ontario, though these are early days and strategies are far from comprehensive. Other efforts, too, are worthy of attention, including the Francophone immigration strategy that is receiving serious support. It is noteworthy that British Columbia intends to transfer lessons from its Francophone program to other regional population initiatives. Another area that bears watching is urban Aboriginal policy. Many of the associated challenges and strategies are similar to those encountered with immigration and, at the municipal level, such strategies sometimes intersect.

The review revealed structural, temporal and process similarities in the initiatives that are underway across Canada. These similarities can be thought of as the contours of a successful strategy for increasing the presence of visible minorities in smaller communities. The key points are listed below:

- Leadership is *the* essential ingredient. Local leadership is needed to engage the community; and government leadership is needed to engage the public sector. Champions must be found in both communities to drive the process and to assume stewardship over the strategy.
- A robust vision is needed in order to mobilize and cohere the complex web of stakeholders – public and private – who must develop the strategy and implement it.
- Realigning population requires the *active* collaboration of federal, provincial and municipal governments working with local stakeholders, including politicians, employers, service providers, voluntary and community groups, ethnic and religious associations, educational authorities and other local representatives.
- Local communities need to be supported in their efforts to build organizational capacity. Coordinating services, institutions and people is complicated, time consuming and costly.
- Planning must begin with a comprehensive (and creative) inventory of local and government resources that can be adapted to support recruitment and retention programs for visible minorities. As the report makes clear, at the federal level, there are numerous potential instruments.
- Public education and information programs are needed to broaden community support, to create fertile ground for engagement and to build positive inter-cultural relations.
- Ties must be strengthened with cultural communities, in part because promotion and retention strategies need to capitalize on established networks, on family and friendship ties and on important minority institutions such as religious and ethnic organizations.
- Employers represent a vital sector. Local employers and business associations must

be strong partners in the planning and implementation of regional population strategies.

- No plan can be complete without squarely addressing two questions: How the community plans to facilitate access to quality employment and how it plans to deal with discrimination


Complexity is an inevitable feature of combining multiple stakeholders, numerous instruments, elaborate intervention strategies and high expectations. As a result, many of the attempts to analyze this terrain and to document key activities and key outputs have produced long lists of protagonists, instruments, strategies and plans. These lists serve as useful check-offs for communities wishing to replicate earlier “experiments” but they seem pedestrian and lacking in analytic power. That is because they are somewhat beside the point. The real key to understanding what goes on – and to replicating it – lies not in the outputs but the inputs. And that is because the critical behaviour that needs to be replicated within the community of interest cannot be induced analytically, through study, but must be induced through process. The distinction is between research and tacit

knowledge pertaining to leadership and mobilization. Given the right catalysts, bringing together (more or less) similar constituents in similar circumstances, directed to similar goals, will produce similar outputs. Instead of focusing on those outputs, however, the real focus needs to be on how best to support the process and how to inform it. It is in this area that research can make a contribution.

The final point that needs to be made in connection with efforts to increase the presence of visible minorities in second and third-tier cities is a plea for experimentation. The complexity that is created by the intersection of so many different interests and uncharted behaviours makes it impossible to predict real world outcomes. Letting flowers bloom and supporting still tender shoots may yield surprising results.

About the author

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The image shows the cover of a special issue of the journal 'Canadian Issues / Thèmes Canadiens'. The cover features the title 'Newcomers, Minorities and Political Participation in Canada' in English and French, along with the subtitle 'Getting a Seat at the Table'. It lists guest editors John Biles and Erin Tolley, and mentions 22 articles by researchers, policy-makers, and practitioners from across the country. The cover also includes a list of authors on the left side and a barcode at the bottom left.

Newcomers, Minorities and Political Participation in Canada

Metropolis, the Political Participation Research Network and the Integration Branch of Citizenship and Immigration Canada collaborated with the Association for Canadian Studies to produce a special issue of the ACS magazine, *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens*, titled “Newcomers, Minorities and Political Participation in Canada: Getting a Seat at the Table.” Guest edited by John Biles and Erin Tolley (Metropolis Project Team), this issue includes interviews with the leaders of all major federal Canadian political parties (except the Bloc Québécois, who declined an interview), and 22 articles by researchers, policy-makers and practitioners from across the country.

To obtain a copy, please contact canada@metropolis.net.

For many cities and smaller communities the changes have been substantial. For instance, "roughly one-fifth of the populations of Hamilton, Windsor, Kitchener, Abbotsford, Calgary, London, Victoria, Edmonton, St. Catharines-Niagara, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg and Oshawa are accounted for by the foreign-born."

A Call for Greater Research on Immigration Outside of Canada's Three Largest Cities

PAUL RADFORD
Concordia University

In this, the dawn of the 21st century, Canada's immigrant and visible minority populations are as large as they have ever been – primarily concentrated within its three largest urban centres. According to the 2001 Canadian census, about 74% of all immigrants who arrived in Canada during the 1990s settled in Toronto, Vancouver or Montréal (Statistics Canada 2003b: 10). Of those who settled in Toronto and Vancouver, 37% were from visible minority populations (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban 2003a: 58).

Despite these dramatic statistics, a number of other communities across Canada are also experiencing demographic transitions associated with a growth in visible minority and immigrant populations. These include cities such as Calgary, Ottawa and Windsor, each of which has witnessed an increase in the diversity of its populations. In fact, all across Canada, immigration is changing the composition of our society. Communities that once consisted predominantly of white populations are now reaching out to immigrants and visible minorities throughout Canada and around the world in a bid to curb the negative impacts of demographic decline. While Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal may continue to dominate as examples of immigrant and visible minority havens, other urban and rural areas have equally valuable and insightful stories to tell when it comes to understanding the adjustment experiences of new immigrants, visible minority groups, and established citizens.

With the above in mind, this article will argue that in addition to studying the situation in Canada's three largest cities, there needs to be increased quantitative and qualitative research focusing on the experience of immigrants and visible minority populations living in communities outside of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. Pursuing such research would enable us to better understand the current challenges and hurdles faced by immigrants and minority groups living across Canada. With this, we would be able to better assist policy-makers and researchers in their assessment of recent government initiatives aimed at the redistribution of immigrants throughout Canada and inform future policies aimed at accommodating immigration in the critical years to come.

While Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal continue to attract most of the immigrant and visible minority populations, many urban and rural regions across the country are also witnessing the realities of diversity and demographic transformation. Cities and towns that were once unfamiliar with the experience of racial, ethnic and cultural diversity have in recent years witnessed an increase in the number of offshore arrivals living within their communities. For example, "since 2003, over 4,870 newcomers have been welcomed across rural Manitoba, helping to support economic development in 100 communities" (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006: 10), while cities

such as Abbotsford are also adapting to very rapid transformation.

For many cities and smaller communities the changes have been substantial. For instance, “roughly one-fifth of the populations of Hamilton, Windsor, Kitchener, Abbotsford, Calgary, London, Victoria, Edmonton, St. Catharines-Niagara, Ottawa-Hull, Winnipeg and Oshawa are [today] accounted for by the foreign-born” (Justus 2004b: 46). Furthermore, with the establishment of government initiatives such as the provincial nominee program, many smaller communities have begun to draw immigrant and visible populations into their midst in a bid to fill vacant employment positions.

In smaller cities such as Abbotsford and Windsor the changes have been profound. According to the 2001 Canadian Census approximately “7% of Abbotsford’s total population arrived in Canada between 1991 and 2001...[while by] contrast, less than 5% of the population was comprised of immigrants who arrived in Canada between 1981 and 1990” (Statistics Canada 2003b: 35). Moreover “a total of 25,800 residents, or 18% of Abbotsford’s population, were visible minorities in 2001 [compared to] five years earlier [where] they accounted for 13% [of the population] and in 1991, just 11%” (Statistics Canada 2003b: 35). Windsor has also witnessed substantial demographic and social transformations. In 2001, it had “Canada’s fourth largest proportion of foreign-born population after Toronto, Vancouver and Hamilton” (Statistics Canada 2003b: 29).

Similar realities have emerged in larger, medium-size cities such as Ottawa, Calgary, and Edmonton where an ever-increasing percentage of the population are newcomers and visible minorities. In Ottawa, “more than one-half of [its] immigrants – 85,900 people – landed in Canada in the 15 years before the 2001 Census, [while] by comparison, less than one-half of Ontario and Canada’s immigrants landed during the same period” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005b: 2). Similarly, in Calgary approximately one in five individuals were foreign-born while “17.5% or 164,900 people, were visible minorities, up from 15.6% in 1996 and 13.7% in 1991 [making it the city with] the fourth highest proportion of visible minorities in Canada, behind Vancouver, Toronto and Abbotsford” (Statistics Canada 2003b: 32). By contrast, in Edmonton the proportion of immigrants living within the population remained constant in the fifteen years

prior to 2001 (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2005a: 2); however, racial diversity increased substantially, as 71% of the immigrants who arrived during the 1990s were visible minorities (Statistics Canada 2003b: 33).

Some rural communities have also recently witnessed the arrival of newcomers. For instance, in order to meet industrial labour demands, Manitoba has involved “three communities in its immigration process: Steinbach (population 9,000), Winkler (pop. 8,000) and Arborg (pop. 1,000)” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 49). With this, “in the year 2000, Steinbach welcomed 186 immigrants, Winkler 214, and Arborg 39; remarkably high [numbers] for communities of this size [considering that] by comparison, Winnipeg attracted 538 provincial nominees, but also has the lion’s share of other immigrants” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 49).

Thus far we have established that there are indeed fairly significant immigrant and visible minority populations living in Canada’s small and medium-size cities as well as some of its rural communities. With this, it is essential to ascertain the experiences of these immigrant and visible minority populations, their strengths and perhaps more importantly, the challenges they face as a group. Answering such questions gives us a valuable glimpse into the lives of minority populations across Canada while helping us to establish how we are doing as a country. Researching and studying immigrant and visible minority populations living within smaller cities and towns also allows us to gauge the success of recent government policy initiatives aimed at redistributing minority populations into such communities, places that have in many cases and until recently been unfamiliar with the experiences associated with the arrival of newcomers.

Understanding and exploring the outcome of these initiatives is essential, for in recent years much time and energy has been devoted to the question of how best to redistribute immigrants away from the overburdened cities of Toronto, Vancouver and Montréal. Indeed, “at a policy level, a key concern for [governmental organizations such as] Citizenship and Immigration Canada...[has] involved regionalizing Canada’s immigration flows by sending more immigrants to second- and third-tier cities, as well as to less populated provinces” (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban 2003a: 1). Thus there has been a great deal of interest in addressing this concern at all levels

of government. In particular, “the arrival of immigrants in smaller or mid-sized urban centres [has been] viewed positively by government departments charged with increasing cultural diversity nationwide, globalizing small communities, developing local markets to rejuvenate regional economies, and easing the pressure on the capitals of immigrant Canada” (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban 2003a: 2).

Within the provinces, the aims of immigrant redistribution have been primarily related to strengthening local economies. With this, many communities across Canada have shown an interest in welcoming immigrant and visible minority populations. In places like “the Prairie region, particularly in Manitoba and Saskatchewan, several communities have indicated that they would like to address their long-standing problem of population decline by bringing in more immigrants” (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban 2003a: 2).

In the late 1990s, Manitoba was quick to jump the gate with the introduction of a provincial immigrant nominee program, using it to the “fullest extent possible, bringing in 200 nominees and their families in 1998, and 500 in 1999 and 2000” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 49). With this, “in 2005, in consultation with communities, Manitoba developed the Community Immigration Planning Guide to assist with planning for immigration as part of economic development strategies” (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006: 10). The province maintains that such initiatives are well merited, citing the fact that “in 2005, over 31% of Manitoba’s Provincial Nominees chose to establish their families in communities outside of Winnipeg (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006: 22). Thus the redistribution of immigrants has presented itself as an opportunity for provinces such as Manitoba, a prospect they are unwilling to pass up.

Similar interest has also been shown in the Maritimes where provinces such as New Brunswick have begun to take stock of their resources and their ability to attract immigrant and minority populations. In the province of New Brunswick “as long ago as 1991, it was recognized that the future economic prosperity of (the province) would depend heavily on encouraging immigrants to make (New Brunswick) their home..., [but] by the second half of the 1990s between 630 and 750 immigrants, and between 150 and 170 refugees arrived in New Brunswick

each year, doing little to redress the falling population” (Clews 2004a: 281). Thus redistribution policies have become of great interest to New Brunswick, so much so that “in February 1999, the province signed an agreement with Citizenship and Immigration Canada to take more active steps to select and recruit an additional 200 immigrants each year for a five-year period” (Clews 2004a: 282).

Immigrant redistribution has also emerged as an essential government policy within the province of Quebec. Since the 1990s the provincial government has been very much involved in settling immigrants outside of the Montréal urban area. Quebec’s plan “is intended not only to share the economic benefits of immigration more widely, but also to maintain social cohesion in the province, i.e. to reduce the cultural differences between ethnically diverse Montréal and the more homogeneous Quebec outside the metropolis” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 47).

Indeed, a host of provinces and communities from across Canada have, in recent years, shown great interest in the prospect and advantages of immigrant redistribution. Nevertheless, the focus of this redistribution has revolved primarily around economic factors as opposed to the social and cultural realities associated with different geographical regions and the arrival of newcomers and visible minorities. In fact “with the exception of the Quebec provincial government which makes a strong effort to redirect immigrants to areas outside of Montréal, the federal and provincial governments have not focused the discussion of geographical dispersion in terms of integration, but rather in terms of economic development in the regions, the national decline in population, and resultant labour shortages” (Krahn, Derwing and Abu-Laban 2003a: 5). From the perspective of successful policy design and implementation, it is essential that more research focus on the experiences of immigrant and visible minority populations living within Canada’s second- and third-tier cities as well as its rural regions.

While assuring future economic prosperity is essential, we must also establish a better understanding of the social challenges that often accompany the arrival of newcomers. Over the last decade, researchers have identified that “there are marked differences between the various regions of the country in attitudes and perceptions surrounding immigration and, perhaps to a

somewhat lesser extent, in the dynamics underlying support for immigration levels policy” (Palmer 1998). We must elaborate upon this research, focusing on questions surrounding social integration, cultural accommodation, and general acceptance.

While very little research has been conducted on the subject of immigrant integration into Canada’s small and medium-size cities – not to mention its rural areas – the federal, provincial, and municipal governments have already initiated the road map for immigrant redistribution in the years to come. Indeed the Federal Government has, in recent years, endeavoured to “explore whether immigrants can be drawn to other destinations, what would be suitable alternatives, what means may be used to direct more immigrants to those places, and what economic outcomes may be expected from such policies” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 1). Regardless of the outcomes of current immigrant redistribution strategies, governments from across Canada continue to move forward with future plans aimed at addressing issues associated with demographic decline. Very little time or energy is being placed on studying the effects of immigrant redistribution and, perhaps most importantly, the experiences of newcomers living within communities that have only recently begun to adapt to the presence of immigrant and visible minority populations.

Within government offices and policy workshops, “the interest in the location choices of immigrants stems from various concerns: pressure on the absorptive capacity of the country’s largest cities; an interest, in various parts of the country, in sharing in the benefits of immigration; a desire to reduce social and cultural differences between the metropolis of Montréal and other parts of the province in Quebec; and population growth as a policy objective, most clearly seen in Manitoba” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 55). Governments are eager to embrace and support the aims and benefits of immigrant redistribution regardless of the situation within Canada’s smaller cities and rural communities. Federal government publications referring to redistribution efforts in Quebec go so far as to admit that they “do not know what the result of the policy has been to date, but [that] the government of Quebec apparently is of the view that the groundwork has been laid for a major

increase in settlement of immigrants outside Montréal” (Citizenship and Immigration Canada 2001: 46).

While redistribution is an attractive solution to the serious concern of demographic decline, we must first gain a better sense for the experience of both minority and majority populations living within Canada’s communities. Recent studies have found there are “trends towards increasing intolerance in response to the question about ‘non-white immigration’” (Palmer 1998). Further research must seek to explore such troublesome realities. Indeed we must ask ourselves, what is the immigrant experience in Canada’s communities? Are we truly a multicultural society as we constantly brand ourselves both domestically and abroad? How are immigrants and minority populations received in Canadian cities and towns? Do they face economic and/or social discrimination? Indeed, how are we to proceed without acknowledging where we have been and how we are doing at present? It is essential that we dedicate more energy to the study of immigrant and visible minorities living in Canada’s communities, big and small, for “cities are usually at the forefront of social change and their councils and agencies are often called upon to deal with unfamiliar and perhaps disruptive situations for which central governments have not made specific provisions” (Wallace and Frisken 2004c: 149). Moreover, in dedicating greater attention to the research of immigrant and visible minority populations living outside of Canada’s three largest cities, we are able to establish a better understanding of the challenges faced by minority communities, while also gauging current policy and informing future initiatives.


Statistics Canada projections have suggested that the proportion of immigrants living within Canada could very well increase from 18.5% in 2001 to 25.6% in 2017 (Statistics Canada 2005d: 67). It appears more and more evident that Canada’s future will be, to a large extent, reliant upon a steady flow of immigrants into the country. It is imperative that we plan for this projected increase, studying the current situation in all of Canada’s communities, not just Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver. Indeed, we owe it to our future as well to those who are contemplating making Canada their home in the years to come.

About the author

PAUL RADFORD is a graduate student pursuing a Master's degree in Sociology at Concordia University. His current research involves a quantitative analysis of the experience of immigrant and visible minority populations living throughout Canada.

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Canada 2017 – Serving Canada's Multicultural Population for the Future

22-23 March, 2005

The Multiculturalism Program hosted the Canada 2017 Policy Forum: Serving Canada's Multicultural Population for the Future, on 22-23 March, 2005. The aim of the Forum was to examine the future demographic landscape of Canada, and to allow the Government of Canada to explore the policy implications of our changing diverse population in order to make informed decisions on the policies and programs needed to meet its future needs. Some 150 participants attended the Forum.

The 2017 Policy Forum focused on five themes with a commissioned background paper in each area: Cities; Labour Markets; Health and Social Services; and Public Institutions. The majority of the authors for these papers were drawn from the Metropolis Network including Krishna Pendakur (Simon Fraser University), Jacqueline Oxman-Martinez and Jill Hanley (Université de Montréal), and Dan Hiebert (University of British Columbia).

These papers can be found on-line at www.multiculturalism.pch.gc.ca.

Overall, Canada's birth rate has been consistently decreasing, and it reached a new record low in 2004 with 10.5 live births for every 1,000 persons. As the size and quality of the labour force continues to be an important prerequisite for economic development, Canada's need to take advantage of the benefits of immigration will continue to intensify.

Directions to Consider in Favour of the Regionalization of Immigration

MONIQUE M. ROSE AND JULIE DESMARAIS*
Rural Secretariat, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada

Demographic trends leave little doubt as to the importance of immigration for Canada's future prosperity. They also leave little doubt as to the challenges rural Canada will face should it not succeed, in some measure, in attracting immigrants. While researchers, officials and practitioners agree that regionalization of immigration should not be viewed as "the" answer to these challenges, this paper argues that policy-makers, in both rural development and immigration spheres, should consider initiatives to deepen their knowledge of rural diversity and immigration patterns and diversify immigration policy options with a view to facilitating immigration to rural areas.

Overarching principles and realities affecting immigration policy in Canada

The *Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms* grants immigrants the freedom to move as and where they will, which means that government action targeted at immigrants must remain within the limits of influencing, rather than directing, their initial destination and their later settlement choices.

As well, it is important to recognize that jurisdiction for immigration is shared between national and provincial governments. Citizenship and Immigration Canada leads on the federal side, and a growing number of provinces are giving immigration increasing

priority. The province of Quebec establishes its own immigration requirements and selects immigrants who will adapt well to living in Quebec, while eight other provinces and one territory have signed agreements with Ottawa that cover issues such as settlement and integration services, language training, labour market access and the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) – which enables them to nominate immigrants to help meet their socio-economic goals.

Canada's prosperity will increasingly depend on immigration

Overall, Canada's birth rate has been consistently decreasing, and it reached a new record low in 2004 of 10.5 live births for every 1,000 persons. As the size and quality of the labour force continues to be an important prerequisite for economic development, Canada's need to take advantage of the benefits of immigration will continue to intensify. Already, between 1991 and 2001, immigration accounted for nearly 70% of the growth in the labour force.¹ If current demographic trends continue, by 2011 newcomers to Canada will account for all of the country's labour force growth, and by 2026, for all of Canada's population growth.²

* The views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect those of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada or the Government of Canada.

¹ Roland Beshiri. (2004). "Immigrants in Rural Canada: 2001 Update," *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin* 5, 4. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Cat. No. 21-006-XIE, p. 18.

² Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2003). *Metropolis Conversation Series 9, Regionalization of Immigration*. Ottawa: CIC, p. 3. www.canada.metropolis.net.

Canada has experienced a significant shift towards urbanization, and immigrant settlement patterns mirror this trend

During the first two decades of the 20th century, when Canada's rural population was still greater than its urban population, waves of immigrants settled in rural Canada, especially in the Prairie provinces, playing a significant role in land occupation.³ Since then, following transitions from resource-based to industrial to today's knowledge-based economy, Canada's domestic and immigrant settlement patterns have followed the global trend towards concentrated urbanization.

Figures from the latest available Census show that in 2001, Canada was home to just over 30 million people. Of those, 33.6% lived in the country's three largest cities (Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver), 30.7% lived in other cities of more than 100,000 people,⁴ 15.1% lived in smaller cities, and 20.6% lived in rural and small town Canada.⁵

This trend was even more pronounced among immigrants. Of the 5.4 million people who had immigrated to Canada by 2001, 62.3% lived in the country's three largest cities, 25.5% in other cities of more than 100,000 people, 6.4% in smaller cities, and 5.8% in rural and small town areas.⁶ Not surprisingly, the province of Ontario, which receives more than half of the country's immigrants, echoes the trend with 89.9% of immigrants living in the province's cities of more than 100,000 people, 5.7% in smaller cities, and less than 5% in rural and small towns.⁷

An analysis of various characteristics of the 1991-2001 immigration cohort helps illustrate

the immigrant profile resulting from current policy, which is focused on the requirements of the knowledge-based economy. Today's immigrants come mostly from Asia and the Middle East (58%); 61% report using a language other than one of Canada's official languages at home; 73% were members of visible minority groups,⁸ and 28% of recent immigrants have a university degree, compared to 14% of Canadian-born residents.⁹

One size does not fit all: A solid knowledge of rural diversity and immigration patterns is needed to consider regionalizing immigration

There is no "standard" rural reality. This applies when contrasting national and provincial realities. In 2001, as stated earlier, 20.6% of the Canadian population lived in rural and small town Canada. The percentage of rural dwellers varied considerably across provinces. In Ontario and British Columbia, 13 and 13.8% respectively of the provincial population were rural residents, while in the less populated provinces of Saskatchewan, Prince Edward Island, New Brunswick and Newfoundland and Labrador, as well as the Northwest Territories, this proportion ranged from 42 to 56%. All of Nunavut's population is considered "rural" because of the size of settlements.¹⁰ Also, while the national rural population decreased by 0.4% between 1996 and 2001, the rural population in Ontario, Manitoba, and Alberta increased.

Even between rural areas, differences can be significant depending on the level of metropolitan influence felt in a particular rural area, as measured by the percentage of the resident work force commuting to a city. Between 1996 and 2001, even within provinces whose overall rural population declined, strongly urban-influenced rural areas – that is, where 30 to 49% of the employed workforce was commuting to the urban core of a

³ Knowles, V. (1997). *Forging our Legacy: Canadian Citizenship and Immigration, 1900-1977*. Ottawa: CIC. www.cic.gc.ca/english/department/legacy/index.html.

⁴ For the purposes of these illustrations, "cities of more than 100,000 people" are those designated by Statistics Canada as Census Metropolitan Areas (CMA), while "smaller cities" are those designated as Census Agglomerations (CA). In reality, a few CAs have crossed the 100,000 people threshold.

⁵ Statistics Canada. *Population and Dwelling Counts*, www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/standard/popdwelt/tables.cfm, tables for "Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations" and "Statistical Area Classification (SAC) – CMAs, CAs, CMA and CA Influenced Zones (MIZ), and Territories."

⁶ Statistics Canada. *Immigration and Citizenship: Highlight Tables, 2001 Census*, www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/highlight/Immigration/Index.cfm?Lang=E, tables for "Canada, Provinces and Territories" and "Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) and Census Agglomerations (CAs)."

⁷ Saba, Safdar, and Harald Bauder. (2006). *Towards an Understanding of Immigration in Rural Ontario*. University of Guelph, p. 15.

⁸ Statistics Canada. *Canada's Ethnocultural Portrait: The Changing Mosaic*, www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/products/analytic/companion/etoimm/canada.cfm.

⁹ Statistics Canada. "Selected Educational Characteristics (29), Immigrant Status and Place of Birth of Respondent (21B), Age Groups (5A), Sex (3) and Immigrant Status and Period of Immigration (11) for Population 15 Years and Over, for Canada, Provinces, Territories and Census Metropolitan Areas, 2001 Census – 20% Sample Data," Cat. No. 97F0009XCB2001041.

¹⁰ Tandem Social Research Consulting. (2003). *Rural Canada Profile: A Ten-Year Census Analysis (1991-2001)*, p. 4.

Between 1996 and 2001, even within provinces whose overall rural population declined, strongly urban-influenced rural areas – that is, where 30 to 49% of the employed workforce was commuting to the urban core of a larger city – experienced population growth.

larger city – experienced population growth. For example, while Nova Scotia's rural population decreased by 2.3%, the population of its strongly urban-influenced rural areas grew by 4.9%. Similar, although more moderate, trends were observed in Prince Edward Island, Quebec, Saskatchewan and British Columbia.

Such differences among rural areas and regions carry important implications for public policy aimed at rural development, including those taking into consideration the regionalization of immigration. Over decades of increasing urbanization, the federal government experimented with several approaches to regional and rural development. From significant investments to address short-term regional economic development objectives in the 1960s, to a more coordinated, though still top-down, approach in the 1970s and 1980s, governments have obtained mixed results, and some analysts say past approaches have hindered more sustainable solutions.¹¹ Developments in the late 1980s and early 1990s have set the scene for more regional and community participation in development, in recognition of the need for initiatives tailored to local needs and circumstances.

One size does not fit all in immigration either. While national immigrant settlement patterns and immigrant profiles strongly favour urban areas, some immigrants do choose rural communities and those who do tend to have a different profile. New immigrants who are choosing rural communities continue to be disproportionately European, British and American,¹² and Caucasian. They prefer the higher income provinces (Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia) as well as the Yukon Territory.

On average, they are more highly educated than Canadian-born residents but have lower employment rates and lower median incomes. They are more likely than their Canadian-born counterparts to work in sales and service occupations and in the primary sector. They are also less likely to work in professional services.¹³

Immigrants are facing considerable obstacles in integrating into the labour market

Regardless of country of origin, today's immigrant population is more educated on average than the Canadian-born population. One might expect that, as more educated immigrants were selected, their integration into the labour market would be easier, especially considering Canada's labour shortages, but they remain faced with significant difficulty in fully integrating into the labour market. First, competency levels required for communication, at a professional level, in either of Canada's official languages often exceed the capacity of immigrants. Second, immigrants face significant obstacles in obtaining the recognition of their education levels, certification and prior work experience on par with Canadian equivalents. As a result, while immigrants are selected in large part on the basis of their education levels, once in the country, their prior learning experiences are not recognized, making transition to the workforce difficult.

Regionalization of immigration policies can be an interesting solution on several fronts

Since immigration is essential for expanding Canada's labour market and population base, and since current immigrant settlement patterns largely favour urban areas, the issue of attracting immigrants is becoming increasingly critical to the viability of rural communities.

As pointed out by the Rural Secretariat's Marilyn Read in an earlier paper prepared for the 10th International Metropolis Conference,

¹¹ Marilyn Read. (2005). "Rural and Small Town Canada and the Regionalization of Immigration." Background Paper prepared for the 10th International Metropolis Conference, p. 6.

¹² Statistics Canada. (2001). Census: 34% of the 27,670 people who immigrated to rural and small town Canada between 1996 and 2001 were from the United States, the United Kingdom or Germany. In contrast, these countries were the source of only 6% of total immigrants to Canada during the same period.

¹³ Roland Beshiri. "Immigrants in Rural Canada: 2001 Update," p. 13.

“Just a few immigrants...can make a large difference to a small community, and...it is important for rural communities seeking to attract residents to explore how they can tap into this group of people who are already on the move. Immigrants and other new residents can mean increased local tax revenues, an increase in the retail sales base, and an additional source of skills and labour, entrepreneurs, leaders, volunteers and other engaged community members. In a global world, immigrants can also bring the advantages of economic, social and cultural diversity and innovation...”¹⁴

From the point of view of regionalization’s potential for integrating immigrants into the labour market, it is important to note that there are opportunities in rural areas. There seems to be a “misconception among immigrants that opportunities and services do not exist in smaller areas; and a misconception among Canadians that immigration hurts their economic opportunities.”¹⁵ It is important to dispel both misconceptions. For example, rural areas in Manitoba and Alberta are bringing in new immigrants to fill jobs and, from 2000 to 2002, their rural regions represented 9 of the top 30 census divisions to attract immigrants.¹⁶ Jobs in small towns and rural areas rose by 1.3% last year, comparable to the 1.4% gain in urban Canada. Rural employment has matched that of urban areas since 2001, after lagging at half their growth in the previous decade.¹⁷

Furthermore, governments may want to consider fostering greater regionalization of immigration in recognition of the fact that Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver have sustained an increasingly high level of immigration over the past fifteen years. The growing concentration of immigrants in these three cities puts significant pressure on their absorptive capacity.¹⁸

Governments are beginning to support efforts towards the regionalization of immigration policies

Collaboration among levels of government is a key factor in regionalization of immigration policies. This level of collaboration was formalized in 2002 with the first meeting of Canada’s federal, provincial and territorial immigration ministers. From the outset, these meetings “have supported the notion of ‘sharing’ or ‘spreading’ the ‘benefits’ of immigration.”¹⁹ The inclusion of regionalization issues into the broader study of immigration coordinated by the Metropolis Project reflects their commitment to look into the practicality of this approach.

In 2004, an observatory was set up at the Université de Sherbrooke to study immigration in low immigrant density areas, with the goal of providing a network for academia, government policy-makers and community stakeholders to examine immigration issues outside of metropolitan areas in Canada.

In 2005, a rural think tank entitled Immigration and Rural Canada: Research and Practice was held in Brandon, Manitoba, by the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation and Brandon University’s Rural Development Institute. Later that year, the Rural Secretariat coordinated a two-day Atlantic Forum on Rural Repopulation in Moncton, New Brunswick, which included a component on immigration. Both gatherings explored the benefits of immigration for rural communities, and acknowledged that more research is required to understand how communities and governments can influence immigrants’ decisions to live in rural communities, and when it is appropriate to do so. Both also cautioned that immigration should not be considered as a single solution to population growth, and that communities wishing to consider it as an option should do so in the context of a community, and possibly regional, economic development strategy.²⁰

¹⁴ Marilyn Read. (2005). “Rural and Small Town Canada and the Regionalization of Immigration.” Background Paper prepared for the 10th International Metropolis Conference, p. 9.

¹⁵ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2003). *Metropolis Conversation Series 9, Regionalization of Immigration*. Ottawa, p. 3. www.canada.metropolis.net.

¹⁶ Roland Beshiri, and Ray Bollman. (2003). *Immigrants in Rural Canada*. Presentation to the 2005 CRRF, Brandon, Manitoba.

¹⁷ P. Cross. (2006). *Emerging Patterns in the Labour Market: A Reversal from the 1990s*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada. Note: comparisons with the 1990s are hampered by a change in the Census definition of urban and rural.

¹⁸ Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2001). *Towards a More Balanced Geographic Distribution of Immigrants*. Prepared with the assistance of Informetrica Limited, p. i.

¹⁹ Thomas Denton. (2004). “Canada’s Regionalization Challenge.” Geneva Metropolis Meeting, p. 3.

Jobs in small towns and rural areas rose by 1.3% last year, comparable to the 1.4% gain in urban Canada. Rural employment has matched that of urban areas since 2001, after lagging at half their growth in the previous decade.

Examples illustrate the role of communities and other players in attracting immigration in rural communities

Specific conditions need to be in place for attracting and retaining an immigrant population – family and ethnic networks, employment, access to appropriate services, including health and education, and a welcoming community are prerequisites.²¹ As these examples also illustrate, attraction does not guarantee retention, a reality not exclusive to rural areas: “The number of immigrants living in any part of the country differs from the number that identified that part of the country as their destination at the time of landing. In Canada as a whole, the number of immigrants who land during a given period declines as time passes because of out-migration and deaths.”²²

One community’s experience provides an interesting example of several of these conditions brought together in a deliberate move to draw on immigration to counter the consequences of population decline. In Sainte-Clotilde-de-Beauce, Quebec, a village of fewer than 600 people in 2003, the prospect of the community school’s closure provided a catalyst for citizens to engage in developing a long-term plan, one which included an immigration strategy targeting families with children. By organizing the settlement of several families from the same country, the strategy also took into account the need for family and ethnic networks, even though the community could not provide it itself. The community mobilized the right players and services to attract, support and integrate newcomers, tapping into networks to identify prospective immigrants, engaging local manufacturers and businesses to offer jobs, and

drawing on skilled volunteers to provide language training. Transition housing arrangements were also made through host families, and the community started to look at longer-term settlement opportunities.

Sainte-Clotilde succeeded in attracting twelve Columbian families, who increased the town’s population by 10% and ensured the school’s survival. By 2005, two families had left, and the town’s mayor estimated the integration process to be 90% successful in the school, 80% successful in the workplace and 50% successful in the community.²³ By 2006, four more families had left, in large part due to concerns after housing projects failed to materialize in the absence of an agreement with local and governmental players.²⁴

Another example of immigrant attraction can be found in the village of Florenceville, New Brunswick, a village of fewer than 800 people in 2001. The presence of McCain’s world headquarters contributed to the attraction of immigrants from a wide variety of countries,²⁵ and the community boasts an 80% retention rate. Immigrants represented almost 10% of Florenceville population, compared to the provincial average of 3%, and the immigrant population is growing. There again, attention was paid to important integration factors. The Multicultural Association of Carleton County (MACC) provides immigrants settlement services and multiculturalism awareness activities, organizing multicultural and diversity activities in the community as well as in schools. It also provides English-as-a-second-language training and employment services for newcomers. These are often targeted to spouses of individuals employed at McCain Food.

²⁰ Rural and Small Town Programme, Mount Allison University, *Rural Repopulation in Atlantic Canada: Discussion Paper*, p.v, www.rural.gc.ca/researchreports/popresearch/repop_e.phtml.

²¹ Marilyn Read. (2005). “Rural and Small Town Canada and the Regionalization of Immigration.” Background Paper prepared for the 10th International Metropolis Conference, p. 9.

²² Citizenship and Immigration Canada. (2001). *Towards a More Balanced Geographic Distribution of Immigrants*. Prepared with the assistance of Infrometrica Limited, p. 28.

²³ Robert Lefebvre. (2005). “Revitalisation d’un village par l’immigration – entrevue avec Jacques Lussier, maire de Sainte-Clotilde-de-Beauce,” *Québec Municipal*, November 4.

²⁴ Édition Beauce. (2006). *Sainte-Clotilde : un village centre?* September 4. www.editionbeauce.com/print.asp?nID=820.

²⁵ Rural and Small Town Program, Mount Allison University. (2005). “Rural Repopulation in Atlantic Canada: Discussion Paper.” www.rural.gc.ca/researchreports/popresearch/repop_e.phtml.

Current government policies and services may contribute to the limited success of rural areas in attracting immigrants

In theory, Canadian immigration policy attempts to serve multiple purposes – economic, demographic, and socio-cultural. However, immigration trends reveal that gaps and biases may favour one such purpose above the others.

For example, the immigrant selection system, based on education attainment levels and skills appropriate to the knowledge-based economy, has meant that immigrants arrive better suited for the urban labour market than for life in rural Canada.

Another contributing factor is that the bulk of Canadian immigration and visa offices were closed in second-tier cities around the world. As a result, those who apply for immigration come mostly from large urban centres in their country of origin and are likely looking to integrate into an urban economy once in Canada.²⁶

Concluding questions to guide government action with respect to regionalizing immigration

The following questions are put forward in order to stimulate debate among policy-makers on potential government action intended to facilitate immigration to rural areas.

1) *Should governments put in place policies that will enable the country to recruit immigrants who are interested in living in smaller centres and rural areas?*

Such policies could include changes to the points system of immigrant selection. As pointed out earlier, those immigrants who choose to settle in rural areas tend to have a different profile than that resulting from the current points system. Another direction to explore is whether and how, in the absence of Canadian immigration and visa services outside of major urban centres, to reach out to potential immigrants from rural areas in their country of origin.

2) *Should governments consider financial and other incentives to facilitate immigrant settlement in rural areas?*

Such incentives are being suggested for immigrants in the context of this paper, but they need not be considered to the exclusion of other Canadians who would choose to live in rural areas.

“Tax incentives or other financial incentives, such as free or heavily subsidized university tuition for the children of immigrants residing in designated areas for a fixed number of years, could prove effective....There is precedent for the modified tax treatment of immigrants in the form of permitting immigrant investors to create offshore trusts valid for five years from the time of entry.”²⁷

3) *Should governments also consider investing in the development of settlement services in rural communities?*

Considering their generally less multicultural makeup, rural communities often “lack family and friends who normally help new arrivals to settle and they also lack the Non-Governmental Organization infrastructure that exists in cities with a history of immigration.”²⁸ Government support for alternative service-delivery options might help bridge that gap.

4) *Do governments have a role to play with respect to facilitating community readiness?*

There is a wide range of attitudes towards immigration across the country. Public officials have a responsibility to put in place the necessary tools to support the attraction and retention of immigrants; “cross-cultural sensitivity training, cultural events and education”²⁹ could help to change attitudes.

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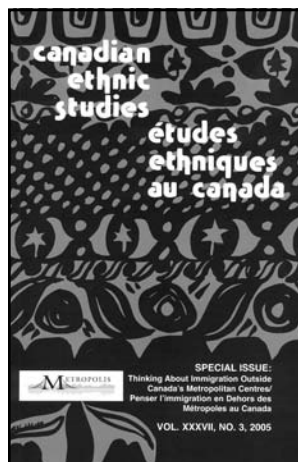
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²⁷ Meyer Burstein. (2004). *Background Paper on Demographic Adaptation*, p. 12.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p.14.

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Thinking About Immigration Outside Canada's Metropolitan Centres

Special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies*

This special issue of *Canadian Ethnic Studies / Études ethniques au Canada* (Vol. XXXVII, No. 3, 2005) looks at the regionalization of immigration. It was guest edited by Michèle Vatz Laaroussi (Université de Sherbrooke), Margaret Walton-Roberts (Wilfrid Laurier University), John Biles (Metropolis Project) and Jean Viel (Social Development Canada). The issue includes articles on regional dispersal in British Columbia, on immigrant settlement in local labour markets in Ontario, on the settlement of refugees in Québec and in smaller cities in British Columbia, on Acadians, interculturalism and regionalization, and on the services available to new immigrants in Halifax. There is also a conference report from "Immigration and Outmigration: Atlantic Canada at a Crossroads."

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I live in a small town....My daughter attends a weekly ballet class (with modern dance also available), an after school science club, is a member of the local brownie troop, and plays in a development basketball league. My son plays basketball, lacrosse and soccer, attends a youth group at our church, and is in a percussion ensemble. None of this appears particularly diverse if assessed against idealized conceptions of urban, cosmopolitan Canada.

Qualified Differences: Diversity and the Cultural Dynamics of Small-Town Canada

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In *The Polite Revolution*, John Ibbitson draws a stark distinction between urban, rural and small-town Canada. According to Ibbitson, differences are manifest in politics, economics, culture, and ethno-linguistics, and are directly related to a lack of diversity outside the urban context. The absence of diversity in rural and small-town Canada, he suggests, limits cultural dynamism, stunts economic growth, and conditions voting patterns. Where urban Canada is increasingly diverse, cosmopolitan, and progressively-minded, small-town Canada, he argues, is more a colonialist cultural anachronism: a conservative legacy of the past maintained into the present.¹

Ibbitson's analysis is important for two reasons. First, it encapsulates diverse currents of thought on contemporary Canada, particularly as it relates to socio-cultural diversity. Regardless of the heuristic framework, studies of Canadian diversity tend to focus on an urban context by either intent or implication.² Second, it illustrates how

contemporary urban intellectuals represent small-town Canada. In Ibbitson's case, the cultural dynamics of small-town life are treated as mono-cultural legacies of a past time: British or French heritage cultures. My objective is to argue that this representation disguises the more complex realities of small-town life and culture. I will argue that Ibbitson and others sustain their conclusions through an a-historical binary understanding of urban/non-urban that establishes implicit criteria of diversity that privileges ethnicity as diversity's meta-signifier. In so doing, important political, economic, and cultural processes are obscured.

Frameworks

The new wave of diversity studies that began in Canada in the last decade deploy a frequently complex analytic framework that conceptualizes the self as the product of a complex array of overlapping and intersecting "identity markers," including sexual orientation, age, class position,

¹ John Ibbitson, (2005). *The Polite Revolution: Perfecting the Canadian Dream*. Toronto: McClelland & Stewart. See also Roger Gibbins, (2003). "The Rural Face of the New West," in Raymond Blake and Andrew Nurse (Eds), *Trajectories of Rural Life: New Perspectives on Rural Canada SIPP 2*. Regina: Canadian Plains Research Centre and Saskatchewan Institute for Public Policy, p. 137-44.

² For example, see resources available via CERIS' policy working papers website: www.ceris.metropolis.net/research-policy/wkpp_list.htm. For an illustration of supposedly cross-Canadian research that, by implication, is organized around an urban matrix, see "Internationally Trained Workers Economic Performance and Foreign Credential Recognition: Conversion Highlights," in *Metropolis Conversation Series Report 20*.

sex, home language, ethnicity, and abilities, among others.³ The research focus on the urban context is the product of a variety of factors, including demographic weight, migration patterns, the “visible” character of urban ethnic diversity, and the size and scope of social problems long constructed as urban phenomena.⁴ Whatever these studies’ considerable merits, one general research trend has been to explore the dynamics of international immigration and ethno-linguistic diversity as key identity markers that condition access to civil society and the state. This may be an effective framework for studies of urban diversity. Outside this context, however, it obscures the historical processes that organize, and are restructuring, small-town life and culture. Synoptic treatments of diversity, such as Ibbitson’s, mobilize an implicit diversity/lack of diversity binary opposition based on visible ethnicity that pre-determines this conclusion: small-town Canada is not diverse.⁵

In place of Ibbitson’s focus on a static small town of British or French heritage culture, small-town Canada should, instead, be viewed as an historically evolving cultural process which has important implications for wider considerations of Canadian diversity. Larger sections of Canada than one might imagine stand outside the spatial boundary of the city.⁶ A series of factors, in particular, should be taken into consideration in assessments of small-town life and culture:

- An historically rooted culture of civic participation;
- New technologies of communication and improved transportation facilities that promote increased intra-regional mobility and broader patterns of cultural interaction;
- Increased consumerism facilitated by urban-peripheral “big box” retailing;

³ Joanna Anneke Rummens, (2004), “Overlapping and Intersecting Identities,” *Canadian Diversity / Nos diverses cités* 3, 1, p. 5-9.

⁴ Cf. Neil Bradford (2002). “Why Cities Matter: Policy Research Perspectives for Canada,” CPRN Discussion Paper No. F|23 (June). On the historical ideal of the city as a site of social problems, see the innovative treatment provided by Carolyn Strange (1995), *Toronto’s Girl Problem: The Perils and Pleasures of the City, 1880-1930*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

⁵ To make my point even more bluntly: Ibbitson, in effect, reifies whiteness as a meta-signifier that points only to diversity’s absence.

⁶ Government of Canada, Rural Research Note (June 2002), Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada Publication Number 2138/E.

- The capitalist economic “re-colonization” of the “countryside”;
- Defined rural communities that seek to maintain difference from other elements of the Canadian community.

None of these factors suggest that diversity – keyed around standard identity markers – has been or is absent from small-town life or that there is any inherent resistance to increased small-town ethno-cultural diversity. In fact, the opposite is true: the same cultural and political patterns that ethically underscored increased urban diversity are present in small towns.⁷

Small-town civic culture

I live in a small town.⁸ Its patterns of cultural life are affected by the presence of a small university and its setting in Canada’s only bilingual province: New Brunswick. The public school system is bilingual. Parents have the option of sending their children through either an Anglophone or Francophone stream. My daughter attends a weekly ballet class (with modern dance also available), an after school science club, is a member of the local brownie troop, and plays in a development basketball league. My son plays basketball, lacrosse and soccer, attends a youth group at our church, and is in a percussion ensemble. None of this appears particularly diverse if assessed against idealized conceptions of urban, cosmopolitan Canada. Access to fusion or ethnic restaurants – a hallmark of Ibbitson’s conception of diversity – is limited to a small Italian restaurant, a German restaurant in a nearby town, and a Canadianized Chinese restaurant. For anything further, one needs to travel half an hour to Moncton, somewhat less than the average 905 commuter will have to travel to get back into Toronto after work to experience its diversity.

It would be wrong to view the dynamics of this lived cultural experience as only the legacy of a colonial culture. There is no direct relationship between amateur sport, dance, percussion, and science and British or French heritage culture. Town parades, local holidays, and cadet troops may lack the flare of Caribana, but neither are they simply British. Instead, the culture mobilized

⁷ For a treatment of these ethics, see Will Kymlicka (1998), *Finding Our Way: Rethinking Ethnocultural Relations in Canada*. Toronto: Oxford UP.

⁸ Sackville, New Brunswick.

The culture mobilized in my small town through home and school associations, clothing drives, minor sports, and dance recitals, among other things, take on a number of different meanings simultaneously. Some of these meanings relate to normative standards of gendered behaviour (minor sports) and the degree to which they are reinforced or challenged; others (such as bilingualism) to the languages of Canadian-ness. The culture of volunteerism, however, that runs local events, 4H Clubs, musical evenings at the town bandstand, and holiday parades is also a culture of civic participation.

in my small town through home and school associations, clothing drives, minor sports, and dance recitals, among other things, take on a number of different meanings simultaneously. Some of these meanings relate to normative standards of gendered behaviour (minor sports) and the degree to which they are reinforced or challenged; others (such as bilingualism) to the languages of Canadian-ness. The culture of volunteerism, however, that runs local events, 4H Clubs, musical evenings at the town bandstand, and holiday parades is also a culture of civic participation. It constructs and reinforces specific normative standards of behaviour and social values, some of which (such as cadets) may seem militaristic, but all of which prompt civic engagement and consideration of the public good.

All of these different cultural dynamics focus on the interaction between the self (as an individual) and the public sphere (as a social dynamic). The key link is not to British heritage culture but to the ideal of active civic engagement in the public sphere. This is the same idea that stands at the centre of the liberal, civic nationalist conception of Canada that supplanted older ideals of Canada as a British (or dualistic) nation and that has been so essential to the development of multiculturalism as public policy and political and social practice.⁹ Urban Canadians, Ibbitson tells us, embrace civic culture through their embrace of diversity which also contributes to the politics of reasoned dialogue. The same focus on deliberation and reason is organized in small towns through volunteerism and participation in civic institutions (artistic, educational, athletic). Small-town conceptions of civic virtue do not

erase patterns of prejudice¹⁰ but neither do they maintain them. Instead, as they did in urban Canada, the idea of a civic culture provides the basis upon which prejudices can be – and are – confronted and challenged. Recent studies of political behaviour suggest that there are few significant differences between rural and urban Canadians in terms of political attitudes, values, and ethics.¹¹ Small town and rural Canadians are as diverse in their political views and behaviour as are urban Canadians.

Consumerism, transportation, and economic restructuring

For rural and small-town youth, the idea of a civic culture organized around and through public institutions is reinforced by communications processes. Canada is one of the most “wired” nations in the world, with extensive resources devoted over the last decade to rural and small-town Internet access.¹² New communications technologies (NCTs) can be used in different ways. One thing they do, however, is blur distinctions based on locality, even while these distinctions are not erased. They provide small-town Canadians with a means to access culture and information and can make those same people part of interactive on-line communities. NCTs make recipes, religions, languages, and other elements of culture available indiscriminately.

Changes in physical infrastructure reinforce this process. Dramatically improved transportation facilities have drawn small-town Canadians in increased numbers to regional urban or service

⁹ Kymlicka, *Finding Our Way*; Michael Ignatieff (2000), *The Rights Revolution*. Toronto: Anansi. On the Evolution of Anglo-Canadian National Identity, see Daniel Francis (1997). *National Dreams: Myth, Memory, and Canadian History*. Vancouver: Arsenal Pulp Press.

¹⁰ Ken Coates (2000), *The Marsh Decision and Native Rights*. Montréal and Kingston: McGill-Queen's University Press.

¹¹ Elisabeth Gidengil et al. (2004), *Citizens*. Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

¹² Richard Schultz (2003), “From Mater to Partner to Bit Player: The Diminishing Capacity of Government Policy.” In David Taras et al. (Eds), *How Canadians Communicate*. Calgary: University of Calgary Press, p. 27-49.

International economic re-organization, regional economic development programmes, and re-location of state services have shifted employment patterns. Today, manufacturing, government services, and non-resource based commercial services are major employment sectors.

centres. Big-box shopping development, usually arranged along a rural/suburban periphery, and the penetration of Wal-Mart and other retail chains into small centres contributes to these same processes. While it is tempting to look on new transportation and communications infrastructure as a potential educational “cure all” that promotes higher levels of ethnic interaction, other cultural processes tend to work against this development. As Naomi Klein notes, corporate multiculturalism is driven by a commercial imperative that re-organizes the ideals of a liberal civic culture in the service of consumerism. Future research on small-town culture needs to take the increased penetration of consumerism as cultural practice more seriously if it is to understand the cultural patterns that are actually at work outside the urban context. Klein’s description of the “global teenager” as a characteristic of consumeristic approaches to diversity illustrates one way in which this process of diversity might function within small-town culture. According to Klein, the global teenager image mobilizes a surface-level focus on ethnic diversity that both elides and erases questions about the political meanings and implications of deep diversity. Important socio-economic, cultural, and political issues are displaced by the construction of diverse communities through a common consumer culture.¹³ Communications and transportation matrixes do not simply make diversity available outside an urban context, but make available a very specific type of diversity. What is sold, in both rural and urban Canada, is not a civic ethic of respect for difference, for example, but a consumeristic variant of “candy-coated multiculturalism.” Small-town youth are no less affected by this process than urban youth. What is more, in the Canadian context, the state’s focus on expanded rural Internet access and improved transportation infrastructure makes possible the heightened penetration of this idea outside the city.

Closely tied to the communicative processes affecting the dynamics of small-town life are

¹³ Naomi Klein (2000), *No Logo: Taking Aim at the Brand Bullies*. Toronto: Vintage.

broad changes in the non-urban economy. In important ways, the connection to suburban-rural peripheral retailing affects the character of employment in small towns that had formerly functioned as local retail and service centres. Other developments are also important to note. Most small-town employment, for example, is no longer linked to primary community production. International economic re-organization, regional economic development programmes, and re-location of state services have shifted employment patterns. Today, manufacturing, government services, and non-resource based commercial services are major employment sectors.¹⁴ Communications technologies have produced new spatialized divisions of labour and large corporations have moved manufacturing facilities to smaller locations to take advantage of what they view as favourable labour markets. The result of these combined factors has been a re-composition of small-town class structure. Few studies have examined this process and its implications for diversity in Canada. According to Bryan Palmer, the capitalist re-colonization of the “backcountry” produces a more quiescent working class and a more aggressive self-serving corporate culture that geographically polarizes class relations between communities and what are, in effect, absentee owners.¹⁵ Judy Bates’ research suggests that the combined effects of economic re-organization undercut the ideal of common citizenship through an erosion of common economic benefits and the re-development of a pre-capitalist “survival strategies” – such as barter and hunting – among displaced rural and small-town workers.¹⁶

¹⁴ Mark Patridge and Rose Olfert (June 2006), “Mapping the Rural-Urban Interface: A New Frontier in Rural-Urban Research,” Presentation for National Rural Research Network Annual Conference, Gatineau.

¹⁵ Bryan Palmer (1994), *Capitalism Comes to the Backcountry: The Goodyear Invasion of Napanee*. Toronto: Between the Lines.

¹⁶ Judy Bates (forthcoming), “Dual Citizenship? The Decline in Citizens’ Rights in the New Flexible Economy,” in Raymond Blake and Andrew Nurse (Eds), *Beyond National Dreams*. Vancouver: Fitzhenry and Whiteside.

Communities of diversity

In at least one instance, rural cultural differences pose more fundamental challenges than urban ethnic diversity. Aboriginal peoples are politically, historically, economically, and culturally significant elements of Canadian diversity. There are important issues relating to urban First Peoples that Canada, as a society, has been far too slow to address. First Peoples are, however, one demographic group that is predominantly rural and will remain so into the foreseeable future.¹⁷ Reserve populations are “alive and well,” in a demographic sense. Linguistically, culturally, and politically speaking, First Peoples will remain distinct from non-Native Canadians. What is more, Aboriginal population growth (vis-à-vis non-Native Canadians) will increase the economic and cultural importance of First Peoples for rural and small-town Canada. In terms of labour force alone, First Peoples will be too significant to ignore.

The issue with regard to the First Peoples' relationship to Canada is how the fact of difference is accommodated. The urban model of multiculturalism and cosmopolitan cultural hybridity will not work in this instance because the historic and cultural differences between First Peoples and other Canadians find expression through self-government as an expansion of political, legal, and economic autonomy. The process of accommodation, in this regard, involves not civic integration but acceptance of differing legal – and potentially citizenship¹⁸ – regimes within Canada. In this regard, diversity across rural and small-town Canada will proceed along at least one very different axis that will take different institutional forms. Its objective will not be integration, celebration, and cosmopolitanism, but autonomy and a different lived ethics. There are other communities in Canada – particularly smaller religious groups – for whom this same pattern will apply.¹⁹

Diversity and the Canadian small town

My aim has been to suggest that a celebratory and urban model of diversity cannot be easily transferred to a small-town context because it works with an implicit conception of diversity that spatially marks rural and small-town Canada as cultural legacies of the past. Instead, analyses need to explore patterns of diversity that are part of on-going historical processes remarking small-town life and culture. This process rejects the idea of the small town as the converse mirror of the city. It illustrates the complex and at times contradictory historical dynamics in which small towns are caught. In fact, this process is more a series of processes that move in different directions simultaneously. These processes at once establish the social and cultural basis within which respect for different forms of diversity can develop but simultaneously undercuts the ideals of a civic order through a polarizing re-composition of class structure and expanded consumerism. It allows for differing patterns of diversity, particularly as they relate to First Peoples and to some religious minorities that have little parallel in urban Canada. In these instances, diversity is not an integrative process but a process of differentiation through which communities with distinct values, social orders, and political dynamics are maintained. Diversity in the small town means much more than this, as other essays in this volume indicate. If, however, we can escape the binary thinking that casts small towns as a-historical monocultures to re-set our analysis in the flow of contemporary economic, communicative, and political (among others) dynamics, we will begin to assess the actual dynamics of small-town life.

¹⁷ INAC, Registered Indian Population Projections for Canada and Regions, 2000-2021.

¹⁸ Alan Cairns (2000), *Citizens Plus: Aboriginal Peoples and the Canadian State*, Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press.

¹⁹ Jennifer Ball (November 2001), “Planning for People and Land: Intercultural Challenges in Rural Ontario,” Paper presented at Rural Canada: Moving Forward or Left Behind conference, Saskatchewan Institute of Public Policy, Regina, Saskatchewan.

This article uses Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean as a case study to show how community-based immigration regionalization projects that are in keeping with the Quebec government’s policies are being translated into action.

On the Ground with the Quebec Government's Immigration Regionalization Strategy

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In a speech on immigration to rural areas delivered on April 25, 2005,¹ Jacques Proulx, President of Solidarité rurale du Québec, emphasized the importance of basing immigration regionalization policies on the will of the community: [translation] “As a study being conducted by Solidarité rurale du Québec shows, what really works are grassroots initiatives from rural communities. This means local political and business leaders working together with community organizations and harnessing all the good will in the community.”

Rallying local and regional stakeholders to the cause is key to attracting, integrating and retaining immigrants in outlying regions, particularly in less urban areas. How then is a government to go about implementing a provincial strategy developed in a manner that respects regional autonomy while supporting the development of community-based initiatives?

To meet the challenge, Quebec’s ministère de l’Immigration et des Communautés culturelles

(MICC) is working more closely than ever before with local communities in order to encourage and support their efforts to incorporate immigration into their development strategies and institute measures tailored to their specific needs, with a view to reaping the social, economic and cultural benefits of immigration.

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Key policies on regional development

The MICC’s initiatives should first be understood within the broader context of government policies on regional development.

In the spring of 2003, the provincial government expressed its intent to review its relationship with regions and municipalities, and to strengthen local communities by refocusing its core missions and partnering with local elected officials to promote regional development.

This led to the creation of 21 regional conferences of elected officers (CRÉs) – consultative and planning bodies consisting of

¹ At the Chez moi en région conference, held in Vaudreuil-Soulanges, which focused on achieving sustainable regional development through solidarity, agricultural development and immigration.

municipal officials as well as representatives of the various social and economic sectors.²

The CRÉs are formally recognized as the government's main partner in matters of regional development. Their mandate includes drafting a five-year development plan and reaching specific agreements with government ministries or agencies and, as applicable, with other partners.

In keeping with this approach, the government launched an action program which is set out in the document titled *Shine Among the Best* and dated March 2004; this program addresses two central challenges in Quebec: the state of public finances and demographic changes.

In Quebec's outlying regions, this action program gave rise to town hall meetings known as The Public Talks, in which the public was consulted on these pressing issues. The process culminated with the Forum des générations, held in Québec in October 2004, which was attended by a hundred leaders from various circles and representing all generations. Immigration was identified as a major issue and a possible way to slow demographic decline and as a means of supporting the cultural, social and economic development of the regions. Participants and the government agreed to speed up the signing of immigration regionalization agreements with the municipalities and the CRÉs.

The 2004–2007 government action plan: Shared Values, Common Interests

The year 2004 also saw the launch of the provincial government's 2004–2007 action plan, titled Shared Values, Common Interests, which seeks to ensure full participation by Quebec's ethnic communities in the province's development: [translation] "Our demographic outlook and the growing demand for labour, which is forecast to increase in the future, are prompting us to assume a leadership role and to change our ways of doing things, so that recent immigrants and Quebecers from ethnic communities can fully participate in society," said then-Minister Michelle Courchesne.

The action plan includes five key points:

- An immigration policy true to Quebec's needs and values;
- Reception and lasting job integration;

- Learning French: a gauge of success;
- A Quebec proud of its diversity;
- Québec, metropolitan Montréal and the regions committed to action.

The last point contains the key goals with respect to the regionalization of immigration:

- Encourage and/or support the incorporation of immigration into the development strategies of regional and local stakeholders;
- Promote recognition of immigration as a factor in development by launching action plans tailored to specific regional conditions.

While the regionalization of immigration is marked as one of the five priorities in the action plan, it is also an underpinning of the other points, and of a number of more general measures that have a significant impact on outlying regions.

Regional action plans

After the release of the government's action plan, the MICC began developing regional action plans, in cooperation with its partners. The plans grew out of broad consultations with municipal officials, other government agencies, stakeholders in education and employment, community groups and others. The regional action plans are harmonized with the priorities in the government action plan and call for promising projects developed by local communities. These are tools designed for outlying regions to help them plan initiatives that will ensure that immigration contributes to their economic, cultural and social development. Nine action plans have been produced since May 2004.³

Agreements with regional conferences of elected officers and with municipalities

While the first immigration regionalization agreements with the regional development councils (CRDs) date back to the mid-1990s, this approach is gaining new popularity today as a

² The CRÉs replaced the regional development councils, or CRDs.

³ At the time of writing (December 2006): Québec and area (May 2004), the Eastern Townships (March 2005), Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean (April 2005), Laval (October 2005), the Mauricie (November 2005), Agglomération de Longueuil (November 2005), Eastern Montérégie (November 2005), Centre-du-Québec and its five regional county municipalities (March 2006), and the Ottawa Valley (August 2006).

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means of promoting regional autonomy. As of December 2006, the MICC had already signed 10 agreements with as many CRÉs to follow-up on the government commitment made at the Forum des générations. These agreements provide for varying arrangements,⁴ depending on specific local conditions and the region's state of advancement with respect to immigration issues.

The agreements take into account the priorities set out in the government action plan and in the regional action plan, where one exists. Some regions already have an action plan, while others are in the process of producing one. Therefore, these agreements with the CRÉs are, in some cases, a step in the preparation of a regional action plan, and in others, a means of implementing the regional action plan. They have a variety of objectives, such as promoting the region, attracting immigrants, supporting labour market entry and job readiness, francization, and intercultural understanding.

Different parties are involved in funding the agreements, depending on the region. The MICC's own contribution is placed at the disposal of the CRÉ; this reflects the greater flexibility of this generation of agreements in comparison with those previously signed with the CRDs. The choice of projects and project funding is therefore based on local decisions. A management committee on which all of the funding agencies are represented administers the agreement and allocates funds to approved projects, which in many cases are carried out by community organizations.

The MICC is also striking agreements with municipalities. Six agreements have been reached or renewed since April 2003, with Gatineau, Québec, Sherbrooke, Montréal, Laval (a MICC-CRÉ-City agreement) and Rawdon.

⁴ Eastern Townships CRÉ (October 2005), Montréal CRÉ (October 2005), Chaudière-Appalaches CRÉ (January 2006), Laval CRÉ (and the City of Laval) (March 2006), Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean CRÉ (March 2006), Longueuil CRÉ (April 2006), Mauricie CRÉ (August 2006), Eastern Montérégie CRÉ (August 2006), Lower St. Lawrence CRÉ (October 2006), and Québec and area CRÉ (November 2006).

Assistance programs and partner organizations

Since 1994, the MICC has been administering an assistance program that works with local agencies to fund projects designed to attract immigrants to and help them settle in outlying regions. In 2005-2006, 26 projects conducted by social and economic organizations received MICC funding under this program, which is known as the Regional Integration Program (IRP) since 2004. The project funding was extended over and above the monies placed at the disposal of CRÉs and municipalities under the immigration regionalization agreements.

In addition to the IRP, which is dedicated specifically to regionalizing immigration, other MICC programs, such as the Support Program for the Integration of New Arrivals (PANA) and the Support Program for Civic and Intercultural Relations (PARCI), support services and projects that help integrate and retain immigrants in outlying areas.

The MICC also supports the regionalization of immigration in the Montréal area by informing immigrants there of settlement opportunities in outlying regions and by funding organizations whose activities promote the settlement of immigrants in outlying regions. Information sessions on the regions are offered regularly in Montréal for immigrants. These are led by facilitators from the regions, with the collaboration of the MICC in some cases.

The case of the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region

Thus far, we have presented a general picture of the MICC's activities related to the regionalization of immigration. However, by definition, each region has its own specific features. To see how things are playing out on the ground, it is useful to look at the Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean region, where a regional action plan was adopted in 2005 and where a new three-year agreement between the MICC, the CRÉ and multiple partners was signed in March 2006. The region also has several organizations working to regionalize

TABLE 1

Immigrants admitted between 1995 and 2004, residing in Quebec in 2006, by region of settlement and date of immigration

Region of settlement	1995-1999	2000-2004	Total 1995-2004	%
<i>Regions outside Metropolitan Montréal</i>				
Lower St. Laurence	386	509	895	0.3
Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean	367	734	1,101	0.4
Québec	4,139	6 644	10,783	4.0
Mauricie	480	1 023	1,503	0.6
Eastern Townships	2,121	3 410	5,531	2.1
Ottawa Valley	2,943	3 744	6,687	2.5
Abitibi-Témiscamingue	187	246	433	0.2
North Shore	107	136	243	0.1
Northern Quebec	30	39	69	0.0
Gaspésie-Îles-de-la-Madeleine	58	42	100	0.0
Chaudière-Appalaches	530	611	1,141	0.4
Lanaudière	1,121	1,479	2,600	1.0
Laurentians	2,243	3,029	5,272	2.0
Montérégie (except Longueuil CRÉ)	3,689	4,976	10,380	3.2
Centre-du-Québec	538	1,064	1,602	0.6
Total, regions outside Metropolitan Montréal	18,939	27,686	46,625	17.5
<i>Metropolitan Montréal</i>				
Montréal*	67,795	111,479	179,274	67.3
Laval	6,976	8,052	15,028	5.6
Longueuil*	6,573	9,250	15,823	5.9
Total, Metropolitan Montréal	81,344	128,781	210,125	78.8
<i>Undetermined region</i>	6,958	2,801	9,759	3.7
Total Quebec	107,241	159,268	266,509	100

*Based on the territories of the Regional Conferences of Elected Officers.
Source: MICC, Direction de la recherche et de l'analyse prospective.

immigration, including *Portes ouvertes sur le Lac*, a project proponent based in Saint-Félicien which we will use as a case study. We will begin with a review of the main actions taken over the past few years to address the challenge of immigration.

Ten years of regionalization

Immigration is a relatively recent phenomenon in Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean. In 2001, the immigrant population was slightly under 2,000 people and accounted for only 0.7% of the region's population of 274,315. Five years prior to that, in October 1996, the MICC had extended its services to Northern Quebec by opening an office in Jonquière, which had just been designated a destination for immigrants in the refugee category. The regional office was given a mandate to organize reception, settlement support, French language training and labour market entry support services.

The desire to receive immigrants and to institute measures to promote their sustainable settlement was expressed in the five-year regional development plans of 1996 and 2001. This desire generated concerted efforts, and negotiations began with the MICC, resulting in an initial three-year immigration regionalization agreement between the Conseil régional de concertation et de développement du Saguenay-Lac-Saint-Jean (subsequently replaced by the CRÉ), the Quebec government and local stakeholders, which was signed in the spring of 2003. According to Réjean Bergeron, Executive Director of the CRÉ, the first task was to harmonize immigration-related strategies and actions; in short, to adopt a common vision in order to increase the number of immigrants in the area and promote their social and economic integration by recognizing their contribution to the region's development. That led the partners to create the Table régionale de

According to Gilles Potvin, Mayor of Saint-Félicien, people in Saint-Félicien have been accustomed to welcoming thousands of visitors every year from around the world for almost half a century because of the zoo. In his opinion, "that certainly helps make the community open to the rest of the world."

concertation en immigration (TRCI) in the summer of 2003.

Immigrants also decided to become better organized and founded the Corporation Intégration, with financial support from the MICC and the CRÉ, in the fall of 2003. Today, the organization includes about a hundred newcomers, who wish to contribute to the development of their adopted region by bringing it diversity, which is to be seen as an asset, according to the President of the Corporation, Séreyrâth Srin.

Saguenay–Lac–Saint–Jean regional action plan

The immigration file was given new impetus on April 18, 2005 by a major regional conference, organized by the TRCI. It attracted 180 people from municipal, political, business and community circles in Saguenay–Lac–Saint–Jean. Lise Thériault, Minister of Immigration and Cultural Communities, took part and unveiled the Shared Values, Common Interests action plan for Saguenay–Lac–Saint–Jean, the first plan in Quebec developed jointly by the MICC and a CRÉ. It contained 36 measures, harmonized with the priorities in the master plan and supported by numerous local stakeholders from all sectors. A settlement guide for immigrants, produced by the Service externe de main-d'œuvre du Saguenay, a MICC partner organization since 1998, was also launched during the event.

Three-year immigration regionalization agreement

On March 7, 2006, a new three-year immigration regionalization agreement in Saguenay–Lac–Saint–Jean was announced. In addition to the MICC and the CRÉ, the agreement was signed by the ministère des Affaires municipales et des Régions, the ministère de l'Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale, the ministère de l'Éducation, and the ministère du Loisir et du Sport, as well as numerous municipal, educational and health and social services organizations in the region. Partners made funding commitments totalling nearly

\$900,000 over three years, over and above the financial support from the MICC. The CRÉ was given full responsibility for managing the new agreement, which was not the case with the previous agreement, under which all projects receiving MICC funding had to be approved by the MICC. According to Réjean Bergeron, a regional committee has been formed to oversee implementation; all decisions are now made locally, and strategic decisions on immigration are up to the people in the region.

The municipalities, which signed the regional agreement, made a concrete undertaking with respect to attracting immigrants and helping them settle and integrate. In the fall of 2006, Saguenay began developing a municipal immigration policy, and the three regional county municipalities (MRCs) in Lac–Saint–Jean expressed their intention to jointly carry out a similar plan on their territory. The CRÉ's future five-year development plan, which is currently being developed and which will tackle the challenge of demographic growth as a priority, will include immigration among possible solutions.

Portes ouvertes sur le Lac: A project outside local urban centres

Saint-Félicien, population 10,500, is well-known, particularly for its "zoo sauvage," the only one of its type in North America. Contemporary immigrant settlement in upper Lac–Saint–Jean came about through an initiative by Marie Fillion, a Spanish teacher at the Polyvalente des Quatre-Vents high school in Saint-Félicien. She convinced the principal of her school, the prefect of the regional county municipality, the director of the Cégep, and a number of other local stakeholders to support her dream and create Portes ouvertes sur le Lac (POL). [Translation] "We felt a desire for enrichment in the community, an eagerness to open up to diversity and exchange," said Patrice Boivin, Principal of the high school and President of POL. According to Gilles Potvin, Mayor of Saint-Félicien, people in Saint-Félicien have been accustomed to welcoming thousands of visitors

ever year from around the world for almost half a century because of the zoo. In his opinion, “that certainly helps make the community open to the rest of the world.” Bernard Généreux, Prefect of the MRC of Domaine-du-Roy, further explains that the community wants to reverse the demographic decline and loss of vitality, which is at present sapping its resources. He adds that the community firmly believes that immigration can make a significant contribution to the development of the region by injecting fresh points of view.

POL receives financial support from the MICC and the CRÉ through funding for the new three-year agreement. The organization was launched at an inaugural press conference held in the spring of 2006. Between May and November 2006, some 30 immigrants from Romania, Haiti, Turkey, Togo, Algeria, France, Colombia and Ivory Coast landed in Saint-Félicien, with the intention of settling there. Many were recruited in Montréal at information sessions on the outlying regions. Others discovered Lac-Saint-Jean through community organizations in Montréal that are working with the MICC to help regionalize immigration.

Afef Bensalem, an architect from Tunisia, arrived in Saint-Félicien in the spring of 2006 with his spouse and their granddaughter. When asked why they chose this region to settle in, he said that it was simply because of a job offer. Successful integration starts with entering the job market. Stela Rakos is from Romania and now teaches young Aboriginal people in Masteuiash: [translation] “After travelling around the world, we chose Quebec and since we had never lived in a large city, we wanted to settle in the countryside.” Rodolphe Bertrand, a cabinetmaker from France, has been living in Lac-Saint-Jean since August 2006. He said that he never thought he would get a job so easily and that he and his family were very quickly accepted.

[Translation] “We offer our new fellow citizens a range of personalized reception and support services during the settlement process, including help in securing housing, registering children in school, familiarizing people with municipal, medical and community services, and help with looking for work,” says POL coordinator Marie-Claude Laberge with obvious pride. [Translation] “To help people integrate, we have also designed a twinning program between local families and those who have come from elsewhere, and we have produced a guide for employers and another for immigrant employees.”

POL also organizes a variety of activities to promote openness, dialogue and understanding between the local community and newcomers, including an intercultural dinner to celebrate Quebec’s national holiday on June 24, a traditional corn roast and a large-scale event called *Je m’ouvre à ta culture*, which was held in October 2006 during the *Semaine québécoise des rencontres interculturelles*. More than 225 people showed up to tour a dozen kiosks, each representing a different country of the world and each staffed by immigrant families who have chosen to live in the land of the blueberry.

Conclusion

Around the world, immigrant populations are concentrated in large cities. Bucking this trend is a major challenge for the Quebec government and for regions that wish to increase the role of immigration in their development, particularly when it comes to meeting labour force needs.

The MICC believes that to meet this challenge, we need to harness local energies, adopt regional action plans based on broad consultation and which are in keeping with regional priorities, and reach immigration regionalization agreements.

To be sure, much needs to be done to attract enough immigrants to outlying regions and promote their integration into the labour market and into the community, be it in Saguenay–Lac-Saint-Jean or elsewhere in Quebec. Statistics on immigrant settlement in outlying regions are encouraging, however, as the accompanying table shows. Most importantly, the regions themselves are increasingly beginning to rally to this cause; thus it is to be expected that we will see new initiatives based on local decisions and resting on the will of the community.

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- Cégep de Saint-Félicien: www.cstfelicien.qc.ca.
- Polyvalente des Quatre-Vents: www.cspaysbleuets.qc.ca/pqv.
- The government’s 2004–2007 action plan, *Shared Values, Common Interests*, and the regional action plans are available on the MICC Web site: www.micc.gouv.qc.ca/fr/planification/plan-action.html.

Coverage went from one corner of the province of Quebec to the other and throughout the country, even making its way into the international press. One should ask then: What is it about Hérouxville's Normes de vie that created such a tsunami wave of attention? Embarrassment alone cannot address or explain this attention.

Hérouxville and Quebec's Democratic Confidence

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Upon first reading the social code of conduct issued by Hérouxville's city council, one cannot escape the feeling of embarrassment. This embarrassment is neither related to a "subtle" reading nor to the obvious targeting of immigrant (Muslims) and minority groups (Jews); it is related to the fact that the document seems to be so superfluous, inadequate and uncalled for. As the authors of this resolution, titled *Normes de vie*, state [translation]: "To publish the laws and the codes of conduct of the municipality of Hérouxville would be a tedious task" (<http://municipalite.herouxville.qc.ca>, p. 5, February 20, 2007).

Indeed, this code of conduct is a tedious elaboration of obvious cultural traits, normative behaviours and laws of the majority population in Quebec. It is a reminder of which most people do not need to be reminded. The embarrassment is in fact related to the redundant nature and irrelevant character of the document. How many people had thought to stone women who drive cars in Quebec? How many people do not associate December, Christmas and New Year with decorated trees? The document tells a known story: it is about as relevant as informing someone that winters in Quebec are associated with snow. Therefore, Hérouxville's *Normes de vie* borders on the absurd and ludicrous. Embarrassment seems to emanate from the unnecessary and loud announcement of taken-for-granted conventions associated with well-known and established modes of action, behaviour and attitude.

The document states obvious behavioural criteria that nobody would consider questioning. The vast majority of Québécois and Canadians would agree that a fanfare announcement of such a code of behaviour is irrelevant and unnecessary in early 21st century Quebec and Canada. Nobody, especially new immigrants, in his or her right mind questions the open nature and culture of Canadian and Quebec social and political realities, let alone doubts the moral atmosphere concerning gender equality, equality before the law, the rule of law, democratic procedures of public decision making and their cultural foundations.

The document, however, caused heated discussions and attracted considerable attention. Coverage went from one corner of the province of Quebec to the other and throughout the country, even making its way into the international press. One should ask then: What is it about Hérouxville's *Normes de vie* that created such a tsunami wave of attention? Embarrassment alone cannot address or explain this attention.

It seems that the Hérouxville document created such controversy because its content crossed many minds and rattled many hearts in Quebec. It also struck a chord with others across Canada and the world. Clearly the *Normes de vie* of Hérouxville represent a problem of general concern. The document caused an uproar and triggered attention because it is very close to that mythical image and adage of *vox populi vox Dei*. And to hear the voice-noise of the people, they say in Hebrew and in Latin, is like hearing the

voice of God. Émile Durkheim would have said: the people's voice is God's voice.

The nagging feeling – which is the other side of embarrassment – about the Hérouxville incident is that the *Normes de vie* raise the suspicion and possibility that the *vox populi* might not only be anti-democratic, anti-Canadian and anti-Québécois but also dead-wrong. In other words it raises the question: Can *vox populi*, the voice of God, be mistaken? Can the *Demos* be non- and anti-democratic?

Therefore, the Hérouxville incident presents a dramatic challenge to Quebec's democratic confidence. The debate involves the voice of the people but also the voice of the future. It involves the struggle and contradictory tendencies between fear and hope. The Hérouxville events shed light on the tug-of-war between emotional attachment to a nostalgic secured past and known present and the anticipatory excitement toward the novelty and open-endedness of the future. It is the well-known struggle between ethnic and civic definitions of citizenship and nationalism. In short, the Hérouxville events present a democratic challenge in its purist and most succinct manner: How are Quebec and its population to proceed toward the future without losing their past identity and the barely and hardly won mastery of their provincial (national) home?

In the 1960s, Quebec's Quiet Revolution challenged the status quo, and this Revolution was rooted in and fanned a promise. It challenged the entrenched stereotypical approach of English-speaking Canadians toward French-speaking Canadians. Supporters of the Quiet Revolution repeatedly stated that they can and should be the "masters of our own house": *maîtres chez nous* was their slogan, banner and belief. That was the foundation for their righteous anger and moral outrage.

However, the Quiet Revolution also challenged the self-perception of the Québécois people. These leaders demanded political sovereignty but they were also encouraging self-mastery. The Quiet Revolution's Québécois proved to be right. They became the masters of Quebec. They are the masters of Quebec. The promise of the Quiet Revolution was that the Quebec people *can* be successful masters of their own home, in any and all aspects of their political, social and cultural lives. The Québécois argued that materializing a democratic rule in their province would prove them not only to be responsible masters but would also transform their home

into a hospitable, receptive and welcoming abode to others. The implicit subtext of the Quiet Revolution was: "If Ottawa would take her hands off our home, we will manage it in a way that will be as good if not better than any other." The Quiet Revolution was rooted in the confidence that not only "we the Québécois" will be able to do it, but "we" will do it as well as any. The Quiet Revolution was a democratic social movement rooted in an emancipatory promise. The Hérouxville events severely test the promissory note of Quebec's democratic confidence. This test is the deepest root of the aforementioned public uproar and attention.

Democratic confidence is the cultural and emotional underpinning of any modern, liberal, open-ended society. It is a condition *sine quo non* for any and all modernizing and modern social, political and cultural arrangements. From this point of view, Quebec and Hérouxville are not different from any other modern society experiencing the pains of granting formal equality to so-called "strangers." Formal equalization of status to strangers is the great transformation associated with modernity. Surely, Québécois and Hérouxville are not different from the rest of Canadians and Canada.

However, Quebec *is* distinct; Quebec's unique features put these cultural underpinnings under an additional strain. Quebec is seen by its advocates as a French island in an Anglophone ocean. For Québécois – it goes without saying – the enormity and overwhelming presence of the Anglophone ocean, even without any malicious intent, is perceived as an overshadowing threat. It threatens the very existence of their island and the islanders' cultural identity. Many Québécois are convinced that they must defend Quebec; that their identity is under constant attack of invading forces. These are mainstay perceptions. Though some would concede that most of these forces have no intention to eradicate Quebec's distinct nature, for most, this does not mitigate the threat. These North American Anglophone forces do what they are: exert enormous transforming pressure. And therefore, their very existence is the threat. The obvious and direct result is the conclusion that the way to defend one-self is by building protective walls; protection of language, culture, identity, self-worth and collective integrity is necessary. Protection is not optional; it is urgent and it is constant. In short, being an "island" demands a steady collective effort, personal commitment and regular enlistment of

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collective resources for the sake of self and collective preservation. These perceptions define Quebec's patriotism and the Québécois' sense of belonging and pride.

The recognition among Québécois that modernity is rooted in civic equalization of status of Quebec citizens is beyond any doubt in my mind. A liberal orientation is widespread and well established in Quebec; this is especially true in its cultural heart and brain: Montréal. It is also clearly understood that Quebec's and Québécois' well-being depends, among other things, on a steady stream of immigrants coming to live in the only French speaking territory in North America. In most contemporary cases, immigration is a tacit deal between immigrants and receiving societies. In this implicit contract, a second-class status for newcomers is acknowledged as a deal-breaker for immigrants and for immigration. The combined cumulative effect of all these apparent recognitions is that reasonable accommodation means mutual, though obviously not equal, social change and adjustments. Mutuality also means an open-endedness whose possible consequences are not and cannot be pre-determined. Democratic future and hope are risky. And here is the point in which the Hérouxville incident exposes its troubling colours.

The subtext of the *Normes de vie* is that change is exclusively the domain of the new immigrants to Quebec. The implicit ultimatum constituting the subtext of this document is the basis of the anti-democratic and non-democratic tone of the Hérouxville *vox populi*. The challenge to Quebec's democratic confidence is presented in the unambiguous demand required from immigrants: change in order to be accepted!

The anti-democratic ultimatum is stated in the seemingly innocuous phrase: "our way of life." It is articulated in the way "our women" are treated and "our children" are brought up, in the manner in which "our festivities" are celebrated and "our health care" is maintained, in the mode in which "our education" is fashioned and "our leisure and security" are conducted. It is declared in the manner in which "our work, business and families" are shaped. "Our way" presents a clear,

unequivocal, sharp demand for unidirectional and one-sided change. Immigrants need to move over and fit in; they need to become like "us". In the language of the authors of the *Normes*, they say: "[we]...would especially like to inform newcomers that the lifestyle that they left behind in their birth country cannot be brought here with them and they would have to adapt to their new social identity." All change is to be enacted in the immigrants' courtyard, in their families, in their education, in their culture, in their business, by them and by their children. It is clearly a one-sided deal: take it or leave it. It is either "our way or the highway" out of "our" society. This is a non-democratic approach even though it is expressed by the *vox populi*.

The authors of the *Normes* are unequivocally stating that their interpretation of reasonable accommodation and their expectation from immigrants is that immigrants must accept "our" reason and adapt completely to "our" way of life. Immigrants must become "like us" and leave behind – to oblivion – whatever and whoever they were. This one-sidedness and self-assurance is rooted in the presumed benefits to the immigrants associated with immigrating to Quebec. The implicit statement is: "We are offering them safe heaven and in return they need to let go of who they were or who they are." This demand that the "other" is to entirely obliterate him or herself for the sake of becoming a citizen is exactly the demand that the Hérouxville people are so adamant to avoid for themselves. This point is completely lost from the purview of the Hérouxville document authors. After all, camels can't see their own humps.

This ultimate demand is the epitomization and crystallization of fear instead of hope; one-sided change is a twisted and subverted understanding of the spirit of reasonable accommodation. It represents recoiling and flinching back from the hazardous way of the "open society" into the embrace of nostalgia as a false sanctuary. Therein lies the danger and therein lies the challenge.

Recoiling and flinching back is a false sanctuary not only because it avoids confronting the issues of open society, citizenship and vital

The distinct nature of Quebec society has its unique characteristics and reasons; however, Quebec's very survival rests not only on retention of its unique cultural features but also in its open door policies toward immigrants and immigration.

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citizenry, but also because it was enacted and tried by others in the past and failed. One clear historical conclusion is well established: the price of failure is enormous in human tragedies. This is no secret. Therefore a wiser, more historically informed approach would be to learn from others' experiences. Such a lesson can be learned from a nearby historic attempt to secure collective identity in nostalgia and fear: the post-*Emancipation Proclamation* United States of America.

The post-Bellum American South provides a useful historical setting and a sociological context for a comparative analysis with post-Quiet Revolution Quebec for several reasons. First, the American Southern population was convinced and devoted to its own unique character and style of life. Second, the events show the difficulties associated with equalizing the status of yesterday's "strangers" in order for them to become today's citizens. And third, such a comparison sheds a bright light on probable consequences and possible pitfalls; consequences that might be avoided and hopeful paths that can be taken.

Two theoretical factors distinguish the post-Bellum from the ante-Bellum South as far as African Americans were concerned. First, in the post-*Emancipation Proclamation* period, the United States' society was confronted, in earnest and at last, with the practical implementation of its own declarative constituting principle. This principle states unequivocally the "self evident truth" that "all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness" (*The Declaration of Independence of the Thirteen Colonies*, July 4, 1776).

The second distinguishing element was that from the pronouncement of the *Emancipation Proclamation* (January 1, 1863), slavery was abolished. Formal equality was instituted.

The people living in the United States of America were American citizens. Therefore the ensuing lynching campaign perpetrated against African Americans was violence perpetrated against American citizens. The half-century between the 1880s and the commencement of the Second World War witnessed a lynching campaign that claimed the lives of thousands of American citizens (the vast majority of them of African American descent) who were harassed, tortured, raped and lynched mainly, if not only, because of the colour of their skin (Dray 2003).

While slavery was rooted in a specific kind of racism and in power differences, slavery never articulated or practiced segregation and separation on social grounds; the privileges of "Whites" and the absence of privileges of "Blacks" were taken for granted and built into the definition of slavery as White supremacist social structure. Slavery was a system of cultural conventions rooted in social inequality between Blacks and the master status of Whites. Jim Crow legislation, however, appeared *after* not *before* the *Emancipation Proclamation* of 1863. Jim Crowism explicitly demanded social and physical segregation and separation as the rule of law. In other words, racialization processes emerged out of equalization of status. Articulation of racism was unnecessary as long as slavery provided the cultural ground rules. With formal equality through citizenship the articulation of racial differences became a political necessity for the dominant White group.

The distinct nature of Quebec society has its unique characteristics and reasons; however, Quebec's very survival rests not only on retention of its unique cultural features but also in its open door policies toward immigrants and immigration. Most immigrants to Quebec (and to other countries) tacitly accept the fundamental demands of change. Many of the immigrants to Quebec – Jews, Muslims and other immigrants included – prove their willingness to accept

cultural change by adopting their new identity and adapting to their new environment. Only small minorities among immigrants choose segregation from the majority's dominant culture. Hence, the "immigrant" of Hérouxville is a fabricated straw man against whom demands are articulated, but realities are not examined. Few immigrants want to live in Hérouxville and few immigrants demand a radical transformation of the Canadian or the Québécois way of life.

The quick reactions of Quebec's provincial government, the swift social and cultural denunciations of the *Hérouxville Normes* and the actions taken by Muslim women engaging Hérouxville citizens demonstrate, to me at least, the vibrant democratic confidence prevalent in Quebec society. These reactions clearly testify that the voices heard from Hérouxville cannot be defined as the democratic voice of the people; rather the *Normes* seem to be the voice of a small minority representing mob politics. Democratic politics accept the letter as well as the spirit of the

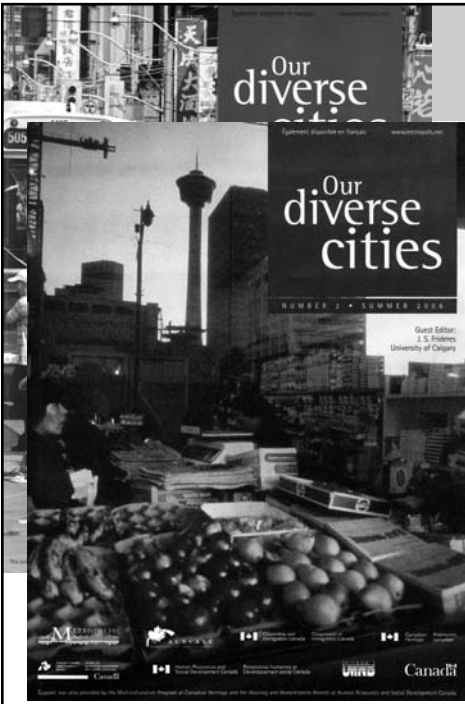
democratic principle. The letter says electoral consultations and the spirit of democracy demand openness toward the future and mutual change of constituent parts. These are the principles according to which democracies proceed, maintain and sustain themselves. Whether nostalgia and fear will carry the day in Quebec or hope and confidence will facilitate a reasonably accommodated future depends on Quebec's citizenry in its entirety. The democratic future of Quebec depends on Quebecois' democratic confidence.

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Our Diverse Cities

Our Diverse Cities is a special Metropolis series that examines issues related to diversity, integration and immigration in cities. Research findings, policy approaches and community-based initiatives are highlighted in concise articles contributed from across the country. Volume 1 (Spring 2004) focused on immigration and diversity and their impact on larger Canadian cities. It included articles on housing and homelessness, infrastructure and planning, policing and justice, parks and recreation, political participation, health, arts and culture, and demographics. Volume 2 (Spring 2006) focused on immigration and diversity in second- and third-tier Canadian cities. It included case studies from cities in every province and was aimed at increasing awareness about the impact and response to immigration and diversity in different sized cities. Aside from the current volume, the third in the series, which focuses on rural communities throughout

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Brandon (population approximately 42,000) is a service centre for a large agricultural region, providing education, health, and retail services for Southwestern Manitoba. Along with other rural communities in Manitoba, Brandon has recently experienced a sudden increase in its immigrant population.

Immigrant Service Gaps in a Small City: Brandon, Manitoba

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The provision of services and the well-being of rural communities have been affected by changes in demographics. These changes are illustrated by natural increases in fertility, mortality, and in- and out-migration. One of the results of a declining population in rural areas is that services such as education, housing, and health care have been ignored (Azmier 2005; Conversation Series 2003b; Issah et al. 2005; Keefe et al. 2003).

Immigration is one factor that influences population size and demographic composition (Dalla et al. 2005; Wilson-Smith 2002). Canada as a whole is an immigrant society; its population has been shaped by the arrival of immigrants at different times (Beshiri 2004; Dalla et al. 2005; Li 2003). Recent increases in immigrant population have brought a myriad of new cultures, religions, and ethnic groups to Canada.

Although the trend for most newcomers is to settle in major metropolitan centres, immigration has become a crucial issue for small cities and rural areas interested in attracting and retaining immigrants in their communities. Some rural communities have focused on immigration as a strategy to develop and renew their population to address labour market needs and skills shortages (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006). A potential solution some rural communities have considered is attracting and retaining immigrants by utilizing recent programs developed between the federal and provincial governments.

Brandon (population approximately 42,000) is a service centre for a large agricultural region, providing education, health, and retail services for Southwestern Manitoba (Brandon Community Profile 2005) (see Figure 1). Along with other rural communities in Manitoba, Brandon has recently experienced a sudden increase in its immigrant population (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2005). The province of Manitoba has successfully attracted new immigrants through the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Under the PNP, many recent immigrants to Manitoba have settled in rural communities such as Winkler, Steinbach, Morden, and Brandon (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2005).

This research examines the different immigrant classes as defined by Citizenship and Immigration Canada (Economic Class, Family Class, and Refugees) in Brandon and how each class has adjusted to settling and integrating into the community. It also examines service needs of immigrants and the experiences of newcomers in accessing services in Brandon.

This research identifies the perceptions of service providers, and how these organizations provide services to immigrants. It also examines the important question of priority areas for service provision; this is a key issue as these services help integrate new residents into rural communities (Canada Parliament 2003a).

The objectives of this research are to:

- Identify strengths and weaknesses in current service provision from the perspective of the service providers and immigrants (are there similarities and differences?);
- Identify the current service needs of different classes of immigrants, including Economic Class, Family Class, and Refugees; and
- Determine what factors are important to retaining immigrants in Brandon.

The next section describes the research methodology and method of data collection, including key informant interviews conducted with service providers and focus groups and face-to-face interviews conducted with immigrants. This is followed by a discussion of the results obtained by comparing service provider and immigrant perceptions on the services available in Brandon; the article closes on our conclusions.

Research methods

The data for this research were collected from January to March 2006 using two qualitative research techniques: key informant interviews and focus groups. Service providers were interviewed to gather information about process, access, strengths and barriers; one of the best ways to gather this information was to ask additional questions during the interview. It was important to organize focus groups with immigrants to be certain they understood the questions that were asked; as well, by having other immigrants in the room, conversations around services and settlement needs flowed more easily.

Key informant interviews were conducted with persons involved in providing services to immigrants within Brandon, and allowed for in-depth perspectives on the issues associated with providing services to immigrants. It also allowed service providers to be candid regarding the current nature of service provision in Brandon.

At the end of each interview service providers were asked if they would help contact recent immigrants to Brandon in order to involve them in the study. Service providers therefore contacted immigrants through their own contact lists and encouraged them to attend a focus group. As a result, seven focus groups were conducted in February 2006. The rationale for using a focus group with immigrants was to encourage group interaction, thereby ensuring insight that would otherwise be less accessible (Morga 1997; Krueger and Casey 2000).

Focus groups were conducted separately, organized by the immigrant group's language (Amharic, Korean, Spanish, Mandarin and English), with the assistance of interpreters to help the immigrants and the researcher during the focus groups. All of the focus groups were held at the locations where immigrants usually went to receive services.

In addition to immigrant focus groups, some immigrants participated in a face-to-face interview. In total fifteen interviews were conducted. Some interviews included both spouses of the household. All interviews were completed by the end of March 2006.

Data from the key informant interviews with service providers, immigrant focus groups, and face-to-face interviews with immigrants were all transcribed verbatim using Express Scribe software. The data were then analyzed and sorted using a coding system. The conversations that were not audio-taped had hand-written notes taken during the interviews. Only one focus group was not audio taped as some participants did not feel comfortable.

Conclusions drawn from the research

The following attempts to draw together findings from the information provided by the service provider community and the immigrant community to answer the research objectives.

The first objective of this study was "to identify strengths and weaknesses in current service provision from the perspective of service providers and immigrants." Based on the data analysis, it can be stated that there are gaps between immigrants and service providers in the perception of how services are provided. For instance, when service providers were asked to identify strengths in current service provision, they responded with nine answers: churches, Westman ESL Settlement Services (WESLS), English as a Second Language (ESL) services, transportation, culture and diversity, 7th Street Health Access Centre, service provider community, Maple Leaf, and the Brandon Regional Health Authority (BRHA). To the same question, immigrants had a total of four answers: English services, extra-curricular activities, size of Brandon, and the Women's Centre. Clearly the perceptions of the service strengths in Brandon differ between the two groups.

The only similarity found with both service providers and immigrants was that they found that some English services work well in Brandon. From the perspective of some of the service providers,

One of the barriers immigrants face is that while they are learning English they have to work at a job they find inadequate, with hours that do not coincide with the scheduled English language services. Some immigrants end up working for years without ever improving their English language skills. Not only does that make it difficult for them to apply for other employment opportunities, but it makes it difficult for the newcomers to get around and use other services available in Brandon. Put another way, employment and English services are the two biggest barriers for immigrants.

the ESL services being provided had different levels of ESL, and that was something that was working well. The perspective of immigrants on English services was that the teachers and volunteers are very friendly and helpful.

However, the most common answer given by service providers and immigrants alike regarding *challenges* in service provision was that immigrants need to improve their English in order to find an adequate job. One of the barriers immigrants face is that while they are learning English they have to work at a job they find inadequate, with hours that do not coincide with the scheduled English language services. Some immigrants end up working for years without ever improving their English language skills. Not only does that make it difficult for them to apply for other employment opportunities, but it makes it difficult for the newcomers to get around and use other services available in Brandon. Put another way, employment and English services are the two biggest barriers for immigrants. One suggestion put forward by the immigrants was to provide English language services at places of employment, which would help immigrants overcome the two biggest barriers. Another solution is for the service providers to coordinate their service provision. For example, one service organization could open Monday to Friday 9:00 am to 5:00 pm, while another service organization would open from 6:00 pm to 10:00 pm; this would help immigrants working odd hours to access ESL services.

Transportation services were also seen as not working well for individuals who rely on the bus system. While one service organization provides transportation services for its clients to and from their homes, this is not the norm. The transportation system is especially an issue for people needing to get around Brandon on Sundays (when no bus service is available) for church, work, or errands. The city needs to rethink

the bus system in Brandon, and help it become more accessible for individuals who depend on it.

There were differences in perceived challenges. Service providers indicated that the immigration system, the service provider community, WESLS, and Brandon RHA are not working well together, while the City of Brandon does not provide any services for immigrants at all. Newcomers, on the other hand, felt that translators and/or interpreters, school events, and daycare were not working well.

We think both the Brandon RHA and WESLS are providing the best services they can. Part of the problem is that the sudden influx of immigrants to Brandon is a recent phenomenon, and service providers are learning as they go. The other challenge that services such as WESLS face is that funding is determined by the number of immigrants who access their services; however, some immigrants in Brandon have not turned to WESLS for services. It doesn't matter whether the issue is that immigrants are unaware or do not require the services. The only way WESLS can continue providing services to immigrants is if they actually ask for them. It would be a shame if immigrants in Brandon required settlement or English services but were unaware of service organizations like WESLS; this problem must be resolved.

Immigrants feel that daycare is a challenge. Surprisingly, none of the service providers had identified it as an issue. The issue immigrants face with daycare, or lack thereof, is that it is expensive. This situation makes it difficult for immigrant parents, and women especially, to attend to English language training services, and significantly places women particularly at a disadvantage. Immigrants wishing to access services are sometimes not able to do so because service organizations do not provide daycare services for immigrants. One suggestion formulated during the consultations is that Manitoba Labour and Immigration needs to consider including

FIGURE 1
Study area



funds earmarked for daycare services within general funding for service agencies.

The last significant finding identified for the first objective, as indicated by the service providers, is that service provision is dependent on the service provider community itself. Service providers do not work together to provide services to immigrants, partly because there is competition among service providers for funding. In a small city like Brandon, it is imperative that service providers come together and cooperate with one another to help provide appropriate services. The fact that the service provider community is not working together may well prove to be the underlying reason for gaps in service provision, which was identified both by service providers and immigrants.

The second research objective was “to identify the current service needs of different classes of immigrants, including Family Class, Economic Class, and Refugees.” All three immigrant groups indicated that language was a big concern for them when they first arrived in Brandon, and they were concerned about being able to communicate with the rest of the community.

The most significant finding in comparing the various needs of different immigrant groups was that the Refugee group identified more needs than the Economic or Family Class immigrants. This perspective was supported by service providers, who indicated that the service needs of Refugees are different because of their experiences prior to immigrating to Canada. Issues such as interrupted schooling, illiteracy in their own country, and the reason for leaving their country are different from the other classes of immigrants, and contribute to rendering Refugees more dependent on services.

This does not mean that the Family and Economic Class immigrants do not require services. Economic Class immigrants indicated that although they would like to be more involved than they are with their children’s school activities, they are sometimes unaware of the activities going on at school and are not sure how to get involved, perhaps because of cultural differences. Economic Class immigrants also need language-training services and employment services to assist them to be successful in Brandon.

Family Class immigrants identified credential recognition as a significant need. It has been difficult for these immigrants to find employment related to their field of expertise. The literature indicates that one approach is to help immigrants start the process of credential recognition through mentoring classes (Canada Parliament 2003b).

The final objective of this research was to “determine what factors are important to retain immigrants in Brandon.” One way to determine this is to ask immigrants whether or not they intend to stay in Brandon in the future. The most important retention factor identified by immigrants was employment. Provide adequate employment for immigrants and the majority of them will stay. However, many immigrants felt that Brandon does not have the best employment opportunities. Either you work full-time at a job where many injuries occur, where English services are not readily available, and where you are unsatisfied, or you work part-time at minimum wage, and may have to work on

Sunday, even though religious individuals prefer to be with their family on that day. In short, there are not many employment options that will convince immigrants to stay and settle in Brandon. However, and more positively, other immigrants identified Brandon as a “safe place,” with “less crime,” and “a good place to raise children.” For many of the Economic Class immigrants Brandon was identified as a place with good business opportunities, compared to Winnipeg, partly because there is less competition in Brandon.

Conclusion

This study undertook an exploratory approach to provide a better understanding of the settlement and service needs of Brandon immigrants. Although the study focused on the Brandon perspective, the results provide useful information regarding immigrant service provision and the settlement needs of immigrants, which are potentially applicable to smaller cities across Canada.

Clearly there are gaps in settlement needs, service needs, and service provision for immigrants in Brandon. It is important for service providers to coordinate their services in order to provide more adequate services to immigrants. One of the great strengths identified by service providers and immigrants was that service providers were doing the best they could. Funding remains an issue, though, and without more, or at least continuing funding, service organizations will continue to provide inadequate services to immigrants. It is important that immigrants be guided through the immigration process. It was suggested that immigration agencies provide a contact person or organization to guide immigrants moving to Brandon throughout the immigration process, from the time they receive the news they can emigrate from their home country, to the time they move to Brandon, so that this person or organization can make the immigrants aware of the services available to them in Brandon, or other places in Canada.

Future research should consider immigrants living in other rural and small urban communities such as Winkler and Steinbach, and the differences in settlement trends, service needs, and service provision among such communities. Also, do immigrants from surrounding rural areas come to Brandon, or other urban places, for immigrant services, or can they access the needed services within their communities?

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In recent years, Canada's rural areas have been experiencing a population decline and have faced significant demographic challenges in an increasingly urban country. With the exodus of young people to urban centres, a low birth rate and an ageing population, rural areas are looking for ways to remain dynamic. Immigration to rural areas is often mentioned as one solution, but it must be part of a larger plan in which communities are truly committed to receiving and integrating immigrants. This article presents the results of research into four rural communities outside Quebec that have attracted Francophone immigrants.

Francophone Immigration to Minority Communities: The Challenge for Rural Areas

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For a number of years, the development initiatives of Canada's rural areas increasingly focused on immigration. Projects such as the creation of the Carrefour d'immigration rurale in Saint-Léonard, New Brunswick, and the initiatives of many rural communities in the Gaspé Peninsula and the Eastern Townships of Quebec and in Manitoba are but a few such examples. According to the 2006 Census, nearly 80% of newcomers to Canada settle in the country's three largest cities, and more than 90% settle in its six largest cities (Toronto, Vancouver, Montréal, Calgary, Edmonton and Ottawa-Gatineau). Yet, some immigrants choose to settle in regions and cities that do not have a strong immigrant presence.² Francophone immigration to minority areas presents an interesting dynamic (Belkhodja 2005). The most recent government initiative in this area is the *Strategic Plan to Foster*

Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities, drafted by the Citizenship and Immigration Canada–Francophone Minority Communities Steering Committee. One of the objectives listed in this document is “to foster the regionalization of immigration outside Toronto and Vancouver” (CIC 2006). How then can we develop a sustainable immigration project for the very specific realities of rural areas? This article summarizes a study of four rural communities outside Québec: Gravelbourg, Saskatchewan; Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes, Manitoba; Clare, Nova Scotia; and Brooks, Alberta (Gallant, Roy and Belkhodja 2007). We have tried to document the immigration experiences of these communities, with regard to both best practices and the obstacles or challenges they have faced. These case studies were conducted through telephone interviews with local stakeholders (municipal officials, business persons, religious leaders, school officials, community representatives, ordinary citizens, and so on) and with immigrants. The local stakeholders were asked about the main steps of their municipality's immigration process (i.e. recruitment, reception, integration, and retention). We asked the immigrants about

¹ The authors would like to acknowledge the participation of Parnel Dugas, a Master's in public administration student at the Université de Moncton, who conducted some of the interviews for this study.

² Statistics Canada's *Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada* shows a low mobility rate to non-metropolitan areas. After six months in Canada, 4% of the immigrants who participated in the study settled in small cities and rural areas.

their needs, particularly in terms of reception and integration, and about their perception of the welcome they received from their community.

The Francophone minority situation

In Canada, the demographic situation of Francophones in minority areas has changed considerably in the last 50 years. As Table 1 shows, although the number of Francophones outside Québec has increased, their weight compared with the rest of the population has been in constant decline since 1951.

In rural communities, the situation of Francophones is even more problematic. The combined effect of the low birth rate and the rural exodus means that some communities have been drained of their inhabitants. Francophone immigration could help slow the population decline in these communities.

Table 2 shows an increase in the number of French-speaking immigrants who choose to settle in a province other than Québec. That increase is a sign that the regionalization of Francophone immigration outside Québec is a distinct possibility. However, immigrants generally move from urban centre to urban centre and, most often, from Montréal to Toronto and Ottawa-Gatineau.

Immigration to rural areas:

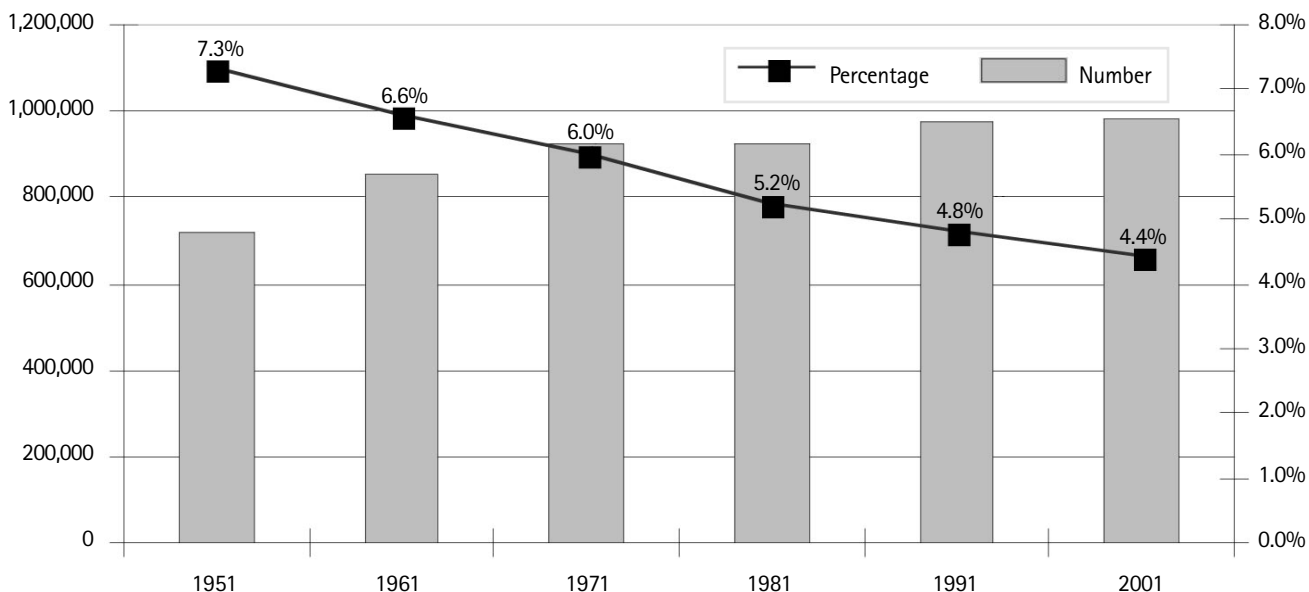
From improvisation to the need for focus

The challenge of regionalization in rural areas requires specific efforts, given the allure of cities for immigrants. Despite different objectives for and attitudes toward immigration, the municipalities in our study have gone through the same steps, with some improvisation as they gained experience.

The local initiatives of rural areas vary considerably. Development of the initiatives seems to be directly related to how many years of experience the community has in dealing with Francophone immigration. Three of the four communities studied (Gravelbourg, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes and Clare) showed a real willingness to attract immigrants, preferably Francophone immigrants, by developing attraction and reception structures. Brooks is a little different because of the economic boom in Alberta, where the abundance of jobs and the high salaries draw workers from all over. As for the community's experience with Francophone immigration, the Francophones in Brooks are isolated from the predominantly Anglophone community and must defend their interests themselves.

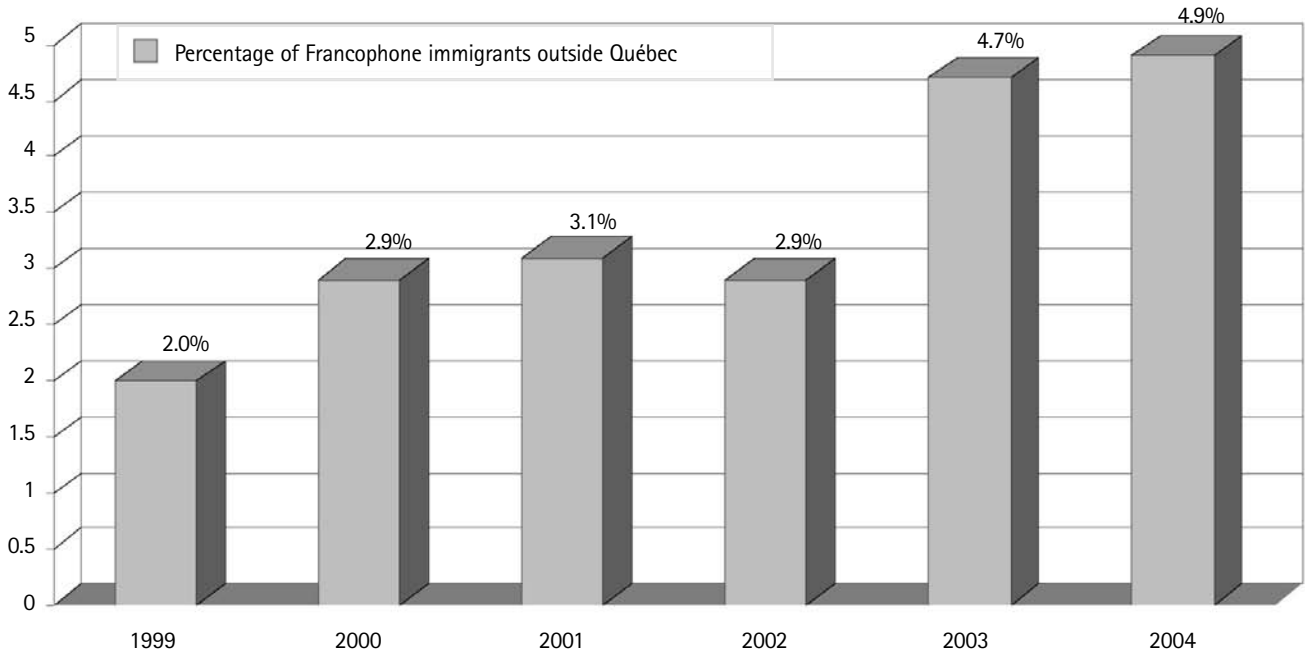
Immigration as a solution to overcome a shortage of skilled workers has a longer history in Gravelbourg, Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes and Clare.

TABLE 1
The situation of Francophones in minority communities



Source : Statistics Canada, 2001 Census.

TABLE 2
Francophone immigration to minority communities



Source: Office of the Commissioner of Official Languages (2002) and Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2006).

The small municipality of Gravelbourg perfectly exemplifies this reality. There, economic stakeholders have undertaken initiatives to attract and even to welcome immigrants. However, there is no real consultation among community members. As a result, the attraction process is not effective because bringing an immigrant to the community is costly and takes a great deal of time. In addition, the community is not really involved in welcoming immigrants – a crucial phase in the integration process – because reception is considered to be the employer’s responsibility.

As for the language criterion (these “Francophone” communities are rarely homogeneous, and the minority – and sometimes the majority – of residents are Anglophones), the economic stakeholders, even Francophone ones, give priority to bringing in workers, with little concern for their language profile and French-language skills. As one person put it, “The Francophone community asked us whether it was possible to recruit Francophone workers. It doesn’t matter to me where they come from.”

The lack of consultation among stakeholders results in some difference in the reasons for favouring immigration to the community.

Community stakeholders, such as the Francophone associations, religious leaders and elected municipal officials, are sometimes powerless before the initiatives of the businesspeople. Unfortunately, the arrival of newcomers to isolated and homogenous areas can cause tension, particularly among people who perceive immigration as a threat to the community’s identity. As one Gravelbourg citizen stated, the immigrant must not be too different from what the region is used to:

[Translation]

As a practicing Catholic, I accept everyone, and I accept others’ religious beliefs....Normally, people are open, and I have never seen any racism based on skin colour, but I cannot say the same about religion. And that is unfortunate. We need rural immigration, and I think that if the immigrants came from “La Belle Province” or from Acadia, immigration would be viewed favourably.

Another fear is that, despite their ability to speak French, immigrants with a different mother tongue will end up integrating into the region’s Anglophone population. A French-language advocate in the area stated the following:

First, the attraction strategies primarily meet economic and demographic needs. Second, the local stakeholders do not see the relevance of formal reception structures, and the new immigrants criticize them because of this. Finally, the integration of Francophone immigrants into minority areas raises identity questions about the way the host community defines itself.

[Translation]

There is currently no reception strategy for immigrants. If we have no community strategy, the immigrants will integrate into the community at large, and there will be no real benefit for the Francophone community.

In Gravelbourg, the economic stakeholders favour immigration in order to meet a labour need, and language is sometimes granted only secondary importance. However, in Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes – a primarily Francophone area – the situation is quite different. The Francophone and Catholic heritage is important to those working to attract immigrants. Immigration there is seen as a repopulation strategy for a relatively homogeneous community. This desire for Francophone immigrants is reflected in its attraction strategies; for example, the selection process targets recruitment in France and Belgium.

Gravelbourg and Notre-Dame-de-Lourdes appear to have similar reception and integration strategies. Both municipalities ignore these phases of the immigration process, as if the process ends when the immigrant arrives. The result is a sort of trust that the community will receive the immigrants in a spontaneous and impromptu manner, without too much fuss. Reception activities exist, but they are organized by the employer or institution that recruited the immigrant. Although these initiatives are important, immigrants who do not benefit from any reception whatsoever sometimes end up feeling excluded, even after more than a year spent in the community. Our interviews with immigrants revealed how much this oversight affects them. In terms of integration, the situation is the same: the community stakeholders fail to see the difficulties immigrants may have while trying to integrating into their community. As a result, as with reception, they think that integration and retention will be a breeze. Many immigrants told us that those immigrants who leave usually do so because of work, but also because they lack a social network and because they feel marginalized:

[Translation]

When I arrived, I met someone here...with whom I had gone to school.... He had no family. He was alone. He arrived in the same conditions I had, and he did the best he could, but we usually spent Christmas, New Years, etc., together. The community did very little for him....He left after a year.

Clare is a little more in tune with the issues of immigration and diversity. For a few decades, the region has attracted French-speaking immigrants from Egypt, Iraq and Africa who come to Canada to teach at Université Sainte-Anne. Although the first immigrants stated that they had difficulty integrating, immigration has gradually become normal for the community:

[Translation]

At the time, people had never seen French people from France....Today, Sainte-Anne students are more diverse. Students now come from all over.

In addition, over the years, the Acadian community has accepted that French-speaking immigrants are not necessarily Catholics from Europe. Some people acknowledge and even welcome this diversity:

[Translation]

It is also important that the immigrants form a network. Depending on where they come from, that network may be located outside the community. Take the Muslims, for example: there is a small Muslim community in Yarmouth, a small city not far from here.... At least they have a social network.

Various stakeholders, such as municipal officials, business people, school officials, religious leaders and Francophone community representatives, met recently for a project sponsored by the Fédération acadienne de la Nouvelle-Écosse (FANÉ), a local committee working to implement an immigration strategy that would combine the efforts of local stakeholders to attract, receive and integrate immigrants more effectively (Fontaine 2005).

Therefore, Clare's awareness of the problems caused by the disparity of local objectives and the dispersal of efforts sets it apart from the other municipalities in our study.

Conclusion

This article summarizes four case studies of rural municipalities active in the area of Francophone immigration. Three findings emerge from our study. First, the attraction strategies primarily meet economic and demographic needs. Second, the local stakeholders do not see the relevance of formal reception structures, and the new immigrants criticize them because of this. Finally, the integration of Francophone immigrants into minority areas raises identity questions about the way the host community defines itself. Our research highlights the need for a concerted effort by local stakeholders in its dealings with the three components of immigration: recruitment, reception, and integration and retention. More consultation among community stakeholders is required at all stages of the process, in terms of both strategy and the pooling of resources. This would likely bring long-term benefits to rural communities. The implementation of such initiatives must also be accompanied by a large-scale information and awareness campaign in the communities. In fact, for Francophone communities concerned about low birth rates and the exodus of their young people, Francophone immigration is only a short-term solution for bringing the rural areas back to life. Local stakeholders seem to be aware of the issue, but the local populations must also be involved in the work ahead.

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This article shows that Francophone populations in minority communities are generally favourable to immigration, but that some people believe that immigrants should not be allowed to call themselves Acadian or Fransaskois, and so on.

When Immigrants are the Minority Within the Minority: Openness and Identity Inclusion in Francophone Minority Communities¹

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For some time now, Francophone minority communities in Canada have been pursuing strategies to increase the number of Francophone immigrants settling within their communities. Their reasons for doing so are primarily demographic. Researchers and organizations alike are therefore examining mechanisms that can be introduced to foster the integration of immigrants into these sometimes rural settings that have generally had little exposure to immigration (Gallant, Roy and Belkhodja 2007).

Research undertaken to date has focused on the reception and the social and economic integration of immigrants (Thomassin 2007). More symbolic aspects have attracted little attention; thus, a number of issues have remained almost completely ignored, particularly attitudes of openness compared with attitudes of inclusion in the local population. While it is true that major

studies of attitudes towards immigration have been conducted in Canada (e.g., Tienhaara 1974; Sorensen and Krahn 1996; CRIC 2005), none of these has looked specifically at Francophone minority attitudes. In these small communities that are not accustomed to immigration, attitudes towards immigration may be distinctive. It is therefore necessary to determine whether Canada's Francophones living in minority communities are open to immigration.

A second symbolic issue that has received little attention is how these minority groups define themselves and what potential they offer for including immigrants in their identity. To what degree can immigrants expect, beyond social and economic integration, to genuinely be included in the identity of the host populations? In concrete terms, can they *become* Acadian, Fransaskois, Franco-Ontarian, etc.? This possibility of being considered full members of the group is what I will refer to as identity inclusion. In my view, it depends first and foremost on the definition that these groups have of themselves.

To answer those two questions, I looked at two fairly distinct Francophone minority groups: the Maritime's Acadie and Saskatchewan's

¹ This study was made possible thanks to funding from the Université de Moncton, the Atlantic Metropolis Centre and the University of Regina's Centre de recherche sur les francophonies en milieu minoritaire. A recent grant from the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council will make it possible to complement this qualitative study with a broad, representative survey.

Fransaskoisie. I opted to focus on the attitudes found among the general public (rather than in the discourse of the elite²) and in particular among young people. I therefore conducted semi-structured interviews lasting approximately one hour with Francophone youth aged 18 to 25, from different regions of Acadie (24 interviews in the Acadian peninsula, Madawaska, Southeastern New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Cape Breton and St. Mary's Bay) and Francophone regions of Saskatchewan (19 interviews in Gravelbourg, Regina and Saskatoon).³ During the interviews, respondents were asked questions about, among other things, their definition of an Acadian or a Fransaskois person (depending on the interview location) and their general attitudes towards Francophone immigration in minority communities. They were also asked whether they thought it was possible (e.g., for an immigrant) to *become* Acadian or Fransaskois.⁴ In the pages that follow, I will first present the respondents' attitudes regarding immigration, and then I will deal more directly with the issue of identity inclusion. As we will see, young people are generally open to Francophone immigration, but many of them, particularly in Acadie, are unable or unwilling to imagine immigrants becoming Fransaskois or Acadian. Lastly, I will conclude with a discussion of the political consequences of this gap between openness and inclusion.

Attitudes towards immigration

In both locations, the respondents' attitudes towards immigration were generally positive. Approximately one-third of respondents had mixed attitudes (6 out of 19 in Saskatchewan and 9 out of 24 in Acadie), but the majority stated that they were favourable to immigrants coming to their Francophone minority regions, as long as these immigrants were Francophone. One person expressed a generally negative attitude.

Those who had reservations about immigration expressed a variety of concerns. The most widespread fear with respect to immigration (in both Saskatchewan and Acadie) was that it

would lead to the dilution of the local Francophone minority identity and culture. However, overall, the respondents primarily, and in some cases exclusively, listed benefits of immigration. In Francophone Saskatchewan, people are particularly sensitive to the demographic contribution of immigrants, perhaps because there is a more striking need for it there, or perhaps due to the awareness campaigns conducted by the Assemblée communautaire fransaskoise (ACF) on the issue. In Acadia, the benefits most often associated with immigration by the respondents' were an increase in cultural diversity, openness to the world and, to a lesser extent, economic and intellectual spin-offs.

Overall, therefore, Francophone young people in minority communities view the idea of receiving immigrants positively. However, they are not all prepared to include them in their identity.

Definition of the Francophone minority groups

Indeed, some of the respondents, especially in Acadie, have a method of defining themselves that practically excludes immigrants from their identity. These respondents therefore refused to consider immigrants' calling themselves Acadian or Fransaskois. The link between the type of definition and the possibility of identity exclusion is particularly evident in Acadie, but forms of identity exclusion were also found among the Fransaskois.

Four ways of defining Acadian belongingness were identified in this study. The most common was the "genealogical" definition (Bérubé 1987), whereby being an Acadian is a function of one's genealogy. If one's ancestors were Acadian, one is Acadian. This definition is highly essentialist, that is, identity is linked to one's very essence, rather than to choices one makes or behaviours one adopts. Strictly speaking, one could even be Acadian without knowing it. The second defining factor corresponds to what Trépanier (1994) referred to as the "felt and experienced" Acadie, whereby one is Acadian if one feels Acadian and if one practices some form of Acadian culture. The third definition brought up by several respondents corresponds to a mixed model, combining the genealogical definition with the "felt and experienced" definition. To them, "Acadianness" still rests on genealogy, but one is not truly Acadian unless one feels Acadian and lives the Acadian culture *as well*. Finally, a fourth definition combines a territorial aspect with either the genealogical definition (one is not Acadian

² We have previously studied the immigration discourse of associations of Francophones in minority communities in Canada, generally regarded as elite Francophone groups (Gallant and Belkhdja 2005).

³ Thank you to Julie Breau, André DeGrâce and Gabrielle Caron, who conducted the interviews.

⁴ Other topics were also covered, such as definitions of Acadian and Fransaskois territory (Gallant 2007 and 2008).

In their view, immigrants are welcome in their regions and can participate fully in the community socially, economically and politically. They appreciated the fact that immigrants would help defend the French cause in minority communities and that, in some cases, their presence could justify provision of services in French. But they refused to see immigrants as "one of them," and several even wondered if and why immigrants would want to call themselves Acadian or Fransaskois.

unless one has Acadian roots *and* one lives in the Maritimes now) or the "felt and experienced" view.

In Francophone Saskatchewan, it was not possible to identify a global definition, as respondents proposed such a wide variety of elements of what defines a Fransaskois. These characteristics included, among others, pride, involvement, culture, sense of belonging, and territory.

Identity inclusion

It is easy to see that most respondents who adopted a genealogical definition (alone or in a mixed model with a genealogical component) of Acadian could not conceive of an immigrant's being able to *become* Acadian. In their eyes, these people should not be able to call themselves Acadian, because they do not have Acadian ancestors. This was the case for 9 of the 15 respondents whose definition was genealogical. The others had a slightly more inclusive attitude but generally ended up by saying that immigrants would never *really* be Acadian. And they were not alone. Surprisingly, even those who adopted a "felt and experienced" type of definition were sometimes reluctant to say that immigrants could become Acadian. Nonetheless, there appears to be a strong link between the genealogical definition and identity exclusion.

On the Fransaskois side, thanks to the diversity of definitions encountered among the respondents, attitudes towards identity inclusion could not be associated solely with genealogical definitions, despite the obvious link between them. Indeed, just one respondent adopted a definition of Fransaskois that had a significant genealogical component. As expected, this respondent felt that an immigrant would never be completely Fransaskois. But he was not alone. Two other respondents stated categorically that immigrants could not be included in their identity, yet their definitions could have permitted it. One felt that Fransaskois meant Francophones who

live in Saskatchewan and who are actively involved in the community, while the other defined the Fransaskois based also on their involvement in community development, but in conjunction with cultural practices. In both cases, but especially the former, the characteristics can be acquired, making their definitions accessible in theory to immigrants, but there is nonetheless a close-mindedness in these two respondents' attitudes, because they could not see immigrants calling themselves Fransaskois, even if they met all the criteria they had identified.

However, the majority of Fransaskois respondents (12), including one whose definition was similarly based on involvement and culture, felt that immigrants could indeed call themselves Fransaskois. Overall, 24 respondents in the two locations displayed completely favourable (16) or somewhat favourable (8) attitudes towards identity inclusion.

When openness does not coincide with identity inclusion

What is particularly interesting is that there was no direct link between favourable attitudes towards identity inclusion and attitudes towards immigration. In some cases, there appears to be a logical link: thus, the only person to have a really negative attitude towards immigration did not feel that immigrants could become Acadian (unless they were adopted by an Acadian family in childhood). Similarly, people whose opinion of immigration was mixed had mixed views of whether one could become Acadian (3) or Fransaskois (6) or not (8).

But the numerous respondents who were favourable to Francophone immigration in minority communities were also quite mixed on the subject of inclusion. Obviously, some of them felt that immigrants could become Acadian (10) or Fransaskois (10), but what is more intriguing is that some of those who had a positive attitude towards immigration – six Acadian and three

Fransaskois young people – nonetheless felt that immigrants could not really be included in their identity. In their view, immigrants are welcome in their regions and can participate fully in the community socially, economically and politically. They appreciated the fact that immigrants would help defend the French cause in minority communities and that, in some cases, their presence could justify provision of services in French. But they refused to see immigrants as “one of them,” and several even wondered if and why immigrants *would want* to call themselves Acadian or Fransaskois.

In that sense, openness to immigration is no guarantee of identity inclusion. But conversely, willingness to include is not a prerequisite for openness. In other words, feeling that immigrants cannot become Acadian or Fransaskois does not mean that one is opposed to immigration. Empirically, we therefore have two different models of positive attitudes towards immigration – one that leads to fusion (some might say assimilation) and another that maintains immigrants in perpetual otherness.

Consequences of those attitudes

From a more normative standpoint, we should first agree on the practical usefulness of people having positive attitudes towards immigration, since it is the governments and associations that take steps to increase the number of immigrants in Francophone minority communities. Clearly, the arrival and integration of immigrants will go more smoothly if they do not come to a place that is immediately hostile to them. However, we have just seen that positive attitudes towards immigration can be accompanied by both inclusive and exclusive attitudes towards immigrants. Is one preferable to the other? Is it important for immigrants to be able to call themselves Acadian or Fransaskois? If so, why?

The question is similar to the one many immigrants ask about their inclusion in the Canadian identity: annoyed at always being asked where they come from, they wonder “When do I become Canadian?” (Bissoondath 1993 and 1994; Labelle and Salée 2001). When they become Canadian citizens, immigrants are entitled to expect people to accept the fact that they call themselves Canadian, if only because, from a legal standpoint, they are. But there is no legal or even administrative status that sanctions one’s membership in Acadia or the Fransaskoisie. True, the elite have attempted to define this

membership (Association communautaire fransaskoise, Société des Acadiens et Acadiennes du Nouveau-Brunswick, 2004 Convention), and they do so in a very inclusive manner (Gallant 2005). However, my study shows that the general public – even the younger generation – does not systematically accept those definitions. In the absence of clear legal and administrative criteria, immigrants’ membership in this type of group depends on the goodwill of the group.

On the one hand, if we accept that immigrants can become Acadian or Fransaskois, their integration *may* be complete and we may stop pitting them against some kind of “us” (whose jobs they might “steal,” for example). They *are part* of “us.” On the other hand, that will not be the case if the minority sees itself as an ethnic group in which one cannot be included except genealogically (or perhaps by marriage).

Some immigrants are perfectly comfortable with the second model, to the extent that they themselves see Acadia or the Fransaskoisie as an ethnic group, and therefore naturally feel they do not belong. The problem arises when immigrants *want* to be able to be included in the identity, particularly when they feel engaged in the political struggle of the minority communities (to maintain the French way of life, to have their linguistic rights recognized and enforced, and so on).

In general, the indigenous population views the involvement of newcomers in political struggles positively. Several respondents mentioned this involvement spontaneously as one of the benefits of immigration. Now, if the general public⁵ does not allow those immigrants to call themselves Acadian or Fransaskois, they may feel less engaged in the struggle, but they will also very likely feel less included in the *denomination* of the organizations that are waging the struggle: for example, the Société des *Acadiens et Acadiennes* du Nouveau-Brunswick, the Assemblée communautaire *fransaskoise*. According to their bylaws, these organizations say they represent Francophones of all origins living in their province, and that is how they interpret the terms in their name. Looking at my results, that may not be consistent with the image that the population at large has of those names.

⁵ We have seen that the organizations have no problem allowing it.

Recommendations

The recommendations that follow from this study depend on a collective choice that Francophones in minority communities must make: do they want to remain ethnic groups, as is clearly the case among the general public—in other words, do they want to define membership above all in genealogical terms—or do they want to see themselves, as the associations do, as civic groups, whose membership is determined by features and behaviours that people can choose to adopt? If the genealogical definition is selected, consideration will have to be given to renaming the organizations to make them more inclusive, unless they want to keep immigrants out of the political struggle or force them to organize on the margins of genealogical Acadian or Fransaskois organizations. If the choice is made to adopt a more civic definition, as the organizations have already done, then a major awareness exercise must be conducted among the people to assist them in changing their definition of Acadian and Fransaskois.

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Many rural communities and small towns in Maritime Canada are struggling with a shrinking population base. Some have begun to explore "repopulation" strategies.

This article explores some of the opportunities and challenges associated with immigration as part of the solution. Drawing on evidence from Statistics Canada's Census and from its recent Small Area Data from tax filer records, it is clear that those parts of the region that are most isolated and that have smaller numbers of existing immigrants are also less likely to be a destination of choice for recent immigrants.

The Challenges of Immigration as a Rural Repopulation Strategy in Maritime Canada¹

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Many parts of rural regions in Maritime Canada (defined as Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, and Prince Edward Island) have been experiencing population decline in recent years. This has been due to a combination of a naturally aging population, youth out-migration, a declining birth rate below replacement rates, and relatively few immigrants moving in. The situation has been compounded by the lure of economic and employment opportunities in Alberta. These changes have very real social and economic consequences for all levels of government.

For municipal governments, falling population levels impact on the local tax base, reducing the capacity for raising sufficient revenue to provide local services. They also affect local and regional employers as the size of the potential labour pool shrinks. For provincial governments, population shifts to urban regions put pressure on the delivery of health and education services to the population as a whole. At the federal level, there are pressures to ensure fairness and equity in access to programs, services and infrastructure (especially those related to transportation and communications).

This article explores the opportunities and challenges facing rural regions of Maritime Canada relative to attracting immigrants as

part of the "solution" to their population declines. I begin with a very brief overview of demographic, population and migration changes in the region. I then provide some evidence of the number of immigrants moving into rural regions using special tabulations from annual tax filer data in the 1999-2004 period, at the county level. This data is analyzed in the context of the larger demographic and population shifts. The discussion then turns to the issues rural regions face when attempting to attract and retain immigrants. The article concludes with a discussion of new research opportunities and potential immigrant attraction strategies for rural regions.

Recent demographic change and migration in rural Maritime Canada

We live in a very mobile society. People move from one community to the next more than in previous generations. It is not surprising, then, to find that on a year-to-year basis, large numbers

¹ Parts of this article are derived from a paper commissioned by the Rural Secretariat, Atlantic Region: Bruce, David and Gwen Lister with Katrina Ellis. *Rural Repopulation in Atlantic Canada: A Discussion Paper*. Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada. 2005. It is available online at www.rural.gc.ca.

of people are moving into and out of a community. The arrival of immigrants is part of the movement of people into a community.

Demographic changes and population migration in Canada have been well documented by academic researchers and government policy and program analysts (Mendelson and Bollman 1999; Beshiri and Bollman 2001; Rothwell et al. 2002; Palmer 2003; Polese and Shearmur 2003; Mwansa and Bollman 2005; Millward 2005). The popular press and news media have largely focused on stories of individuals and communities struggling with the problems associated with population decline in parts of rural Canada. There are relatively few “good news” stories in the media about population growth or stability in rural regions.

The Atlantic region as a whole receives about 1.3% of the annual in-take of immigrants, and most of these go to the region’s urban centres (Beshiri and Alfred 2002; Bruce and Lister 2005). Urban population growth in the region has been primarily fuelled by in-migration of youth and young adults from rural communities and small towns in search of education, employment opportunities and “life experiences.” This is common in major centres in each province across the country. Halifax is a destination for Nova Scotia’s rural youth, and Moncton and Fredericton for New Brunswick youth.

Older seniors (those 70 years of age and over) also contribute to urban population growth. They tend to move to (or closer to) large urban centres for better access to extended health care services and more appropriate housing that meets their mobility and aging in place needs (Rothwell et al. 2002). Many of the recent rental housing developments in Halifax, Fredericton and Moncton, for example, are targeted to early retirees and older seniors.

Rural population growth and decline are not evenly distributed. Rural communities and small towns that are “metro-adjacent” or located near to large urban centres are the fastest growing rural places, and some of them are growing faster than the cities (Beshiri and Bollman 2001; Johnson 2003; Millward 2005). This is true in all regions of the country. There are two contributing factors. The first is the migration of adults 25 to 69 years of age (and their families) from urban communities to nearby rural communities where there is a perception that quality of life is better and there is still reasonable access to services in urban centres.

The second is migration of population from more distant rural communities in search of economic opportunities in or near city regions. In the Maritimes, these rural communities and regions are generally located more than one hour beyond the outskirts of Halifax, Charlottetown, Moncton, Fredericton, and Saint John, and the “rural repopulation” challenge is most pressing.

In the recent past, the population movement and demographic trends within the Maritime provinces were the following:

- The region had negligible net migration between the 1970s and the mid-1990s (meaning that over time slightly larger numbers of people left the region compared to the number who moved into the region from elsewhere in Canada), but net out-migration has been happening over the past decade.
- The Maritime provinces had relatively low rural and small town out-migration rates, but also had some of the lowest in-migration rates when compared to other rural areas in Canada. However, over the past ten years there have been much higher out-migration rates from rural and small town areas.
- New Brunswick and Nova Scotia experienced a larger net rural out-migration than did Prince Edward Island (Beshiri and Bollman 2001; Rothwell et al., 2002).

In addition, the Maritimes are predicted to move from a period of natural increase (more births than deaths) to a period of natural decrease (more deaths than births) before the rest of Canada. Fertility rates in Maritime Canada are below national averages (with the exception of PEI). With the aging baby boomers, the number of deaths will begin to rise after 2025. The natural decrease is expected to occur sometime between now and 2013 (Palmer 2003).

A focus on immigration

Immigration is very much a hot topic lately because of its connection to demographic adaptation, economic development, labour force shortages and the globalization of the economy. It is often seen as a way to combat the decline in fertility rates in Canada. However, this may not be sufficient since annual immigration targets may not necessarily fill the gap created by declining population replacement levels due to natural increases (births over deaths) (Couton 2002; Beshiri 2004).

Recent and new immigrant groups intensified this urban trend: those who arrived between 1981 and 2001 made up just less than 2% of the predominantly rural region population, but more than 13% of the predominantly urban region population....In 1993 immigration to rural areas peaked at 23,200; in 2001 and 2002 it was just over 12,000 (Beshiri and Alfred 2002; Beshiri 2004).

One study suggested that immigration levels would need to be raised to over 400,000 in order to maintain a growing labour force in Canada (Palmer 2003). The same report assessed a range of recent research reports on the issue, and suggested that demographers have concluded that even on a nation-wide scale immigration will only serve to reduce the total amount of population decline, but will not likely reverse it. In the context of rural population decline, immigration must be seen as one part of a larger solution (Bruce and Lister 2005).

Immigrants to Canada tend to prefer urban to rural areas: in 2001, they made up 27% of the population in predominantly urban regions, compared with 6% of the population in predominantly rural regions. Recent and new immigrant groups intensified this urban trend: those who arrived between 1981 and 2001 made up just less than 2 % of the predominantly rural region population, but more than 13% of the predominantly urban region population. Between 1996 and 2001, rural metro-adjacent communities in Canada gained immigrant population, but rural non-metro adjacent communities and northern communities lost immigrant population. In 1993 immigration to rural areas peaked at 23,200; in 2001 and 2002 it was just over 12,000 (Beshiri and Alfred 2002; Beshiri, 2004).

However, when immigrants do settle in rural regions, they offer a great deal to their host communities. Immigrants in rural areas generally have higher levels of educational attainment compared with that of Canadian-born residents. Immigrants who arrived before 1981 are highly employable, are more likely to work in professional services, and have higher employment incomes compared to Canadian-born residents. Among the more recent and new immigrants (post-1981) the picture is not as positive. Collectively they are less employable, are more likely to work in sales and services, and have lower employment incomes, when compared to Canadian-born residents. This shift may be a reflection of fewer job opportunities in

some higher skill primary resource activities, and the emergence of wholesale and retail trade as the dominant employment sector in rural Canada (Beshiri and Alfred 2002).

Immigrants are arriving in rural Maritime Canada, but in small numbers

Table 1 provides a summary of recent immigration to the three Maritime Provinces at the county level. In the five-year period between 1999 and 2004, a total of 17,926 immigrants settled in the region (10,504 in Nova Scotia, 6,159 in New Brunswick, and 1,263 in Prince Edward Island). The vast majority – 14,200 – of these settled in urban areas or in counties with a large urban centre (Westmorland County, New Brunswick – Moncton area; Queens County, Prince Edward Island – Charlottetown area). When we compare the relative volume of immigrant settlement at the county level against the historical and current growth patterns and against the degree of rurality, a number of important patterns emerge:

- In the period up to 2001, immigrants represented a lower percentage of the total population in non-metro adjacent counties relative to metro adjacent and urban counties. In non-metro adjacent counties the percentage of immigrants ranged from 0.65% in Gloucester County to 4.87% in Annapolis County, and in 12 of the 20 non-metro adjacent counties they represented less than 3% of the population. In the metro adjacent counties they ranged from 1.65% in Cape Breton County to 5.81% in Charlotte County, and in 10 of 13 counties they represented more than 3% of the population.
- All non-metro adjacent counties had more people move out than move in during the 1999-2004 period, with the exception of Queens County, New Brunswick. By comparison, only 5 of 13 metro adjacent counties experienced this trend.
- Of the 20 non-metro adjacent regions or counties, 11 are classified as being in decline,

TABLE 1

**Immigration (1999–2004) to Maritime Canada, Census County geography level,
by recent historical population growth pattern (1981–2001)**

County	2001 Total (non- institutional) population	Immigrants as % of 2001 population	1999– 2004 net migration	1999–2004 Immigrants	Immigrants as % of total in-migration 1999–2004	Gaining or losing population immigration ground	# of inter- censal periods (1981–2001) with population growth	Population growth pattern
Rural non-metro adjacent regions								
Cumberland County (NS)	31,715	2.52 %	451	83	1.65 %	Losing	0	Declining
Guysborough County (NS)	9,720	1.49 %	818	24	1.68 %	Gaining	0	Declining
Queens County (NS)	11,585	3.45 %	153	35	2.05 %	Losing	0	Declining
Northumberland County (NB)	50,155	1.58 %	1 786	135	2.26 %	Gaining	0	Declining
Inverness County (NS)	19,665	2.49 %	657	75	2.38 %	Losing	0	Declining
Pictou County (NS)	46,250	2.42 %	602	173	2.74 %	Gaining	0	Declining
Restigouche County (NB)	35,410	1.19 %	2 134	108	2.78 %	Gaining	0	Declining
Queens County (NB)	11,635	3.35 %	6	45	1.53 %	Losing	1	Declining
Digby County (NS)	19,245	3.12 %	211	65	1.98 %	Losing	1	Declining
Annapolis County (NS)	21,470	4.87 %	378	118	2.38 %	Losing	1	Declining
Shelburne County (NS)	16,095	2.49 %	440	45	2.61 %	Losing	1	Declining
Gloucester County (NB)	81,760	0.65 %	4 376	137	1.90 %	Gaining	2	Stable
Victoria County (NB)	20,920	3.49 %	797	66	1.98 %	Losing	2	Stable
Yarmouth County (NS)	26,520	2.96 %	122	82	2.29 %	Losing	2	Stable
Kings County (PE)	19,060	2.54 %	237	122	3.49 %	Gaining	2	Stable
Prince County (PE)	43,960	1.73 %	22	220	3.86 %	Gaining	2	Stable
Madawaska County (NB)	34,850	2.91 %	1 203	265	6.94 %	Gaining	2	Stable
Antigonish County (NS)	19,390	4.56 %	283	87	2.40 %	Losing	3	Growing
Kings County (NS)	58,135	4.49 %	384	424	2.86 %	Losing	3	Growing
Carleton (NB)	26 895	4.29 %	41	304	7.02 %	Gaining	4	Growing
Rural metro adjacent regions								
Richmond County (NS)	10,125	3.60 %	519	28	1.78 %	Losing	0	Declining
Cap-Breton County (NS)	107,880	1.65 %	3 537	236	2.00 %	Gaining	0	Declining
ictoria County (NS)	7,860	3.05 %	116	36	2.54 %	Losing	1	Declining
Lunenburg County (NS)	47,010	4.31 %	920	275	3.31 %	Losing	2	Stable
Kings County (NB)	63,810	4.28 %	594	328	2.07 %	Losing	3	Growing
Kent County (NB)	30,970	2.86 %	710	127	2.57 %	Losing	3	Growing
Colchester County (NS)	48,780	3.30 %	755	272	2.75 %	Losing	3	Growing
Charlotte County (NB)	27,020	5.81 %	141	165	3.95 %	Losing	3	Growing
Albert County (NB)	26,465	3.25 %	466	97	1.08 %	Losing	4	Growing
Sunbury County (NB)	25,705	3.42 %	271	168	1.40 %	Losing	4	Growing
Hants County (NS)	40,175	3.48 %	728	181	1.63 %	Losing	4	Growing
Westmorland County (NB)	122,405	2.88 %	6 769	1268	3.97 %	Gaining	4	Growing
Queens County (PE)	70,365	4.11 %	1 717	921	7.00 %	Gaining	4	Growing
Intermediate and urban regions								
Saint John County (NB)	75,270	3.17 %	1 073	1 057	6.31 %	Gaining	0	Declining
York County (NB)	86,435	5.32 %	2 169	1 889	8.26 %	Gaining	4	Growing
Halifax County (NS)	355,945	6.85 %	8 760	8 265	10.66 %	Gaining	4	Growing

Adapted from: Statistics Canada. (2006) "Small Area and Administrative Data Division." *Table A: Migration Estimates by Province of Origin/Destination, 1999-2000 to 2003-2004*. 91C0025; Mwansa, Pius and Ray D. Bollman. (2005). "Community Demographic Trends Within Their Regional Context." *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin* 6, 3; and Statistics Canada. (n.d.) "2001 Citizenship, Immigration, Birthplace, Generation Status, Ethnic Origin, Visible Minorities and Aboriginal Peoples." *2001 Census of Canada (Provinces, Census Divisions, Municipalities)*. Using E-STAT. Version updated July 5, 2004 [http://estat.statcan.ca/cgi-win/CNSMCGI.EXE?ESTATFILE=EStat\[English\]E-Main.htm](http://estat.statcan.ca/cgi-win/CNSMCGI.EXE?ESTATFILE=EStat[English]E-Main.htm) (accessed January 11, 2007).

Table notes

Population growth patterns are categorized as:

Growing = population increase in 3 or 4 intercensal periods

Stable = population increase in 2 intercensal periods

Declining = population decline in 3 or 4 intercensal periods

and they have attracted a much smaller number of immigrants than those counties which are stable or growing. Those in decline have attracted 1.65% to 2.78% of all in-migrants while those which are stable have attracted 1.90% to 6.94%.

- Some stable and growing non-metro adjacent counties performed very well in this time period. Relatively buoyant and vibrant economies helped to draw new residents. Immigrants to Kings (parts of that county closest to Charlottetown) and Prince (the Summerside area) counties in Prince Edward Island accounted for 3.5% of total in-migrants. In Madawaska (primarily the Edmundston and Saint-Léonard areas) and Carleton (Woodstock area) counties in New Brunswick, the figure was near 7%.
- Some metro adjacent counties did not perform well in this time period specifically Albert County and Sunbury County in New Brunswick, and Hants County in Nova Scotia. These are located relatively close to Moncton, Fredericton and Halifax, respectively. These larger urban centres each drew significant numbers of immigrants.
- When comparing the percentage of in-migrants who are immigrants moving into a county between 1999-2004 with the percentage of the existing population who are immigrants in 2001, we find that the most urban counties (including Westmorland, New Brunswick and Queens, Prince Edward Island) were “gaining” immigrant population at a faster rate. In addition, 9 of 20 non-metro adjacent counties and only 3 of 13 metro adjacent counties attracted a higher percentage of population who were immigrants, relative to the existing population who were immigrants. All others were “losing ground” in their ability to attract more immigrants.

Gaining or losing immigration ground

A county is gaining immigration ground if it had a higher percentage of in-migrants in 1999-2004 who were immigrants compared to the percentage of the existing 2001 population who were immigrants. A county is losing immigration ground if it had a lower percentage of in-migrants in 1999-2004 who were immigrants compared to the % of the existing 2001 population who were immigrants.

Challenges associated with immigrant attraction to rural Maritime Canada

Rural regions share a number of common traits that make them vulnerable to population loss and make it more difficult to attract new population. These traits are common across much of Maritime Canada. In general they (Bruce 2003; Polese and Shearmur 2003; Freshwater 2004; Millward 2005; Bruce and Lister 2005):

- are located far away (more than one hour drive) from metropolitan areas;
- have low population densities;
- have fewer amenities;
- have higher rates of poverty;
- have a lack of diversity in industry and employment activities;
- have employers who generally pay lower wages;
- have businesses that tend to be smaller and less specialized, and do not require high skilled labour;
- have high servicing costs (for public services of all types); and
- lack a broad range of services or have services that are concentrated in one community.

These are generalizations. There are specific rural regions or communities in every province which have relatively few of these problems. However, in general terms, these are some of the limitations that contribute to population loss, a vicious cycle of business and service closures, and an additional round of population loss.

Strategies for attracting immigrants to rural communities

Several studies have shown that most, but not all immigrants first choose their destinations based on the presence of kinship and ethnic networks, and then on potential employment opportunities. If there is enough critical mass of a particular immigrant group in an area then others will follow. Their decision to stay will also depend on employment, appropriate social services and a welcoming community (Couton 2002; Beshiri and Alfred 2002; Metropolis Atlantic 2004). One study on immigration to rural communities in the United States found that half left within five years of their arrival, due mainly to lack of employment opportunities

Rural Maritime Canada suffers from a declining population which presents challenges for all levels of government. There is evidence that some immigrants are arriving in all rural counties but the numbers are low relative to the total number of in-migrants and to the overall county populations.

(Johnson 2003). However, that study also found that church sponsorship of immigrants contributed to them remaining in the community. What is clear from research on rural development in general is that social cohesion and social interaction are extremely important in rural communities (Bruce 2003); therefore, it is absolutely necessary that rural communities prepare themselves to welcome and integrate immigrants into their communities if there is any hope that they will remain and be contributors to the community.

A variety of important actions that could be employed by all stakeholders with an interest in improving immigration attraction and retention rates in rural communities includes:

- ensuring secure and stable government investment in rural social and economic infrastructure, including maintaining vital health and education services;
- refocusing skills training available in rural communities so that what is offered closely matches the needs of local employers;
- identifying business and employment prospects within the community that might be attractive to immigrants, and matching investor immigrants with entrepreneurial plans to those communities where the possibilities for success exist;
- educating community leaders and citizens about cultural diversity, ethnic groups and social norms among different immigrant populations.

Developing a “welcoming community” mindset within the community is a key factor to successfully integrating and retaining immigrants. A welcoming community is one where there is strong support for contributions, challenges and diversity offered by immigrants (both in and outside of the workplace), an engaged voluntary sector to provide ongoing support to newcomers, quality local infrastructure (housing, schools, etc.) to accommodate new residents, and the provision of effective settlement services in

coordination with the provincial government (Bruce and Lister 2005).

Conclusions

Rural Maritime Canada suffers from a declining population which presents challenges for all levels of government. There is evidence that some immigrants are arriving in all rural counties but the numbers are low relative to the total number of in-migrants and to the overall county populations. This is especially the case for non-metro adjacent counties, which are located furthest from urban amenities, services and opportunities. Even in metro adjacent counties, the pace of new immigrant arrivals (1999-2004) is below the share of the existing population that are immigrants (in 2001) in those same counties.

The evidence presented here suggests some opportunities for further research. There is a need to perform longitudinal tracking of immigrants using tax filer data to trace their household movements, especially to see how long they stay, if at all, in a rural area, and to where they move. More analysis of the demographic features of rural immigrants is required to understand what differences, if any, may exist between those who arrive and settle in urban versus rural locations. This should also include an examination of any urban/rural differences based on country of origin. Furthermore, there is a need to characterize and analyze the lived experiences of rural immigrants through qualitative research (interviews, focus groups, storytelling) to better understand the success factors associated with their integration and settlement into rural Maritime Canada. Finally, case studies of specific communities, towns, villages and counties that have attracted relatively higher numbers of immigrants would be helpful. These would document the strategies and success factors which might be considered by others interested in immigrant attraction. At the same time, a brief review of communities that may have attempted to proactively attract and retain immigrants and

did not achieve success would be equally valuable in identifying potential barriers and challenges of which others should be wary.

Individual communities and municipalities generally do not have a direct role to play in the immigration process. However, it is important for communities to work with their regional economic development agencies to prepare strategies for becoming a welcoming community, including establishing settlement teams, providing community-based programs and support services, and developing a larger (re)population strategy of which immigration attraction and retention is but one component.

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As can be seen in Atlantic Canada, there appears to be a pattern among Francophone immigrants over the past few years to migrate to French-speaking rural communities rather than to urban centres. Specific models are needed to understand the distinctive features of this form of migration and to ensure that it genuinely is a positive sign of the revitalization of the communities that depend on it.

Immigration to Rural Communities: A Distinctive and Distinctly Promising Phenomenon

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The migration of assets towards rural areas, although statistically insignificant, is important not just for some communities but also for the migrants, because migration is often linked to major issues of identity, profession and family. Though little research has been conducted in this area, “reverse migration” is not a new phenomenon. In the United States, migratory flows began to reverse in the 1970s: the overall population gains in rural areas began to exceed those of the urban centres at that time (Johnson 2006). The net migratory flows in rural and small-town (RST)¹ Canada also reversed during that period, becoming even more pronounced between 1991 and 1996 (Rothwell et al. 2002). In France’s countryside, the pattern of depopulation ended in 1975 and, since 1982, migratory inflows to certain “isolated rural” locations have even been observed (Debroux 2003; Poncet-François 2003).²

Alongside internal migration,³ external migration – or immigration – can play a major role in the demographic growth of non-metropolitan areas. In the United States, immigration accounted for 31% of overall population growth outside the major urban centres between 2000 and 2004 (Johnson 2006). And Canada now considers immigration to be “one of the strategic elements that will make it possible to address the demographic deficit” in Canada in general and in Francophone minority communities in particular (CIC 2005). It is with this in mind that Canada adopted a Strategic Framework to Foster Immigration to Francophone Minority Communities (CIC 2003) and that a model for rural development, Carrefour d’immigration rurale, was implemented in New Brunswick to “promote rural Francophone

¹ RST refers to the population living outside the commuting zones of larger urban centres. It includes all towns of 1,000 to 9,999 inhabitants and rural areas where less than 50% of the workforce commutes into the urban core of a census metropolitan area or census agglomeration. This definition has been proposed as a starting point and comparison for understanding the Canadian rural population (du Plessis et al. 2002; Rothwell et al. 2002).

² The total increase in the isolated rural population in France went from 8,000 people (net migration 1975-1982) to 24,000 people (net migration 1982-1990) (Debroux 2003).

³ *Internal migrant*: a person who moves within Canada. *External migrant*: a person who has moved and is living in Canada on census day but lived outside Canada one or five years earlier, as applicable (Statistics Canada 2001). In this text, migrants refer both to internal migrants and external migrants (i.e. immigrants); likewise for the term migration.

immigration by attracting...Francophone and Francophile immigrants to rural communities in Acadia” (Government of Canada 2006).

Although such initiatives are clearly important, the phenomenon of migration to isolated and minority rural areas is too complex to provide long-term answers to the question of revitalization of the communities involved unless we first have a good theoretical understanding of the nature, causes and conditions of that migration. Such an understanding is crucial because immigration to rural areas is more than just simple spatial movement, it is a long and complicated process that involves the migrant’s entire biography and has profound implications for identity and relationships. In order to fully understand it, we must grasp what compels *some* people in particular to prefer isolated or minority rural areas. Clearly, at first glance at least, immigrants are looking for places that offer the most opportunities (employment, health services, education, etc.) – which is rarely in rural destinations – and resistance to immigration and multiculturalism is often more marked in rural settings (Fennelly and Federico 2006; EUMC 2005).

As a result, unless we are able to understand the factors that make rural areas attractive (despite the marked disadvantages that they also present), we will keep dancing around the issue or making new dishes with old recipes. Yet, as we will show, there is a more promising way of looking at immigration to rural areas – viewing it as an overall composition or a configuration of relationships rather than as a combination of isolated variables, an approach that requires us to examine the life history of the migrants. To demonstrate this, we will conduct a brief analysis of the methodological approaches to migration. We will then present a heuristic model of immigration to rural areas, based on the biographical approach and three main assumptions.

Preamble on theory and methodology

Regardless of the different perspectives guiding researchers, their methodological approaches to migration can be placed in four major categories.

The demographic or statistical approach

This approach focuses on the compilation of demographic and statistical data on population inflows and outflows to calculate corresponding net migratory movements, i.e., net increases or decreases in population by year, province, city,

region, age group, etc. It has the clear advantage of providing precise (and often precious) data about the increases or decreases observed in particular cases, but it does not really shed light on the causes of and motivations behind migration. Because it is concerned only with the physical aspect of migratory movements, it often reduces migration to a [translation] “predetermined set of variables and dissociates the variables individually, very often disregarding the connections that unify them and that alone give them meaning” (Rosental 1990).

The economic approach

Using mathematical models, this approach attempts to grasp the factors that are involved or not involved in decisions to migrate to one destination or other. Akbari and Sun (2006) have thus shown that, contrary to popular belief, immigration to Atlantic Canada between 1991 and 2001 was determined by neither the size nor the urban nature of the target population. Paradoxically, it was factors such as a relatively high rate of unemployment and the presence of ethnic enclaves that determined migrants’ decisions (Akbari and Sun 2006).

Although more complete than the first, the economic approach does not look at the reasons behind or the causes of the decision to migrate. Neither does it look at what happens after migration takes place. Although it may go so far as to try to determine the motives, it is guided mainly by a definition of the subject that is tainted by the rationalist vision of the economy, thus disregarding the fact that candidates for migration may be motivated by reasons other than social and economic advancement, reasons that are all the more important to them because they are not quantifiable (reasons of identity, self-discovery, realizing a dream, etc.).⁴

Motivational analysis

This approach looks at the reasons and motivations that guide migrants in their choices. To that extent, it avoids the trap of attributing migration to the search for economic or professional advancement, but occasionally it runs the risk of falling into what may be termed “destination determinism” whereby it is inferred that [translation] “it is not employment that is

⁴ A number of objections to this criticism can be raised, but we do not have space to examine them here.

attractive but 'quality of life' or 'lifestyle', etc.'" (Debroux 2005). The consequence of this is that:

[Translation]

[i]mplicitly, source and destination are perceived as structurally different, with the qualities and advantages of one weighed against the shortcomings of the other, and the differential explaining the direction of the flows (Debroux 2005).

This approach therefore gives the impression that [translation] "migrants are a homogeneous population with a single interpretation of the 'destination'; they therefore come from relatively homogeneous 'sources' from a structural standpoint and leave for similar reasons." It also gives the impression that migrants know perfectly well what made them leave and choose a particular destination, whereas the real reasons for leaving can often remain buried in the subconscious.

The biographical approach

The advantage of this approach is that it places the subject within his or her social context and makes it possible to see the migration plan and the person's other actions transform as subsequent opportunities arise and events occur (Catani 1986). Far from the simple result of a simple mechanical causality, migration is seen as a global process that often has roots in the individual's personal history or in the types of opportunity that the person's inclinations or skills will enable him or her to develop at the destination. This way of looking at migration has other benefits as well. First, migration can reveal often crucial issues surrounding the choice of destination that are not explicitly formulated in the migrant's mind, such as issues of identity and roots (Rosental 1990). Second, migration can be seen through behaviours and not just through the discourse or ideas of migrants. In that sense, the story provides the possibility of identifying and understanding what Catani (1986) calls the [translation] "twists and turns of identity, from socio-professional identity to original family identity to personal identity." In other words, "it enables migrants to understand what role they played and to what degree they were inhabited by a profound sense of illegitimacy that made them think 'I shouldn't be here' before migrating" (de Gaulejac 2000).

A model for immigration to rural areas

The last approach seems promising to us because it not only mobilizes a new understanding of migration to rural areas, but it also allows us to better understand what leads migrants to choose a specific destination at a specific point in their history. Debroux (2003, 2005) and Rosental (1990) have a similar perspective, whereby they use life history as an investigative technique to learn about internal migration to rural areas. One of the assumptions of this approach is that migration is an opportunity for the subject to resolve crises (related to their profession, family or identity) and that it is therefore a means to achieve a kind of rebalancing of identity.

The distinctive nature of migrants' biographical journey is therefore the initial focus, but the indices also show that, beyond the heterogeneousness of individual origins, training and career paths, migration acts as a founding event for the migrants, giving them the opportunity to reinvent themselves at the conclusion of a difficult and complex process of self-discovery. From that perspective, migration (simple spatial movement) is rarely an end in itself, but a process that, far from being determined by economic or material motives, has much more to do with the search of internal equilibrium, of a symbolic reward or psychological compensation for an initial problematic or unsatisfactory situation (Debroux 2003).

The variables preferred for this type of analysis are family social relationships – both pre- and post-migration – and the individual's place in the family, his or her socio-professional path, network of relationships, etc., because immigration to rural areas is often a means for migrants to work on redefining themselves (from the standpoints of identity, society, profession or family). The analytical model is shown in graphic form in Figure 1.

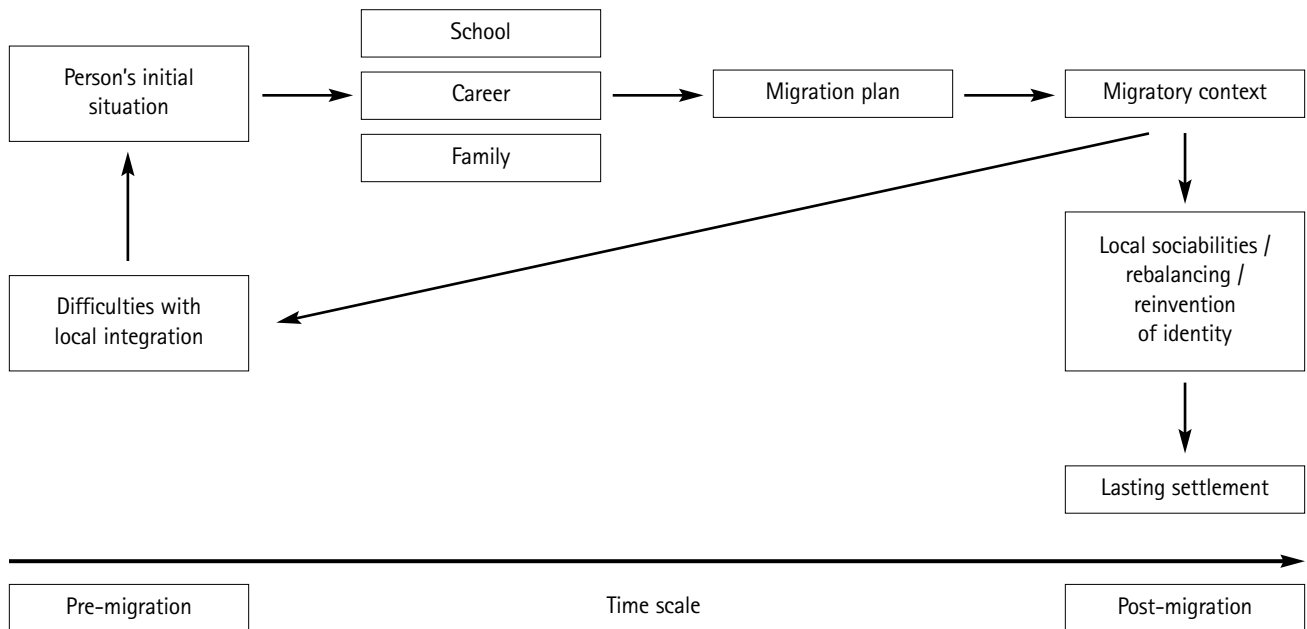
In this model, pre-migration is just as important as post-migration in understanding the very nature of migration; because there are different types of migration (e.g., conservation and break, using Rosental's typology (1990)), and between the two extremes is an entire range that depends both on the migratory context and on the individual's inclinations and network of relationships.

We should point out that this model must be considered an approximation for migration to rural areas. Indeed, especially when we are dealing with such complex phenomena, we must

⁴ A number of objections to this criticism can be raised, but we cannot examine them here.

FIGURE 1

Graphic representation of the proposed model of the immigration process



be wary of believing in the existence of some kind of sociological or cultural predestination that compels some people to attempt this type of migration, when it would be possible to isolate the factors behind it through properly conducted observation, because:

[Translation]

Understanding an individual's behaviour cannot be reduced to a simple "generating formula." Migrants have inclinations that make this type of migration possible...but they are not mechanically predisposed to migrate towards these areas. (Debrox 2003)

The proposed model must therefore be adjusted, particularly by taking into account the specific experiences and contexts of each case and the fact that rural areas are themselves disparate (with a variety of categories and even differences within each category, depending on geographic location). We should also add that the same types of locations can provoke demographically different behaviours depending on the region.

Implementing the model

Implementation of the model relies on three main assumptions that our research is designed to test. Figure 2 provides an illustration of the migratory process.

Assumption 1: Person/place adequacy or "favourable self-selection"

This assumption should not be taken to mean that the destination, or more specifically the rural nature of the destination, automatically pre-destines certain people to migrate there. Making such an assumption would be to fall back into the trap of destination determinism. On the contrary, this assumption means that a kind of "favourable self-selection" (Chiswick 2000) of those who migrate to rural areas occurs, stemming from the fact that those people have certain characteristics or inclinations that make them particularly likely to live, settle and flourish outside the big cities.

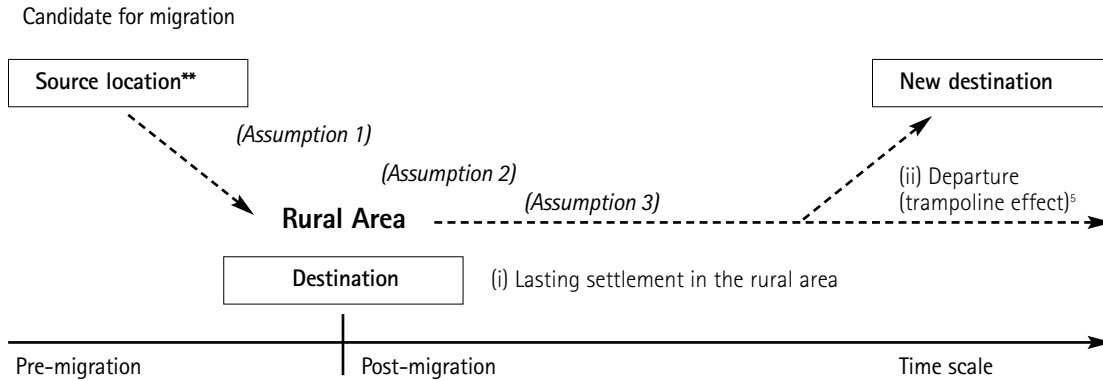
In other words, for lasting settlement to occur, the destination has to be a good place for migrants to express and develop a kind of primary distinctiveness or their inclinations. In that sense, the migration destination (with lasting settlement) therefore becomes a resource that the individual can mobilize to reinvent his or her identity. Adequacy is therefore achieved between the person and the destination:

[Translation]

Migration to these rural communes makes it possible, for those who have the most cultural and economic capital and who can benefit

FIGURE 2

Graphic representation of the proposed model of immigration to rural areas*



* Two outcomes are indicated: (i) lasting settlement in the rural area, and (ii) departure for another destination. Assumptions 1 to 3 are described in the text.
 ** Source and destination are deliberately placed on different planes to indicate the rural/urban divide that can be associated with migration.

from the support of their family at home and their network of relationships, to reclassify themselves favourably. On the other hand, for migrants who have broken their social ties, isolated rural places become a refuge. Regardless of their local position, they find closeness with other migrants who serve, for some time anyway, as a reference group. (Debroux 2003)

In the proposed model, the individual's inclinations are therefore just as important as the characteristics of the destination, because they act as opportunities that are intrinsic to the person. Indeed, since there are relatively few extrinsic opportunities⁶ in rural areas (employment, education, etc.), the intrinsic opportunities become crucial. If they are insufficient, we can presume that the other opportunities will not likely suffice to keep someone in a rural location.

Assumption 2: The migratory plan and the influence of the migratory context
 Not all migratory movements follow the same outline. Sometimes, migration is seen as a retreat or a temporary episode. In that case, the migrants maintain contacts with family and previous relationships, even if they want to try to develop a network of relationships at their destination. That said, we should point out that the migratory context can also intervene and modify the original intent, i.e. transform a temporary plan into long-lasting settlement and vice versa. But there are also migratory movements that are seen by the migrant as a definitive move, in which

case, we refer to a "break." Again, the context can modify the original plan.

Basically, there still has to be a favourable context for migration and settlement to take place. In that sense, initiatives like Carrefour d'immigration rurale (CIR) provide an important contextual element: they can act as a trigger or driver for immigration, which is a good thing from the standpoint of recruitment or attraction objectives. But can they be perpetuated? That is the challenge facing rural Francophone minority communities such as those of the CIR in Saint-Léonard, New Brunswick.

Immigration to Saint-Léonard is promoted actively, and the opportunities this community offers are vaunted. However, there is a risk of attracting people who do not necessarily have the essential inclinations for lasting settlement there (assumption of person/place adequacy). In other words, when recruitment is too intense, it can deactivate the favourable self-selection process (based on specific personal inclinations and primary distinctiveness), which is potentially problematic. If initially, there is insufficient adequacy, the objective of retaining the newcomers may be undermined, with the associated high cost this implies (lack of return

⁵ Trampoline effect: the host region is the basis (the trampoline) for helping migrants settle elsewhere. For the region or community financing and supporting the initial reception, it is a dead loss, because the expected return on the investment is not achieved. Further, the departures will enrich other economies (new host regions that benefit from the skills, etc. that they financed minimally or not at all).

on investment) – hence the importance of ensuring adequacy from the outset.

Assumption 3: Local socialization and networks
This assumption primarily concerns the post-migration phase: will migration be stable and definitive (lasting settlement) or will migrants continue on their migratory path? To a certain degree, it depends on assumptions 1 and 2, but the opportunities for socialization offered by the destination also have a decisive impact.

On the one hand, migrants who arrive in a rural setting may feel more social pressure to adapt to the new environment. They will take greater care if not to develop local ties, then at least to avoid conflict, particularly because they are already conscious of being different. And if they do not find sufficient resources or opportunities to develop an adequate network of relationships in the host community, they may withdraw and consider other destinations.

On the other hand, rural areas like Saint-Léonard have considerable experience with immigration. In an analysis of immigration to Madawaska from 1785 to 1850, Craig (1986) shows that already at that time, even though immigration was important, a highly stratified and hierarchical society dominated by the descendants of the original families had already been created in Madawaska. She points out:

[Translation]

Frontier regions normally attract successive waves of immigrants until their territory is fully settled. This does not necessarily mean, however, that local society is open to newcomers. (Craig 1986)

This means that the host community's capacity for openness and possibilities for developing social networks are one of the challenges that small communities like Saint-Léonard must find a way to address, if they want to retain newcomers.

We conclude with the New Brunswick historical perspective, because it yields valuable insights. In particular, it shows that although New Brunswick was a popular destination for many immigrants in past centuries, very few settled there definitively (Conrad and Steel 2005). This retention deficit reminds us of the symbolic significance of the crossroads, which we restate here in the hope that it will inspire the thought processes under way to design sustainable immigration projects:

[Translation]

[c]rossroads are pre-eminently places of passages, places where people stop to think. Whatever the civilization, to reach the crossroads is to come face to face with the unknown and, since the natural human reaction to the unknown is one of fear, the primary aspect of the symbol is anxiety. It betrays the wish for an important, solemn meeting. It may also show that a parting of the ways has been reached and that one must take a new and decisive direction in one's affairs. (Chevalier and Gheerbrant 1982)

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Special Issue
Our Diverse Cities: Challenges and Opportunities

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Our Diverse Cities: Challenges and Opportunities

Special issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research*

This recent issue of the *Canadian Journal of Urban Research* (Vol. 15, No. 2, 2006) was guest edited by Tom Carter and Marc Vachon of the University of Winnipeg; John Biles and Erin Tolley of the Metropolis Project Team; and Jim Zamprelli of the Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation. It contains selected articles on politics, religion, housing, youth gang activity, sports and recreational services. These articles explore the challenges posed by the increasing concentration of religious, linguistic, ethnic and racial groups in Canadian cities and suggest ways to facilitate the integration process.

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Demographics is a key issue for many rural communities, but the metropolitan areas are still drawing 95% of immigrants. Immigration is not helping offset the rural exodus; on the contrary, it is intensifying the problem. However, immigrants are beginning to migrate from their first place of settlement. While this will not stem the rural exodus, the regionalization of immigration is part of the communities' solution. The government and local and regional stakeholders must develop strong and focused strategies.

Immigration to Rural Areas of Quebec

CHAKDA YORN AND MARIE-LOU OUELLET¹

Solidarité rurale du Québec

The importance of immigration to rural areas

In early 2007, reasonable accommodation became a major news story when a small Quebec village adopted a highly controversial social code of conduct requiring immigrants to adapt to local customs. At the same time, another municipality took the opposite approach, introducing a code designed to welcome immigrants and counter pre-conceived notions about the closed-mindedness of rural municipalities.

The debate went off on a questionable tangent and even forced the Quebec government to set up a non-partisan commission of inquiry on reasonable accommodation. One positive outcome of all the media attention is that it increased awareness of a topic that seldom makes the news in Quebec: immigration and cultural diversity. Because of its sudden visibility (to the point, at times, of becoming an electoral issue in Quebec) the theme of immigration and cultural diversity may be broadened to encompass the key issues of demographics and regional planning and development.

Population growth is one of the major challenges facing Quebec. Between 1996 and 2005, population declines occurred in 44 regional county municipalities (MRCs – municipalities régionales de comté). Indeed, half of the approximately 1,200 municipalities in Quebec were affected by this phenomenon (SRQ 2006). According to the Institut de la Statistique du

Québec (ISQ), by the year 2026 a total of 66 MRCs, located not only in outlying regions, but also in many of the central regions, could suffer population declines.

A number of factors are conspiring to bring this about, including the ageing population (higher in communities with shrinking populations), the exodus of young people, and smaller families. Another factor exacerbates the problem in rural areas: contrary to the situation prevailing in urban centres, immigration does little or nothing to stem the population decline.

Demographic trends show geographic polarization: projections for the period 2001-2026 suggest that the rift between the South of the province, where the population is increasingly concentrated, and the rest of the province will grow (SRQ 2006). As a result, population disparities are widening among rural areas, as well as between these rural areas and urban centres. In such a context, concepts such as new rurality, rural migration and rural immigration have created new hope for the revitalization of rural communities or, at the very least, for the preservation of what has been built up over the years in rural areas.

¹ Dr. Chakda Yorn is Senior Researcher and Marie-Lou Ouellet Project Officer at Solidarité rurale du Québec. Views expressed in this article are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the official position of Solidarité rurale du Québec.

TABLE 1

Comparative table on migration balance of rural and urban MRCs

	Rural MRCs	Urban MRCs (or TEs)
Number of new arrivals ² in 2000	146,016	126,066
Number of new arrivals in 2005	180,094	129,239
Number of MRCs with positive migration balance in 2000	29	7
Number of MRCs with positive migration balance in 2005	54	7
Total migration balance ³ in 2000	- 4,676	13,732
Total migration balance in 2005	22,059	12,179

Source: Solidarité rurale du Québec, 2006.

Neo-rural migrants and immigrants to Quebec's rural communities

Although many rural areas are experiencing an ongoing population decline, migration to rural communities seems to have gained new strength in recent years. Solidarité rurale du Québec has compiled ISQ data showing that migration grew 23% between 2001 and 2005 and that it has penetrated new areas.

In five years, the number of rural MRCs with a positive migration balance (more people arriving than leaving) rose from 29 to 54. The growth is particularly strong in rural communities. Rural growth areas include the eight MRCs in the Laurentians, the six MRCs in Lanaudière, the five MRCs in the Outaouais, and four of the seven MRCs in Estrie.

However, this encouraging picture is mainly the result of neo-rural migration from urban areas. Getting immigrants to settle in rural areas is a daunting challenge. A number of rural communities have established intake policies and strategies targeting primarily city dwellers and focusing less on immigrants, although several communities have immigrant intake and integration services, including the Rimouski-Neigette, Granit and Amiante MRCs.

Despite the existence of regional immigration service agencies, the figures show the same trend toward polarization. Between 2001 and 2005, Quebec took in 202,368 immigrants, or an annual average of 40,474. Of the immigrants arriving in Quebec during the same period, 64.9% came from 15 countries, mainly China (9.3%), Morocco (8.1%), France (8%), Algeria (7.8%), Romania (6.3%), Colombia (4.1%), Haiti (4%), Lebanon (3.5%), India (2.7%) and Pakistan (2.7%).

According to a 2001 Survey conducted by Quebec's ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC), Quebeckers are relatively more favourable to immigration than are people in the rest of Canada. Nearly 73% of

Quebeckers believe that immigration is a plus for Quebec. However, the demographic weight of immigrants is only 9.9% in Quebec, compared with 18.4% in the rest of Canada (SRQ 2004). So there is room for growth in immigration to Quebec.

Yet, as it is in most industrialized countries, immigration to Quebec is an urban phenomenon. The Montréal metropolitan area is still the main pole of attraction for immigrants: 78.8% of immigrants in Quebec were living there in 2006 (MICC 2006a). Altogether, the census metropolitan areas attract 95% of immigrants, even though they are home to only two-thirds of the Quebec population⁴ (MICC 2006b). Thus, immigration is not helping offset the rural exodus. On the contrary, it is intensifying the problem.

The MICC identifies three categories of immigrants, based on reason for admission: economic, family reunification and humanitarian. The breakdown of immigrants admitted to Quebec between 2001 and 2005 was as follows:

- Skilled workers, businesspeople and other economic immigrants: 60.3%;
- Family reunification: 21.8%;
- Refugees admitted for humanitarian reasons: 17%.

In all three cases, several factors conspired to increase the concentration of immigrants in urban centres. First, the government has little control over the settlement decisions of family class immigrants, who tend to stay in locations where the family members who arrived before them have already established family and social

² Number of persons who settled in another municipality or region.

³ Difference between number of people arriving and number of people leaving.

⁴ Quebec has six census metropolitan areas: Saguenay, Québec, Sherbrooke, Trois-Rivières, Montréal and Gatineau.

networks. The government has more control over workers and businesspeople, but they too settle largely in Montréal and in the other main urban centres, where there are more jobs and business opportunities. This category of immigrants was heavily concentrated in the Montréal metropolitan area, with 82.4% settling there during 2000-2004 period (MICC, 2006a). This fact may reflect a lack of awareness of realities and opportunities in rural areas, which in turn gives rise to the existing polarization.

According to the Table de concertation des organismes au service des personnes réfugiées et immigrantes (a provincial consultation group made up of 130 organizations dedicated to protecting and supporting refugees and immigrants in Quebec), the government encourages refugees to settle in the regions. Consequently, regional agencies take in large numbers of immigrants who have no social networks, have few resources, and are in a fragile psychological state. In such conditions, integrating the immigrants into rural communities and keeping them there is a major challenge. Many of them leave for the city.

Immigrants from France, Colombia and China form the largest immigrant population groups in

regions outside the census metropolitan areas, particularly in the more outlying regions (see Table 2). Furthermore, France is heavily over-represented in the more outlying regions, with French immigrants in some cases accounting for more than 20% of immigrants to those regions even though they make up only 10% of all immigrants. Physically and culturally, people from France blend in more easily with the local population.

But there is yet another possible reason for this phenomenon. In France and in most of the other Western European countries, there has been a demographic shift toward rural areas, which started 30 or so years ago. One hypothesis is that people are not so much attracted to rural areas as they are less inclined to live in the city. For that reason, the vast spaces of Quebec attract immigrants from France – the stereotypical cabin in the Canadian wilderness appears to be a drawing card.

Within Quebec itself, the reverse hypothesis would seem to apply: rural living is becoming increasingly attractive for housing and recreational reasons. The quality of life in urban areas of Quebec has not yet declined to the point where people are completely turned off. This

TABLE 2
Last country of residence of immigrants admitted to administrative regions of Quebec, 1995–2004

Administrative region	Number of immigrants (1995–2004)	Main countries of origin
Bas St-Laurent	895	France, China, Colombia
Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean	1,101	China, France, Colombia
Capitale-Nationale	10,783	France, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Colombia
Mauricie	1,503	France, Colombia, Morocco
Estrie	5,531	Bosnia-Herzegovina, France, Colombia
Montréal	179,274	Algeria, France, Morocco
Outaouais	6,687	Bosnia-Herzegovina, France, Colombia
Abitibi-Témiscamingue	433	France, China, Haiti
Côte-Nord	243	China, France, Romania
Nord-du-Québec	69	-
Gaspésie-Îles de la Madeleine	100	France, China, Haiti
Chaudières-Appalaches	1,141	France, China, Colombia
Laval	15,028	Romania, Lebanon, Morocco
Lanaudière	2,600	France, Haiti, China
Laurentides	5,272	France, China, Romania
Montérégie	24,488	France, China, Romania
Centre du Québec	1,602	Colombia, France, Bosnia-Herzegovina
All of Quebec	266,509	France : 27 792 (10,5 %) Algeria : 18 959 (7,1 %) Morocco : 18 072 (6,8 %)

Source: MICC (April 2006). *Portraits régionaux, 1995-2004 – Caractéristiques des immigrants établis au Québec et dans les régions en 2006.*

partly explains why central regions near the Montréal metropolitan area have positive migration balances.

Integration agencies in rural areas have noted a number of problems. First, in spite of the Quebec government's goals of regionalizing immigration, its funding is proportional to the number of individual cases of immigrant settlement. Outlying regions have to make considerable efforts to attract immigrants and foster their integration. In rural areas, integration is handled by community groups, which are made up of local people, many of whom are old-stock Quebecers, whereas in Montréal, ethnic associations and groups assume this responsibility.

The goal of regionalizing immigration therefore runs counter to the centralization of services such as those promoting francization and the learning of Quebec customs. As a result, rural communities and the regions mainly take in immigrants migrating from their first place of settlement in Quebec, because there are not enough resources to provide front-line services in those communities.

Recognition of experience, skills and qualifications is another problem that poses a major challenge in that candidates' occupational profiles do not fit regional labour force needs. In late 2006, in order to ensure a better "fit" between the candidates selected and those needs, the MICC announced that amendments to the *Regulation respecting the selection of foreign nationals* were being implemented to give more weight not only to university training but also to technical qualifications. In addition, candidates will earn more points if they decide to settle in an outlying area. Unfortunately, these new rules seem to meet employers' needs far more than they represent a genuine response to the goal of settling the regions.

Avenues for further reflection on political support of immigrant diversity in rural areas

The data clearly support one major conclusion: the population of Quebec's rural areas is still very homogeneous and largely made up of old-stock Quebecers. Thus, immigrant diversity is not yet a characteristic of these areas. Yet although immigrant migration from urban to rural areas is limited and relatively undocumented compared with the large number of immigrants settling in urban centres, it is a trend that should gain strength. While it does not represent in itself a way of stemming or reversing the population

decline in some rural areas, this form of migration is a part of the solution.

Solidarité rurale du Québec is aware of the situation and has taken action accordingly. It has formed a focus group and produced discussion papers and a brief that proposes a provincial integration policy along the same lines as Quebec's *National Policy on Rurality*. A successful rural immigration policy would include the following:

- Encouraging immigrants to choose a rural community as a place to live instead of the city and providing information on the related opportunities and benefits;
- Targeting immigrants who express the desire to live in a rural area through promotional activities focused on foreign countries, exchanges and training;
- Taking a systematic approach to identifying the expectations, needs and profiles of immigrants and the host communities;
- Helping rural areas integrate immigrants more effectively by providing them with a broad range of housing, health care, training, psychological support, employment, and language training services;
- Providing host communities with support in planning for, receiving and integrating immigrants;
- Promoting information sharing among Quebec's rural communities on immigrant integration mechanisms and experiences through provincial, regional and local promotion activities;
- Establishing innovative learning sites that reflect the specific characteristics and needs of each region and that help the host community and immigrants connect with one other;
- Encouraging innovative approaches to foster the integration of immigrants into regional communities on the basis of existing initiatives in the province;
- Giving stakeholders the time to carry their immigrant integration activities to fruition so immigrants can settle in at their own pace and adapt to their new home;
- Decentralizing the management of immigration support programs and measures while harmonizing the various policy initiatives of the departments involved.

In this context, several key stakeholders have a number of roles to play in the regionalization of Quebec immigration.

Roles of government and departments:

- Expressing a political commitment to incorporate immigration into the broader goal of dynamic, sustainable settlement of the regions;
- Promoting rural areas;
- Supporting local initiatives and community organizations involved in receiving and assisting immigrants;
- Decentralizing or at the very least adjusting programs and measures to the regions.

Roles of professional associations and unions, who are key players in the recognition of foreign credentials:

- Providing retraining opportunities for immigrants and recognizing their degrees, diplomas and skills;
- Facilitating and supporting recognition procedures.

Roles of local stakeholders and people, groups and associations actively involved in immigration:

- Engaging decision-makers and elected officials in the immigration issue (leadership, goals, action plan);
- Raising the awareness of the general public and employers in particular;
- Developing a clearly articulated strategy that places immigrant intake, integration and retention within a comprehensive regional development strategy;
- Providing information on economic, social and homeownership opportunities in rural areas.

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This study examines the characteristics of Quebec's immigrants who have chosen to locate and remain in non-metropolitan regions. It focuses primarily on the young members of immigrant families and their linguistic, professional, social, and cultural integration. It concludes that policies that encourage non-metro immigration must address improvements in two major areas: employment and quality of life.

Immigrant Integration Outside Montréal

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In memory of my friend Francine Grégoire, citizen of the world, who died tragically on March 9, 2007.

The situation of immigrants in outlying regions, particularly in rural areas, is generally poorly understood, even though it has been 15 years since Québec introduced an immigration regionalization policy (Simard 1996). This article looks at the overall integration of immigrants in outlying regions – linguistically, professionally, socially and culturally, at the specific difficulties they encounter, and at the factors that motivate their long-term settlement outside Montréal.

Preliminary results quickly emerge, drawing mainly on the findings and general trends revealed by my studies of various immigrant populations in outlying regions, including parents and young people of immigrant origins, European farm operators and their children, seasonal migrant farm workers, and immigrant physicians in remote areas. Since immigration to outlying regions is primarily “family” immigration, an investigation that extends beyond first arrival in the outlying region and the first generation of parents is appropriate. This double historical and intergenerational perspective provides depth and distance, yielding greater clarity for a long-term view of immigration to the regions. Do young people with immigrant roots remain in the regions? What is their relationship with the region in which they grew up? This approach will contribute to a critical analysis of Québec’s immigration regionalization policy, introduced in 1992, and lead to new avenues of research.

It must be borne in mind, however, that in deciding to examine regional immigration from a sufficient distance, we must inevitably focus primarily on the older waves of immigration to the regions, particularly from Europe. Clearly, these immigrants’ favourable socio-economic characteristics, in terms of education, skills, capital and other factors, affected their integration into local communities. The reality of other, more recent waves, made up largely of refugees of diverse origins, must be explored further before definitive conclusions can be drawn. Furthermore, the population under study consists of those immigrants who “stuck it out” and remained in the regions, rather than those who left after a few months or years. The pathways followed by the second group remain little known and would be worth investigating in order to enrich our overall understanding of immigration to outlying regions.

Overall integration in the regions

Linguistic integration

Language difficulties did not emerge as a major concern for immigrant parents nor their children. The language barrier is quickly overcome in the first few years after arrival. Immigrants report that in the predominantly French-speaking environments of outlying regions, they need to fend for themselves and quickly learn to communicate with other residents. Allophone

adults who have not managed to master French are rare. As for the children, it seems that it is their “foreign accent” that causes problems, mainly in the form of teasing and nicknames. Therefore, their strategy is to quickly adopt a “Québécois” accent in order to help them fit in at school and form a circle of friends. Only young people who have arrived in outlying regions during adolescence seem to experience greater difficulties. While linguistic integration does not appear to be a major issue for the immigrants we interviewed, adults or youths, we must take care not to generalize too hastily, given the mainly European origin of the population studied. It remains to be seen whether recent immigrants – whose origins are more diverse – experience particular difficulties with linguistic integration in outlying regions.

A surprising result that emerged among regional young people of immigrant origin who were born in the region or who were of school age or pre-school age when they arrived with their parents is the fact that they are multilingual (Mimeault et al. 2001). Half of these young people are of European origin, while the other half are of various other origins: African, Asian, Latin American and Haitian. A majority of them has lived in the region for more than 10 years and have parents of relatively high socio-economic status. The languages most frequently mentioned by these multilingual respondents are their parents’ language – French, English and Spanish. The majority of interviews indicate that the parents’ language is valued, considered a “legacy” to be conserved and passed down to their future children. It represents a distinctive symbol of identity for these young people aged 18 to 29. In an age of globalization, learning and mastering several languages is perceived as a clear asset. Multilingualism appears at once as a definite advantage in finding work, in travelling and in communicating with people from other countries, as well as a source of pride. In this respect, it seems to be one of the roots of these youths’ outward-looking attitude toward the world, as well as of their unique hybrid culture and identity, as will be illustrated later. To what extent is this multilingualism valued among young people in Quebec as a whole? Further exploration of this question and its relationship to the transformations of the last few decades would contribute to a broader understanding of the issue.

Occupational integration

In general, occupational integration has been successful for farm operators and other parents in outlying regions. Due to the demand for skilled workers in those regions at the time of their arrival (1970-1980), they hold stable jobs, mainly in education and health care. Those sectors were in the midst of restructuring and expansion in the wake of the Quiet Revolution of the 1960s. Immigrants working in agriculture are of European descent (Belgian, French, Swiss French and Swiss German) and were in their late thirties at the time they immigrated. They had solid training and expertise in agriculture when they arrived in Quebec with their families at the end of the 1970s (Simard 1995a).

Nevertheless, this relatively positive picture should be qualified, as it seems that more recent waves of immigrants are experiencing greater problems with deskilling and occupational integration. An example of this is the unstable status of immigrant seasonal farm workers, the majority of whom are refugees who arrived within the last five years from Latin America, Africa, Eastern Europe, Haiti and South-East Asia. During the busy season on the farms, they are transported daily to regions near Montréal. Half of these workers are well educated, with a post-secondary or university education, yet they have a hard time obtaining recognition of their diplomas and skills, and face difficult working conditions, including discriminatory practices and, in some cases, substandard health and safety conditions. The average age of these workers is 40, although those of Haitian origin are considerably older, sometimes over 70 (Mimeault and Simard 1999).

Another example worth mentioning is immigrant physicians, who encounter major hurdles securing recognition of their overseas diplomas. These doctors have had to wait a long time – an average of nine years – to access medical retraining opportunities and then be allowed to practice in remote regions of Quebec. In the meantime, they had to take multiple jobs for which they were overqualified in order to support their families (Simard and Van Schendel 2004). These physicians are mainly men who were in their late thirties at the time of their arrival. Half come from Europe and the other half from Latin America, the Caribbean, Asia and the Middle East.

Young people of immigrant origin living in outlying regions, most of whom are just

These young people see this hybridization as a source of enrichment and greater skill, which is helping them develop valuable qualities in a globalizing world and an open-minded, outward-looking attitude. Unlike a narrow, dualistic view of cultural identity, this view goes back to the idea of new, syncretic cultural forms developed by Michel Giraud in France in the late 1980s, whereby a genuine synthesis replaces the simple juxtaposition of cultures felt to be in crisis.

beginning their careers, generally have jobs with no security. They start their working lives with temporary jobs, short-term contracts, shift work, various McJobs. This is not surprising, since young people today are particularly affected by the labour crisis in North America and Europe over the last two decades. Faced with this crisis, they have developed a “pragmatic” relationship to work, refusing to embrace it as the sole value in their lives. They compensate with a broad range of activities – leisure time with friends, travel, supportive relationships, and so on – that satisfy their desire for personal growth and fulfillment. These activities provide an opportunity for self-realization outside of paid work and for new social, cultural and/or professional experiences. Young people attach great importance to overall quality of life (Simard et al. 2001).

Social integration

Immigrant farm operators gradually become involved in local and regional society. Their first connections, upon arrival, are with work and unions. After about six years, their participation spreads to social life, often through school or leisure activities with their children (parents’ committees, parish activities, sporting associations, religious groups, social clubs, and so on). The entire family – father, mother and children – joins in these social activities. Then, after about ten years, political involvement is observed, either on municipal councils or in advocacy groups dealing with environmental issues or regional development (Simard 1995b). Immigrant doctors also become involved in local life, time permitting (Simard and Van Schendel 2004). They often have a heavy workload since there is a severe shortage of doctors in Quebec’s regions.

This general involvement in local life, which helps invigorate regional and rural communities, is certainly encouraged by the value attached to community participation in outlying regions and by personal relationships. Few immigrants join local ethnic associations. Our interview subjects

felt that these were of little help in integrating into society and even feared the creation of ghettos. This observation forces us to qualify some preconceived notions about the need for an existing ethno-cultural core group in a region in order to attract immigrants. Other alternative approaches, such as local internships, partnering programs and informal sponsorships, can be used to compensate for the lack of a critical mass of immigrants in a region and to ease the reception and integration of immigrants.

However, the existence of a certain social distance from native-born Quebeckers emerged from the interviews with parents in outlying regions. The difficulty of forming deeper ties with “old-stock” Quebeckers that go beyond the usual courtesies, was mentioned. The result is a certain feeling of melancholy and social and cultural isolation that does not entirely disappear even after 15 or 20 years in the country. Some people say that full integration takes time and even that it requires “sacrificing a generation.” Others would like to have more contact with old-stock Quebeckers through open, multi-ethnic associations where they could practice their French, join in holiday celebrations and learn about the customs and manners of regional/rural Quebec communities. On the other hand, young people of immigrant origin living in the regions seem to find it easier to form true friendships with “old stock” kids, largely because of ongoing interaction beginning in school. The social distance between immigrants and native-born Quebeckers deserves further study, particularly with attention to the individualistic lifestyle found in Western societies and potential metropolitan/regional and urban/rural differences.

Cultural integration

Investigation of the practices of young people of immigrant origin living in outlying regions gives us a longer-term view of *cultural integration*, beyond the parents’ generation. By virtue of their socialization in two or more cultural systems,

these young people are undergoing a unique recombining of culture and identity. They do not feel at all torn between two or more cultures – a fact that counters earlier notions in the literature indicating that a double identity was both problematic and pathological – but develop a new culture based on a combination of elements taken from both cultures. They borrow from both their culture of origin and Quebec culture, assembling and fashioning an original cultural construct that draws upon their multi-faceted heritage. The terms they themselves use are telling: *mixité* [fusion], *mélange* [mix], *hybride* [hybrid] (Mimeault et al. 2001).

A new dynamic relationship of cultural “reciprocity” and “hybridization,” driven by daily interactions with the local host society, is emerging in the case of these young people. They see this hybridization as a source of enrichment and greater skill, which is helping them develop valuable qualities in a globalizing world and an open-minded, outward-looking attitude. Unlike a narrow, dualistic view of cultural identity, this view goes back to the idea of new, syncretic cultural forms developed by Michel Giraud in France in the late 1980s, whereby a genuine synthesis replaces the simple juxtaposition of cultures felt to be in crisis. To what degree is this type of hybridization also typical of young Montréalers of immigrant origin? A comparison of practices in Montréal and elsewhere will need to be conducted in order to identify the similarities and differences.

The openness of these young people to the world is genuine and is evidenced by, among other things, frequent travel and involvement in international cooperation projects. Youths of immigrant origin living in outlying regions are not isolated in a closed, narrow regional universe. They clearly maintain transnational ties (Simard 2004). Many have experienced mobility since childhood, having spent summer vacations in their parents’ countries of origin. Exchange programs in other Canadian provinces or abroad to learn a second language and adventure travel – primarily in Europe, South America, the Middle East and India – are also common. This contact with other countries is part of their family heritage. It helps open new horizons for these young people and enriches their social, cultural and linguistic capital. In an age of globalization, it is an asset that fosters the development of a broad range of skills and knowledge. Relatives in the country of origin or

in the diaspora serve as a window on the world as well as a link with whom the youth feel comfortable, providing a safe haven or springboard during trips abroad. A thorough analysis of the mobility practices of all Quebec youths might yield enlightening results in this connection.

Young people's multiple allegiances and relationship to the region

Young people from immigrant backgrounds therefore tend to develop multiple identities, calling themselves both citizens of Quebec and citizens of the world. These identities vary by age group and phase of youth, such as adolescence, early post-secondary studies, labour market entry, birth of first child. They are certainly not fixed or unchanging, since they reflect the heterogeneous nature of the youths and their paths. While almost all reported a sense of belonging to Quebec, it in no way prevents them from feeling a simultaneous sense of belonging to another culture, particularly to the parents’ country of origin, the world, and to the part of Quebec where they grew up.

The sense of belonging to a region of Quebec is expressed, for instance, in the fact that a significant proportion – approximately one third – of young people of immigrant origin who leave their region to pursue post-secondary studies return after completing their education. This unexpected finding reveals a positive relationship with the region, which is expressed in the youths’ comments about their reasons for returning. They go back to their region of origin primarily for the lifestyle: interesting work that provides a decent living; a personal social network of close friends and supportive relationships; a good, safe place to raise a family that is close to grandparents; and the appeal of the great outdoors, with its clean air, peacefulness, easy access to open spaces and outdoor activities. Their decision to return is motivated by various combinations of these economic, social, cultural and environmental factors. To preserve this quality of life, they are prepared to accept the fact that there are fewer types of services and fewer career opportunities available to them in the region. In this respect, they are no different from old-stock Quebec youth, for whom overall quality of life is the overriding consideration in settling in outlying regions (Simard 2003).

Attraction and retention factors in the regions

Our survey of the reasons why young people return leads us to a final point: the factors in long-term settlement of immigrants outside Montréal. There is no single magic formula for attracting and retaining immigrants in outlying regions. Constant effort must be made to balance a number of variables: individual factors (country of birth, age at arrival, education, skills, etc.), regional factors (labour market diversification, quality of services, etc.) and structural factors (such as the global economic environment). However, some conclusions do emerge from the studies. The conditions for long-term settlement can be summarized in two key concepts: jobs and overall quality of life.

It is not true that immigrants categorically refuse to settle outside of Montréal. Some say that they are prepared to do so provided they can find a job and an attractive, dynamic living environment. They differ little, on this count, from native-born Quebecers, who share their desire to live decently, in every respect, in outlying regions. Their requirements include a satisfying job, access to essential services (such as hospitals), good schools and diverse social and cultural activities for the whole family.

In other words, economic factors as well as social and cultural considerations are involved. The importance of the cultural dimension, which is often neglected in existing incentives, was underscored by both the parents and the youth of immigrant origin. Immigrants in outlying regions do not want to live in a “social and cultural desert,” as they put it. While they value proximity to nature and the great outdoors, as well as the safety of regional and rural communities, they are not prepared to forego a minimum overall quality of life to live there.

The example of immigrant doctors is revealing. They are persuaded to continue practicing in outlying communities beyond their initial contract through a combination of factors – not only occupational, but also social, cultural and family-related (Simard and Van Schendel 2004).

Need for coordination with a regional and rural development policy

The immigration regionalization policy must therefore be accompanied by a vigorous development policy for both regional and rural environments if immigrants who choose to settle permanently in the regions are to find a decent quality of life there. Such a policy must address

all aspects of life in outlying communities – cultural and social as well as economic. Otherwise, settling immigrants in outlying regions is likely to be a quixotic quest, for they will not want to live in a depressed, distressed community that does not meet their minimum requirements.

It must be borne in mind that individuals decide to emigrate to another country primarily to improve their social and economic status. Therefore, if they do not perceive the regions as a conducive environment for upgrading their living conditions, they are likely to leave and look elsewhere – in Montréal, in other provinces or even in other countries.

The challenge for the government and for outlying regions is therefore to make these vast areas attractive to immigrants and then to promote them, since most immigrants know little about conditions there. It is also important to design flexible reception and follow-up mechanisms for newcomers that meet their diverse needs, for immigrants are by no means a homogeneous group. Finally, these mechanisms must be adapted to each region’s capabilities and resources. Unless immigration regionalization policies and regional and rural development policies are in sync, these challenges will be difficult to meet.

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The Changing Nature of Australia's Country Towns

The Changing Nature
of
**Australia's
Country Towns**



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Much has changed since 2000, when the first national conference on The Future of Australia's Country Towns heard a great deal about the decline of the bush, and many appeals against the callousness of governments. Today the varied circumstances of towns are better understood, non-government initiatives increasingly prevalent, and (some) governments more sensibly attentive. Growth, stasis and decline are not just employment-driven, nor is all employment agricultural. The most interesting and encouraging trend of recent years is toward many different kinds of self-help and mutual aid. Towns are identifying their problems, articulating their intentions, and finding ways to solve and achieve them.

The ideas and actions described in this book are those of academics and inhabitants of country towns (sometimes the same people) often working closely together. They reflect our growing understanding of the realities, sometimes harsh, frequently

hopeful, of non-metropolitan Australia. The book covers five themes: people and the changing social and economic trends as drivers of rural and regional development; the art of engaging people in their own development; new modes of development – re-seeing the old and making it new again; water and its management at the community level; and the planning processes and frameworks including a detailed look at Australian local government and the New Rural Economy program in Canada.

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This article explores the impact of (im)migration on the changing dynamics of rural labour markets in Ontario and the conditions under which migrants and immigrants are socially included or excluded. For three Southern Ontario rural communities we consider how workers acquire information about employment opportunities and settlement, how rural employers recruit and retain workers, and the social, economic and institutional factors that draw workers to seek jobs in particular localities.

Diverse Workplaces, Homogeneous Towns: Some Preliminary Findings from Rural Southern Ontario

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Ontario's rural communities create jobs in manufacturing, agriculture, and services, but face two major labour market challenges. First, demand for labour is often met by transitory workers who live far from their jobs, such as those commuting from cities such as Toronto, London and Hamilton, or even other countries, in the case of foreign workers. These workers often make workplaces more racially diverse even though rural residential communities remain far more homogeneous. Second, the demand for workers is growing: expanded job opportunities in rural areas have resulted in relative labour shortages, especially for skilled and low wage labour. Although the federal government posits that this shortage can be met through immigration, rural communities have been unsuccessful in making this policy work for them.

Our research explores the impact of (im)migration on the changing dynamics of rural labour markets in Ontario with a particular focus on the conditions under which migrants and immigrants are socially included or excluded from rural communities, as well as the reasons informing their decision whether or not to reside where they work. Focusing on three Southern

Ontario communities (Bradford, Strathroy and Tillsonburg), our study identifies and analyzes the formal and informal institutions that link workers to labour markets as well as to areas of settlement. Our discussion in this article draws upon interview data collected from our case studies during 2006. To date we have conducted interviews with 30 key informants including municipal planners, human resource managers from the largest employers, and the executive directors of various staffing agencies. We address questions regarding how workers receive information about employment opportunities and settlement; how rural entrepreneurs recruit and retain workers; the social, economic and institutional factors that draw workers to seek jobs in particular localities; and lastly, how such newcomers reshape the communities where they are employed. We anticipate that our findings will have direct relevance for employment services in the public domain, for private entrepreneurs, and for communities seeking more successful immigration and settlement.¹

¹ We thank the Sustainable Rural Communities research program of the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs for financially supporting this study.

We have adopted a labour market approach to address our research questions. Two fundamental premises of our work are: 1) whereas good jobs are the major driver of immigrant attraction to rural communities; 2) the choice of community in which immigrants tend to settle is heavily influenced by other factors, in particular social, cultural, familial and religious ties. The main hypothesis that we seek to test is the extent to which rural Ontario is characterized by diverse workforces and homogenous towns.²

Ontario's changing rural labour markets

Ontario's manufacturing history has taken sharp turns in recent decades that have shifted labour needs in rural communities. The food processing operations that previously offered pockets of rural employment fell victim to global restructuring in the late 1980s, leaving many rural residents facing unemployment, underemployment, or re-employment in cities (Winson and Leach 2002). The anticipated total demise of rural manufacturing, however, never occurred. Yates and Leach (2005) point to a shift in manufacturing production from metropolitan Toronto and Montréal to suburban and rural areas between 1976 and 1997. These shifts have been driven by labour supply, incentives offered by municipalities, and the high availability of low cost land on which to build, facilitated both by the expanded use of trucking and the building of new roadways (Sousa and Leach 2007; Brown and Baldwin 2003). Consequently, rural Ontario has experienced significant growth in the 1990s, in particular in small, often Canadian-owned, auto parts producers which locate in small towns within easy travelling distance to the major automotive assemblers.

The growth of rural employment opportunities has exacerbated the long-standing labour shortages in the agro-food sector (Basok 2002; Satzewich 1992). In the post-War period, agricultural producers have seen their costs of production rise while commodity prices dropped steadily. One of the trends these structural pressures have produced is a decline in the

number of farms but a growth in farm size, including the emergence of corporate operations (Winson 1993). Although considerable mechanization has occurred, the sector's labour requirements remain high (Basok 2002). Chronic labour shortages in the agro-food sector have been compounded by demands on rural labour supply from higher paying industries such as auto parts. The agricultural industry has resolved some of these problems through a federal labour mobility program that employs over 16,000 foreign workers annually, a clear indication of the extent of labour needs (Preibisch 2004).

Rural communities face problems retaining youth populations or attracting newcomers to fill existing labour shortages (Dupuy et al. 2000). At the same time, the increasing concentration of immigrants in Canada's metropolitan regions has led to growing interest among various levels of government to explore avenues for more evenly distributing immigrant settlement (CIC 2001). Rural communities, however, are not popular destinations for immigrants. Less than 10% of Ontario's immigrants reside in rural areas, and among recent newcomers, less than 5% choose to live outside urban destinations (Di Biase and Bauder 2004). Although few rural residents are immigrants, our initial findings suggest that a number of rural workers are. We have begun to document a significant number of (im)migrants living in the province's urban centres who travel great distances to rural workplaces. These emerging trends give rise to the compelling question: To what extent and why is rural Ontario characterized by diverse workforces and homogenous towns? Is this desirable or is there a need for policy interventions to encourage (im)migrants to settle in the communities where they work?

Three case studies: Bradford, Strathroy and Tillsonburg

We selected the three communities under study on the basis of their geographical location, especially in relation to the Greater Toronto Area (GTA) and the 400 series highways, and the representation of both auto parts manufacturers and food processors in their industrial mix. Auto parts production and food processing require different kinds of work forces, and both are likely to require labour beyond that available in the immediate locality. Food processing is labour intensive at specific times, but overall requires relatively unskilled workers. Auto parts is subject

² We use the term homogeneous to refer to the lack of racial diversity that characterizes rural towns in Southern Ontario (with the exception of those with a large aboriginal population). Indeed, three quarters of Canadians belonging to racialized groups live in the nation's cities. Recent immigrants to Canada are predominantly people from non-European backgrounds who are settling largely in three of the country's urban centres (Toronto, Vancouver, and Montréal).

Chronic labour shortages in the agro-food sector have been compounded by demands on rural labour supply from higher paying industries such as auto parts. The agricultural industry has resolved some of these problems through a federal labour mobility program that employs over 16,000 foreign workers annually, a clear indication of the extent of labour needs (Preibisch 2004).

to a different rhythm, dictated largely by the major assembly plants, and requires a broader range of skill levels.

Bradford

The town of Bradford West Gwillimbury, located on the northern fringe of Canada's largest city, has approximately 22,145 inhabitants. Situated on Highway 400, Bradford is a short 30-minute commute from the GTA. It is also serviced by an important railway link. Municipal officials boast of the community's "small-town feeling" while noting its strategic proximity to major markets and urban centres. Bradford is also adjacent to the Holland Marsh, an ecologically rich, flat terrain, which sustains a thriving agricultural sector. Indeed, the town is considered the "carrot capital" of Canada, although local growers produce a number of other field crops for domestic and international markets. While agriculture remains an important economic mainstay, the majority of working residents are employed in the service (47%) and automotive parts manufacturing (21.5%) sectors.³ Bradford's unemployment rate is 3.5%, nearly half the national average.

The cultural composition of the community is moving gradually towards greater diversity. Long-settled Dutch and Portuguese immigrants constitute a sizeable segment of the local population, while more recently, visible minorities – particularly Southeast Asians – have begun moving into the area and now comprise 6.5% of the total population.⁴

Strathroy

The Township of Strathroy-Caradoc is a newly reconstituted community of nearly 20,000. The community is 35 kilometres west of London and in close proximity to Highways 402 and 401, connecting it directly to major Canadian and U.S. cities. The community is also linked to major markets through two railway services.⁵ The rural settlements which constitute Strathroy-

Caradoc are longstanding agricultural producers of a diversified range of commodities that gave rise to a robust food processing sector. The community has also developed a diversified industrial base including major transnational automotive parts producers. Not surprisingly, the agricultural and manufacturing sectors respectively account for 11% and 27% of the community's total employment.⁶ All of this has contributed to building a strong local economy with an unemployment rate below the national average (5.4%). Although visible minorities comprise only 1.7% of the population, roughly 16% of residents are foreign-born, a result no doubt of the rather large Dutch and Portuguese communities.⁷

Tillsonburg

With a population of 14,100, Tillsonburg is the second largest town in Oxford County.⁸ Located 15 kilometres from Highway 401 and just two hours away from both Toronto and the United States border at Windsor/Detroit, Tillsonburg is well situated to participate in industrial development. Although the local economy has long relied on tobacco farming, the steady decline of this industry has fortunately been accompanied by a diversification in economic activities, including auto parts manufacturing, industrial production, and agri-food processing.⁹ The town is heavily involved in economic development and plays a key role in a regional marketing alliance focused on attracting new investments to the region. Tillsonburg has also been successful in attracting retirees. While the median age of the population is 41.4 years, almost 45% of the population is over the age of 45.¹⁰ The town is predominantly Canadian-born

⁵ Municipal website, www.strathroy-caradoc.ca.

⁶ Statistics Canada, Strathroy Community Profile, Census 2001.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Hemson Consulting Inc, 2006, "Population, Household, and Employment Forecasts 2001-2031," Oxford County, p. 2.

⁹ Southwestern Ontario Marketing Association, 2006, "Community Profile: Tillsonburg." Consulted on February 2, 2006. www.somasite.com/data.php?menu_id=3693.

³ Statistics Canada, Bradford Community Profile, Census 2001.

⁴ Ibid.

and White, with just 3% identifying as a visible minority and 15% as foreign-born.¹¹

Initial findings

Our initial findings indicate that the “diverse workplaces, homogeneous towns” thesis is an accurate reflection of the selected case study communities.

Rural employers who hire immigrant and migrant labour belong to a wider group of industries that has expanded beyond the primary sector

Farm operators in the study communities have long relied on new Canadians and temporary visa workers. Over the last 20 years, however, this workforce has also been increasingly represented in food processing and industrial manufacturing. Tillsonburg, for example, which has been a labour market destination for low-German speaking Mennonite (im)migrants for a couple of decades, is now employing immigrants from the Vietnamese community in the automotive manufacturing industry. Immigrants in all the communities are also finding work in less desirable jobs such as food processing, meat packing and harvesting. Interestingly, in contrast to the labour markets of large cities such as Toronto, immigrants do not seem to be securing work in health-related fields such as home care or nursing homes.

(Im)migrant populations working in rural areas have undergone changes, including becoming more diverse

While each of our case communities has a unique pattern of immigrant settlement, employers across the board stated they are hiring groups from an expanded range of immigrant groups, including those from Eastern Europe, Southern Europe, Latin America, Eastern Asia, South-Eastern Asia, and South Asia.

Immigrants are filling rural jobs in skilled, semi-skilled and unskilled positions

Immigrants are being hired to fill a variety of skill-level positions, including, for instance, taking up jobs as manufacturing engineers, food safety specialists, and production line workers. Our findings also show that employers do not necessarily use the specific skill set in which these new immigrants have been trained, but benefit from the higher education in general and a perceived willingness to work longer hours at

lower wage rates. Some immigrants with foreign credentials, however, were being hired in their fields and in some cases, were recruited from abroad to fill high-skilled positions.

Some immigrants choose to settle in rural areas, but considerable factors deter further settlement. For instance, although a number of immigrants finding work in rural municipalities are choosing to settle in these communities, many others choose to remain in larger urban centres instead, discouraged by poor public infrastructure (including transportation systems and social services), limited continuing education opportunities, limited daycare availability, lack of affordable housing (apartments), the contingent nature of their jobs, and an absence of cultural and social institutions and support systems. According to our initial estimates, somewhere between one-third and just under half of the workforce of major employers are commuting from outside the community, and the vast majority of these individuals are immigrants.

The institutions that link workers to rural jobs are found in both the private and public sectors. These include the human resource departments in multinational corporations, government employment listings, temporary staffing agencies, churches and informal networks.

Rural municipalities face a number of challenges in seeking to attract newcomers to their communities

These challenges include a lack of capacity and resources to manage growth in a sustainable manner. Rural municipalities have tended to focus their efforts on recruiting and retaining investment, and hence expanding employment opportunities, but have lagged behind in building the social and physical infrastructure that will encourage (im)migrant workers to make rural communities their permanent homes.

Employers face a range of difficulties recruiting both skilled and unskilled workers to rural jobs. Wage competition from foreign multinational firms that offer more attractive wages and benefits is perhaps the most significant challenge. Indeed, firms located in rural communities that offer competitive wages were less likely to report recruitment or retention problems, as were firms in industrial manufacturing. In other cases, rural employers faced problems related to the lack of

¹⁰ Statistics Canada, Tillsonburg Community Profile, Census 2001.

¹¹ Ibid.

affordable housing. Bradford, for example, is fast becoming a “bedroom community” for Toronto-bound commuters with expensive residential housing that is largely inaccessible to the local work force. In Strathroy, we discovered that one major food processor had plans to purchase an abandoned care facility and convert it into temporary housing for its seasonal staff. Employer problems related to the lack of available housing are compounded by deficiencies in rural transportation infrastructure.

These latter findings indicate a divergence between rural employment opportunities and rural development priorities. In the case of Bradford, for example, existing and future residential development (some on greenfield sites) is currently aimed at higher income groups than that supported by the local labour market.

Our findings have direct implications for how we understand labour recruitment and retention in rural enterprises, local labour markets, regional migration and immigrant settlement. They especially have immediate relevance to rural entrepreneurs, for example in terms of reducing turnover and improving their mechanisms of labour recruitment. For policy-makers in rural municipalities and at the provincial and federal levels, they raise important issues in terms of expanding their communities by attracting workers in rural areas to establish permanent settlement. Finally, they contribute new knowledge to the federal government’s recent initiative to encourage immigrants to settle outside the larger metropolitan areas.

If rural Ontario communities are to continue to grow and flourish economically, they must be able to attract new investment and retain existing opportunities. Employers who invest must be sure that there is a ready supply of labour willing and able to work, with the appropriate skills. Immigration is a critical path through which the Canadian government is meeting this challenge. Our research begins to identify what rural communities need to do to encourage immigrants to work and settle in their communities, including the contributions that can be made by government policy, non-profit and private labour market institutions, community groups and local government to the successful attraction and integration of immigrants into rural communities. An improved, integrated labour market strategy, linked to an immigrant resettlement strategy, will enhance communities’ capacity to attract permanent immigration.

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Integration of Newcomers

Integration of Newcomers: International Approaches

The Winter 2006 edition of *Canadian Diversity / Diversité canadienne* provides a comparative perspective on international approaches to the integration of newcomers.

The issue includes profiles of Australia, Austria, Belgium, Canada, the European Union, Finland, France, Israel, Italy, the Netherlands, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland. There are also thematic articles on civic discourse, challenges to integration, the "second-generation," and a debate on the Danish cartoon controversy.

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A small and diminishing share of immigrants choose to reside in rural Canada. Whereas immigrants comprise 28% of the urban population, they make up just 6% of predominantly rural regions. Indeed, a smaller share of new arrivals is choosing to settle in rural regions than ever before.

Rural Immigration in the Prairies: Knowledge Gaps¹

MARIANNE SORENSEN

Tandem Social Research Consulting

The aim of this paper is to examine the existing literature on Prairie rural immigrant characteristics and the basis upon which they make settlement choices.² The review illustrates that our current knowledge of the characteristics of rural immigrants and the basis for their settlement choices is very thin, both with respect to the Prairies and the nation. Yet, a thorough understanding of rural immigration is crucial to the development of meaningful policy and programs designed to attract immigrants to the rural Prairies and to tackle issues of rural decline. To address identified knowledge gaps, the paper concludes with a set of future research recommendations. I begin, however, by

highlighting divergent rural population change, rural immigration patterns, and immigration policies and programs across the three Prairie provinces (Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba).

Rural population and rural immigration patterns

Rural population growth in the Prairies has not kept pace with urban growth; the rural and small town population accounted for just 20.5% of the total population in 2001, down from 29.7% in 1971. Rural population change, however, varies considerably across the Prairie provinces. In Alberta, the rural population increased by 32% in the past 30 years, compared to just 4% in Manitoba. Saskatchewan, the most “rural” of the three Prairie provinces, experienced an 8% reduction in the rural population during the same period (Azmiar and Stone 2003).

Given the now well-documented economic growth and cultural diversity benefits of immigration, these rural population patterns suggest that immigration is potentially a vital source of rural population sustainability and regional development, especially in the province of Saskatchewan.

Yet, a small and diminishing share of immigrants choose to reside in rural Canada. Whereas immigrants comprise 28% of the urban population, they make up just 6% of predominantly rural regions. Indeed, a smaller share of new arrivals is choosing to settle in rural regions than ever before. The proportion of

¹ This article is based on certain elements of a report prepared by Marke Ambarid entitled “Improving Attraction and Retention of Rural Immigrants: Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba.” The focus here is primarily on supply side issues of rural immigration whereas the Ambarid paper includes such topics as retention and demand-side factors in local communities. The report and paper were supported by the Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada and Government of Alberta’s Employment, Immigration and Industry.

² The terms “rural” and “rural and small town” used in this document are variably defined depending on the definition used by the respective authors drawn upon. Some authors such as Beshiri (2004) use the term “predominantly rural” which are census regions in which more than 50% of the population lives in rural communities and a rural community is defined as having a density of less than 150 persons per kilometre. Other researchers define rural based on population size rather than spatially and while some include ‘metro-adjacent’ communities in ‘urban’ others, such as Beshiri designate it as ‘rural.’

TABLE 1
Rural immigrants by province (2002)

	Total # of immigrants	% of Canadian immigrants	# of rural immigrants	% of provincial rural immigrants	% of Canadian rural immigrants
Canada	255,888	100%	12,237	4.8%	100.0%
Total Prairies	23,192	9.1%	5,085	21.9%	41.6%
Alberta	16,568	6.5%	3,119	18.8%	25.5%
Saskatchewan	1,814	0.7%	318	17.5%	2.6%
Manitoba	4,810	1.9%	1,648	34.3%	13.5%

Source: Statistics Canada, Components by Population Change by Census Division, extracted from Beshiri, 2004, Appendix Table 3 and authors own calculations.

new immigrants residing in rural regions of the country peaked in 1993; with 23,300 located in rural areas representing 10.3% of the total immigrant population (Beshiri 2004). As shown in column 4 of Table 1, however, rural immigrants represented just 4.8% of the total 255,888 immigrants arriving in Canada in 2002.

Table 1 also demonstrates that although a small proportion of all immigrants settled in the Prairies in 2002 (9.1%), rural regions in these three provinces received larger proportions of immigrants compared to the national average (21.9% versus 4.8%), representing a significant share of the total rural Canadian immigrant population (41.6%). Alberta, which tends to receive the most immigrants of the three provinces, accounts for the majority of this figure, with 25.5% of all rural immigrants settling there. Manitoba receives a very small share of the total Canadian immigrant population (1.9%), but it is clear from Table 1 that a much larger proportion of their immigrants reside in its rural regions (34.3%). Of the 1,814 immigrants settling in Saskatchewan, 17.5% reside in rural regions, representing just 2.6% of the total rural immigrant population in the country.

To a certain extent, the rural immigration patterns depicted in Table 1 parallel the aforementioned rural population changes in each Prairie province. Alberta has experienced the strongest rural population growth and its rural regions receive the largest share of all rural immigrants in Canada. In Saskatchewan, it is clear that rural immigration is insufficient to offset a diminishing rural population. Manitoba, though experiencing modest rural population gains, stands out as having the largest share of its immigrants settling in rural regions and, in fact, among all provinces is second only to New Brunswick on this measure (Beshiri 2004).

Further research by Beshiri (2004) shows that among all the rural census divisions in the country, new immigrants contribute the largest share to existing populations in four predominantly rural regions found within both Manitoba and Alberta. These immigration rates are explained by the economic viability in the regions (e.g., beef slaughter and processing as well as oil sands development in Alberta; and a growing manufacturing sector in Manitoba). In the case of Manitoba, however, strong immigration to certain rural regions is also due to the provision of extensive immigration settlement and integration support and because of cultural and industry-occupation matching between current and new populations of Mennonites. The success of these programs is also largely due to concerted collaboration between local industry, local government and the provincial government under the federal Provincial Nominee Program (for a more detailed account of the programs see Silvius case study reports at www.brandonu.ca/rdi/Publications/Immigration/Winkler-Final.pdf).

The data presented in Table 1 provide a good snapshot of 2002 rural immigration patterns in the Prairies. These figures should be updated to measure the success of recent policy changes in Alberta and Saskatchewan. Since 2002, both provinces have entered the Provincial Nominee Program and both are continually working on immigration policies designed to address labour shortages in Alberta and population sustainability in Saskatchewan. Manitoba, as well, continues to refine its model of immigration success.

We now turn to an examination of the characteristics of Prairie and rural immigrants. This information is important both in terms of what we can learn from the differences between rural and urban immigrants and in terms of what this tells us with respect to efforts, such as those

highlighted in the Manitoba example, designed to match immigrant characteristics with the regional environment.

Who are rural immigrants?

Given the limited availability of published information on rural immigrants in the Prairies, we are largely left with extrapolating from data on all Prairie immigrants in comparison to those settling in the rest of Canada and from national data on rural immigrants in comparison to urban immigrants.

With respect to the former set of comparisons, it is first notable that the class of immigrants varies significantly between the Prairies and the nation and among the three Prairie provinces themselves.³ Except for the Northern territories, the economic class comprises the largest proportion of the three possible entrance classes of immigrants to each province. Manitoba, however, receives the highest proportion of economic class immigrants (67.3% compared to 56.7% nationally), Saskatchewan receives higher than average refugees (28.8% compared to 13.9% nationally) and Alberta receives higher than average family class immigrants (31.5% compared to 26.4% nationally) (Mulder and Korenic 2005). We are uncertain, however, as to whether the higher rates of economic, refugee and family class immigrants in Manitoba, Saskatchewan and Alberta, respectively, are also found among rural immigrants in the Prairies.

The situation in the Prairie provinces is different from the rest of the country in terms of the ethnic origin of immigrants most likely to chose the Prairies as their destination. Each province also seems to attract a different mix of immigrant ethnicities. Manitoba receives a higher proportion of Filipino immigrants (14.2%) than Saskatchewan (3.7%) and Alberta (4.9%). British immigrants make up the largest single immigrant ethnicity in Saskatchewan (14.9% compared to 11.3% in Alberta and 9.6% in Manitoba), while in Alberta, Chinese immigrants are the leading immigrant group (14.0% compared to 9.0% in Saskatchewan and 5.2% in Manitoba) (Mulder and Korenic 2005).

Compared to urban immigrants, rural immigrants are less likely to be visible minorities (16% of rural immigrants are visible minorities

compared to 73% of all immigrants) (Beshiri 2004). Given this and given the higher rates of immigrants from Britain and Germany in Saskatchewan, we might presume that visible minority immigrants are the least represented in that province. On the other hand, their higher rates of refugee class immigrants could also suggest that the opposite is true. In the end, therefore, we really know very little about the combined characteristics of immigrants in the Prairies, let alone in the rural regions of these provinces.

When examining the characteristics of new immigrants arriving between 1996 and 2001, we find that, compared to urban immigrants, rural immigrants are less likely to be university graduates, more likely to be employed, but less likely to work in professional, trade and industry occupations. Compared to the rural Canadian-born, new rural immigrants have lower employment rates, lower representation in the more lucrative professional occupations and higher representation in the generally lower paying service and sales occupations. Furthermore, the much lower earnings of rural immigrants compared to the rural Canadian-born population is apparent despite the fact that rural immigrants are significantly more likely to have a university degree (Beshiri 2004). Once again, however, we are unclear as to the extent to which these findings apply in the Prairies and how they might interact with class, visible minority status and other characteristics.

Perhaps one of the most illuminating pieces of information we have is the Beshiri (2004) finding that, though visible minority immigrants tend to have higher levels of education than non-visible-minority immigrants in all regions of the country, the educational disparity is most apparent within rural Canada. Hence, while rural regions attract fewer visible minorities than urban regions, they attract more highly educated visible minorities. This is an interesting finding that warrants further exploration to determine why this is the case and whether it applies to the Prairie provinces as well. Is this a function of independent settlement choices of educated visible minority immigrants or does it reflect regional policies designed to attract much needed professionals, such as doctors, to the area? If it is the latter, the educational advantages of visible minority rural immigrants may be temporary insofar as these programs have not proven to be wholly effective in the long term. In Grant's (2006) case study

³ The three major entrance classes are the economic class (which includes skilled workers, and business, entrepreneur, investor and self-employed immigrants), and the family and refugee classes.

review of an Alberta policy designed to recruit foreign-born physicians to smaller communities, for example, he found that many of these recruits left the region within three to five years, once their contractual obligations ended and they had received full accreditation allowing them to practice elsewhere.

Though this is not an exhaustive presentation of the characteristics of rural immigrants, it is sufficient to make the point that we really know very little. Perhaps one of the most important missing pieces of information is the “rural” background of immigrants. Specifically, are immigrants settling in rural Canada more likely than urban immigrants to have lived in a rural environment in their source country? Similarly, are immigrants from certain countries or with certain ethnic or cultural backgrounds more likely to settle in rural regions of the country?

Moreover, for the purposes of developing policy, it is clear that it is not sufficient just to know the proportion of Prairie rural immigrants who are from each class or who are visible minorities or who have high levels of education and so on, but we need to know the combined characteristics. We need to know, for instance, what are the predominant labour market skills held by immigrants originating from major source countries such as those found within Asia and Africa and, at an even more granular level, what are the needs and interests of immigrants who might be attracted to rural and small town Canada that stem from their unique cultural, linguistic and religious backgrounds.

Learning about the characteristics of rural immigrants, while important, only provides limited information in the absence of knowing the motivations that underlie location settlement choices. In other words, to understand the flow of immigrants to urban versus rural regions of Canada, it is crucial that we have a good understanding of the decision-making processes made by newcomers when choosing a location.

Reasons for choosing rural

A review of the general research on the factors that attract and retain immigrants shows that employment opportunities continue to be a consistent key factor (Bauder 2003; Statistics Canada 2005; Derwing et al. 2005). Research is beginning to uncover, however, other aspects of community life that immigrants view as important considerations in their choice location decisions. In fact, social and/or kinship ties are

now considered just as important, and in some cases even more important, than economic factors (Derwing et al. 2005; Statistics Canada 2005).

Though these same pull factors might apply to rural destinations, little research exists on the settlement choices of rural immigrants. Nonetheless, three provincial studies provide some insight on the reasons why immigrants choose to settle in the rural regions of these provinces.

First, testing for the influence of labour market characteristics and housing availability, the authors of an Ontario study found that rural immigrants’ destination choices could not be adequately explained using economic variables, and that choices were most likely based on the proximity of family and friends. Reasons for not choosing a rural location included lack of information, insufficient immigrant services, and a mismatch between possessed skills and those needed in the area (Di Biase and Bauder 2005).

Similar findings with respect to the strong influence of social and kinship ties were also found in a Quebec study, and for some, to the extent that they would be willing to forego economic advantages in order to be near their co-ethnics (Metropolis Conversation Series 9, 2003).

Silvius and Annis’ (2005) case study research on three rural regions of Manitoba that have experienced relatively high rates of immigration found that the positive aspects of living in the community were often related to quality of life factors such as having a safe and relaxed atmosphere and having helpful neighbours, and to the perception that a rural environment is a good place to raise children. Another aspect of the community viewed as beneficial to immigrants was the availability of culturally familiar services. Negative aspects included isolation, limited training and educational opportunities, limited occupational options, and limited types of certain services (e.g., child care, youth services).

These findings suggest that although both urban and rural immigrants frame their choice location decisions by drawing on local economic and social elements, rural immigrants may be more apt to emphasize quality of life factors that we typically associate with rural living.

The results from these provincial studies are helpful in furthering our understanding of why immigrants might choose one location over another. To the extent that immigrants increasingly cannot be viewed as a homogeneous group with the same interests and needs, we need a better understanding of the decision-making

processes among immigrants from a variety of backgrounds and demographic characteristics of those who are considering a rural existence in each province.

Future research recommendations

What follows is a summary of the research needed to address the major knowledge gaps that have been highlighted throughout the report and that are prerequisites to the development of effective rural immigration policy. We need:

- Current data on rural immigration patterns within each Prairie province;
- Program evaluations of the recently enhanced immigration policy portfolios in Alberta and Saskatchewan;
- Individual and combined background characteristics of immigrants settling in rural Canada and in the rural Prairies, specifically – especially those pertaining to the rural background characteristics of immigrants, nationally and in the Prairies; and
- A research model that links choice-location decision-making factors with the labour market, education levels, source country, ethnicity and visible minority characteristics of immigrants.

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It is perhaps useful to think of rural communities as snowflakes. From afar, one sees a certain similarity amongst them, with each exhibiting common properties and tendencies. One could certainly distinguish them from what they are not, for example, raindrops. And yet with closer inspection, it is apparent that each snowflake is radically different from one another, exhibiting different shapes, patterns and sizes. Rural communities, similarly, exhibit common properties and tendencies amongst them...[yet] each rural community is distinct from the next.

Reflections on the Rural Immigration Experience in Manitoba's Diverse Rural Communities¹

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Immigration is not a recent phenomenon in Western Canada. With the notable exception of aboriginal people, it is not unreasonable to suggest that our present inhabitants can trace either their ancestry or personal, physical origins to a place other than Canada. Furthermore, the history of Western Canada's *rural* areas is inextricably bound to that of immigration, and crucial aspects of Canada's immigration history took the initial form of newcomers and their engagement with Western rural frontiers. There is no need to rehearse stories of, for example, the European settlers who arrived in the rural West to establish agricultural economies or Chinese labour that constructed Canada's railway through inhospitable territory – surely these are well enough known or intuitively grasped.

But is it appropriate to speak of immigration as a meaningful phenomenon to rural Canada *today*? Immigration in the overall Canadian context remains an overwhelmingly urban affair: Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver alone received approximately 71% of immigration to Canada from 2005 through the second quarter of

2006.² There is no question that these are, in fact, among the most *diverse cities* one might find anywhere on the planet. But immigration clearly remains a crucial issue for rural Canada in general and the rural West in particular, as well-informed and innovative immigration programs and policies have the potential to increase rural economic strength and cultural vitality. Indeed, some rural communities already have phenomenal *contemporary* experiences of new arrivals.

Furthermore, many of those situated in rural areas that are struggling to retain current residents hope that the injection of people and their skills

¹ We express our gratitude to Manitoba Labour and Immigration (LIM) for their continued support and assistance, with special thanks to Benjamin Amoyaw. The series of Manitoban immigration figures appearing in this work were compiled by LIM and accessed through personal correspondence. We also thank Bill Reimer for his insightful comments on an earlier draft, as well as Beth Peers and Sylvia Henry at RDI, for editing and formatting assistance.

² Based on figures from Citizenship and Immigration Canada's on-line newsletter *The Monitor*, www.cic.gc.ca/english/monitor/pdf/issue-14e.pdf accessed February 9, 2007.

may serve as a crucial facet of wider strategies to combat the demographic challenges facing them. The issue of rural immigration, whether it comes in the form of an actually existing phenomenon or an idea contemplated by rural leaders and government policy-makers, is one that warrants further attention. As we argue, policy mechanisms and practices at the provincial level, while not stemming the tide of immigration to Canada's urban centres, can nonetheless play a crucial role in facilitating immigration to rural areas.

In the spirit of *Our Diverse Cities*, then, we emphasize the veracity of "our diverse Rural communities." It is perhaps useful to think of rural communities as snowflakes. From afar, one sees a certain similarity amongst them, with each exhibiting common properties and tendencies. One could certainly distinguish them from what they are not, for example, raindrops. And yet with closer inspection, it is apparent that each snowflake is radically different from one another, exhibiting different shapes, patterns and sizes. Rural communities, similarly, exhibit common properties and tendencies amongst them. We certainly know that they are not urban centres. Look at them closely, though, and you will see that despite these common characteristics and binding identities, each rural community is distinct from the next – offering different sizes, different people, different challenges, sometimes even different languages. This consideration is of great importance when attempting to grasp the contemporary phenomenon of rural immigration.

In the present work, this will be illustrated through a selection of *Manitoba's* diverse rural communities. Our thinking on the matter of rural immigration was initially informed primarily by two initiatives: The CRRF-RDI National Rural Think Tank 2005 – Immigration and Rural Canada: Research and Practice, which was held in April 2005 in Brandon, Manitoba, and the Manitoba Rural Immigration Community Case Studies, undertaken at approximately the same time. Since this period, and with continued collaboration with Manitoba Labour and Immigration (LIM), we have reflected further on rural immigration and developed a series of papers and presentations for multiple fora. We invite you to visit www.brandonu.ca/rdi for downloadable full versions of this previous work on rural immigration. It is from all of these efforts that this piece is derived and to which it refers; as such, our thinking, much like cabbage perogies, has a distinctively Manitoban flavour.

Manitoba rural immigration

Manitoba warrants attention as a fascinating and successful example of innovative policy and practice on the matter of rural immigration, given the conscious role that the provincial government plays in collaborating with rural communities and the manner in which recently devised provincial policy mechanisms and practices facilitate rural migration to and across the province.

The contemporary story of rural immigration in Manitoba must begin with an account of the province's enhanced responsibility in the area of immigration. In 1998, Manitoba signed the Provincial Nominee Agreement with the federal government through the Canada Manitoba Immigration Agreement (CMIA), enabling the province to recruit, screen and nominate skilled workers and entrepreneurs and accompanying families to help meet Manitoba's economic development goals. The resulting Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) is an economic program – its objective is attracting skilled workers – which has evolved since its inception to now include a number of diversified assessment streams. In other words, the PNP offers multiple criteria sets that applicants may meet to settle in the province, constituting a far more flexible entry program than previous federal standards permitted.³ As a result of the PNP, immigration to Manitoba – both to rural areas and Winnipeg – has increased considerably in recent years, with more immigrants now arriving in Manitoba by way of the PNP than federal streams. More importantly for our purposes, when contrasting the rural and urban (Winnipeg) arrivals under PNP and federal streams, the extent to which the PNP better facilitates immigration to *rural* environments is abundantly clear. This reinforces the extent to which immigration under federal jurisdiction may be viewed as primarily an urban phenomenon.

Furthermore, Manitoba assumes full responsibility for settlement services. The province has recently developed the Community Immigration Planning Portal in conjunction with community leaders to provide more effective planning tools for communities.⁵ This commitment to community collaboration is reflected in the province's support for ongoing stakeholder meetings and training surrounding community planning for immigration. The

³ www.gov.mb.ca/labour/immigrate/immigration/2.html.

TABLE 1

Manitoba: Winnipeg/Rural Immigration through the PNP⁴

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total	%
Winnipeg	555	500	1,038	2,124	2,898	3,149	4,660	14,924	67,8%
Regional	542	472	489	982	1,150	1,470	1,978	7,083	32,2%
Total	1,097	972	1,527	3,106	4,048	4,619	6,638	22,007	100,0%

TABLE 2

Manitoba: Winnipeg/Rural Immigration through federal immigration streams*

	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total	%
Winnipeg	3,086	3,204	2,744	2,996	2,993	2,985	2,913	20,921	87,7 %
Regional	461	412	350	390	386	493	437	2,929	12,3 %
Total	3,547	3,616	3,094	3,386	3,379	3,478	3,350	23,850	100,0 %

* "Federal immigration streams" include Federal Skilled Worker, Business, Live-In Care Giver, Family Class Sponsorship and Refugee streams.

province is active in working with communities on overseas promotion and recruitment initiatives to encourage direct information exchange with potential immigrants. Manitoba's PNP policies encourage direct involvement by employers, applicants, Manitoba supporters, international students and community members in the application process. Taken together, Manitoban policy and practice offer an innovative, decentralized framework for immigration that develops expanded roles for multiple actors in the processes of recruitment, settlement and integration, which in turn expand the opportunities for immigration to rural areas.

The Manitoba community immigration case studies

The snowflake analogy is important to keep in mind as you read the following summaries of our case study communities, and in general when reflecting on the question of rural communities and immigration. Each community – Steinbach, Winkler, Portage la Prairie and Parklands – displays unique characteristics, goals and needs, while, as rural communities, they face certain common challenges in efforts to attract and retain immigrants. Furthermore, there is an important distinction to be made between the diversity exhibited “amongst” rural communities and “within.” Without portraying rural communities as internally monolithic or static entities, it is still possible to suggest that

historically many have been settled by particular cultural or linguistic groups and that many exhibit these characteristics even today. The extent to which contemporary immigration both *changes* such a composition and is *enabled by it* remains an open and interesting question.

Though the studies were undertaken approximately two years ago and much has changed for each community since then, we feel they nonetheless continue to offer great insights into the processes undertaken to develop community immigration strategies. At the time of the studies, they were situated on different points along the continuum from attraction, to settlement, to retention. Particular attention was paid to community responses in the founding moments of developing immigration plans or responding to the already existing phenomena of an immigrant population influx. The progression of immigration to each community from 1999 to the present is included in Table 3.

If our initial case studies served as a snapshot of community immigration initiatives, the following is but a snapshot of that snapshot! We invite you to read the full case studies on our website.⁷ In each case, it is important to consider that while each community has to varying degrees accessed provincial mechanisms and consulted with provincial government personnel, the nature and scope of the immigration

⁴ Manitoba Labour and Immigration, February 2007. 2006 numbers in this and other figures used throughout this work are preliminary.

⁵ www.gov.mb.ca/labour/immigrate/portal/introduction.html.

⁶ Source: LIM. LIM notes that in 2006, 94 Manitoban communities benefited from immigration.

⁷ In all cases, there remains a current need for further research and to revisit community strategies in light of changing circumstances, the number of new arrivals, and the successes and/or difficulties encountered since initial plans were implemented.

TABLE 3

Immigration to Manitoban case studies communities, 1999–2006Immigration to Steinbach, Winkler, Portage la Prairie and Parklands⁶

	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006 (Preliminary)	Total
Steinbach	126	197	150	136	393	310	369	406	2 087
Winkler	226	244	260	226	411	465	693	800	3 325
Portage la Prairie	0	6	5	5	13	12	8	10	59
Parklands	30	31	19	30	61	50	32	37	290

strategy pursued by each varies considerably. In other words, the PNP has facilitated immigration to rural communities with varying results, though different strategies can and will continue to be employed by communities themselves.

Winkler⁸

A city of 8,500 located in Southeastern Manitoba,⁹ Winkler arguably represents one of the most dynamic cases of rural immigration in all of Canada. The City of Winkler and Winkler and District Chamber of Commerce have been extremely active in pursuing and supporting immigration to satisfy the area's human resource needs and are placed in the position of having to respond to a considerable influx of new arrivals. Manitoba government personnel responsible for immigration have been actively engaged with the matter, beginning in 1997. The "Winkler Initiative" pilot project resulted from this engagement, whereby immigrants arrived in the area based on meeting provincial criteria. In 1998, an agreement was signed between the province and its federal counterparts to bring the PNP into being, making for more opportunities for new arrivals in the area, building on demand and connections already established. The recent influx has been comprised of three predominant groups: Russian-German, German and Kanadier – Mennonites who had at one point left Southeastern Manitoba to settle in parts of Mexico and Central and South America. Broad segments of the community have taken a keen and active interest throughout the recent immigration initiatives. According to LIM, Winkler itself has witnessed the arrival of 3,325 immigrants between 1999–2006.

Responding early to the need to facilitate the

integration of new arrivals, Winkler effectively organized settlement and language services through the South Central Settlement and Employment Services (SCSES) and the Pembina Valley Language/Education for Adults (PVLEA), respectively, as well as activating personnel within the education and health fields. A buoyant economy continues to facilitate immigration to the area; many area employers have offered jobs through the PNP. Connections between immigrants who have arrived and potential/eventual arrivals enabled greater linkages between the area and overseas, offering considerable support, assistance and incentive for greater numbers arriving in the region. The Mennonite Central Committee and Church Elders have assisted with Kanadier resettlement/reintegration in the community, underscoring the important role that these religious institutions play in the community in general and in facilitating/enabling immigration in particular.

Winkler served as the original generator of contemporary rural immigration in Manitoba. Both itself and the surrounding area have witnessed a number of arrivals that is simply extraordinary for their collective size. As such, Winkler offers experiences that are instructive and promising when considering the possibilities of rural immigration in the province, highlighting what may be achieved in a rural immigration initiative when close collaboration exists between business, city officials and LIM. Nonetheless, due to the area's predominant religious, cultural, linguistic and economic elements, it remains appropriate to ask how this particular experience may or may not be reproduced elsewhere in the province.

Steinbach¹⁰

Steinbach is a city of approximately 9,000 people located 61 kilometres southeast of Winnipeg.¹¹ Steinbach's recent immigration

⁸ Please see R. Silvius, *Manitoba Rural Immigration Community Case Studies: Winkler*. RDI Working Paper 2005-8.

⁹ www.communityprofiles.mb.ca. Retrieved February 7, 2007.

phenomenon emerged out of a climate of considerable growth in the latter half of the 1990s through a process driven largely by employers (who contacted the provincial government to determine how human resource needs could be met), and consultants (who recruited actively in Germany). Russian-Germans, Germans and Kanadier comprised the bulk of new arrivals.

According to LIM, Steinbach has witnessed the arrival of 2,087 immigrants from 1999 through 2006. Over this period and in response to the vast number of previous landings, the trend in service provision for immigrants to Steinbach has been one of growth and formalization of services. This includes a variety of settlement services through Steinbach and District Immigration Settlement Program (SISP), which was organized by Steinbach's City Council and Chamber of Commerce; language through South Eastman English and Literacy Services (SEELS) and educational and health supports within the area's school division and the regional health authority.

Local businesses have utilized the PNP and many skilled workers have started their own businesses. With a burgeoning economy, Steinbach as a community has witnessed growing pains in recent years, particularly with respect to the availability of housing, and the immigration phenomenon remains inextricably linked with (though not exclusively responsible for) this wider growth. Strong leadership from and co-operation amongst government, business and social services have contributed to the community's capacity to facilitate the successful arrival and settlement of immigrants amid challenges such as credentials recognition and a housing shortage.

Steinbach offers a robust model of rural immigration. However, before assuming an easy transferral of Steinbach's model and experience, those seeking to encourage immigration elsewhere need to consider at length the extent to which Steinbach's unique cultural composition (factors of language and religion), continued growth and diverse economic base have all contributed to the numbers of immigrants received and retained.

Portage la Prairie¹²

Portage la Prairie, a city of 13,000 situated 88 kilometres west of Winnipeg,¹³ presents a careful and measured approach to immigration promotion within a framework established

primarily by a municipal government. The City of Portage la Prairie decided in 2004 to pursue its own distinctive route in developing knowledge around immigration, since it was interested in promoting business development and recognized the need for both skilled and unskilled labour. The City conducted research on the matter of immigration and consulted with experienced people elsewhere in the province and representatives from Manitoba's PNP, from which it was decided that the City itself could, at least in the initial stages of the immigration strategy, provide all services that immigration consultants and settlement services provide elsewhere. The Portage la Prairie International Agency (PIA) was established to perform this function. According to LIM, Portage la Prairie has seen the arrival of 59 immigrants during the 1999-2006 period. These numbers suggest, at this time, that there is less of a likelihood of the same depth and scope of overseas networks that are contributing to growth in the Winkler and Steinbach cases. Furthermore, in Portage la Prairie's case, there is no one predominant country of origin of the new arrivals.

Parkland Region¹⁴

The Parkland Region, with a total population of approximately 50,000, is located between the province of Saskatchewan, Lake Manitoba and Lake Winnipegosis.¹⁵ Experiencing difficulty in finding people to take over existing businesses, the Parkland Economic Practitioners Group spoke to LIM about the prospects of immigration filling this need and, in 2003, initiated significant research. An elaborate, multi-phased program entitled the Parkland Immigration Strategy Initiative was developed from the findings. In a manner similar to Portage la Prairie, Parkland represents a case of significant planning and preparation prior to pursuing or realizing a large number of new arrivals, in this case initially at the behest of community economic practitioners. This came by way of a

¹⁰ Please see R. Silvius, *Manitoba Rural Immigration Community Case Study: Steinbach*, RDI Working Paper 2005-7.

¹¹ www.communityprofiles.mb.ca.

¹² Please see R. Silvius, *Manitoba Rural Immigration Community Case Study: Steinbach*, RDI Working Paper 2005-6.

¹³ www.communityprofiles.mb.ca.

¹⁴ Please see R. Silvius, *Manitoba Rural Immigration Community Case Study: Steinbach*, RDI Working Paper 2005-5.

¹⁵ www.communityprofiles.mb.ca.

coordinated effort between the region and its participating communities to organize settlement services, all while investigating what groups may be best suited to the region and its needs. Immigration to the Parkland Region in 1999–2006 totalled 290, according to LIM. Similar to the Portage la Prairie case and distinct from Winkler and Steinbach, new arrivals to the area are not from any one predominant country of origin. The Parkland Immigration and Language Regional Services (PILRS) was formed in 2004 to organize and identify ESL needs and provide ESL services. In addition to organization at the regional level, some participating communities organized settlement committees and had *de facto* settlement support people who took up the role of first contact for new arrivals in the initial stages of planning. The Parkland Region's immigration initiative was forged without the luxury of being able to consult with other regional immigration models. Though organization at the regional level for immigration enables the sharing of resources and services among communities, the region's vast area – some 25,000 square kilometres – reinforces the need for further local organization.

Best practices or lessons learned?¹⁶ **The pratfalls of applied research on "the rural" and "the immigrant"**

Though the darling of many a government official or policy developer, "best practices" represents a potentially dangerous term for those engaged in rural research. With the earlier snowflake analogy in mind, we feel that prescribing a series of uniform measures that will apply equally well within and across a number of eclectic rural communities is a lofty though misleading objective. The footnote presented in the subtitle line presents the source of our more comprehensive thinking on this subject. In short, however, we can state here that pursuing immigration can be a viable option for rural communities when it is accompanied by appropriate action and planning, an appropriate knowledge base, adequate human and material resources at local, provincial and national levels and a linking of rural communities to national and provincial decision-making on immigration policy. Nonetheless, immigration initiatives alone

do not constitute a panacea for rural communities suffering the development challenges associated with rural out-migration and aging populations. Nor can it be derived from the case studies whether there exists anything along the lines of a *particular* best practice/strategy for facilitating immigration that may be reproduced in additional communities.

Furthermore, "immigrant" can be a horribly misleading, often abused category. There is no such thing as an immigrant, if it is taken to mean a person with predicable motivations, preferences and expectations. This is no less evident in rural environments than in urban. It may seem foolish to stress this, but immigrants are not simply economic resources. Immigrants have multiple motivations for relocating to rural areas, including seeking employment, farmland, or business opportunities, safety/security, opportunities for children, a rural lifestyle and associated quality of life and connection to family and similar cultural/linguistic/religious community. Their needs are diverse, and successful efforts at retention must take all factors into consideration, including suitable employment, language and additional training, recognition of credentials and employment experience, a receptive community and social interaction, housing, access to community services, access to appropriate information for making informed decisions and a wider cultural/religious/linguistic community. Similarly, their contributions to community life are diverse, consisting of labour, participation in community life, demand for goods and services, cultural diversity, population (tax base), critical support for other newcomers, connection to overseas communities, ideas and innovation.

Moreover, it is unreasonable to think of new arrivals as radically different from existing rural residents for a number of reasons. Immigrant families settling in some rural areas will be embedded in contexts suffering from rural out-migration, demographic challenges and the related difficulty in rural service provision. Rural immigrant families will seek opportunities for advancement, higher wages and personal fulfillment in their careers. The children of rural immigrant families will feel compelled to leave for larger centres for work and educational opportunities. In other words, the powerful, though certainly not insurmountable, challenges facing many rural communities will not be stemmed by the arrival of newcomers alone, nor will these newcomers be immune from certain

¹⁶ Please see R. Silvius and R.C. Annis, *Issues in Rural Immigration: Lessons, Challenges and Responses*. RDI Working Paper 2005-9, for our most elaborate telling of the potential challenges facing rural communities in developing immigration strategies.

Pursuing immigration can be a viable option for rural communities when it is accompanied by appropriate action and planning, an appropriate knowledge base, adequate human and material resources at local, provincial and national levels and a linking of rural communities to national and provincial decision making on immigration policy. Nonetheless, immigration initiatives alone do not constitute a panacea for rural communities suffering the development challenges associated with rural out-migration and aging populations.

pressures long-felt by many rural communities.¹⁷ Given the indissoluble link between research and action in applied rural research, one must approach the subject of rural immigration with great care, taking measures to entertain the general aspects of both new arrivals and rural communities with the particular aspects of individual communities, families and persons.

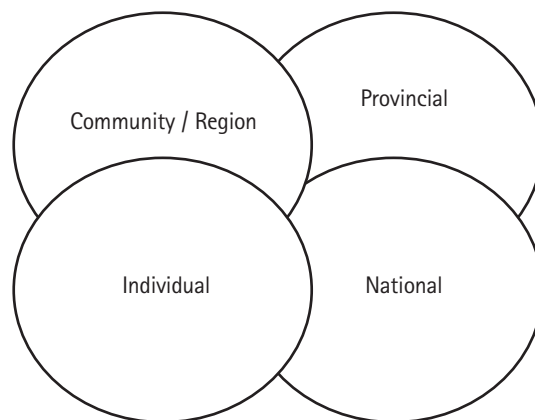
Conclusion: conceptualizing the rural immigration experience¹⁸ and the importance of research, policy and practice¹⁹

The above case studies and commentary should give an initial indication that the phenomenon of rural immigration is one that involves and affects multiple actors and brings with it innumerable potential complexities and scenarios. The objectives of any one actor both exist in relation to and are dependent on the satisfaction of those of another. We conceive of the rural immigration experience as *individual or numerous acts of immigrants moving to rural areas and the related impact on the multiple levels and associated actors engaged in the process*. Importantly, a successful immigration experience entails a high level of satisfaction for all parties involved – the individual (immigrant), community and larger political units (provinces and nation) – and is enabled by the contributions and decisions made at each level. The existence of reciprocal relations and mutual reliance among these actors suggests that considering the needs and desired outcomes in isolation on any level invariably results in an unbalanced perspective, compromising outcomes, the quality of experience, and the overall success of initiatives.

Our thinking has developed with the intent of using a community development lens to understand the experiences and needs of the individual and community in an effort to formulate an approach to rural immigration from the bottom up. Though beyond our immediate focus, national and provincial trends,

mechanisms and priorities warrant attention for our purposes insofar as the responsiveness of national/provincial policy mechanisms may be improved to address and accommodate issues, priorities and needs “on the ground.” Nonetheless, we consciously avoid any debate on the finer points of “higher-order” questions, such as national quotas, regionalization

FIGURE 1
The spheres of the rural immigration experience²⁰



¹⁷ For our discussions of the challenges and impediments associated with rural immigration, please see Silvius, R., and R. C. Annis, *Issues in Rural Immigration: Lessons, Challenges and Responses*, RDI Working Paper 2005-9; and Silvius R., and R.C. Annis, *Recommendations for Enhancing the Immigration Experience in the Rural West: Lessons from Research, Policy and Practice*, RDI Working Paper 2005-11.

¹⁸ Please see Silvius, R., and R. C. Annis, *Recommendations for Enhancing the Immigration Experience in the Rural West: Lessons from Research, Policy and Practice*, RDI Working Paper 2005-11.

¹⁹ Please see Silvius, R., and R. C. Annis, *Recommendations for Enhancing the Immigration Experience in the Rural West: Lessons from Research, Policy and Practice*, RDI Working Paper 2005-11. See also: Silvius, R., CRRF-RDI National Rural Think Tank 2005 Final Report. 2005.

²⁰ Our thanks go to Bill Reimer for pointing out the importance of regional governments and organizations.

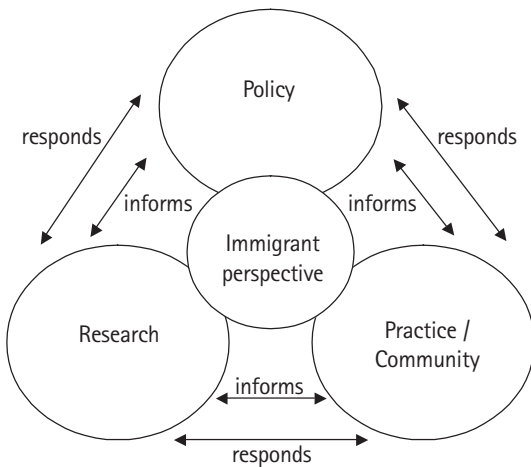
strategies, security matters, preferred immigrant countries of origin, humanitarian obligations, long-term demographic considerations, etc., though these questions must be considered. Our concern is how the experiences of rural communities, regional governing bodies and immigrants can better inform provincial and national policy and contribute to successful immigration initiatives.

Opportunities in the area of immigration must be commensurate with rural needs and realities. We feel as though this is best ensured through effective collaboration between actors in the realms of *research, policy and practice*, with a conscious engagement with the needs of new arrivals.

Such collaboration is necessary to think

seriously and creatively about the numerous impediments and challenges to rural immigration initiatives, including community capacity to offer necessary supports and services, mobility of new arrivals and the drawing power of larger centres. Furthermore, cooperation amongst those in the fields of research, policy and practice is required to promote the development of pertinent knowledge on immigration for rural communities, as well as that reflecting the specific concerns of rural Canada. In this manner, we can ensure that “our diverse rural communities,” in Manitoba, the West, and across Canada, are well represented and well-informed when venturing upon the complex terrain of immigration.

FIGURE 2
The nexus of research, policy and practice



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This article addresses the following two important questions related to immigration to smaller communities in Saskatchewan. What is being done to ensure that Saskatchewan's smaller communities attract and retain immigrants? What should be done to ensure that these communities attract and retain immigrants who will not only make a positive contribution to those communities, but who will experience positive benefits from settling in those communities? The province should assess what it has been doing in the field of immigration, and encourage and support local and regional communities to become much more actively engaged in attracting and retaining immigrants to their respective areas.

Immigration to Smaller Communities in Saskatchewan

JOSEPH GARCEA
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The goal of regionalization of immigration in Canada is to facilitate the attraction and retention of immigrants in local and regional communities other than the major metropolitan city-regions of Montréal, Toronto, and Vancouver. The question that has not been fully discussed or answered is whether the goal is to promote the attraction and retention of immigrants only for so-called second- and third-tier cities based on the size of their populations and the largest of the smaller urban centres, or whether it is also for relatively small urban and rural communities. This is an important issue for Saskatchewan because in addition to its two largest cities (i.e., Saskatoon and Regina), which have populations of approximately 200,000 and would therefore qualify as relatively small second- and third-tier cities, the province also has ten other cities that are essentially large towns by national and international standards. These range in population from approximately 5,000 to 30,000. There are also nearly 800 other urban and rural municipalities, most of which have populations of less than 1,000.

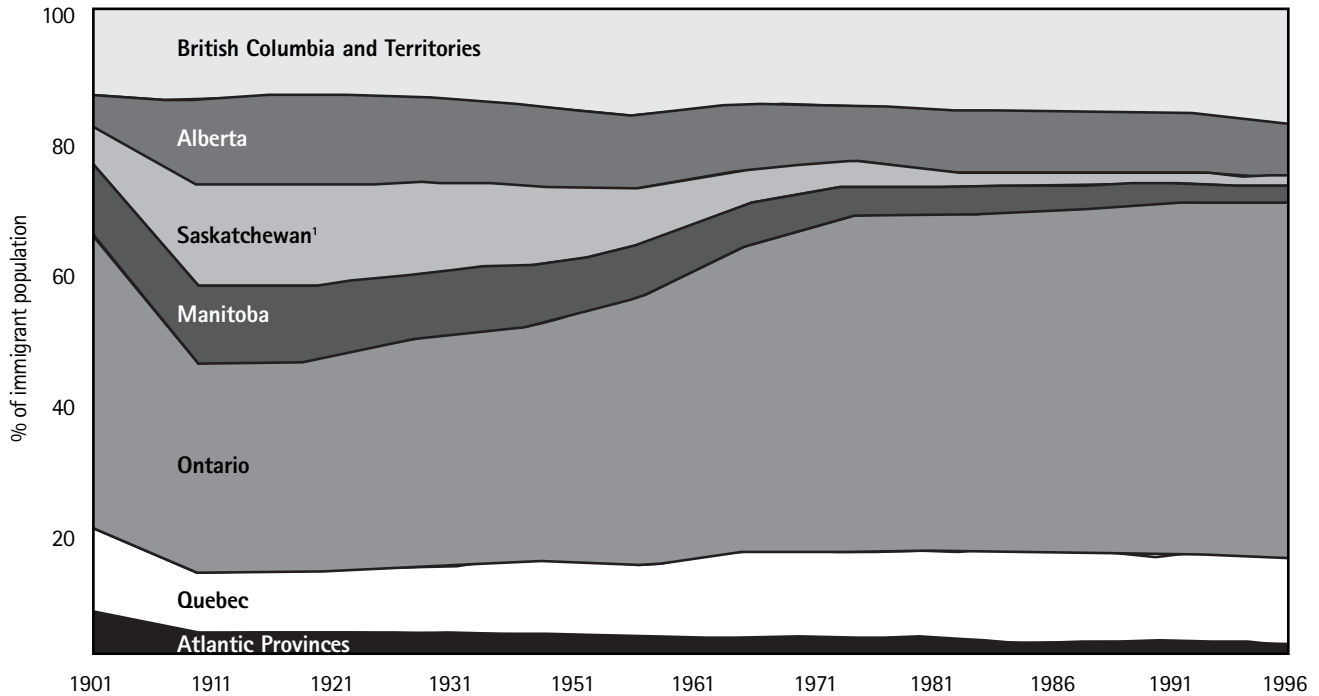
The two key questions addressed in this article are the following. What is being done to ensure that Saskatchewan's smaller communities attract and retain immigrants? What should be done to

ensure that these communities attract and retain immigrants who will not only make a positive contribution to those communities, but will experience positive benefits from settling in those communities? Before addressing those questions, it is useful to reflect on the historical and contemporary immigration trends for the province of Saskatchewan.

Historical and contemporary immigration trends

One of the major paradoxes in Saskatchewan's history is that a province which received approximately 500,000 immigrants in just three decades (i.e., from 1890 until 1920), subsequently only received approximately 100,000 immigrants during the second half of the 20th century (Anderson 2006). Those numbers for the post-World War II era are based on an annual intake of approximately 1,000 to 2,500 immigrants per year. Saskatchewan has not been able to capitalize on immigration in the same way that some other provinces have, not only because it has not received many immigrants per year, but also because its retention rate for immigrants has not been particularly high. Many immigrants, like many Canadian-born Saskatchewanians, have migrated to other

FIGURE 1
Immigration to provinces 1901-1996



Sources: Statistics Canada, product no. 93F0020XCB and 1901 Census of population (Bulletin XIII).
Source: Boyd and Vickers, 2000, p. 9.

provinces which have experienced major economic booms during this era, specifically Alberta, British Columbia and Ontario.

The effects of the early massive immigration flows to Saskatchewan were truly remarkable. During the early 1880s there were fewer than 1,000 non-Aboriginal people in Saskatchewan, by the early 1890s there were approximately 20,000, most of whom had migrated from Ontario. Over the next four decades, however, as a result of a massive flow of immigrants from the United States and various countries in Europe (i.e. Ukraine, Russia, Germany, Scandinavia, and the British Isles), Saskatchewan's population increased to approximately half a million prior to the outbreak of World War I and to approximately 920,000 by 1930 (Anderson 2006).

One of the most interesting demographic facts about Saskatchewan is that in the nine decades after World War I neither the immigration flows nor its population experienced the phenomenal increase which had occurred from 1890 to 1914. Consequently, the size of Saskatchewan's population today is essentially the same as it was in 1930 (Anderson 2006). Indeed, the only three major differences in Saskatchewan's population

today as compared to 1930 are as follows. First, whereas in the earlier era the vast majority of the population consisted of first-generation newcomers and their children, today only a very small proportion of the population consists of newcomers. Second, whereas during the early era, the proportion of the population that was of Aboriginal ancestry was declining, today the proportion of the population of Aboriginal ancestry has been increasing. Finally, whereas in the past the vast majority of the population was quite evenly divided among a large number of small urban and rural communities, today 40% of the population lives in the two largest cities, another 10% lives in the other 10 smaller cities with populations ranging from 5,000 to 30,000, and the bulk of the remaining population are scattered throughout the rest of nearly 800 urban, rural and northern municipalities. In addition to the 12 cities, this includes 146 towns, most of which have populations of no more than 1,000, 376 villages with populations of less than 500, and 297 rural municipalities which, apart from one or two notable exceptions with populations of 2,000 to 5,000, generally have populations of just a few hundred.

One of the major paradoxes in Saskatchewan's history is that a province which received approximately 500,000 immigrants in just three decades (i.e., from 1890 until 1920), subsequently only received approximately 100,000 immigrants during the second half of the 20th century (Anderson 2006).

This historical overview of immigration flows to Saskatchewan and the growth of its population suggests that what started as a massive flood of immigrants quickly dwindled to a trickle as a result of the two world wars and the Great Depression, and then dried up substantially during the Post World War II era to the point where it became, and has remained, a very small rivulet [see Figure 1].

During the past decade, approximately 75% of immigrants to Saskatchewan settled in the two largest cities (i.e., Saskatoon and Regina) while the remaining 25% settled the rest of the province [see Figure 2]. This means that Saskatoon and Regina receive approximately 35% more than their proportionate share of immigrants, and the rest of the communities in the province receive approximately 35% less than their proportionate share. Of those immigrants who settle elsewhere in the province, approximately 9% settled in Moose Jaw, Prince Albert, North Battleford, Swift Current, Estevan and Yorkton, and the remaining 16% settle in other communities. This means that approximately 84% of all recent immigrants settle in eight of the twelve cities (Anderson 2006). The majority of the remaining 16% settle in the other four cities and in a dozen of the largest towns.

In addition to the fact that it has only attracted a relatively small proportion of all immigrants coming to Canada each year, Saskatchewan has not been very successful in retaining those which it has attracted. In recent decades

Saskatchewan's overall retention rate has been approximately 50%. This percentage is the average between the retention rate for Saskatoon and Regina, which has been in the 65% to 75% range, and the retention rate in the rest of the communities which, on average, has been less than 50%. Clearly, Saskatchewan faces a major challenge in attracting and retaining a substantial number of immigrants to communities outside its two major cities. Saskatchewan has a network of approximately two dozen major regional urban centres with populations ranging from 2,500 to 35,000 which could attract and retain immigrants either within their boundaries or in surrounding smaller urban and rural communities if the right policy, program, and service frameworks were developed and maintained by key actors in the governmental and non-governmental sectors. The remainder of this article is devoted to an explanation of what is currently being done and what must still be done to attract immigrants not only to Saskatoon and Regina, but to these other major regional urban centres and the communities within their regions.

Contemporary provincial initiatives in immigration

During the past few years, Saskatchewan's provincial government has made special efforts to convert the immigration rivulet into a river, or at least a vibrant stream. Its efforts to do this have been concentrated on the Saskatchewan

FIGURE 2
Immigration to Saskatchewan 1997-2006

	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	Total
Regina	566 32.6%	498 31.8%	537 31%	672 35.7%	542 31.8%	555 33.2%	570 34%	656 33.8%	632 29.3%	766 28.9%	5,994 32%
Saskatoon	773 44.5%	694 44.3%	806 47%	791 42%	769 45.2%	721 43.3%	631 38%	802 41.2%	832 39.5%	1,143 43%	7,962 43%
Other Saskatchewan	396 32.6%	373 23.8%	385 22%	419 22.3%	393 23%	392 23.5%	467 28%	484 25%	642 31.2%	749 28.1%	4,700 25%
Total	1,735	1,565	1,728	1,882	1,704	1,668	1,668	1,942	2,106	2,658	18,656

Source: Canada 2006.

FIGURE 3

Number of principal applicants under SINP

Year	1997	1998	1999	2000	2001	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Number of Provincial Nominees	—	—	4	35	46	38	119	163	468	1,027

Source: Extrapolated from Canada, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Annual Reports to Parliament on Immigration from 1998 to 2006, and Saskatchewan 2007.

Immigrant Nominee Program (SINP). Its reasons for doing so are twofold. First, it wishes to attract and retain immigrants to assuage some of the labour market and capital market shortages in various parts of the provincial economy. Second, it needs to ensure that the province's population increases to, and remains above, the one million mark. This particular goal has become very important both for pragmatic and political reasons. The practical, pragmatic reason is related to the implications that a shrinking population would have both for the number of seats in Parliament and also for the per capita grants from the federal government. The partisan, political reason is that increasing and maintaining the population above one million has become an indicator for the general public of how well the provincial government is governing.

During the past decade the provincial government signed immigration agreements with the federal government, established an immigration unit and increased the number of staff from a handful at the start of this period to approximately four dozen in recent years. Additionally, the budget has been increased from approximately \$200,000 for staff and programming during the first few years to \$1.7 million in 2004-2005, \$6.3 million in 2005-2006, and \$8.5 million in 2007-2008 (Saskatchewan 2006a; and Saskatchewan 2007c).

The number of provincial nominees has increased in a relatively steady fashion – from 4 in 1999 to over 400 in 2005 and over 1000 in 2006 [see Figure 3]. Based on the assumption that each principal applicant brings on average two accompanying family members, the provincial government has estimated that approximately 3,000 newcomers will arrive from the 2006 provincial nominee cohort. The target is to attract enough principal applicants by 2008 to attract a total of approximately 5,000 newcomers annually (Saskatchewan 2006a). One of the interesting aspects of the immigrants arriving through the provincial nominee program for 2006 is that

approximately 66% of these are destined for the two major city-regions of Saskatoon (398 nominees) and Regina (280 nominees). From the remaining one third of provincial nominees for 2006, the majority is destined to the smaller cities and large towns (e.g., 65 to the North Battleford area and 38 to the Humboldt area). Very few are destined to the smaller urban and rural communities (Saskatchewan 2007a). At this time the principal objective of the provincial government is to increase the overall number of nominees, rather than their precise distribution among communities in various parts of the province.

As part of their efforts to accomplish that goal, the provincial and federal governments have altered the parameters of the SINP on several occasions during the past five years. The initial agreement limited both the number of categories of provincial nominees to skilled workers, health professionals, entrepreneurs and farm owner-operators and the number of provincial nominees which could be nominated each year was limited to 200. Subsequently, three additional categories of nominees were included (truck drivers, family members, and foreign students graduating from Saskatchewan institutions), while the entrepreneur category was broadened and made more flexible to make it easier for Saskatchewan to attract such nominees.

In an effort to attract more qualified provincial nominees, Saskatchewan's provincial government signed a special memorandum of understanding in 2006 with the government of the Philippines, a country which leads all others for applicants under the SINP, in order to promote immigration from that country to communities in the province. The initial objective was to recruit Filipino immigrants who can meet critical labour market needs in occupations such as welding, metal fabrication, long-haul trucking and health care. As part of ensuring that they will be successful in Saskatchewan, selected applicants from the Philippines will receive some employment and English-language training as well as an

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orientation to the nature and quality of life in Saskatchewan (Saskatchewan 2006b).

In addition to making special efforts to increase the number immigrants destined to the province through the SINP, Saskatchewan's provincial government has devoted some human and financial resources to assess and develop the capacity of local communities to attract and retain immigrants. To this end, it has employed three full-time staff in its Community Partnerships and Settlement Unit and contributed additional funds to existing immigrant settlement agencies in the larger cities. The most recent financial commitment was included in the budget for 2007-2008. It will provide approximately two dozen community-based immigrant service provider organizations and regional colleges with \$977,000 to improve settlement support and language training for newcomers across the province (Saskatchewan 2007b).

A notable initiative by the provincial government to engage municipal governments and their communities to become more involved in immigration is its financial contribution to the production of a special report on the attraction and retention of immigrants, commissioned by the City of Saskatoon (Pontikes and Garcea 2006).

Generally speaking, Saskatchewan communities have not performed any major special or significant roles in attracting and retaining immigrants. Nevertheless, some communities have considered doing so and some have even done so. For example, Humboldt wanted to model itself as a Bavarian style village and felt that it needed German-speaking immigrants for that purpose. As well, Wynyard was involved in attracting and retaining immigrants to work in a chicken processing plant located there.

Increasing immigration flows to Saskatchewan communities

During the past decade, and particularly during the past five years, the Saskatchewan government has made a major commitment to increase immigration to the province. What it has not done is develop a detailed – nor even a

general – plan outlining the distribution of immigrants to the province's hundreds of communities. The general strategy is to attract as many immigrants as possible to fill a range of employment and investment opportunities wherever they may exist in the province. To date this has been deemed a prudent strategy. Regardless of whether the province continues to proceed with this particular strategy or chooses to adopt a more ambitious strategy, whereby the number of immigrants destined to Saskatchewan through the federal government's general immigration program is increased substantially over time without linking them to specific employment and investment opportunities, success will ultimately depend both on what the provincial government does and what local and regional communities do beyond what has already been done.

For its part the provincial government must undertake at least two major initiatives. It must first assess what it has done and accomplished to date and consider whether to stay the course, change course, or add any new courses. Now that it has established the bureaucratic infrastructure needed to deal with immigration, the provincial government must make a decision as to whether it will rely primarily on the SINP program to meet the province's needs for immigrants or whether it will also begin to explore how the federal government's general immigration program could be utilized to meet those needs. Provincial officials must be careful that their concerted efforts to ensure that the former is successful do not limit their ability to think about how the latter can be accessed, either in its current form or in some modified form to meet those needs. The assumption that the SINP is the most effective and efficient means to attract and retain immigrants must be reassessed from time to time to ensure that this is indeed the case.

The provincial government must also encourage and support local and regional communities to become much more actively engaged in attracting and retaining immigrants to their respective areas. To this end it should

encourage and support them in undertaking at least three major initiatives.

First, it should encourage and support them in establishing regional immigration committees under the auspices of the network of the Regional Economic Development Authorities (REDAs). In addition to representatives of the REDAs such committees should include representatives of the immigrant serving agencies, as well as various key sectors including the business, education, health, housing and recreation sectors. All representatives on such committees should be what might be termed “community champions” for immigration. No one should be a member of such committees if they are not convinced of the value of attracting and retaining immigrants and if they are not highly committed to ensuring that not only communities benefit from immigration but also that immigrants benefit from settling in those communities.

Second, it should encourage and support such regional immigration committees in developing and implementing regional community immigration attraction and retention strategies. Such strategies should be developed on a regional basis, especially for smaller communities, because a regional approach to immigration is likely to be more effective than a local approach. Such strategies should include several key initiatives, including a periodic assessment of the needs of communities for immigrants, a periodic assessment of the needs of immigrants destined to those communities, the promotion of their respective communities among prospective immigrants through various means, and assisting immigrants with their settlement and integration needs. This includes their employment, investment, housing, educational, social and recreational needs.

Third, it should encourage and support such committees to work with the various local and regional governing authorities in their region to develop and implement local and regional community development plans designed to maximize the sustainability of communities. This is imperative, as the success of immigration strategies is highly contingent on how well they are linked to such local and regional community development plans to maximize such sustainability. After all, contrary to conventional wisdom, generally immigration on its own is not likely a magic solution to achieving sustainability. Instead, generally immigration is simply one component of what communities need to

maximize their sustainability. The other components must be identified and put into place for immigration to make a positive contribution to sustainability. Good immigration planning is highly contingent on good community planning. This is equally true for large and small communities.

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Jōdo Shin-shū Buddhism came to rural Alberta in the wake of immigration patterns rather than as the result of any missionary impulse. Young Japanese men emigrated from Japan in the late 1800s and early 1900s, generally to make their fortune and return to Japan.

Jōdo Shin-shū Buddhism in Southern Alberta

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Buddhism has become increasingly popular in Canada in recent decades with Tibetan and Zen traditions eliciting particular interest among Westerners. Moreover, a diverse assortment of Buddhist communities have become increasingly conspicuous in the religious landscape of major Canadian cities where various East and Southeast Asian immigrant populations have settled. Immigration policy changes in 1962, 1978 and 1989, coupled with Canada's policy of multiculturalism, have facilitated this proliferation of more recent Buddhist communities that typically maintain ethnic and cultural boundaries resistant to both assimilation and pan-Buddhist organization (Matthews 2006). Although these vibrant groups represent important and expanding segments of the Buddhist population in Canada, the history of Buddhism in this country began much earlier, with the first waves of Chinese and Japanese immigrants in the late 19th and early 20th centuries.

Japanese Jōdo Shin-shū, the True Pure Land School, has been the dominant tradition of Buddhism in Canada for the majority of the 20th century. Early Japanese immigrant communities in Canada were most concentrated along the West Coast of British Columbia, where in 1905 a Buddhist temple opened in Vancouver complete with a Jōdo Shin-shū minister, Reverend Sasaki, who had been sent over by the Nishi Honganji headquarters in Japan. Smaller numbers of Japanese immigrants began to settle in rural areas of Southern Alberta from this time through the middle of the 20th century. Although less

well-known, small towns, such as Raymond, became important and influential centres for these older Buddhist communities in Canada.

The Japanese Jōdo Shin-shū community in Southern Alberta

Jōdo Shin-shū Buddhism came to rural Alberta in the wake of immigration patterns rather than as the result of any missionary impulse. Young Japanese men emigrated from Japan in the late 1800s and early 1900s, generally to make their fortune and return to Japan. Most were from rural settings in Japan and were not first sons in their family, who customarily would inherit their parents' household. These immigrants were not destitute economic refugees, however. Interviews and research conducted by David Iwaasa cite economic considerations but also reveal a variety of motives for immigrating as well as sufficient status in Japan to afford the journey and to be allowed by the Japanese government to represent their homeland. In other words, the lowest socio-economic strata would have been doubly hindered, lacking both means for the voyage and the backing of the Meiji government, which was striving to bolster its image abroad.

The young men settled in coastal areas of British Columbia, the West Coast of the United States, and Hawaii as well as in Southern Alberta. Unlike the Sansei and Yosei (third and fourth generation), who are very well-represented in a wide variety of professions, Issei and Nisei (first and second generation) pre-War Japanese Canadians were "largely concentrated

occupationally in farming, logging, fishing, grocery, small hotels, and were restricted legally from certain professions” (Hirabayashi 1978). Whereas many who settled in cities initiated businesses, Japanese immigrants who came to rural Southern Alberta before the War worked as coal miners, railroad workers, and – in towns such as Raymond – as farmers (Kawamura 1978).

Some returned to Japan, others moved to America, and still others decided to stay in Canada or felt they had not attained the fortune or glory necessary to return to Japan honourably. As it became clear for many that they would not be returning to Japan, more were married and began to raise families. Some returned to Japan to wed, and others were united with “picture brides” in Canada as travel back and forth became difficult with increasingly restrictive immigration laws. The shift in intention from returning to Japan to raising families in Canada allowed for the related reorientation over time from an identity of Japanese communities abroad to Canadian communities of Japanese ancestry differentiated by Issei, who were born in Japan and generally held fast to the culture, language and values that had shaped them, Nisei, who at times straddled both cultures, and the typically quite integrated and assimilated Sansei and Yosei, who identified most strongly with the English language and Canadian culture and values. There is, of course, a wide spectrum of variation among and within these generations. Nonetheless, certain generalizations provide context to better understand early dynamics and subsequent developments of communities such as the Buddhists in Raymond.

While rural Southern Alberta is better known for its influential Mormon population, there has long been a much smaller but still significant Buddhist presence as well. Japanese immigrants in the small town of Raymond formed a Japanese Society in 1914. By 1929, Jōdo Shinshū members were sufficiently established in the religious landscape of Raymond to purchase a former Mormon temple for \$5,000 and established the first Buddhist temple in Southern Alberta. This purchase is evidence of the members’ resolve as their limited resources and the financially strained circumstances at the onset of the Depression required them to draft a 100-year repayment plan with multigenerational obligations. A concerted effort led to repayment by 1940 (Watada 1996). The building was available to purchase because the Mormon

community needed a larger space for worship. While this reinforces the minority status of the Japanese immigrant community, the Mormon owner’s willingness to sell to them, their own ability to purchase the temple, and the increasing prominence of the Buddhist community in the 1930s suggest a certain level of acceptance of the Japanese immigrants relative to discriminatory immigration laws in the 1920s and forced internment in the 1940s. Discrimination was not absent in Southern Alberta, but it appears to have been less prevalent than accounts from British Columbia reveal. Moreover, this idea of broader community support and acceptance is buttressed by newspaper articles and anecdotes related by Buddhist residents in Raymond.

International hardships, such as the Great Depression and World War II, influenced local difficulties. World War I did not present particular obstacles to acceptance of Japanese immigrants as Japan was an ally in that conflict. However, the history of Japanese immigrants in Southern Alberta and their Buddhist identity is inseparable from forced relocation following the Japanese bombing of Pearl Harbor during WWII. This dark chapter in North American history forced Japanese settlers to evacuate coastal regions in 1942 and live in secured camps in the interior of western North America. Many Japanese Canadians stated that evacuation to Alberta allowed the families to stay together, but still, the relocation presented its own challenges. Many lost most of their possessions and suffered hard labour farming sugar beets in Southern Alberta, but a significant number opted to remain in the area after the War. This was, in large part, because a Japanese community was already well established, well respected relative to the times, and had Buddhist temples and organizations.

Temples: from proliferation to amalgamation

The forced relocation of Japanese immigrants and their families sent approximately 3,000 evacuees to Southern Alberta at a time when there had been fewer than 600 Japanese residents in the entire province. This influx coincided with a shortage of labourers on Southern Alberta sugar beet farms, a common scenario exacerbated by the loss of young men who enlisted in the War effort. Many of the relocated Japanese were put to work on beet farms in various rural communities. They endured a series of difficulties from being uprooted from their homes and leaving their possession and professions behind, to the

In the 1940s and 1950s, there was a critical mass that expanded beyond gatherings in individuals' homes and allowed for new temples in Picture Butte (1942), Coaldale (1943), Taber (1950), Rosemary (1958), and Lethbridge (1955 and 1970); however, dwindling numbers as members moved away or passed away led to closures beginning with Picture Butte and Rosemary (Kawamura 2006).

arduous labour and restricted movements during wartime, and finally the realization after the War that much of their property and possessions had been taken with little or no compensation.

The forced relocation to Southern Alberta did include some positive developments for Buddhism in the area. Although the surge in population was not permanent, it prompted the construction of a number of Buddhist churches and the development of related organizations. The use of the term “church” became more common than “temple” in the wake of WWII as part of an effort to blend in more closely with the norms of the dominant culture. Some of this assimilation had been underway for some time and was simply practical, such as holding services on Sunday. The 1944 decision to rename the Buddhist Mission of North America (BMNA) the Buddhist Churches of America (BCA) was part of a more self-conscious effort to redefine Buddhist organizations in terms less likely to be perceived as foreign or threatening. Such changes and caution came in response to sentiments of animosity toward and distrust of Japan and, by extension, suspicion of Japanese residents in Canada, despite the fact that many had been born in Canada and some had even fought for Canada in each World War.

The Buddhist temple, or church, served as the centre of all sorts of religious, recreational, and cultural activities for children and adults. Raymond's temple had provided such a centre for more than a decade before the forced relocation. It continued on, during and after the War, with versatile functions from Sunday school and martial arts dojo to the headquarters for the Buddhist Foundation of Canada (BFC), which was formed in 1946 to “raise money and oversee the administration of all Buddhist churches in Canada” (Watada 1996).

The 1942 surge in population led to the proliferation of four additional churches in small Southern Alberta towns. The locations for these religious and cultural centres reflect the largely rural distribution of Japanese families and their descendents. Concentrations in these smaller communities stemmed from both choice

and discrimination. Many families were involved in agriculture before and after the War. While there had been especially hard years during the Great Depression and WWII, there were numerous successful farms and increasing freedom to adopt a wider range of professions following the War. Raymond remained attractive even to many Jōdo Shin-shū members who were not tied to the land precisely because of the well-rooted Japanese community and the relatively supportive relationships cultivated beyond that community. Whereas coastal British Columbia witnessed many discriminatory and even violent episodes against Japanese immigrants and their descendents in the 1920s, 1930s, and the early 1940s, the Japanese and Caucasian community leaders in Raymond were much more successful at ameliorating anti-Japanese sentiment during this same period.

In 1946, Lethbridge lifted restrictions keeping the Japanese from settling inside city limits, and a Buddhist church opened in Lethbridge within a decade, with another joining it by 1970. Terry Watada provides a thorough institutional history of Jōdo Shin-shū with reference to the establishment of these churches and related organizations throughout Canada. Leslie Kawamura has written especially insightful accounts of the history of Jōdo Shin-shū Buddhism in Southern Alberta including the beliefs and background of this form of Japanese Buddhism, the practices that evolved with the shift from a Japanese-speaking and more traditional community to English-speaking and decidedly Canadian later generations, the succession of ministers and concomitant changes in their duties and support, and some of the key agents and events in the ongoing development of this community. The influx that brought more temples in the aftermath of forced relocation receded in stages marked by a reduction of temples and a move toward amalgamation. In the 1940s and 1950s, there was a critical mass that expanded beyond gatherings in individuals' homes and allowed for new temples in Picture Butte (1942), Coaldale (1943), Taber (1950), Rosemary (1958) and

Just one year ago, the 77-year-old Raymond Buddhist Church was sold. As the first temple, an historic landmark, and the centre of Buddhism in Canada immediately following World War II, this sale signalled the dramatic extent of change.

Lethbridge (1955 and 1970); however, dwindling numbers as members moved away or have passed away led to closures beginning with Picture Butte and Rosemary (Kawamura 2006).

Whereas discrimination against the Japanese as foreign led to rural Southern Alberta gaining a more than five-fold increase in its Jōdo Shin-shū population, greater freedom and opportunity, coupled with assimilation of Japanese-Canadians and absorption through intermarriage, have diminished the Jōdo Shin-shū population in these smaller towns. Like other rural communities, these centres of early Buddhism in Canada are vulnerable to demographic changes when younger generations move away – regardless of whether these later generations have become less active in or less identified with Buddhism. In order to thrive, the communities would need to grow or at least maintain a critical mass to sustain a temple, a minister, and a community.

There are various ways to grow. Chinese Pure Land Buddhism is growing in major cities that enjoy an ongoing influx of Chinese immigrants. There is no similar wave of Japanese immigrants and the communities of Japanese descent in rural settings, such as Raymond, appear to be declining in number and ageing. Conversion is another possibility for growth. Yutetsu Kawamura, an especially influential Buddhist minister and member of the Order of Canada who served the Jōdo Shin-shū community in Alberta off and on in various capacities from 1934 until his recent death, recognized the need for Caucasian converts including ministers from North America. In his memoirs, *The Dharma Survives with the People*, Yutetsu Kawamura includes a chapter on “An Outlook for the Pure Land School in America and Canada” where he writes, “now that we are in America and Canada, we should spread the Buddhist teachings to Americans and Canadians.”

Jōdo Shin-shū has attracted some Caucasian converts. In fact, the Raymond Temple was the first in Canada to hire a Caucasian minister, Rev. James Burkey, who served from 1972 to 1976, and the first to hire a female minister, June King, who served as minister from 1976 to 1981. Members of this community have recognized the

importance of helping to train English-speaking ministers including interested individuals who are not of Japanese descent. Some of these efforts, including less formal gatherings held in members' houses and open to anyone interested in discussing Buddhist topics, have met with limited success. Nonetheless, Jōdo Shin-shū is not an aggressively proselytizing religion nor has it garnered the same level of interest from Western convert Buddhists as have Zen, Tibetan, or Insight Meditation traditions.

Members and ministers in Southern Alberta have long acknowledged this situation. Fifteen years after an institutional split and the formation of the Honpa Buddhist Church in the mid-1960s, the annual Alberta Buddhist Conference (ABC) began as a unifying and informative event for all members in Alberta. In the 2006 edition of the ABC conference, members heard a presentation about meditation and were encouraged to read an article discussing how some Jōdo Shin-shū groups in the United States are providing meditation sessions partially because Western interest in Buddhism is so closely tied to meditation. Although there are no clear signs that Jōdo Shin-shū in Southern Alberta will make this type of change in an effort to attract new members, change is underway to address the reality of declining memberships in small towns.

Just one year ago, the 77-year-old Raymond Buddhist Church was sold. As the first temple, an historic landmark, and the centre of Buddhism in Canada immediately following World War II, this sale signalled the dramatic extent of change. For some special events, people could still fill most of its approximate 300-seat capacity. These occasions, when children and grandchildren would return from larger provincial cities, demonstrated the ongoing vitality of the larger Jōdo Shin-shū community in Southern Alberta. However, its weekly population at less festive times was aging and diminishing. Amalgamation talks took on a new sense of urgency. The remaining two Lethbridge temples along with Taber and Coaldale have now amalgamated into the Buddhist Temple of Southern Alberta, and they are currently looking to build or buy a new

structure to accommodate their merged membership. The experience of dwindling numbers of Jōdo Shin-shū adherents in rural communities is consistent with larger demographic trends. Although the number of temples is decreasing, the history of Jōdo Shin-shū in Southern Alberta and the contributions of its members are rich and ongoing.

About the author

JOHN HARDING completed his Ph.D. at the University of Pennsylvania before joining the Department of Religious Studies at the University of Lethbridge in 2003. His areas of research include Japanese Buddhism and Buddhist developments in both Asia and the West that have been shaped by cross-cultural exchange during the past 150 years.

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Immigration and Families

Special issue of *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens*

Metropolis has continued its successful partnership with the Association for Canadian Studies to produce special issues of the magazine *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* on immigration and diversity topics. This issue (Spring 2006) focuses on immigration and families. It features an introduction by Madine VanderPlaat of Saint Mary's University, an interview with former Minister of Citizenship and Immigration Canada Monte Solberg, and 20 articles by knowledgeable policy-makers, researchers and non-governmental organizations. Like earlier issues, it has been assigned as course readings in many disciplines at several universities.

To obtain a copy, please contact canada@metropolis.net

Through collaborative and action research plans, UNBC-based researchers and Prince George's Immigrant and Multicultural Services Society (IMSS) are beginning to work together to highlight the barriers to and needs for the strengthened participation of new immigrants in northern community life as well as to develop recommendations and concrete initiatives which foster more inclusive and welcoming communities for new immigrants in BC's northern region.

North of 53°: Non-Metropolitan Diversity in Northern British Columbia

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University of British Columbia

Imagine for a moment the following scene. A group of more than 250 people gather together at the Prince George Civic Centre on March 17, 2007 to celebrate 30 years of immigrant and refugee settlement services offered by the Immigrant and Multicultural Services Society (IMSS), headed by the Baljit Sethi, a highly skilled Indo-Canadian immigrant woman herself, for those same thirty years. Everyone joins the dance floor as soon as Cuban-Canadian musician Alexis Puentes of the Alex Cuba Band starts singing “Que Lo Mismo” which reached the Top 10 on BBC Radio and helped garner him the 2006 Juno Award for Best World Music Album. Puentes is Smithers, BC-based and loving it. The celebrants appreciate the Spanish lyrics, written 14 hours north of Vancouver, and inspired by the vast and striking beauty of the Northern British Columbia (BC) landscape. The Cuban musician’s enthusiasm for the possibilities of building a dynamic life north of 53° is infectious and reinforces the theme of celebrating diversity and the spaces of inclusion and innovation that shape this region, which barely registers on the Canadian immigrant settlement scene.

This is a region of contradictions: spaces of inclusion and exclusion shape the cultural and physical landscape – it is a dynamic place full of

residents often drawn by employment rather than aesthetics, a well-paying job rather than a family or extended social network (Halseth et al. 2007). It is a rugged region of trees, rivers, and mountains with few towns and cities threaded together by Highways 16, recently labelled ‘The Highway of Tears’ and running east and west, and 97, running north and south. It is a vast space which includes the territories of 16 Tribal Councils and 77 bands, four Metis organizations, and 10 Friendship Centres (UNBC 2007). As geographer Harald Bauder (2004) recently found, those immigrants who ‘go rural’ in British Columbia often fare better economically than their big-city counterparts. But the marginal geographic location of many communities in this region certainly places them at a disadvantage with respect to the immigrant settlement hub that are Vancouver and the Lower Mainland, which are the heart of settlement services and dynamic ethnic social networks.

What is the “warmth of welcome” (Reitz 1998) extended by these rural, remote, and non-metropolitan communities to the newcomers who arrive each year? What is possible in terms of immigrant settlement service provision in a geographically marginal region of British Columbia? What is the capacity of communities

in this region to grapple with attempts by the provincial and federal governments to “share the wealth and spread the burden” (Sherrel et al. 2004) through regionalization programs? And what are the manifestations of diversity and avenues of entry into this region? These are the questions that are shaping our joint research agenda with members of IMSS based in Prince George, BC, and Dr. Greg Halseth of the University of Northern British Columbia (UNBC) Community Development Institute (CDI). This is the first endeavour of its kind in Northern British Columbia and therefore we hope to chart a way forward for long-term community-university research collaboration.

Through collaborative and action research plans, we are beginning our work together to highlight the barriers to and needs for the strengthened participation of new immigrants in northern community life; we are also beginning to develop recommendations and concrete initiatives which foster more inclusive and welcoming communities for new immigrants in BC’s northern region. Academic and community-based research across Canada in recent years is working to fill in the blanks regarding non-metropolitan immigrant settlement (for example, *Canadian Ethnic Studies* 2005; Frideres 2006; Halliday 2006; Hyndman et al. 2006; and Walton-Roberts 2005), but this small body of literature on non-metropolitan immigrant settlement means that the experience of whole regions of the country is little understood.

Northern BC – collaborative research

Our research employs a transnational migration framework, informed by social geography’s interests in place, social space, identity, and urban settlement. The objective is to examine Citizenship and Immigration Canada’s (CIC 2000: i) new strategies for achieving a more balanced geographic distribution of immigrants and refugee settlement to small cities, towns, and rural areas of Canada, while at the same time recognizing CIC’s concern with Canada’s Action Plan Against Racism (CAPAR) and the warmth of welcome offered to newcomers in communities across the country.

A transnational perspective is used to frame questions on newcomer incorporation, an approach, which I have argued elsewhere (Nolin 2004; 2006), recognizes that complex social processes of settlement and integration may be influenced by the maintenance of social,

economic, and political ties to countries of origin. This approach offers exciting possibilities for thinking about and conceptualizing the social spaces of settlement, ones that enable us to analyze the resulting diversity and complexity in Canadian towns, cities, and regions (Hiebert 2003; Hiebert and Ley 2003; Strategic Workshop on Immigrant Women Making Place in Canadian Cities 2002; Walton-Roberts 2003).

Through our new UNBC-IMSS partnership, we are examining the settlement, integration, and retention experiences of immigrants and refugees in BC’s northern communities of Prince George, Terrace, and Fort St. John to highlight the opportunities and challenges of a more geographically even national settlement strategy. Both social and economic integration of newcomers is a desirable outcome of settlement and is considered an important factor in the ability of communities to retain newcomers.

One of the primary goals of Canada’s immigration policy is to foster the development of a strong and viable economy and the prosperity of all regions in Canada. However, the vast majority of immigrants settle in urban areas, most particularly Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal, rather than in mid- and small-sized cities, towns, rural, remote or northern regions (MSCTRRN). Canada’s rural and northern economies have yet to benefit significantly from the country’s current influx of immigrants. Skilled labour shortages in MSCTRRN communities have recently prompted Citizenship and Immigration Canada to fund projects aimed at attracting immigrants to smaller communities. Despite these efforts, little is known about the challenges immigrants encounter in MSCTRRN labour markets, their potential economic and social contributions in these communities, and the capacity of these communities to offer a ‘warmth of welcome’ to newcomers in order to increase retention rates and create dynamic communities which benefit from a growing diversity.

In terms of British Columbia, the immigrant settlement portrait reveals significant concentrations in the Vancouver area. The BC Ministry of Community, Aboriginal & Women’s Services (MCAWS) (2005) documents that 90% of new immigrants settle in the Greater Vancouver Metropolitan Area, and in 2001, nearly three in every four immigrants in British Columbia lived in the Vancouver CMA, where immigrants represented more than 37% of the population (compared with the 26.1%

Prior to 1992, Prince George was the third largest destination in British Columbia for government sponsored refugees and other immigrants. Even after the government instituted new developments to ensure that the majority of refugees would settle in the lower mainland and on Vancouver Island, Prince George continued (and continues) to receive a variety of refugees from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and a variety of other countries and regions.

province-wide share. Additionally, BC Stats (2003: 1) illustrate that over 85% of the people who moved to British Columbia from outside of Canada between 1996 and 2001 took up residence in the Greater Vancouver Regional District (the CMA plus surrounding communities). This trend is expected to continue as a majority of recent immigrants continue to choose to live in this small corner of the province.

The study area of Northern BC, which stretches from Prince George (pop. 72,400) in the central interior 720 km west to the coastal community of Prince Rupert (pop. 15,600), has a population of approximately 200,000, of which 11% are immigrants (vs. 26% for BC). Population decline, not gain, is a feature of contemporary Northern BC (Statistics Canada 2002: 14) and therefore recent immigrant numbers (1996-2001) are limited to 1,100. These newcomers are spread across this vast region. The major source countries for these recent immigrants include: India, Philippines, South Africa, United States, United Kingdom, Germany, Portugal, South Korea, and Russia. IMSS offers the sole settlement services provision for Northern British Columbia, operating from Prince George, and struggling to serve this relatively small, but growing number of recent immigrants.

IMSS

Immigrant and Multicultural Services Society (IMSS) has been providing settlement and adaptation services to immigrants and refugees throughout Prince George and the northern region of British Columbia for the past 30 years. Prior to 1992, Prince George was the third largest destination in British Columbia for government sponsored refugees and other immigrants. Even after the government instituted new developments to ensure that the majority of refugees would settle in the lower mainland and on Vancouver Island, Prince George continued (and continues) to receive a variety of refugees from Africa, Asia, the Middle East, Eastern Europe and a variety of other countries and regions. A

high percentage of these refugees migrate to Prince George from other parts of Canada. Often those who have applied for refugee status in Quebec or Ontario relocate to Prince George because of job opportunities in the forestry industry; many benefit from the relatively low cost of living and manageable size of the city and often choose to make Prince George their permanent home (IMSS 2007).

Although located in Prince George, IMSS remains a key resource for communities throughout Northern British Columbia. IMSS has established its credibility among other community agencies and institutions, and they continue to receive referrals from other organizations in both Prince George and the regional communities of Vanderhoof, Quesnel, Dawson Creek, Valemount, Williams Lake, Prince Rupert, Fort St. James, Terrace, Fort St. John and Fort Nelson.

North of 53°

Through the three identified communities, our joint research team plans to focus on the processes of: 1) the spatialization of immigrant settlement and their social networks; 2) the shifting terrain of service provision now centralized in the northern regional centre of Prince George; and 3) the capacity of these communities to receive and retain newcomers through a “warmth of welcome.” We plan to examine the settlement, integration, and retention experiences of immigrants and refugees in British Columbia’s northern communities, particularly those newcomers in three communities with differing experiences of immigration and settlement.

Prince George provides regional services and receives the majority of immigrants in the region. As the central immigrant-receiving and immigrant service-provision hub for Northern British Columbia, the Prince George IMSS, City Council, and informal social support networks are only now tackling the question of immigrant attraction, let alone retention (Prince George City Council 2004). Terrace receives far fewer

immigrants and is dealing with major job losses and out-migration. However, the Terrace-based Skeena Multicultural Diversity Group (www.skeenadiversity.com) was established in 2001 as an initiative of the Ministry of Multiculturalism, as it was known then, to “work intensively on institutional change within the framework of anti-racism and multiculturalism.” With a broad-based membership, which includes city councillors, the RCMP, the Terrace & District Multicultural Group, the Terrace Anti-Poverty Society, and so forth, the Diversity Group is poised to shape future planning regarding rural refugee and immigrant settlement in Northern BC. Fort St. John (2004: 1) is a fast-growing oil and gas hub in Northern BC, with pronounced needs for “skilled workers, white collar professionals, entrepreneurs, restaurateurs, retailers and others.” The city is a labour magnet for inter- and intra-provincial migration with no immigration service provisions.

As we prepare for our spring fieldwork season, a time of relatively safe road travel on Northern BC’s remote highways necessary for the more than 2,000 kilometres we will travel, several key questions shape our plans for community roundtable discussions jointly planned by the UNBC and IMSS research partners. These questions include:

- How are immigration and settlement experiences shaped by both existing settlement services and social networks in the Northern BC communities of Prince George, Terrace, and Fort St. John?
- What are the elements of a welcoming community from the perspective of newcomers, service providers, municipal governments, longer-term immigrants, and the business community? And how do these elements apply to Prince George, Terrace, Fort St. John, and other communities in Northern BC?
- What can communities do to minimize the gap between the existing infrastructure and an ideal welcoming community?
- What are the labour shortage needs of communities in BC’s northern region? How many immigrants are they expecting to receive in their communities and are they ready to receive and meet the needs of these newcomers?

Overall, the key objectives of our research collaboration is to better understand the dynamics of diversity north of 53° through an examination of the opportunities and obstacles of non-metropolitan settlement in this region. In working towards this goal, we plan to do the following: 1) network with local and regional community organizations, municipal governments, the Chamber of Commerce in our three sites to examine their efforts to stem ongoing regional out-migration through renewed immigrant settlement and retention strategies; 2) identify successful ‘welcoming community’ initiatives in the region; and 3) identify limitations and challenges of these organizations in MSCTRRN to best serve newcomers in their communities. The creation of the “Northern BC Immigration Network,” facilitated by IMSS, is a critical component to help newcomers overcome obstacles and barriers when settling in MSCTRRN. This network will also bring together existing agencies across BC’s northern region to develop, maintain, and coordinate services for newcomers.

Diversity of experience and avenues of arrival, challenges and barriers too great, opportunities embraced – these themes will shape our interviews and roundtable discussions, and as we travel Highways 16 and 97 in the coming months. Beyond the metropolis.

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The Nova Scotia Immigration Strategy is targeting the settling of newcomers outside the urban centre of Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM); to ensure the successful attraction and retention of those immigrants, it is critical that services be made available.

Where Does the Sun Set? Can Technology Help Meet Settlement Needs in Rural Nova Scotia?

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Nova Scotia is currently experiencing a growing interest in immigration and its relationship to regional economic development and population growth. Most communities in Nova Scotia are facing a negative growth rate which impacts all levels of the community and immigration is being seen as one of the potential solutions to address issues of population and economic decline.

Many community organizations and Regional Development Authorities, which lead and coordinate economic development at the local level across the province, are supporting an aggressive approach to increasing and retaining immigrants to rural Nova Scotia. The Nova Scotia Immigration Strategy is targeting the settling of newcomers outside the urban centre of Halifax Regional Municipality (HRM); to ensure the successful attraction and retention of those immigrants, it is critical that services be made available. Many of the newcomers arriving through the Nova Scotia Provincial Nominee Program are settling in areas outside HRM and this is creating a need for the extension of programs and services outside HRM.

The Nova Scotia Immigration Strategy has already identified a need to “improve access to

(language) services for regions outside metro Halifax that have fewer immigrants (e.g. through outreach programs or on-line)”. Currently there are very limited services for ESL learners outside HRM, none at the higher language level and few labour market or bridging programs for immigrants.

How does the settlement sector in a second-tier city rise to the challenge of including even smaller communities in its efforts to provide labour market support programs for newcomers in a cost-effective way? For the past two years, the Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre (HILC) and the Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association (MISA) have been working on developing new and innovative ways of responding to this challenge using technology and partnering with the Nova Scotia Community College who have the technical capacity and a network of regional campuses.

The first effort at developing “Extension Services” for newcomers involved a two-year project¹ designed to assist newcomers integrate into the Nova Scotia labour market. The primary focus of the project is to make available on-line the highly successful pre-employment workshops

offered through MISA's Employment Services Unit. These classroom-based workshops are offered through the New Beginnings Program and include the Job Search, Interview Skills and Working In Canada workshops. They have been specifically designed to assist newcomers overcome the barriers related to accessing employment opportunities in Nova Scotia, as well as building job-search skills.

The first year of the project entailed converting classroom-based learning material into a curriculum tailored for on-line learning. Experts in the field of employment services and on-line learning worked with Nova Scotia Community College Instructional Designers, with the intent of producing a "Best in Class" distance education version of the New Beginnings program.

By the summer of 2006, the program will be piloted to newcomers throughout Nova Scotia and hopefully adapted to the Atlantic region as well, so newcomers in both regions will be able to take advantage of employment and learning opportunities formerly only available in the metropolitan Halifax area.

From on-line to live broadcast

In September 2005 HILC and MISA conducted research through the Enhanced Language Training (ELT) Program² to explore alternative methods of delivery for existing ELT services in Nova Scotia (www.hilc.ns.ca/images/PDF/NSExtensionOutreachProjectFinalReport.pdf). This included the possibility of using on-line technology to acquire workplace language skills and an investigation of whether this may be an appropriate method of supporting the Provincial Immigration Strategy's commitment to facilitate immigrant settlement outside HRM.

On-line education using the Internet to communicate and collaborate in an educational context includes technology that both replaces and supplements traditional classroom training. One of the recommendations from the research report was to explore ELT extension by piloting a videoconference language training program. Could we make the jump from web-based and on-line technology to video? Could the technology work for higher-level labour market ESL learning?

In mid-December 2005, negotiations took place with both funders and partners to proceed with a pilot. The Nova Scotia Community College is a provincial community college system that covers the province. In addition, the College was interested in exploring ways in which it could support the provincial immigration strategy and it has the infrastructure and the technology to support the delivery of videoconference ESL training programs.

Overview of research on language development and videoconference

Although videoconference technology has been available for some time, it is only recently that it has become a cost-effective and realistic way of delivering instruction to distant sites. As the technology improved it was only a short time before second language teaching via videoconference would become an area of close examination.

In the last ten years, a number of research studies have focused on the delivery of second-language instruction via videoconferencing. Videoconferencing supports pedagogical approaches that use dialogue and interaction (Goodfellow et al. 1996; McAndrew et al. 1996) and research demonstrates that ESL videoconferencing is possible in small group and tutorial situations (Abbot et al. 1995; Buckett and Stringer 1999). In addition the literature reveals that there are a number of other elements that play a critical part in a successful language learning situation. For example, class size and shared resources like a Smartboard can provide a focus for the participants. Some articles stress the negative effect of technical issues, and emphasize the importance of both the technical equipment and the technical knowledge at the training sites. (Schiller and Mitchell 1993; Carville and Mitchell 2000).

From a pedagogical point of view the existing research stresses the need for the learning to take place in an organized program of activities that have been designed for the videoconference learning context. ESL classroom teaching techniques like supervising pairwork, managing collaborative group discussion and monitoring participant energy level have received inadequate research attention and these, among others, are areas that we would like to explore in the next phase of the project.

Research suggests that the evaluation of learning outcomes is also more challenging via

¹ Funded by the Office of Learning Technologies, the Nova Scotia Department of Education and the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration.

² Funded by Citizenship and Immigration Canada and the Nova Scotia Office of Immigration.

"At the flick of a switch the student can be engaged in a variety of language learning activities that can be designed to meet individual language learning needs and levels through direct interaction with a teacher and other students. This has particular applications for people in isolated centres who may not otherwise have the opportunity to engage in live communication with native and other speakers of the target language."

videoconferencing, that a multidimensional approach to evaluating learning outcomes is likely to be more informative, but that "given a 'robust' videoconferencing hardware and software configuration, videoconferencing does not have an adverse effect on intended learning outcomes." (Mark et al. in Anderson et al. 1995).

The results of one videoconferencing study (Lucas and Riddy 2002) suggest that communicative methods employed in ESL classrooms are particularly suitable for videoconferencing. The results show that after a few sessions, "when small technical difficulties associated with audio delay were eliminated, the technology had become almost 'transparent,' so that learning took place as it does in a face-to-face context."

The introduction of videoconferencing as an efficient and effective means of providing educational opportunities to remote areas that may not have available teaching expertise or access to specialized knowledge has introduced an entirely new aspect to the area of computer-assisted language learning. Videoconferencing as a tool that connects people and provides capacity for interactivity at both audio and visual levels is a very sophisticated medium for education. "At the flick of a switch the student can be engaged in a variety of language learning activities that can be designed to meet individual language learning needs and levels through direct interaction with a teacher and other students. This has particular applications for people in isolated centres who may not otherwise have the opportunity to engage in live communication with native and other speakers of the target language." (Lucas and Riddy 2002)

A number of articles highlight the fact that videoconferencing has special application for effective language learning in that it allows for the inclusion of elements that are considered to be a critical and integral part of the language learning process, such as instant feedback and intensive practice in the target language. Without the benefit of face-to-face contact it can

be difficult to provide these elements for distance learners. In addition, videoconferencing can be uniquely structured to meet the requirements of the particular group or groups of people with whom one is working. "Videoconferencing, unlike many forms of technology, has the ability to encourage diversity rather than limit it. This means that the teacher has the capability of providing for different language learning styles by providing a variety of activities for the students. It means that teachers can foster and encourage the use of a wide variety of language learning strategies to help students optimize their learning, often not possible through use of other forms of technology delivered learning" (Pelton 1991).

However, much of the research that we read as an introduction to this project warned of the challenges of using new technologies – that it was not enough to simply use the technology. The new interactive technologies not only require sophisticated equipment but they also require highly skilled teachers, if high levels of interactive language learning are to be maintained (Bates 1991, p.14). It underscored the need for instructors to be trained in its use if the full potential of the technology is to be realized. In many instances it seems that instructors are introduced to new technology and given the task of integrating it into their teaching without assistance in understanding the strengths and weaknesses of the technology and how it can be best used. This often results in teachers rejecting the technology because they cannot achieve the desired results. "In addition to training teachers in its use, careful thought needs to be given to its integration into distance language courses if it is to be used effectively as a tool for interactive language teaching. We need to think about what would and would not be effective using this medium." (Pelton 1991).

Much of the research also identifies the importance of truly connecting to the students. They need to be aware that a videoconference educational opportunity demands their interaction

with the screen and that they can not be passive observers to the process. Few people are at ease conversing with a screen and it is therefore critical that the instructor engages students in activities where they are interacting with each other and with the instructor. "It is important to plan variety and introduce different elements into the lessons in order to keep interest maintained and avoid students slipping into a passive TV watching mode." (Lucas and Riddy, 2002)

It seemed from the research that videoconferencing had the potential to deliver distance language learning by providing learners with a unique opportunity to interact with instructors and other language learners and so we proceeded.

From Research to Action

By mid-February 2006, the equipment had been purchased, set up and tested in the three selected campus sites (Kentville, Truro and Halifax), the instructor had been trained and the participants had been identified. Used to questions about pedagogy, language, grammar, even seating and whiteboards, the HILC instructors knew rather quickly that they were in uncharted territory when questions from the NSCC technicians focused on "Where does the sun set?" (crucial for situation of cameras and technical equipment) "Do you have pockets?" (needed for microphone and remote controls). An unanticipated outcome of the pilot was that it brought together two cultures of technicians and educators to have conversations around learning, in particular around language learning, that don't normally take place.

With research informing us that videoconference was just an alternative delivery mode and not an alternative course or curriculum, it was decided that the most appropriate content for a six-week pilot would be a module focusing on oral communication skills, that was highly interactive and could be delivered in a 'stand alone' format. The program began on February 20th, 2006 and finished on March 29, 2006 with outcomes that were both anticipated and unanticipated. It was expected that the language skills of the 17 immigrant professionals would increase; that a wide range of partnerships would be developed; that further research would be necessary, but the level of success, interest and potential were beyond all expectations. Although to our knowledge, this had been the first time that language training

had been successfully delivered to newcomers to Canada via videoconference, the medium has the potential to open the doors for a range of language training (and other service) opportunities to be developed and delivered at a distance.

Said Mike Smith, Dean of Access, NSCC: "If we tried to offer a program for four students in Truro alone, it probably would not happen. If we tried to offer a program for six people in Kentville, it probably would not have happened...but if you look at the work that this pilot has done in connecting rural communities, it allows us to look at provision of ESL in a rural province like ours...and have one class with one teacher across three or four sites. I think that has been the single greatest success of this project."

Conclusion

The history of collaboration and the cooperative working relationship between Halifax Immigrant Learning Centre, Metropolitan Immigrant Settlement Association and the Nova Scotia Community College made the work developing the on-line labour market workshops and the ESL pilot both possible. It was key to the immensely successful ESL pilot, although it was agreed by all that the human and capital resources that the organizations provided to deliver the pilot ESL course were above and beyond all reasonable expectations.

It's certain that videoconference is still a new technology, that improvements can be made in the vision quality and system stability, that we still have a lot to learn about teaching language remotely, that the potential of the program is huge, that face-to-face language learning is still the best medium, but we have proved, through the ESL pilot that videoconference is a realistic option for delivering language training outside the larger centres and we are at the forefront of this new advance. Videoconferencing brings considerations and challenges not encountered in classrooms bound by four walls, but it can also make learning more accessible, relevant and exciting. Nova Scotia has all the stakeholders at the table. It is the only province that has successfully completed an immigrant language training program via videoconference in Canada and it has the technology, the infrastructure and the commitment to provide enhanced language training across the province (and possibly beyond) that meets the integration needs of newcomers.

The potential to develop a blended approach to extend labour market programs for newcomers living in rural Nova Scotia using on-line, web-based resources and video-conferencing has become a reality. Research and discussions are underway to develop a provincial framework for the delivery of pre-employment workshops, ESL for business and specific purposes and how to include other labour market and settlement programs such as HILC's on site English in the Workplace Program and MISA's Immigrant Business Development Services. The future for immigrants living in smaller communities in Nova Scotia looks bright.

"It's never been a more exciting time to live in Nova Scotia...The HILC video pilot program is an example of one of the excellent initiatives that are underway in the province to make the transition into Nova Scotia culture."

– **The Honourable Jamie Muir**
Nova Scotia Minister of Education

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This article is based on a survey that explored the experiences and perceptions of Latin American newcomers in Florenceville, New Brunswick. The composition and trajectories of this group substantially differ from 90% of Latin American arrivals to Canada: they have been hired in their countries of origin or in other Latin American countries and resettled, along with their families, in a small community that houses the world headquarters of a food industry company. The newcomers' expertise in information technology – fundamental for the operations of this firm – is the central factor involved in their hiring.

"We" and "The Others": Cultural Identity Among Latin Americans in Rural New Brunswick

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Context of the study and research objectives

Florenceville, New Brunswick, with a population of 800 people, is at first sight quite similar to other small towns in Atlantic Canada. The town was founded in 1853; the economy of the area, until the second half of the 20th century, was concentrated in forestry and agriculture. Florenceville, since then, has undergone significant change: the town is now the headquarters of McCain Inc., one of the largest frozen foods companies in the world. This firm operates in more than a hundred countries, and its output of frozen french-fried potatoes represents more than a third of the world's production. Florenceville's McCain facilities house not only one of its manufacturing plants, but also the company's managerial headquarters. The Data Centre – electronic core of McCain's worldwide administrative and production operations – is one of its most important components. Our sample includes personnel of the Data Centre and two members of their families.

Our research explored the socio-cultural background, integration to the community,

characteristics of work experience, as well as the perceptions and experiences of cultural difference of McCain Latin American workers residing in the Florenceville area. The experiences of this group – who, along with workers from many other regions of the world, work in McCain's information technology departments – hold particular interest as an interesting case of transnational settlement and intercultural experience. Moreover, their case highlights new forms of transnational work, changes in Canadian immigration policies, and Atlantic Canada demographic trends.

The first phase of our project involved the design of the research protocol, establishing contact with the target population, and undertaking fieldwork research in the community of Florenceville. The response was very positive: 17 respondents – out of a total of 25 Latin American households – answered the questionnaire. On a second visit to Florenceville, we interviewed seven respondents (two of them spouses of McCain employees), which allowed us to deepen the interpretation of the questionnaire data. The survey was entirely conducted in the

Spanish language, which facilitated rapport with the respondents and enhanced the reliability of the data. The present research makes a contribution to the study of an unusual situation in Canada that may, however, become more widespread, given the growing demand for specialized labour in the country. This would represent a significant development in that, customarily 80% of newcomers arrive in the country without being previously hired – the exception being temporary workers (Mata 1999).

Method

Two research techniques were utilized: questionnaires and semi-structured interviews. Both techniques addressed the cultural, economic, and social dimensions of the respondents' experience in Canada, particularly with regard to integration issues. Data coding and analysis was performed utilizing the INVIVO software.

Findings

1. Results of the questionnaire survey

Target group

The questionnaire sample consisted of 17 respondents, 14 from Colombia, two from Cuba and one from Mexico: 6 females (average age 37) and 11 males (average age 35). The age of the participants reflects the fact that they are professionals with experience in their fields. In the last ten years, there have been three waves of Latin Americans hired by McCain; 89% of our interviewees belong to the third one. Females have been in Canada, on average, for two years and seven months, whereas males' length of stay averages 1 year and 11 months. Ninety percent of the members of former waves have applied for Canadian permanent residence, and moved to other locations, chiefly to Ontario and Western Canada.

Reasons for resettlement

Forty-seven percent of the respondents reported simply "to work," as their reason for coming to Canada, whereas 35% of the respondents reported either "to explore new horizons" or "to improve the quality of life." The findings in this item correlate with the disposition for mobility suggested by the respondents' age range (see above). Seventy percent of the respondents plan on staying in the country permanently. This suggests that their drive for resettling frequently

goes beyond merely 'trying out' Canada, and that the opportunity of staying in the country is highly appreciated by them. The conditions in the home countries may reinforce the determination to stay in Canada, as in the case of Colombians, whose country is going through a prolonged civil war, and Cubans, whose permanent return to their country would involve facing draconian regulations.

Socio-cultural integration

One of our most salient findings is the high degree of cohesion of Latin Americans in Florenceville. A certain degree of social interaction with locals was reported by 76% of respondents. However, language, culture, and regional/national affinities among Latin Americans – and the support and company that have been developed on the basis of such ties – were stressed by several respondents and observed during our fieldwork.

Thirty percent of the respondents consider their experience positive – although for 9% of them, particularly those with spouses who are not allowed to work – coping is proving harder than expected. One of the advantages of living in Florenceville that was mentioned by respondents with children was personal security; coming from big cities with high crime rates makes parents appreciate their new, peaceful setting, considering it ideal for raising their children.

The follow-up interviews provided more information on the different aspects illustrated in the comments above: 29.5% of respondents are satisfied in terms of the work experience they are acquiring and open to integration; however, issues such as the lack of work permits for spouses often makes the experience difficult.

The statements above indicate that despite the difficulties encountered, our respondents are having a generally positive experience: 30% of them are satisfied with working in a highly structured and technologically advanced setting.

2. Findings of the semi-structured interviews

The semi-structured interviews allowed us to investigate the respondents' experience in a more detailed manner than the questionnaires. The most significant finding is that resettling in Canada – and particularly in a small, isolated community such as Florenceville – involves significant challenges related to the lack of available newcomer services, paucity of entertainment options, and issues related to

TABLE 1

Some respondents' comments

These are some of the respondents' comments appended to the questionnaires:

"I hope other people could have the same opportunity."

"My wife has problems finding a job in her career."

"Canadians accept Latin-American workers."

"I would like to obtain my residence papers, with my work permit my wife is not allowed to work and my children are not allowed to register at the university."

"My wife cannot work because we do not have the residence papers, we have a work permit that lasts for three years."

language, as well as restrictions on relatives' employment. Perceptions of Canadian culture as 'cold,' 'different' – and the significant life course impact of resettlement – could certainly be improved by focusing on those areas.

Reasons for coming to Canada

The reasons that motivated the respondents to come to Canada were varied. Some of them stressed the opportunity for professional improvement: "I came to Canada to learn how other countries work at System Engineering" (36-year-old female). "My husband is happy with his job; it is important for us" (35-year-old female). Others, in turn, emphasized family factors: "I want a better job opportunity for my daughter" (41-year-old female). "We want to give to our child a better future. As a family we were very busy; we wanted more quality time with him. We wanted more peace for him. We wanted for our child a better childhood" (35-year-old female). Interestingly, one of the

TABLE 2

Describe your experience at work in Canada

Describe your experience at work	Number of people
Very satisfactory	5
Satisfactory	2
Marvellous opportunity	1
A challenge	1
Good for people with jobs	2
Developed new programmes	1
We are over-qualified	1
Difficult to find a job	1
Very organized and demanding	2
Difficulty with the language	1
Total responses	17

interviewees was a secondary migrant: "My experience is different from other Latinos here at Florenceville. I lived in Toronto first, and worked in several jobs before coming here. I wanted to try new things, and that's how I ended up here" (30-year-old female).

Work and administrative matters

Some of interesting comments about Canada's work environment included praise for its high level of organization and relentless drive: "Here in Canada we work, work and work. They [Canadians] are very organized" (36-year-old female). Concentration on specific daily routines was also highlighted: "I work without pressure. Here you work in your small task. I used to work solving problems during the whole process" (41-year-old female).

However, the predicament of non-working spouses was less positively reflected upon: "I need to learn how to speak English, I lost my status but I can regain it again, now I am a housewife. It is very difficult for me, because I am a professional I am wondering what I am going to do with my career" (35-year-old female).

Intercultural links and social integration

Intercultural links and social integration were also explored. Of course, the experience of coming to Canada is often a radical cultural change: "They (Canadians) are very different, the music, the food, everything. But they are kind and some of them are interested in where we come from and what our culture is like" (20-year-old male).

Reaction to this change included feelings of longing for relatives in their home countries, particularly among females respondents: "I miss my family. It is a hard process" (33-year-old female). This may have been exacerbated by feelings about Canadians' reserve and perceived prejudices towards newcomers: "Canadians are as cold as their winters. They do not embrace you. They (Canadians) are very distant...They consider that we came from the jungle and we were uncivilized" (36-year-old female).

Many of the respondents (30%) reported cultural and social isolation: "The only people that we connect are with Colombians, [Canadians] do not care about us" (36-years-old female). Another respondent reported her daughter's successful integration after an initial period in which she faced prejudice on the part of her classmates: "My daughter is very happy here. At the beginning they [Canadians] associated her with the drugs

The analysis of our data reveals that important aspects of the experience of this emerging community are related to constraints faced by the spouses and children of the employed family heads.

scene. Now she is the first in her class and she has a lot of friends and she is happy here” (41-year-old female).

Despite some experience with discrimination, the rapid adaptation of youngsters was perceived as a positive feature by respondents: “Now my child has a better education, his adaptation to school is great. He is very intelligent. He speaks English; his teacher came here to congratulate him for his birthday” (35-year-old female).

Some of this social isolation may be related to language skills. Although the Multicultural Association of Carleton County organizes activities and mobilizes resources from other associations in the province, the availability of language training is poor.

Language and culture

Language is, for 10% of the respondents, a significant obstacle, as the company has recently started hiring employees with only basic English skills, which given the information technology nature of their tasks, is all they need in order to perform at work, at least during the first months of their contracts. It is then assumed that they will learn English by immersion. Although this ‘swim or drown’ approach may prove effective in the long run, it can be the source of considerable distress: “[Canadians] do not communicate with us”. (36-year-old female). “ It is imperative to know how to speak English” (41 year old female). “I am learning English” (36-year-old female). “Without English you are a ‘nobody’ ” (41-year-old female). Latin-Americans’ perceptions about interpersonal relationships among Canadians in this study are similar to the findings of other studies. An interviewee reported in a previous study: “Canadians are very serviceable but not friendly” (2002). In the present study, newcomers expressed similar conceptions: “Canadians are as cold as their winters. I am having problems to communicate in English. It is very difficult for me. We are warm and touch people they [Canadians] are distant” (35-year-old female). Although these perceptions may be related to the initial impact to displacement and language barriers, they also suggest reactions to North American

individualistic society, which, compounded with structural constraints, often add to the significant stress of settling in a new country.

The adaptation process

For 13% of the respondents, the contrast with the animated urban scene of her native South American city, and the fact of being away from relatives, is a trying experience: “I miss my family, Canada is a very lonely place. I feel very lonely, here we can walk at night but there is no place to go, because I am very lonely” (36-year-old female). A respondent, who finds that the compounded stress of permanent residence procedures excruciating and the moving and settlement expenses onerous, reflects: “At times, when I look around and think all I have gone through to be here, and all that we still have to go through before feeling completely at ease, I wonder...but we’re taking one thing at a time” (33-year-old male). Conversely, the safety and peaceful setting of Florenceville was emphasized: “I like the quietness of this town; this was my dream to retire in a small town like this” (41-year-old female). And there was, among 80% of respondents, an emerging sense of community: “We have friends from Cuban origin and from other Latin-American countries. Canadians are nice with us” (35-year-old female). “We have more quality time with our son, He has friends and he is learning to make friends” (35-year-old female).

Long-term plans

Thirty percent of respondents planned to return to their countries of origin: “ I miss my family very much, I am their support and now I feel I learned how they work here I can come back to my home country” (36-year-old female). Others highlighted, despite their own personal discomfort, the advantages of settling in Canada, mainly because of better opportunities for their children: “I miss my family, but my child has a better life, my child is happy” (35-year-old female). “I am planning to be here in Canada for my daughter” (41-year-old female). Among the 70% who reported plans to stay in Canada, 90%

saw Florenceville as a starting point and not as a permanent destination: "My plan is to work here for a while, to get some experience, and then maybe move to another province – it's very isolated here. Time will tell" (31-year-old male).

Conclusions and guidelines for future study

The analysis of our data reveals that important aspects of the experience of this emerging community are related to constraints faced by the spouses and children of the employed family heads. Because of restrictions inherent to the residence status of this particular group, spouses are not allowed to work, which hinders the family's economic situation as well as their socio-cultural integration to Canadian society. Language training, attention to their problems in the Spanish language, and other integrative strategies are also lacking in this small and relatively isolated setting. (For example, during our visit to the local public library, we could not find any reading material in the Spanish language.) Their children, on the other hand, by attending local schools, enjoy a better integration, which is enhanced by the openness to language learning that is inherent to their age. However, we detected some instances of cultural and generational dissension – and a larger issue: the blockage of educational opportunities at the end of high school as a consequence of residence status restrictions.

In a subsequent phase of the project, we are investigating the situation and experiences of the non-working spouses and children of Latin American immigrants to Florenceville. The research will be greatly facilitated by our previous experience in the community and the contacts we established during the first part of the project. The relevance of this project resides in the novelty of the experiences of this group of Latin Americans, who face issues that are different from other immigrant and temporary worker communities insofar as they are implanted in an isolated region of the country, in which very few newcomers live. Also compelling is the need for assessing the socio-cultural aspects of this modality of workforce mobility, which is one of the rare instances in which immigration to the Atlantic region – a badly needed demographic and economic resource – is being stimulated in concrete ways.

Newcomers expressed the need to help others and also the need to be involved in the community, similarly to what Long (2002)

reported in her study; also reported in this survey are instances of intercultural opening and collaboration that hold potential for the community. Our respondents identified several key aspects that would certainly make a difference in terms of improving their integration. Among them are the following:

- Reinforce the networking provided by settlement organizations;
- Improve English language training;
- Help newcomers in finding services in town;
- Help spouses to find employment in the area of expertise (although this would require a modification of non-resident terms);
- Children should be able to attend post-secondary education on the same fee basis as residents;
- Ideally, work permit holders should have similar rights as permanent residents, thus easing family adaptation problems.

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APPENDIX

Interview Questions (Translated from Spanish)

This interview has the purpose of gathering information regarding your experience in Canada. Perhaps in the questionnaire you already answered some of our questions. However, we would like for you to tell us your story.

1. Could you tell us your story in your country regarding your family, your job, and your studies?
2. Could you tell us the process of decision making for coming to Canada?
3. Please explain your feelings, your thoughts. Describe what you remember about your family and friends reaction towards your decision.
4. Could you tell us your first impression when you arrived in Canada?
5. Did you first impressions change over time? How?
6. Could you describe your positive experiences in Canada?
7. Could you explain the negative aspects of your experience in Canada?
8. How do you perceive the Canadian culture, its people, life style?
9. How do you perceive your work environment?
10. How do you see yourself in five years from now?

Diverse patterns of denominational affiliation among Protestants in mid-19th century St. Stephen, New Brunswick show that low and fluid church involvement could occur before industrialization and modernization, conventionally linked to secularization and consumer religion. Despite intermittent church conflicts, Protestants also cooperated in ways that anticipated the later church union and ecumenical movements.

Diversity Within a Common Religious Culture

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While religion was a key source of individual identity in 19th century communities, this did not necessarily imply a single exclusive denominational identity. Nor should portraits of rural and small-town communities assume an imagined golden age of church involvement, stability, and social peace sometimes found in 20th century popular culture. Did patterns of church affiliation support the common perception today that “rural life truly was church-centred”? How did 19th century churches move beyond their equivocal role as invokers of both conflict and harmony?¹ Church conflicts had more disruptive power in smaller, rural populations, as satirized by past writers such as Stephen Leacock and Lucy Maud Montgomery.

The concept of “lived religion,” in which local institutional and popular religion are understood as interwoven rather than oppositional,² provides an innovative approach to the study of diversity within a common religious culture shared by Anglo-American Protestant traditions. Located at the head of the tide on the St. Croix River, the parish of St. Stephen, New Brunswick and the census districts of Calais, Maine contained the variety of Christian traditions found more commonly in cities in the northeast in this period, than in small towns and settlements. Although church conflicts were by no means distinctively Protestant, in mid-19th century St. Stephen, New Brunswick and Calais, Maine,³ only Protestants resorted to schism and changed denominations in significant numbers. The

diverse patterns of church affiliation in these communities challenge what scholars call the secularization and consumer religion theses, which assume that lower and fluid church involvement necessarily postdated industrialization and modernization. Yet despite church conflicts, Protestants also cooperated locally, laying the groundwork for the interdenominational institutions that emerged later in the century, and in rural areas, anticipating early 20th century church union movement.

By the 1850s in St. Stephen and Calais, Episcopalians – henceforth Anglicans as in modern usage, Methodists, Congregationalists, and Baptists – possessed organized churches on

¹ Robert P. Swierenga (1997), “The Little White Church: Religion in Rural America,” *Agricultural History* 71, 4, p. 417-419; Hal S. Barron (1984), *Those Who Stayed Behind: Rural Society in Nineteenth-Century New England*, Cambridge University Press, p. 128-129.

² David D. Hall (Ed.) (1997), *Lived Religion in America: Toward a History of Practice*. Princeton, NJ.

³ This article summarizes material discussed and documented more fully in Hannah Lane (2006), “Evangelicals, Church Finance, and Wealth-Holding in Mid-Nineteenth Century St. Stephen, New Brunswick, and Calais, Maine,” in Michael Gauvreau and Ollivier Hubert (Eds), *The Social Role of the Churches in Canada*. McGill-Queen’s University Press; Lane (2002), “Tribalism, Proselytism, and Pluralism: Protestants, Family, and Denominational Identity in Mid-Nineteenth Century St. Stephen, New Brunswick,” in Nancy Christie (Ed.), *Households of Faith: Family, Gender, and Community in Canada 1760-1969*, Montreal and Kingston, p. 103-137; and the author’s Ph.D. and M.A. theses.

both sides of the river. Presbyterians and Universalists met on the St. Stephen side of the river, Unitarians on the Calais side. By the 1860s, a small Adventist church also served both sides of the river. Of the larger Protestant groups, the Anglicans were not surprisingly more numerous in St. Stephen, but the Church of England in this period did not record the names of those who regularly participated in the ritual of communion, the closest equivalent to church membership. Methodist, Congregational, Presbyterian, and Baptist churches all required from new members some expression of religious experience and their acceptance by the existing membership and lay leadership. All four groups thus shared an evangelical understanding of church membership and a local organization based on a society of members inside a larger congregation of church attendees. However, all four groups also differed on a number of other points concerning the basis of church membership, in their official theologies, and in their denominational organization. Groups such as the Unitarians and Universalists shared this organization around a society of members, but their theologies were more modernist. Local Adventists were part of the post-Civil War resurgence of millenarianism in New England, concerned both with the end of the world and debating traditional understandings of the afterlife.

Nineteenth-century Canadian censuses are unique in their inclusion of questions on religion. However, census returns enumerated only the denominational equivalent of ethnic identity – the answer by an individual or by a parent or spouse on behalf of another individual to the question on nominal religious adherence,⁴ not necessarily related to any form of church involvement. Census information on religion can thus be understood as the outcome of a “set of ‘identifying practices,’”⁵ offering participants and taking from participants a language for the construction of religious identity or identities. While one can assume that parents spoke for young children, it is more difficult to determine to what extent enumerators relied on household heads or parents speaking for other members of their families.

For example, although George F. Hill was enumerated as a Methodist in 1861 along with his mother and siblings, he never represented himself as a Methodist in his diary. His grandfather had been a pastoral lay leader and his father a trustee, and George F. Hill had

attended Methodist services. But his diary also noted his regular visits to almost every Protestant church in St. Stephen and Calais, and once at Christmas to the Catholic church, whose Christmas music reputedly brought in Protestant listeners. In his diary, Hill limited his use of “Methodist” to those Methodist churches he attended and to refer to individuals who by lifestyle and probably also formal church membership were Methodist in his sense of the word. Although he may have been enumerated as a Methodist in 1861 because of his family, his enumeration in 1871 as a Swedenborgian⁶ was more probably his own choice.

The denominational variety reported within families enumerated as residing separately suggests that, where possible, enumerators tried to ascertain these distinctions. Of the 701 Protestant or partly Protestant families (defined in this instance as referring to two or more related individuals enumerated as a distinct household) in the 1861 census for St. Stephen, one tenth recorded different adherences. A similar analysis of relations in the 1871 Census showed that at least 18% of 919 Protestant families reported different adherences. Though larger than the 1861 proportion, the 1871 proportion underestimates denominational differences within families: as the 1871 Census had no question on relationships, the analysis is only of relations of the same last name. Some individuals reported different denominational adherences in different census years. Of 1,455 Protestant or Protestant/Catholic adults⁷ linked to both 1861 and 1871, 24% reported different adherences. Most of these individuals appear to have changed their reported adherence along with one or more family member, or to the adherence of a new spouse.

In the 1861 census of St Stephen, Methodists were the single largest religious group, at 26% of a population of 5,160. After the Methodists, the next largest groups on the St. Stephen side were

⁴ “Adherence” and “adherents” follow 19th century usage, referring to what was recorded on Canadian census returns.

⁵ Bruce Curtis (1994), “On the Local Construction of Statistical Knowledge: Making up the 1861 Census of the Canadas,” *Journal of Historical Sociology* 7, p. 432.

⁶ Presumably a follower of the eighteenth-century philosopher and mystic Emanuel Swedenborg.

⁷ Defined as those enumerated as over the age of 14 in 1861, and presumed over the age of 24 in 1871, by which age most St. Stephen or Calais residents were married.

The two most bitter church conflicts occurred only six years apart in a decade of economic hardship that probably exacerbated tensions, and clearly affected post-schism church finance. In 1844, a schism in one of the Methodist churches divided families, led to the arson of the disputed chapel, and a later court case over a disputed will.

Catholics and Anglicans – each with little over one fifth of the population in 1861 – followed by Presbyterians. Only a minority of local Congregationalists and Baptists lived on the New Brunswick side of the river. These figures for nominal religious adherence have no equivalent in censuses for Calais and Baring, whose combined population was enumerated at 6,030 in 1860. According to this census, Baptist and Congregationalist meeting houses in Calais could seat at least 500, but Methodist meeting houses were smaller.⁸ The largest Methodist chapel on the St. Stephen side of the river reportedly seated around 600, but an 1833 estimate put the regular attendees at only 300. Clergy in other churches also noted the denominational fluidity and fluctuating church attendance of local congregations. The best available information on church attendance – Methodist totals from the late 1860s and early 1870s – suggests that, at most, between 50 and 60% of Methodist families identified as such on the 1871 Census return were perceived by their ministers as regular church attendees. Even late in the 19th century, attending a variety of churches was a form of recreation and not necessarily a commitment to a particular denomination. Finally, the high level of transiency in these communities also contributed to the turnover among church attendees and actual church members.

Although no surviving records listed the names of those who attended church regularly, evangelical denominations kept lists of members – those who actually joined the church. The most complete membership records have survived for Congregationalists since their organization in 1825, for Methodist churches on the St. Stephen side of the river since the 1840s, and for Presbyterians – with a few gaps – since the 1850s. Presbyterian church members were not surprisingly the most ethnically based and denominationally loyal group; of Presbyterian church members linked to the 1861 or 1871

Census, only 8% reported another denomination on either census. In contrast, 30% of Methodist church members and 39% of Congregationalist church members linked to the 1861 or 1871 Census were listed at least once as adherents of another denomination. Some church members maintained more than one denominational affiliation at the same time. Of current church members in the 1861 census, 14% of the Congregationalists and 12% of the Methodists were listed as adherents of another denomination than that of their church membership.

The single-year approach was essential for analyzing rates of membership among the most probable constituency for a particular church: those enumerated as nominal adherents of that church's denomination. As few evangelical church members joined before age 15, those enumerated in St. Stephen in 1861 as aged 15 or over were defined as the age group for this constituency of potential church members. Given transiency, and the fact that Methodists sometimes only attended the separate devotional meetings of church members for a few years after joining, rates of current church membership were lower than overall rates of church membership. Of Methodist adherents aged 15 or over enumerated in 1861, at least 41% were church members sometime between 1840 and 1881, but only 25% were current church members. The former proportion underestimates overall rates of church membership because records for some Methodist churches in the parish are missing before 1849. With the longest run of extant records and the least demanding requirements for continued membership, Congregationalists not surprisingly had the highest rate of overall church membership: 50% of Congregationalist adherents aged 15 or over in 1861 were members sometime between 1825 and 1881, and 40% were current members. Presbyterians linked to census returns had a much lower rate of church membership, which can be explained both by gaps in the sources and by a religious culture in which church membership was more likely

⁸ "Social Statistics," Censuses of Calais and Baring, 1850 and 1860.

to be a decision taken later in life than in other denominations.

Conflict within or between churches and denominations also contributed to the fluidity of local congregations. The founders of the Unitarian Society included former Congregationalists and the founders of the Universalist Society former Congregationalists and Methodists. Similarly in later decades, the Free Will Baptists included former Methodists or Calvinist Baptists, and the Adventists included former Methodists and both former Free Will and former Calvinist Baptists. In rural settlements, Presbyterian and Methodist clergy sometimes vied for congregations and access to meeting spaces. In 1836, the first and short-lived Presbyterian minister stationed in St. Stephen described local Methodists as “a sly sneaking sect” who “compass land and sea to make proselytes.”⁹ As late as the 1870s, the rivalry of Methodists and Baptists in one community drew editorial rebukes in local newspapers.

The two most bitter church conflicts occurred only six years apart in a decade of economic hardship that probably exacerbated tensions, and clearly affected post-schism church finance. In 1844, a schism in one of the Methodist churches divided families, led to the arson of the disputed chapel, and a later court case over a disputed will. A schism in one of the Baptist churches also led to the arson of the disputed chapel, and subsequent counteraccusations of insurance fraud. The former schism appears to have primarily centred on debates over religious practice and church organization, with ambiguous hints of other debates. In the later Baptist schism, social tensions were clearly documented: the conflict began when a minister questioned the commercial morality of local lumber merchants and their treatment of workers.

In the late 1860s, the St. Stephen Presbyterian church quarrelled with a rural Presbyterian church in a neighbouring parish; the former briefly considering leaving the regional denomination. The surface issue was the former’s use of a musical instrument during worship, but this conflict probably also reflected the different origins of the two churches. The town church consisted of a few elite Lowland Scottish families and a much larger number of poor Irish families,

while the rural church consisted of the descendants of Highlanders. In the late 1860s, the Church of England divided into supporters and critics of Tractarianism, the High Church movement in the modern sense of this phrase. No church was burnt, but a portion of the congregation seceded and formed and built a second church in the same town.

Yet it would be misleading to focus only on those who changed affiliations or only on conflict in this period. A majority of lay Protestants did maintain a single denominational loyalty; yet at the same time lay Protestants and sometimes also Protestant clergy worked together in a number of areas. Some participated in non-denominational or inter-denominational voluntary associations, held joint revivals, or supported each other’s fundraising efforts. Sunday schools were more problematic, sometimes a site of conflict, sometimes of cooperation.

These efforts were the nineteenth-century forerunners to the modern ecumenical movement. Although the nondenominational Protestant union church was more typical of western Canadian communities, the model also existed earlier and in the east. Of 35 pew holding families in one rural chapel in St. Stephen during the 1850s and 1860s, all but two could be linked to local denominations. Five families contained individuals with different affiliations or individuals who had changed affiliations by 1861. Twelve families appear to have been entirely Anglican in identity, and sixteen families entirely Methodist. Of the lay leaders, only half were ever a Methodist. Though legally a Methodist building, the chapel was called a “Union” church. Thus, in Old Ridge, New Brunswick, Anglicans, Methodists, and Presbyterians had made the decision for both diversity and unity decades before the formation of the United Church of Canada.

About the author

HANNAH LANE is Assistant Professor of History at Mount Allison University.

⁹ Cited in F.E. Archibald (1932), “Contribution of the Scottish Church to New Brunswick Presbyterianism from its Earliest Beginnings until the Time of the Disruption, and Afterwards, 1784-1852”, Ph.D. Thesis, University of Edinburgh, p. 82.

This article summarizes the objectives of the Réseau stratégique sur l'immigration en dehors des métropoles as well as some of its key findings on the mobility of immigrants in regions.

The Strategic Network for Immigration Outside Major Urban Centres: A Forum for Research, Discussion and Consultation

MICHÈLE VATZ LAAROUSI
Université de Sherbrooke

A new strategic network for research and enlightened public policy

Originating in collaborative efforts of researchers in Quebec and New Brunswick, the Réseau stratégique sur l'immigration en dehors des métropoles, in 2007, brings together 56 researchers and 61 partners from the ten Canadian provinces, eight countries of immigration (Switzerland, Belgium, France, Spain, Bulgaria, New Zealand, the United Kingdom and Australia), and four countries of emigration to Canada (Colombia, Romania, Senegal and Burkina Faso). The network has five objectives:

- Develop, synthesize and apply knowledge developed through research into immigration outside major urban centres;
- Develop an international network of researchers and partners from countries of immigration and emigration;
- Distribute and transfer research results to local stakeholders, practitioners and managers of immigration outside the major urban centres;
- Enlighten municipal, provincial and federal public policy on those issues; and
- Develop partnerships that can ensure the sustainability of the network and lead to new collaborative research efforts in that area.

Immigration outside the major urban centres is a hot research topic today, as are practices and policies in Canada and in a number of other countries of immigration (Vatz Laaroussi and Walton Roberts 2005). Citizenship and Immigration Canada is pondering the opportunities and obstacles to diversifying the places of accommodation for newcomers to Canada, while some provinces (Saskatchewan, Alberta) are considering policies to attract and accommodate immigrants. Other provinces (New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, Manitoba) are already implementing their policies and the tripartite agreements they have signed with the federal and municipal governments, while Quebec and Ontario are studying and evaluating the effects of the approaches they have taken to regionalize immigration.

Regarding regionalization, the researchers, government employees, community decision makers and stakeholders brought together at the Metropolis conference in 2003 (Metropolis Conversations 2003), and at the workshops given by the Observatoire canadien de l'immigration dans les zones à faible densité d'immigrants (Vatz Laaroussi 2006), which became the Réseau de recherche sur l'immigration en dehors des métropoles (2005, 2006), have highlighted the fact that although there is a body of relevant research into regionalization at the

macroeconomic level, there is a lack of data and analysis from local and multidisciplinary standpoints to support an in-depth regionalization strategy that is anchored both in place and time. Thus, a number of components identified in the research into immigration in the three major Canadian urban centres (Vancouver, Toronto and Montréal) do not fully explain the reality of immigration outside those major centres. The local, regional and provincial contexts vary widely (rural, semi-urban, second-tier cities, provinces with declining demographics, minority communities) and must be analyzed in light of their specific and complex features. It is also extremely important to combine, systematize and model this localized knowledge.

The conclusions arising from the discussions of the Réseau stratégique sur l'immigration en dehors des métropoles (the network) highlight the need for partnership, cooperation and cross-sector involvement among stakeholders (municipalities, community organizations, chambers of commerce, mono-ethnic associations, local development agencies, industry groups, local officials, federations of municipalities, Acadian and Francophone groups, inter-provincial groups, etc.), political decision makers and researchers from the various provinces. There is a need for reflection on the ties between regions of accommodation and countries of origin, as well as on the regional immigration situation in other countries of immigration.

To achieve these ambitious objectives, the network identified six components for its work:

- Immigration and the rural context;
- Immigration and local development;
- Immigration services and infrastructure outside the major urban centres;
- Municipal, provincial and federal policies and practices with respect to immigration and diversity outside the major urban centres;
- Immigration in minority language communities;
- Local immigration and transnational networks.

Within this strategic network, a common conceptual framework was developed that links territory, stakeholders, political structures and historical background, and case studies and project analyses from a variety of rural and mid-size municipalities were conducted in various provinces across Canada. In this article,

we will review some of the research questions brought forward within each of these components and identify some key results stemming from the studies and discussions that have taken place within the network, results that allow us to advance knowledge and enlighten federal, provincial and municipal public policy.

Topics of research and initial developments

The major issues in the rural context centre on the capacity of rural communities to attract and retain immigrant populations in a context of depopulation in rural areas and migratory flows to urban centres, which continue to be significant and to have a considerable effect on local populations, particularly young people. The question is what are the specific immigration issues in the rural context both for the rural communities and for immigrants? What are the forces behind and the factors preventing immigration to rural areas? (Toro Lara 2006). The various projects show the importance of not using immigration as the sole strategy for repopulating a rural region, but of considering a multi-strategy approach that is designed to encourage people from the region to return there to retire, to retain young people and also to bring in immigrants (Colombino 2007). In a variety of case studies conducted in the Prairies, Annis and Silvius (2006) stress the need for cooperation among various levels of stakeholders – individuals, the community and provincial and national decision makers. In their view, the accommodation capacity of rural communities must be developed with local networks and local needs in mind, but also taking into consideration government policy and potential resources for the community.

Local development lies at the heart of this problem, because for the various policies, regionalization of immigration and local development must go hand in hand. Projects, initiatives, programs, services and proposed policies introduced by local community stakeholders must be examined, and the logic at work (economic, social or political) must be understood. Critical collaborative processes, partnerships and joint efforts and the perspective that local and immigrant stakeholders have on them, as well as the repercussions of immigration on communities' socio-economic and human heritage must be identified (Quimper 2005). The specific agreements entered into by Quebec's department of immigration and cultural communities (MICC) with cities like

Sherbrooke, with regional county municipalities (RCMs) like the RCM of Matawinie (in which the town of Rawdon is located) or regional associations of elected officials, such as the one in the Lower St. Lawrence, are quite relevant topics of analysis here, because they make it possible to better grasp the processes involved in these projects, and their medium-term evaluation should foster an analysis of the secondary mobility of immigrants who settle in outlying regions and the factors that foster settlement and retention.

In our third component, which focuses on services, the issues have to do with the scarcity of resources and also with the need to adapt existing services. In particular, what specific issues do community organizations face regarding immigration outside the major urban centres? How are the major phases of accommodation and integration organized and played out, according to these organizations? Who are the stakeholders in these processes and how do collaborative efforts develop? What are the avenues for supporting, developing and improving the functioning of community organizations as they support immigrants? A few recommendations have been made. In particular, the isolation of host organizations located in outlying regions and the fact that they are often the only intermediary between the immigrant and the host society – meaning that they must be involved in every arena from schooling for children to employment, housing and francization – takes a heavy toll on these resources and can also put immigrants in a situation where everything is looked after and they are sometimes infantilized. Further, the need for intercultural and diversity sensitivity training appears to be important for regional stakeholders in all these areas. Indeed, there is never a sufficient critical mass of ethnic and cultural communities to develop specific services, so existing services that are available to all must be broadened, adapted and made more accessible. In that sense, it would certainly be worth considering specialized outreach services for cultural communities that would travel to one or more regions.

As regards municipal policies and their relation to other levels of government, the importance in the rural context of which we have already seen, we are interested in the political, consultative and administrative structures introduced by the municipalities to promote diversity. We are also interested in the projects, initiatives, programs, services and policies proposed; in the main stakeholders

involved; and in the political perspectives on integration and local development. More specifically, our studies in New Brunswick, Quebec and Saskatchewan (Vatz Laaroussi, Gallant, Belkhodja 2005; Vatz Laaroussi, Garcea, Belkhodja, Gallant, Poirier, pending) enable us to identify the importance of cooperative processes, partnerships and collaborative efforts among various local stakeholders, including municipal stakeholders, as well as between the local level and the various levels of government. But in studying the policies and their stakeholders, we must also consider the perception that ethnic, religious and cultural minorities in these locations have of their impact. By combining the data, we can truly work to produce enlightened policies. It is interesting to note that, in Quebec, the current regionalization policy is translating into concrete policy developments in some mid-size cities such as Sherbrooke, which has adopted an immigration accommodation and integration policy, or Gatineau, which has instituted a process of introducing an ethnic and cultural diversity policy, while in Saskatchewan consultations are being held – for instance in Saskatoon – to better understand municipal capacity to take in new minorities. In the latter case, it is also very important to factor in the Aboriginal community and its position regarding immigration (Garcea 2006).

We have noted a strong political trend toward fostering Francophone immigration outside Québec (CIC 2003, 2006). Thus the Fédération des communautés francophones et acadiennes (FCFA 2004) has set directions to increase and better support Francophone immigration to all Canadian provinces, and some provinces in turn, such as Ontario, are taking a genuine interest. For instance, in late 2006, the Ontario government commissioned a study to identify the optimal conditions for recruiting, selecting and settling immigrants into its Francophone communities. The major issues relate to the Francophone minority identity and its openness to diversity in various sectors affected by the policy direction – education, the labour market and Francophone associations. Baccouche (2002) and Belkhodja and Gallant (2005, 2006) have conducted a number of studies to better understand the effects of this type of immigration on Francophone communities and on towns in which Francophone and Anglophone communities coexist, such as Moncton. The associations' viewpoint on the Francophone community and on the place they give to Francophone immigrants is

a key element to analyse, as are all the cooperative efforts and networking processes involved.

In 2006, we added local immigration and transnational networks to our research efforts. Indeed, the difficult and even sometimes impossible intersection of local and international networks provided by the immigrants as well as the reactions of some local communities to the issues of reasonable accommodation in Québec in early 2007 lead us to believe that this is a crucial issue for enabling regional attraction and retention of immigrants. Mutual knowledge and understanding is important but mutual immersion in the culture and history of others is also essential – both for social cohesion and for local development. We therefore find it interesting to look at the processes associated with country-of-origin/country-of-immigration co-development (Eschraf Ouedrago 2007). The path of co-development between region of origin and region of accommodation could also be an interesting avenue for research on policies and projects to regionalize immigration. Thus, a win-win approach (Tadlaoui 2006) would be the best model. The contribution of immigrants to local development in the host society could also be acknowledged through the ties that it would foster between their host region and their country of origin. International twinning projects between two municipalities focusing on immigrants who come from one and have settled in the other could provide interesting projects to develop and evaluate.

Secondary mobility of immigrants: the theoretical and the political

A number of theoretical issues that cross-cut these themes emerge from the case studies and from the research conducted by the network. We will look here at the example of the processes associated with secondary mobility of immigrants, which is opposed to local retention in the political rhetoric. Two current studies (Vatz Laaroussi, Guilbert, Velez, Status of Women Canada, SSHRC) are seeking to identify the routes that immigrant women and families take after they first settle in outlying regions of Quebec. Two results appear to be significant: first, these immigrants tend to be more mobile than those who move directly to a major urban centre. It may be thought therefore that regions are having difficulty retaining immigrants despite the three-year retention rate, which is on the rise, according to the MICC, and which stands between 50% and 70%.

However, our results also indicate that we need to qualify this initial observation, as we identify the type of route selected. If families leave their first destination, it is usually for employment reasons, either to obtain a job or to obtain a better job – in other words, they move mainly for reasons of social mobility. In that sense, the presence or absence of post-secondary educational institutions is a key factor in the choice to move, whether we are talking about education for older children or a return to school for parents, which many men and women choose to do, even though they are already highly qualified. The other element in the choice to leave is the influence of family, ethnic or religious networks or of people who share the same experience (for instance, those who have lived in refugee camps, as in the case of African families). These networks fulfil support, information and guidance functions in family mobility.

When they move along with their network, families who settle first in small towns will often look for somewhat larger, but still mid-size, towns for their new place of residence, and preferably in an area near their initial residence. Thus, mobility occurs on a scale: if you settle in a small town, you will be more likely to move to a small or mid-size city. However, if your first residence is in a mid-size city such as Sherbrooke, you will tend to move to another mid-size city or to a major urban centre, and you will be more likely to cross provincial lines.

This is an interesting result for political decision makers, who must therefore refrain from viewing mobility and retention as two opposing ideas, but who must instead redefine them using the concepts of regional mobility and provincial or even Canada-wide retention. Thus, through their very wording and through comparison and combination, numerous studies within the network are now making it possible to develop new knowledge and enlighten both practitioners and politicians.

Conclusion: ethical issues

In conclusion, we should specify that the researchers who belong to this network also want to voice the ethical questions relating to immigration outside the major urban centres and to regionalization policies. Thus, in our research, we realize that certain points must be questioned, debated and sometimes even denounced. For instance, by focusing on balancing local needs and immigrant selection, there is a risk that white, Western, Christian immigrants from wealthy

countries and upper social classes will be the only ones selected to meet regional needs and align with regional cultural boundaries. The perverse effect is that immigrants are considered objects that can easily be displaced according to local needs. In addition, there is an issue surrounding the desire to regionalize immigration at all costs, at the risk of making immigrants pay the price as they suffer significant social and economic losses. The researchers must therefore reiterate and reformulate the questions for the various stakeholders in the network and then address them as a whole. How do we assist local communities in taking the risk of difference and in experiencing the richness it brings? How do we respect the needs and plans of immigrants? How do we value immigration outside the major urban centres without creating false expectations and disappointment?

About the author

MICHÈLE VATZ LAAROUSSI has a Ph.D. in Intercultural Psychology and teaches social work at the Université de Sherbrooke. In her research on immigration and social action with immigrants, she is especially interested in the family and regional dynamics as they relate to the cultural diversity in areas outside major city centres.

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Immigrant families must be given the truth, simple and free training, and job security – not indebtedness after pursuing their studies in Canada, which will only result in frustration and stress. It is not true that there will be executive jobs for the thousands of highly skilled professionals who arrive in Canada daily and who did everything they could to get here. The reality is quite different.

New Colonization

EVA LOPEZ

Founder and Executive Director, Intégration Communautaire des Immigrants

Intégration Communautaire des Immigrants (ICI) was founded in 2003 by Eva Lopez, after she spent several years volunteering with immigrants from around the world. A non-profit organization, ICI provides free personalized services to all members of immigrant families, regardless of their racial, religious or social background.

We believe that employment is a necessary part of social integration and that you can't have one without the other. Unfortunately, Canadian immigration criteria are extremely inconsistent with the reality in the country: preference is given to immigrants with higher education, yet their credentials are not recognized when they arrive. The solution to this problem is a long way off, but immigrants do have alternatives. While these alternatives do not necessarily meet immigrants' original expectations, they have helped many families turn their frustrations into new dreams.

Immigrant families must be given the truth, simple and free training, and job security – not indebtedness after pursuing their studies in Canada, which will only result in frustration and stress. It is not true that there will be executive jobs for the thousands of highly skilled professionals who arrive in Canada daily and who did everything they could to get here. The reality is quite different.

I left my country 15 years ago and settled directly in a rural area, where I wed a "rural Montrealer." I've had the opportunity to discover life outside the big city. I found myself in a semi-urban environment that offered the same quality of services as the big city (minus the public transportation, the great theatre and

the overpopulation). I was warmly welcomed into a simple yet vibrant community. I realized that our region's demographic situation was fragile and that, at the same time, in Montréal and elsewhere, immigrant families were living in ghettos and in extreme poverty, excluded from the host society and under a heavy burden of debt after getting an education in Canada, with nothing but a welfare cheque for consolation.

The tools for regionalizing immigration were right in front of us; we just had to reach out and grab them. Personally, I could not understand why villages were dying, why the birth rate was declining, and why businesses were having trouble finding and keeping staff. How could a country that welcomes so many immigrants allow at the same time schools to close, villages to die and factories to relocate? And let's not forget about the ghettos, where extreme poverty, total exclusion, and tremendous potential for the regions abound.

I thought about it and decided to visit Quebec's ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC). To begin with, we needed a francization course for the people who were already in the region, but who were completely ignored by a community that did not know what to do with them. Some immigrants had married Quebecers; these men, women and children were vulnerable and completely isolated because they did not know the language and culture. The MICC acted diligently and responded to my request to open the first francization course for immigrants in the Amiante region.

None of the families that came to our region knew that the rural areas would be so alive,

offering many jobs, a quality of life similar to what they had envisioned before they came to Canada (or the one they had in their country), a quiet place to raise their children. Our region also offers an organization that is ready to welcome them and help them with their career transition and their integration into our community. Humble jobs, certainly, but jobs with a future. I explain this reality to the (highly educated) immigrant families, and they settle in our region, so that together as a society we can build the future of Chaudière-Appalaches.

The region responded extremely favourably to this initiative. Jacques Lussier, the mayor of Sainte-Clotilde-de-Beauce, worked very hard to promote immigration. Granirex, in Thetford Mines, was the first business to come on board, followed by René Matériaux Composites, which employed a large number of immigrants (primarily couples) and developed a very good dynamic through the open-mindedness and professionalism of human resources director Marco Vachon, who let us guide him. We suggested hiring gradually, beginning with people who spoke French quite well, so that they could then train those who did not speak French at all. A daunting challenge, but the results were excellent! A temporary lack of language ability should not be an obstacle to employment. Rural areas are an ideal place to learn the language and culture.

The independent immigrants and refugees employed in our region as factory workers are university graduates. In their countries, they were lawyers, agronomists, engineers, accountants, administrators, business owners, executives, etc. Today, they see a bright future ahead of them, and I am convinced that many of these individuals will surprise us in a few years. Some of them are progressing very well and will go far. Their attitude, humility and courage will make them community leaders, educators, managers, and so on.

These immigrants have decided to stop running around in circles and going into debt for studies that will get them nowhere. They have decided to adapt to the reality of Quebec and “take the bull by the horns.” They enrol in work-related courses that will provide them with the skills that are actually needed in our rural areas, and they wind up with unexpected careers that they enjoy, because their career development

helps them integrate into their new society. They are now proud taxpayers! Although there is some turnover of families, the retention rate is much higher, and things are looking up!

This wonderful experience is possible thanks to the support of the MICC, Quebec’s ministère de l’Emploi et de la Solidarité sociale, school boards, local development centres, as well as booming businesses, cooperation from other organizations and the community but, above all, thanks to the realistic immigrant families who refused to give up. They are receiving the support they need to spread their wings. These factors are essential to the success of ICI in the Chaudière-Appalaches region, where it is a leader in recruiting, receiving and offering personal support to immigrant families, businesses and the Québécois community. As a result of our experience with René Matériaux Composites, we are working with the Comité Sectoriel de Plastiques et Composites to develop a strategy that will benefit area businesses. We are also working with Johanne Gagnon of UPA on a fantastic integration project in milk and pork production. ICI will soon open its second service point in St-Georges de Beauce. We are preparing the host community of Chaudière-Appalaches to receive even more immigrant families in the regional county municipalities of Amiante, Beauce-Etchemins and the new Beauce. In 2007, we will be holding a conference in Chaudière-Appalaches based on our experience with some successful approaches to sound regionalization of immigration. It is possible!

Intégration Communautaire des Immigrants hopes to use its unique expertise to help immigrant families and the entire region. The work of its partners in this worthwhile and realistic project helped eliminate prejudices. ICI has garnered worldwide media attention and participated in various studies. Its work is nothing short of inspiring.

About the author

EVA LOPEZ, Founder and Executive Director of the non-profit organization Intégration Communautaire des Immigrants, is a passionate woman and a visionary. She decided to turn immigration into a major asset for the region that has welcomed and supported her in this great adventure.

The Centre International des Femmes, Québec (CIFQ) is a not-for-profit organization which was created in 1981 to provide assistance to immigrant women and families and to facilitate their integration. The organization offers the linguistic and cultural interpretation services of the Banque régionale d'interprètes linguistiques et culturels (BRILC) through its health and social services network.

Apprends-moi ta langue: An Experiment with Linguistic Integration and Intercultural Exchange in Québec City

BOUCHRA KAACHE

Director, Centre international des femmes, Québec¹

Partnering programs first appeared in Québec in 1985 and were systematically adopted in various regions through the Immigrant Settlement Assistance Program (ISAP). They are designed to help newcomers to Québec in their settlement process.

According to Vatz-Laaroussi (2001),² the goal of such partnering programs can vary: the relationships can serve functional needs, with locals helping newcomers get to know the new environment and its institutions and services. Some partnerships are primarily geared toward integration, as they give the newcomers an opportunity to speak French, become familiar with Québec culture and make social contacts in the host culture. Others place greater emphasis on relationships and are designed to create social and emotional ties that help newcomers overcome their isolation.

An innovative initiative at the Centre international des femmes, Québec

The Centre international des femmes de Québec (CIFQ) has been working with immigrants (refugees, independent immigrants, refugee protection claimants, students, etc.) since 1981, without making distinctions on the basis of origin, belief, sexual orientation, etc. The Centre's mission

is to further the socio-cultural and economic integration of immigrant women and their families, to foster exchange between immigrant women and their Québec counterparts, to facilitate their access to health and social services, education, justice, and other services, and to help immigrant women overcome their isolation by encouraging them to actively participate in Québec society.

To do this, the organization offers the linguistic and cultural interpretation services of the Banque régionale d'interprètes linguistiques et culturels (BRILC) through its health and social services network. It also holds meetings to raise awareness on a wide variety of topics such as health and social services, wellness, women's issues, democratic life and Québec culture. Other activities are held regularly, including sewing workshops – with the intended purpose of

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Tel.: 418-688-5530 / Fax: 418-688-1967; cifq@bellnet.ca / www.cifqfemmes.qc.ca.

² Michèle Vatz Laaroussi and Johanne Charbonneau, "L'accueil et l'intégration des immigrants : À qui la responsabilité? Le cas des jumelages entre familles québécoises et familles immigrantes," in *Lien social et Politiques* – RIAC 46, Fall 2001.

combating violence against immigrant women – French language classes, social activities, intercultural exchange activities, and thematic outings and meetings. Information and referrals to other resources are also provided to the women, families and men who approach the organization.

The CIFQ's staff and members also work together to raise awareness of the realities facing members of cultural communities and of the migration process among the general public and various stakeholders, through a variety of initiatives such as involvement in coordinating committees, training opportunities, media presentations, editorial contributions to opinions and briefs, and consultation sessions.

The Centre serves approximately 2,300 people annually. Its clientele mainly comprises refugee women and men, and women sponsored by their families (80%, 64% of whom have been in Québec for less than three years). Also included are independent immigrants (10%), refugee protection claimants, students, guide, visitors and workers (10%). They receive services in the areas of interpretation and accompaniment, follow-up, listening and support, technical assistance, information and referrals. Clients come primarily from Latin America (64%), Asia (16%), Europe (13%) and Africa (5%).

The CIFQ has secured a number of partnerships with organizations such as the Agence des services de la santé et des services sociaux de la Capitale nationale, the ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles du Québec (MICC), the Secrétariat à la Condition féminine, with government and public services (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Emploi-Québec, City of Québec, etc.), with health and social services (CLSCs, hospitals, the Centre jeunesse de Québec, shelters, etc.), with community service organizations, ethnic groups and associations, training and learning centres (universities, Cégeps, school boards, etc.), and private sector services (law firms, clinics, etc.). These partnerships grow from year to year as new needs arise. For instance, in the last two years, in partnership with Health Canada, the Centre developed a permanent display in nine languages to raise awareness of breast cancer among women from cultural communities.

The CIFQ is proud of its accomplishments over the years. Two key accomplishments are:

- 1985: Creation of the Maison d'hébergement pour femmes immigrantes;

- 1994: Creation of the Banque régionale des interprètes linguistiques et culturels (BRILC).

The Centre has been establishing partnerships in conjunction with the MICC in Québec City since 1985. With this partnership experience under its belt and with its 25 years of work in immigration, the Centre introduced a new project in 2004 called *Apprends-moi ta langue*, which involves pairing Québec women with recently arrived immigrant women so that each can learn the other's language. The language exchange is specifically designed to facilitate the linguistic and social integration of newcomers, while affording their knowledge real value. Indeed, unlike traditional partnership programs, this project gives newcomers the sense that they are volunteering to help someone learn a foreign language in exchange for assistance in learning French. This programme thereby creates highly valued relationships of assistance.

The *Apprends-moi ta langue* project has three major objectives per group:

Immigrant women:

- Help them practice and improve their French;
- Enable them overcome their isolation;
- Help them better understand Québec culture;

Québec women:

- Enable them to learn a foreign language;
- Allow them get to know immigrant women and their history;
- Broaden their horizons, open their minds to other cultures and develop more positive perceptions.

This article provides an assessment of the participants' experiences between 2005 and 2006. The assessment is derived from comments made by the women themselves at two round-table sessions. On those occasions, the participants talked informally about their language exchange experience. Eleven immigrant women attended the first meeting and 12 Québec women attended the second.

During the meetings, each participant received a more formal questionnaire.

Representative excerpts of some of the comments about the exchanges follow. The data were compiled by Centre stakeholders and an external consultant.

For the immigrant partners, language was a significant and highly appreciated aspect of the programme. From a cultural standpoint, it was the practical advice that appeared to be of greatest interest. Because the women have arrived recently, this is an indication of their ongoing functional integration. Where these women would turn to in order to obtain such crucial information, had they not had this language exchange experience, is quite unclear.

Outcomes of the exchanges according to the immigrant women

French language acquisition

The immigrant women talked enthusiastically about the assistance they received in learning French, which was tied not only to the acquisition of linguistic skills, but also to the development of self-confidence.

Overcoming their isolation

The language exchange project helped the women overcome their isolation, not just through contact with other people, but also through the moral support provided through this programme and the affordable outings to various green spaces across the city.

Better understanding of Québécois culture

It was more difficult to identify the cultural aspects that were discovered, but there was a sense that the immigrant women were aware that they were immersed in another universe and that the language exchange project enabled them to take an objective look at diversity. This awareness can greatly contribute to easing culture shock.

Two other interesting aspects were highlighted:

Building of self-esteem

Building self-esteem is a major asset in a context in which the newcomer sometimes experiences a strong feeling of worthlessness during the first months or even years after landing in Canada. This is one of the major benefits of the project.

A fresh look at one's own culture

A number of participants stated that they saw their own culture from different perspectives.

Questionnaire findings

For the immigrant partners, language was a significant and highly appreciated aspect of the programme.

From a cultural standpoint, it was the practical advice that appeared to be of greatest interest. Because the women have arrived recently, this is an indication of their ongoing functional integration. Where these women would turn to in order to obtain such crucial information, had they not had this language exchange experience, is quite unclear.

As to their general level of satisfaction with the project, it was clearly expressed. In response to the question [translation] "Would you recommend this program to other newly arrived women?" they were unanimous in saying, "Yes."

Outcomes of the exchanges according to the Québec women

Foreign language learning

The amount of time spent on language learning seemed to vary according to each pairing. Greater emphasis was sometimes placed on learning French, but it could diminish later on.

In the meeting with the Québec partners, the conversation turned to scheduling and travel. Apparently, some of the Québec women in particular had problems with work-related travel and illness that sometimes affected their meetings. Geographic distance between partners was also an issue.

Discovery of immigrant women's experience

There was a definite sense that the Québec women were quite sensitive to the newcomers' experiences.

Change in perceptions about immigration and other cultures

The interest shown by the Québec women in the various cultures of their partners was obvious. They mentioned how important it was for them to learn about the women and their culture.

Questionnaire findings

The language benefits appeared to be less important to the Québec women, but in some cases the Québec women personally chose to spend

more time helping their partners practice and learn French, which is an excellent illustration of their generous contribution to the project.

A wide variety of cultural benefits were identified, however.

In addition, the level of satisfaction with the relationship between the two partners was very high, which is certainly a good indication of the program's success. As to their level of satisfaction with the project, it was clearly expressed. In response to the question [translation] "Would you recommend the program to other newly arrived women?" they also unanimously answered, "Yes."

Conclusion

In the past, some partnership projects would place immigrants in a position of indebtedness to their Québec partners, because the immigrants were on the receiving end of the service and had the impression that they had nothing to offer in return, which put the relationship on an unequal footing. That sort of situation is all the more unpleasant because, in the first few years after arrival, immigrants suffer significant losses that contribute to a certain feeling of worthlessness.

A project that enables them to maintain some self-esteem can therefore help them face the numerous difficulties that lie ahead for them.

Thus, to ensure a successful partnership, [translation] "a precarious balance must be achieved between what is given, what is received and each participant's independence."³ The latter ingredient – a sense of comfort and independence on the part of the immigrant and Québec women – is clearly present in this project. That is likely what has most contributed to the success of the experiment.

Based on this evaluation, the language exchange project has been a resounding success.⁴ Matching up different people to work together is a delicate and painstaking task. The Centre international des femmes, Québec must be congratulated for creating such a successful program, and that program should be continued.

About the author

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³ Michèle Vatz Laaroussi and Johanne Charbonneau, "L'accueil et l'intégration des immigrants : À qui la responsabilité? Le cas des jumelages entre familles québécoises et familles immigrantes," in *Lien social et Politiques* – RIAC 46, Fall 2001, La responsabilité : au-delà des engagements et des obligations, p. 115.

⁴ Sincere thanks to the MICC for its financial support.

A region that agrees to promote regionalization must first carry out an extensive consultation with all of the local social and economic players to ensure that all involved are willing to receive immigrants. Otherwise, it will be difficult to successfully carry out a regionalization project, and the risk of ensuing social chaos would be high.

Regionalizing Immigration: A Challenge for Quebec

MOUSSA GUENE

Promotion Intégration Société Nouvelle

My purpose here is to contribute to the discussion on the regionalization of immigration, within a context of increased urbanization.

To ensure that a regionalization project meets the expectations and requirements of all involved, certain impacts in different areas need to be considered. Regions must be more highly valued, and more importantly, labour market entry of immigrants settling in Quebec's regions must be given full attention.

According to the latest figures, only 20% of immigrants who come to Quebec settle outside the metropolitan Montréal area. They fall into two categories:

- Refugees selected by the government who cannot choose their final destination. Migrants in this category are generally more likely to be directed toward outlying regions;
- Independent immigrants who land in Montréal but are urged to settle in outlying regions by the various organizations from which they receive services.

Our regionalization project introduces newcomers to the regions. PROMIS (Promotion Intégration Société Nouvelle) offers immigrants information sessions on the reality of outlying regions and tells them about specific features and conditions of the various regions of the province. They can then assess the economic potential of each region and the quality of life available in each, enabling them to make informed choices in their decision to settle outside of Montréal. They will already possess

the information and tools they need to take responsibility for their settlement in the region of their choice and to facilitate the process.

However, this regionalization project cannot be carried out without the support of the regions, and without prior preparation. Outlying regions must be educated about immigration and be ready to receive newcomers. A region that agrees to promote regionalization must first carry out an extensive consultation with all of the local social and economic players to ensure that all involved are willing to receive immigrants. Otherwise, it will be difficult to successfully carry out a regionalization project, and the risk of ensuing social chaos would be high.

Similarly, new immigrants must be informed. They must be properly prepared before being pushed into an environment where adaptation difficulties are likely to be considerably greater than in Montréal. We therefore encourage them to attend information sessions in order to learn about the customs and mores of Quebec society.

First and foremost, however, it is crucial that partnerships with local organizations be developed, in order to secure their support and ensure cooperation on both sides. We have found that those regionalization projects that are successful are those that respect the newcomers, community members, and, indeed, the community itself.

Labour market entry in outlying regions

In developing a project, the needs of both the immigrants and the host community must be taken into account. In practical terms, this

means that each region's labour requirements, demographic needs, social needs, and so forth must be assessed. It also means that each newcomer's skills, expertise, expectations and needs must be identified, to better guide them and to inform them of local conditions.

Immigrants do not want to settle outside Montréal simply for the pleasure of discovering a new region. They want to settle elsewhere if the move will help resolve difficulties in their existing circumstances. In most cases, these difficulties are isolation, poverty and problems finding work. Work in the newcomers' areas of competency enables them to feel fulfilled, to meet people, to get out of the house, to take ownership and to lead full lives in their new environment. However, employment is not the only factor to be considered.

No region can guarantee a job for life. If the newcomers' only source of attachment to the region is their work, there is a good chance that they will return to Montréal during a period of unemployment. Therefore, while emphasizing employment, regionalization projects must also address the social dimension, the environment, quality of life, civic participation and membership in the community.

Impact on various areas

On the whole, the regionalization project has changed attitudes in several communities in Quebec. Outlying regions are increasingly aware of the need to be open to increased immigration, for in some cases the future of the community depends on it. The stakes are enormous and the results vary widely from one region to another, since the initiatives and actions take on different tones in different communities.

Enhancing the role of the regions

To respond to the needs of local businesses, lead organizations must concern themselves with knowledge acquisition and skill development in order to achieve a better fit between training and available jobs.

Services and infrastructures must be maintained and improved, and a range of services, of the same calibre as those offered in urban centres, must be available. A public transportation system helps offset the isolation that can potentially be faced by newcomers in some communities (especially remote communities and smaller towns).

Conclusion

Immigration is an asset for a region's economic and demographic vitality. To this end, intervention approaches and methods must be overhauled in order to avoid impoverishing certain communities.

To enhance the role of the regions, we need to rally leaders, business people and institutions to take ownership of local development. This implies much more than a change in policy: it is an alternative, a major change in culture, in established ways of thinking and ways of doing things.

The development of a locality or a territory depends on the behaviour, attitude and efforts of the men and women who live there. It is not a mechanical process that can be programmed or adapted through general policies and reforms that change every time there is a new government. We are living in a time of far-reaching changes that are, in many ways, shaking the very foundations of the global social, economic and political order on which what can be called development has always rested. Economic globalization, fast-paced technological change, changes in the labour market, and public debt are at the root of this restructuring, which in some instances has had disastrous effects on communities and living environments.

There is no local or regional government responsible for managing and coordinating local development. What we find is a multitude of regional organizations, funded in whole or in part by public and private bodies, which have deeply entrenched habits and ways of doing things. But are all these organizations engaged in development? Certainly not, since most of them do no more than guide, stimulate or support social and economic players, in accordance with government programs. They do not always work together. The tug-of-war between small towns and cities, between urban and rural areas, demands an ongoing – and possibly endless – process of mutual adjustment.

The current debate in Quebec about reasonable and/or unreasonable accommodation makes it clear that the process of making room for new communities cannot be limited to ad hoc integration arrangements, especially outside of Montréal and even more so in remote regions. It must go further, while seeking to preserve a society based on

values of social cohesion and respect for Quebec's identity, with all that has been achieved in terms of human values, equality between men and women, freedom of thought, and democracy.

About the author

MOUSSA GUENE has been working with community-based organizations since 1989. He has been coordinating immigration regionalization initiatives at PROMIS (Promotion Intégration Société Nouvelle) since 1999.

Ryerson University M.A. in Immigration Studies

About the Graduate Program

Canada's first graduate program devoted to advanced study of immigration policy, services and experience was launched in September 2004 at Ryerson University.

The Master of Arts in Immigration and Settlement Studies is an innovative new program that will explore immigration trends, policies and programs in Canada from multi-disciplinary perspectives. Available in both full-time and part-time study, this program is designed to:

- Enhance in-depth knowledge, through four core courses, of the key historical, theoretical, methodological, policy and program literature and issues in the field of immigration and settlement studies in Canada;
- Explore and critically assess, through a selection of courses and seminars, some of the social, economic, political, cultural, spatial, policy, service-delivery and human rights aspects of immigration and settlement;
- Compare the experience of migration and settlement in Canada with other countries, through the incorporation of international perspectives in curriculum;
- Provide focused discussions of the theoretical, conceptual, methodological issues/concepts practitioners need to know (and think) about when using related information;
- Develop a critical understanding of the methodological and practical issues facing research in the field;
- Generate, through a practicum, an understanding of the ways in which information in the field is utilized, in both practice and policy-making contexts;
- Demonstrate an ability to contribute to knowledge in the field through the preparation of a research paper or demonstration project paper;
- Provide opportunities for completion of the degree on a full-time and part-time basis.

For more information visit: www.ryerson.ca/gradstudies/immigration

With increasing immigration to areas outside of metropolitan centres, the ability of local government and non-government organizations to facilitate the economic, social and cultural integration of newcomers must be scrutinized. This article analyses the integration of immigrants through the lens of social and bridging capital, exploring the settlement needs and access to services for newcomers to the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

Social Capital and the Integration of Immigrants in the Eastern Townships, Quebec

MARILYN J. STEINBACH
Université de Sherbrooke

As economic integration becomes increasingly difficult for immigrants to Canada despite their increasing levels of education and skills (Schellenberg and Hou 2005), there is a pressing need for effective government settlement services. Although certainly a challenge for metropolitan centres, providing accessible settlement services represents an even bigger one for smaller cities. Despite excellent attempts at building bridging capital by local government and non-government organizations, there is still little concrete evidence that immigrants to outlying areas are developing the social and professional networks necessary for full participation in their host society. This paper explores the integration of immigrants through the lens of social capital, describing the settlement services offered in the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

Immigration to the regions of Quebec

With its aggressive recruitment policies designed to attract skilled immigrants, Quebec received 43,308 immigrants in 2005 (CIC 2006). Historically, the majority of these immigrants to Quebec stayed in Montréal, but now federal and provincial governments strongly encourage newcomers to migrate to outlying regions (Belkhodja 2005). From 2001-2005, 80% of these immigrants were destined to Montréal and Laval, with 4% to Québec and 2.1% to the Eastern

Townships (MICC 2006). In the first nine months of 2006, the Eastern Townships received 896 people, representing 2.6% of immigrants to Quebec (MICC 2006).

Sherbrooke, the capital of the Eastern Townships, is receiving an increasing percentage of these newcomers. From April 2005 to April 2006, Service d'aide aux néo-Canadiens (SANC) – the major NGO welcoming immigrants to the region – received 109 families of refugees and 227 families of immigrants, totalling 838 people (Eirmanns 2006). Approximately 56% of these families were from Latin America (primarily Colombia), 25% from Africa, and 9% from Central Asia. In 2006, Afghanistan was the leading source area, with 230 Afghans settling in the Eastern Townships in the summer of 2006 (Pion 2006). The population of Sherbrooke in 2004 was 142,958 (Turgeon 2004). The municipality estimates 10,000 immigrants among a population of 150,000 in 2009, and the Sherbrooke's Triennial Action Plan targets a representative 6% of immigrants and visible minorities for municipal employees by the end of 2009 (Boisvert, personal communication, October 28, 2006).

Economic, social and cultural integration

While the population of the outlying regions of Quebec is becoming less *Québécois de souche*,¹ debates are raging in the media about the

self-reported racism of Quebeckers versus the favourable impressions the *communautés culturelles* have of Quebeckers, and there is considerable debate in Quebec society on what constitutes *accommodements raisonnables*.² In light of these public concerns, government policies on the integration of new Canadians are becoming increasingly important. While much has been published on the declining situation of immigrants' economic integration (Frenette and Morissette 2003; Van Wyck and Donaldson 2006), social and cultural factors of integration are also crucial due to threats to social cohesion and social justice (George 2006). This is particularly true in smaller regional cities where the ways of newcomers are viewed differently than in metropolitan centres, as in the controversial Hérouxville affair.³

The notions of social and human capital are useful in understanding the complexities of integration into Canadian society. Government programs should compensate for immigrants' lack of social capital in their new host society (Omidvar and Richmond 2005; Sloane-Seale 2005). Data from the Longitudinal Survey of Immigrants to Canada (LSIC) (Statistics Canada 2003) indicates that new Canadians are being helped primarily by friends and relatives, and not by official government programs. *Social capital* refers to networks of resources based on relationships or social groups (Bourdieu 1986; Li 2004), as distinct from *human capital*, which refers to resources attained personally, such as education, languages, and job training (Tomaskovic-Devey et al. 2005). Bourdieu (1986) used the terms *economic capital*, *cultural capital*, and *social capital* to emphasize the instrumental aspect of how these resources can be traded (Portes 2000). Social capital may be *bonding capital*, which refers to relations among family and ethnic group, and *bridging capital*, referring to relations between ethnic groups, or between immigrants and Canadian-born (Kunz 2003).

Although bonding capital gives a community an identity, it limits members' access to important information and resources if there are no bridging ties across the social divides of religion, ethnicity, and socio-economic status (Zacharakis 2005). Van Wyck and Donaldson (2006) note that dependence on social bonds within ethnic communities decreases opportunities for developing bridging capital.

Building bridging capital, or translating human capital into a tangible resource enabling economic integration, requires government support in a new environment where social capital does not work as it did in the country of origin. In a study of 525 Canadian refugees, Lamba (2003) states that human capital variables predict minimal variance in quality of employment, and former education and employment have little if any impact on jobs attained, primarily because of systemic barriers such as discrimination. Sloane-Seale (2005) concurs that immigrants' human capital is not being maximized due to barriers to the Canadian labour market such as racism, sexism, and politics. Labour market barriers for new Canadians are systemic and require structural, systems-based solutions (McIsaac 2003). Because of the underlying assimilationist ideology historically present in Canadian society (Steinbach 2004), the structural and political elements of public discourse (Brah 1996) and the macro-level discourses that position people as *others* (Sassen 1998), Canadian-born citizens function within a set of social norms and discourses that automatically create barriers for newcomers. Norms are formed by groups of people who share similar experiences and values, and will often differ between newcomers and the Canadian-born. Building bridging capital is thus an important step in facilitating the social and economic integration of newcomers into the host society. Efforts to build bridging capital are being made by local government and non-government organizations in the Eastern Townships of Quebec.

Settlement and integration services in the Eastern Townships

The Service d'aide aux néo-Canadiens (SANC) is a non-government organization whose mission is to welcome immigrants, facilitate their integration into the region, and work to develop harmonious relations between immigrants and the host society. Principally financed by the

¹ Descendants of "old stock" French origin who settled Quebec in the 17th century.

² Translated as "reasonable accommodation," meaning the exceptions that public institutions make for individuals or groups that do not hold the same religious or cultural values as the mainstream public they have traditionally served.

³ The village of Hérouxville, Quebec, passed municipal regulations on *Normes de vie* (lifestyle rules or norms) for immigrants (Perrault 2007).

Sherbrooke was the first city in Quebec to create an immigrant welcome and integration policy...The policy acknowledges that "the host population tends to lack awareness, information, and training in receiving and understanding immigrant concerns."

ministère de l'Immigration et des Communautés culturelles (MICC), SANC is mandated to greet refugees, take them shopping, help them find and move into their first housing, open a bank account, and register their children in school or daycare. SANC volunteers offer workshops on basic information, buying on credit, and tax, health, and school systems. Their twinning program between newcomer and Quebec-born families is an attempt to build bridging social capital. They have a bank of over 90 interpreters, 169 volunteers, and have been the main non-government organization for immigrant settlement in the Eastern Townships since 1954.

The Service d'accès au travail pour personnes immigrantes (SATI) (access to employment for immigrants) is a partnership between SANC, an adult education centre, and the MICC. SATI offers free services such as Internet access, fax, photocopies, printers, telephones, newspapers, labour market information, and bulletin boards with offers of employment and training. For a small fee they offer two-month group training sessions on the culture of employment in Quebec (values, norms, qualities employers seek), job search strategies, interview simulations, visits to companies, and work practica for integrating into the labour market.

Another excellent example of building bridging social capital in the Eastern Townships is TERRE (Théâtre, Études, Réseaux, Ressources, Emploi). This project of Theatre, Studies, Networks, Resources and Employment is a creative approach to integration for immigrant women studying French and to socio-professional integration. It is a partnership between a local theatre company (Théâtre des petites lanternes), several provincial government organizations and the municipality of Sherbrooke.

Sherbrooke was the first city in Quebec to create an immigrant welcome and integration policy (City of Sherbrooke 2004). This is a collaboration of SANC, the federation of cultural communities in the Eastern Townships, the chamber of commerce, and the police department, in consultation with over 30 participants from special interest groups. The policy acknowledges

that "the host population tends to lack awareness, information, and training in receiving and understanding immigrant concerns" (City of Sherbrooke 2004: 6). Their vision is total and equitable integration, and their mission is to ensure accessibility of services and employment opportunities to citizens of all origins, by going "beyond the simple goal of equal access to services and further seek equal results, i.e. satisfy the needs and expectations of immigrant clients" (City of Sherbrooke 2004: 11). Professional integration is a priority, as "improving our ability to match an increasingly educated immigrant population with the city and region's employment needs has therefore become urgent" (City of Sherbrooke 2004: 22).

Despite these urgent needs, the problems of lack of recognition of foreign degrees and work experience are exacerbated due to a lower concentration of immigrants in outlying areas. Aside from language learning and obtaining employment, representatives of SANC affirm that a major obstacle for newcomers to the region is learning how government services operate. Access to services is limited because the paperwork required for social assistance, family allowance, banking, health, and school systems is impossible for most new Canadians to complete without support (Carrier, personal communication, January 31, 2007). Carrier identifies another serious barrier as the waiting period to access French language classes (currently two to six months), during which people often become depressed because of isolation and lack of anything to do. Small non-government organizations such as SANC are in a better position to respond to such affective obstacles than are larger government organizations. However, it is difficult to find evidence that these efforts to build bridging capital actually yield concrete results for the socio-economic integration of newcomers. At a roundtable on Professional Accreditation, Education, Family Services, Labour Issues, Health Services,⁴ a panel of five immigrants chose to focus almost exclusively on the

tremendous difficulties of accessing employment in the Eastern Townships. Concurring with recent research from Montréal (Lenoir-Achdjian, in press), there is often a gap between the services proposed and the actual needs expressed by new Canadians, making attempts at bridging capital ineffective in creating social and professional networks for immigrants.

Conclusion

When theorizing the creation of bridging social capital, concerns revolve around how government programs can assist newcomers to establish links. More attention could be given to the Canadian-born population with whom these links are supposed to be created. There has been increasing acknowledgement in immigration literature (Azmier 2005; Belkhodja, 2005) of the emphasis on the other side of the *two-way street of integration*; a phrase which characterizes the Canadian integration model as multicultural, respectful of diversity, and “requiring accommodation and adjustments, as well as rights and responsibilities, on the part of both the newcomers and the host society” (Winnemore and Biles 2006: 24). McIsaac points out the need to “build the capacity of the various stakeholders at the local level, including educational institutions, regulators, employers, non-governmental organizations that deliver settlement services, and particularly the municipalities themselves” (McIsaac 2003: 6). Educational institutions are of particular interest since immigrant parents’ difficulties in social and economic integration often cause them to place great emphasis on the successful integration of their children in schools. A new study is being carried out in Sherbrooke to explore the socio-cultural integration of immigrant secondary school students (Steinbach 2007). This study will focus specifically on the perspectives of newcomer adolescents regarding their social integration.

Such studies focusing on the social integration of second generation immigrants may be an important addition to our understanding of how a host society can build more effective bridging capital for newcomers.

⁴ Roundtable discussion animated by Dr. Marie McAndrew at a conference entitled *Glocal Rural: The Changing Cultural Landscapes of the Eastern Townships*, organized by the Eastern Townships Research Centre at Bishop's University, Sherbrooke, Canada, November 3-4, 2006.

While Sherbrooke is off to a good start with effective non-government organizations such as SANC, as well as with the Immigrant Welcome and Integration Policy of the municipality, these efforts remain to be completed. Considering the gap between these bridging capital efforts and the social and professional integration of immigrants, more qualitative research is needed to explore the human dimension of immigrant experiences in this region.

About the author

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In this article, the author explores the experience of women, as foreign agricultural workers in rural Canada, and the role of gender in shaping and organizing foreign worker programs.

Transnational Migrant Women in Rural Canada¹

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Every year, 20,000 men and women from Mexico and the Caribbean come to work in rural Canada under a temporary visa program known as the Seasonal Agricultural Worker's Program (SAWP). Since the majority of participants – some 97% – are men, scholars studying foreign workers in Canadian agriculture have tended to use all-male samples and avoid gender analysis. Fortunately, this trend is changing, with recent attention to differences in women's and men's migratory experiences and the role of gender in shaping and organizing foreign worker programs.² This paper contributes to this endeavour.

Background

The federal government issues some 20,000 temporary visas to foreign workers destined for agriculture annually. The corresponding work permits are valid only with a single, designated employer; this is a cruel irony given that the SAWP is officially referred to as a "labour mobility program." Indeed, it is precisely the denial of labour mobility that places SAWP workers in such a vulnerable position. Since workers are unable to move to more attractive work sites, they have limited bargaining power to press for improved working or living conditions.³ Employers also have the right to dismiss, and therefore deport, workers at will.⁴ Given that workers have been deported for getting injured or refusing unsafe work, the threat of repatriation itself constitutes an effective control mechanism.

The SAWP operates in nine Canadian provinces, but over 80% of its workers are concentrated in Ontario. Although the SAWP operates under federal immigration law and

bilateral agreements between Canada and the labour source countries,⁵ it is governed by provincial statutes regarding employment standards, labour and health (Verma 2003). Since in Ontario, it is illegal for farm workers to unionize, the majority of SAWP participants are denied independent representation before employers. Although workers have recourse to home country designates, their perceptions of these representatives are often highly unfavourable (Basok 2002; Binford 2002; Preibisch 2000, 2003; Verduzco 2003). Effective representation by these foreign government designates is compromised by the very structure of the SAWP, which allows employers to choose, on an annual basis, the countries that will

¹ This article is a condensed version of Preibisch (2006), "Gender Transformative Odysseys: Tracing the Experiences of Transnational Migrant Women in Rural Canada." *Canadian Woman Studies*, p. 91-97. It draws on more detailed arguments presented in Preibisch and Hermoso (2006), "Engendering Labour Migration: The Case of Foreign Workers in Canadian Agriculture," in E. Tastsoglou and A. Dobrowolsky (Eds), *Women, Migration and Citizenship: Making Local, National and Transnational Connections*. London: Ashgate Press. I would like to acknowledge the research role of Luz Maria Hermoso and the use of the data that was jointly collected.

² See Barndt 2000; Becerril 2003; as well as current doctoral research in progress by Evelyn Encalada (University of Toronto).

³ Under the SAWP, employers must provide housing for their workers in either privately-owned or rented accommodations.

⁴ One noteworthy disincentive to dismissing workers is the cost of their replacement (employers pay a portion of each worker's airfare).

⁵ Jamaica (1966); Trinidad and Tobago, Barbados (1967); Mexico (1974); and countries within the Organization of Eastern Caribbean States (1976).

supply them with labour. This privilege disempowers labour sending countries and creates competition between them to deliver productive, disciplined workers. Indeed, worker remittances represent an integral source of foreign exchange for many developing countries in the contemporary global economy.

The incorporation of foreign workers in Canadian agriculture is highly racialized, involving “brown” and “black” people from developing countries, as well as highly gendered, involving mostly men. Women were excluded from the program until 1989 and today represent a scant 3% of the workforce. The ways in which gender shapes the incorporation of foreign workers in Canadian agriculture is evident not only in women’s relative absence in this field but also in their specific insertion in the production process (e.g. packing, canning, pruning) and their concentration within particular commodities (e.g. floriculture, fruit, and food processing). The entry of women into a highly masculinized environment brings up a number of issues, including the role of gender in labour incorporation, gendered experiences of migration, and the implications of transnational livelihood strategies for gender relations, concerns that formed the basis of a research program launched in 2002 and recently expanded as part of the Community University Research Alliance, Rural Women Making Change.⁶ The research presented here is based on general findings from this research program.

Engendering migration studies

Feminist scholars have made important gains in revealing how multiple systems of oppression based on social difference such as gender organize the movement of people (Hondagneu-Sotelo 2003; Pessar 2003). Notable studies expose the role of gender in influencing migration and settlement, social networks in migratory destinations, the use of remittances, and labour demand in migrant-receiving countries (Goldring 1996; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994; Kanaiaupuni 2000; Oishi 2005; Salazar 2001; Stasiulis and Bakan 2003). Scholarly efforts to shed light on women’s migratory experiences and theorize the role of gender, however, have tended to focus on gendered labour markets in which women predominate. Consider, for example, the sizeable Canadian literature on migrant women in domestic work and care-giving. This is not the case for agriculture, a male-dominated occupation, despite compelling support for gender analysis to better understand the

restructuring of agriculture, production relations, and labour flexibility in the increasingly globalized food chain (Barrientos et al. 2003; Pearson 2000; Reynolds 2002). Barndt (1999) argues that the face of labour in the current global food system is predominantly female, where women constitute the majority of workers serving agribusiness and food processing industries in the South and supermarkets and fast food restaurants in the North. Although the “faces” of Canadian foreign farm labour are largely male, gender analysis can explore how social relations of power shape and organize migration, work, and agriculture in a global context, the concern to which I now turn.

Gendered experiences

Male and female migrant agricultural workers in Canada share a number of experiences. Their jobs are generally dirty, difficult, and dangerous. Yet in Ontario, foreign and domestic farm workers are excluded from key labour and employment-related statutes designed to protect workers (Verma 2003). Further, regulation of working and living conditions in the SAWP is weak and enforcement rare (Preibisch 2003). The significant work-related health and safety risks all agricultural workers face may be greater for foreign workers because they often do not report illnesses/injuries and, if they do, do not always receive prompt medical attention (Basok 2002, Binford 2003, Preibisch 2003). They also work longer hours, between 60 to 80 hours per week (Russell 2003; Verduzco and Lozano 2003; Carvajal et al. forthcoming). As one worker, Olivia,⁷ stated:

“I’d like to work more [than ten hours a day] but my body can’t do it. It’s because we want to take advantage of being here as much as we can in order to save enough and not have to come back.”

While most migrants voluntarily work their allocated hours, over a fifth of respondents in one survey felt that at times they had been asked to work too much (Verduzco and Lozano 2003). According to Olivia:

“We have to work as long as our employers want. Canadians finish work when they say ‘I’m going home now,’ and don’t have any problems. We can’t do that or they’ll send us home.”

⁶ See www.rwmc.uoguelph.ca for more information.

⁷ All quotes from have been translated from Spanish and paraphrased for clarity. All names are pseudonyms.

Whereas for men, engaging in international migration means fulfilling their primary gender role as breadwinners, for women it implies deserting theirs – at least their role as it has been traditionally defined. One woman felt she has not been “a 100% mom.” Another stated, “I’ve always told myself that my first responsibility is my children, and in that sense I feel that I am not fulfilling it because I’m not with them. This is very depressing.”

Although men’s and women’s experiences of labour migration may be shared in certain regards as migrant farm workers from the South, they differ in significant ways. To begin with, women constitute a very small minority (3%) of this labour pool as a result of their historical exclusion and the persistence of gender ideologies in both Canada and their home countries that define agricultural work – and international migration – as male pursuits. For example, many women reported fierce resistance from their families and communities to migrate. Similarly, Canadian employers’ perceptions of women’s suitability for agricultural work conform to a patriarchal agrarian culture in which women are perceived as suited only to those tasks requiring a gentle touch, patience, and greater care.

Secondly, most women face very different realities than their male counterparts. Women migrants are often sole heads of households.⁸ Lone mothers perceive that men derive greater economic benefit from migrating due to the support of non-migrating female partners. As Micaela stated:

“It is easier for men because they always have the pillar in their home, that is, their wife. They come, they work, they send money to Mexico and their wives are the ones that take responsibility for everything. They have land, animals, or they have a store, a business, and the woman works there and they work here. But in the case of [migrant] women, most are single mothers. For us, money sent is money spent because we send money only for the daily expenses of our children and there’s no one that supports us economically there.”

Migrating, however, allows women to earn substantially more than they would in Mexico, where occupations open to poor women are usually highly contingent, poorly rewarded, and where they disproportionately bear the social

costs of economic restructuring. Canadian earnings provide these women with some measure of economic independence and, for some, the opportunity to improve their housing or the ability to invest in landholdings and small businesses.

Further, women cited that the key factor differentiating their experience was that migrant men leave their children in the care of a parent, while lone mothers rely on female kin, neighbours, or even older children. Although leaving their children caused significant emotional strain for both men and women, women’s experiences were perhaps more acute considering that within all classes in Mexico, and especially in low-income groups, motherhood is the assumed primary adult gender role and carries enormous symbolic power (Logan 1999). Whereas for men, engaging in international migration means fulfilling their primary gender role as breadwinners, for women it implies deserting theirs – at least their role as it has been traditionally defined. One woman felt she has not been “a 100% mom.” Another stated, “I’ve always told myself that my first responsibility is my children, and in that sense I feel that I am not fulfilling it because I’m not with them. This is very depressing.”

Although women expressed considerable anxiety in this regard, they firmly believed that their decision to work abroad was in their children’s best interests. In particular, women wanted to provide their children with an education. So while women agonized over their decisions to migrate, they also saw themselves as fulfilling their gendered responsibilities. Indeed, women engaging in transnational livelihoods are reinventing gendered expectations of what it means to be a good mother (Hondagneu-Sotelo and Avila 2003).

Another key difference in women’s experiences stems from their sexuality. Migrant women are considered to be sexually available and are stigmatized within the migrant community in Canada and their own communities. One reported that in Mexico, “they think the women that come to Canada are here to prostitute themselves.

⁸ This is partly due to recruitment policies in Mexico that favour lone mothers.

They judge us very poorly.” Indeed, women’s participation in transnational migration involves breaking strict gender norms regarding their roles and mobility. Within most rural Mexican communities, women’s mobility is highly constrained; nevertheless, those exercising transnational livelihoods get on a plane, travel thousands of kilometres, and spend eight months unattended and unsupervised. Mexican men and women’s own families, however, are not alone in seeking to control women and their sexuality; employers also do so. For example, some forbid them to leave the farm, prohibit visitors of the opposite sex, or establish a curfew. These measures reduce migrants’ social commitments and further discipline the workforce.

Conclusion

This brief article provides some insight into the gendered experiences of migrant women in rural Canada. Although this subject is worthy of more exhaustive treatment, the article serves to further our understanding of international migration and to shed light on women’s transnational livelihoods within a traditionally male-dominated occupation. In particular, it draws our attention to a group of women who are often absent from our considerations of rural Canadian landscapes.

About the author

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The Community Development Institute University of Northern British Columbia



Rural and small town places across Northern BC confront a range of social and economic restructuring pressures that result from resource and commodity changes, job restructuring, economic leakage, and population loss. At the same time, dynamic opportunities are being explored, including the development of the cruise ship and resort industries, dinosaur fossil discoveries, oil and gas development, a rejuvenation of mining activity, and a host of others.

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Finding a reliable and secure source of labour to work within the horticultural industry has been a perpetual challenge, both in Canada and other industrialized countries. For the past four decades, Canada's managed migration program has been addressing agriculture's labour deficiency. However, as we look towards the future, we have to take stock of this and similar programs and assess their impacts on the economy, the industry, and on the individuals involved.

The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program: Considerations for the Future of Farming and the Implications of Managed Migration

NELSON FERGUSON
Concordia University

“Without migrant workers, we wouldn't have a fruit and vegetable industry in Ontario.”
– comment by an Ontario grower (Greenhill and Aceytuno 1999: 1)

“(I)t appears evidently from experience that a man is of all sorts of luggage the most difficult to be transported.” – Adam Smith

As Canada asserts itself as a major exporter of fruits, vegetables, and other horticultural products, the importance of our agricultural industry in this increasingly interconnected world of global trade will continue to grow. One element, however, of this agricultural chain of production – the securing of skilled, reliable and affordable labour – will continue to be a dilemma.

Finding workers to ensure successful growing seasons has been a perpetual challenge for the labour-intensive sector of horticulture. Four decades ago, a working solution to this problem was brokered between the governments of

Canada, Mexico, and several Caribbean countries to allow Canadian growers to recruit temporary workers from outside of the country. For over forty years, this Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (SAWP) has been managing the temporary migration of workers from the Caribbean Commonwealth countries (Jamaica, Barbados, and Trinidad and Tobago) and Mexico, allowing these individuals to enter Canada to legally work within the agricultural sector (Brem 2003).

As other countries look to SAWP as inspiration for their own guest worker programs (Millbank 2006) and while other industries within Canada attempt to broker similar arrangements to resolve their own labour issues, the time has come for a comprehensive examination of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program and its future. Canada's guest worker program has become a permanent feature of the agricultural labour market, and this type of program will be the way of the future in other industries and in

other industrialized nations. The potential impacts of this program on rural agricultural and on the Canadian economy must be taken into account, and the possible implications for the sending countries must be examined. While many countries have tried and failed to implement guest worker programs, a properly designed and managed temporary migration program can be a win-win situation for all involved: potential illegal workers are brought into legal channels, the sending country's economy benefits from remittances of foreign earnings, migrant workers receive higher wages than in their home country, and the host country fills gaps in the labour market with reliable workers.

Canadian agricultural labour: Constraints within an increasingly interconnected world

A limited agricultural labour pool has been a long-running constraint within the Canadian horticultural sector. Seasonal farm work, seen as difficult, dirty, and dangerous, is typically not attractive to Canadians who can find year-round work with higher wages, more benefits, and opportunity for upward mobility. Growers compete with the manufacturing sector and a rapidly expanding service sector for low-skilled labour, while Canadian citizens have "self-selected" themselves out of farm work in favour of these higher paying or more comfortable jobs. Further complicating the matter is the rise of rural-to-urban migration, which has decreased the number of potential workers in the agricultural sector.

As well, global competition and escalating input costs have placed growers in a "cost-price squeeze." Rising seed, fuel, and fertiliser costs simply are not offset by similar rises in the profits made by the sale of produce. The result is that improving wages and working conditions to make farm labour attractive to Canadians is becoming increasingly difficult. We also have to consider that the face of agriculture is changing from that of the small-scale family farm which made use of family labour to a large-scale consolidated corporate model (Basok 2002). This change has further expanded the need for hired labour.

Lessons from abroad: Guest worker programs on the international scene

The growing problems felt within the Canadian agricultural industry are not unique; a large number of industrialized countries also experience persistent labour shortages within

horticultural sectors. As a result, these nations have experimented with guest-worker programs in the past; these programs have often spiralled out of control.

The 'Gastarbeiter' program of Germany is perhaps the prime example of such failure. Running from 1964 to 1973, the program was designed to allow workers from a number of countries to enter on a rotational basis, with a peak of over 950,000 guest workers in 1970. The program was deemed a failure when a large number of guest workers who were supposed to leave decided to stay, illegally. Since then, Germany has enacted a smaller-scale program. Its current seasonal worker program allows 90-day work permits within the sectors of agriculture, forestry, and hotel services. Still, Germany remains host to one of the largest managed migration programs in the industrialised world, with 293,000 workers granted entry in 2002, 90% of whom were employed in agriculture (Millbank 2006).

The concept of a guest-worker program in the United States is still marred by the failure of the earlier 'Bracero' program which ran from 1942 to 1964. Initially implemented to compensate for labour shortages during World War II by allowing Mexican labourers to work in agriculture, the program was accompanied by massive numbers of illegal migrants. Currently, the H2-A program allows growers to recruit foreign workers through private firms, with 42,000 jobs approved to be filled with H2-A workers in 2002. Yet, with an estimated 11 million undocumented workers in the country (Millbank 2006), this program has apparently had little effect on the number of illegal migrants in the U.S.

A Canadian approach: The Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program

The Canadian government, in response to concerns among growers, established Memoranda of Understanding with the Commonwealth Caribbean countries in 1966 and 1967 and with Mexico in 1974 (Greenhill and Aceytuno 1999) to allow workers to legally enter Canada for periods of 6 weeks to 8 months, in order to alleviate labour shortages within the agricultural sector. Originally managed by Human Resources and Development Canada, administration of the program was privatized in 1987, with control given to Foreign Agriculture Resource Management Services (FARMS), a non-profit organization controlled and funded by Canadian

The Canadian government, in response to concerns among growers, established Memoranda of Understanding with the Commonwealth Caribbean countries in 1966 and 1967 and with Mexico in 1974 (Greenhill and Aceytuno 1999) to allow workers to legally enter Canada for periods of 6 weeks to 8 months, in order to alleviate labour shortages within the agricultural sector. Originally managed by Human Resources and Development Canada, administration of the program was privatized in 1987, with control given to Foreign Agriculture Resource Management Services (FARMS), a non-profit organization controlled and funded by Canadian growers.

growers. At the same time, quotas on the number of workers admitted (which had stood at around 4,000 since the program's inception) were lifted, allowing the SAWP to operate on a supply-and-demand basis (Martin 2003).

Farm owners in Canada request a certain number of workers per season, typically 8 weeks in advance. Recruitment is undertaken by sending-country government officials, who process the request, and present workers' documents (including medical clearances and passports) to a Canadian Immigration office, which subsequently issues a temporary work permit for the requested time period. Workers are issued contracts which oblige them to work only on the farm of the grower who made the request.

Employers may facilitate this immigration process by rehiring workers from the previous season. This practice, known as "naming," benefits both employer and employee: the farmer is able to retain experienced workers, while workers, as long as their employer remains satisfied with their work, can expect re-employment year after year. The mechanism of "naming" is frequently applied – at any given time, approximately 70% of workers return as "named" participants. Workers typically return for several seasons, the average stay being seven years (Verduzco Igartua 2004). Some participants having been involved in the program for over twenty years.

Migrant workers are covered under provincial health care schemes and, as legal workers in Canada, pay into income tax and pension funds. Their housing is provided by the employer, usually on-site at the place of work, while airfare transportation is paid for in part by both employer and employee. Wages are set slightly higher than the provincial minimum wage. Although women were granted entry into the program in 1989, their numbers remain low, and they currently represent 2-3% of the SAWP participants.

Participation in the program does not aid migrant workers if they attempt to immigrate permanently and legally to Canada. There is some anecdotal evidence of a handful of SAWP participants who either stayed illegally or managed to immigrate through marriage to a Canadian; however, it seems that the overall majority of participants return to their home countries after their contract expires. In regard to the Mexican section of the program, the stipulation that only individuals with spouses and children back home may enter the program seems to serve a dual function. While ensuring that those who benefit most from the foreign remittances are allowed entry, it also ensures that these people are the most likely to return upon completion of their contract.

As of 2005, there were over 18,000 participants in the program, while in Ontario, where the majority of Canadian horticulture is located, there were over 15,000 workers, (FARMS 2007). The high number of returning participants and the overall increasing number of farms and participants have been used as evidence of the program's satisfactory nature to both employer and employee (Ibid.).

The SAWP: A better practice model, but with room to improve?

The SAWP has not been without its detractors. The program, ostensibly begun as a stop-gap measure to solve a temporary labour-source problem, has since become a permanent part of the Canadian rural landscape. Initiated as a temporary program, the SAWP was introduced with minimal consideration of possible deleterious effects on the horticultural industry or on the economies of the sending countries. While the SAWP has proven itself as a tightly-managed program, certain dilemmas associated with the continued existence of a guest worker program need to be examined.

Distortion is one such dilemma. Labour markets adjust to the presence of migrant workers, and employers make decisions and investments based on their continued presence. Employers develop a growing reliance on foreign labour, to the point where the very survival of an industry rests upon the annual return of temporary foreign labour. This is the case in the Southern Ontario area, where the success of the expanding labour-intensive greenhouse industry is intimately tied to increasing numbers of migrant labourers, to the point where foreign labour is now a “structural necessity” (Basok 2002).

Such distortion does little to encourage new approaches to farming. Without an impetus to cultivate change within the horticultural sector, innovation and investment in labour-saving technology may not occur. Consequently working conditions stagnate, and farm work remains undesirable to Canadians. The main strength of the SAWP is, of course, that growers can assume that labour will be available and continue to be available. Without caution, this situation could become a major liability.

Foreign workers represent a particularly vulnerable population. SAWP participants enjoy protections that would not apply to illegal migrants: access to provincial health-care regimes, a work contract with a guaranteed minimum number of hours, a pay higher than that of the provincial minimum wage, partially subsidized transportation to and from Canada, and free housing provided on-site by their employer. But, since the program is administered through FARMS by the same people who employ migrant labour, a “trust the employer” situation has been created that is taken to a greater degree than in other countries where the government maintains a more active role within their guest worker programs (Martin 2003). The SAWP lacks worker representation or independent voices within the program’s organisation.

Farm workers are excluded from the *Ontario Employment Standards Act*. As a result, in Ontario – where over 80% of SAWP migrant labourers are employed – the minimum legal standards in regards to maximum hours of work, statutory holidays, daily and weekly rest periods, overtime pay, and the right to collectively bargain do not apply to farm workers, migrant or otherwise. What means that the working and living conditions of

migrant workers depend on the good will of their employers. The program would benefit from the implementation of checks and balances on employer power to ensure proper worker protection, keeping in mind that the high number of returning migrant workers may be more indicative of the state of the economy in their home country than a sign of their satisfaction with the program.

The impacts of the SAWP on migrant sending countries must also be considered. Whether temporary migration leads to development or dependency within the sending country remains an ongoing debate. A development approach predicts that migrants will invest their foreign earnings productively in their local economies, leading to economic development in their home communities. A dependency framework suggests that with the lure of an apparently permanent source of relatively high-paying foreign labour, there will be little reason to attempt productive investment in the local economy, leading to dependence on foreign wages. My research results have run parallel to what other work on the SAWP has concluded: that both factors are at play, with short-term dependence possibly leading to long-term independence. To elaborate, in Mexico, most participants are married men with children, who save on average \$5,000 Canadian per annual contract. Once household expenses have been deducted, there are little savings left over which would allow the migrant to productively invest in the local economy. However, many migrant workers use a large share of their earnings to finance the secondary and post-secondary education of their children (Binford 2003), which may lead to their children eventually finding lucrative employment.

Concluding remarks: The future of farming

Undoubtedly, the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program is succeeding in its primary goal of ensuring that the Canadian horticultural industry remain profitable and competitive. This article proposes but a brief explication of this program and some summery comments in regards to certain considerations which ought to be examined in further detail. The SAWP continues to grow in size and popularity; it is highly likely that we will soon see similar programs extended to other areas of Canadian industry. It thus becomes imperative to extensively consider the

impacts of the program on all who are involved, ranging from the agricultural industry, the sending countries, and, certainly, the migrant worker himself. A well-managed and well-designed guest worker program can prove highly beneficial and advantageous to all involved, but only by considering the various mitigating factors will we be able to determine what such a program will look like.

About the author

NELSON FERGUSON is currently completing a Master's in Anthropology at Concordia University in Montréal, focusing on labour migration. He has recently completed fieldwork in Southern Ontario and rural Mexico among participants of the Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program.

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Foreign Credential Recognition

**Guest Editor: Lesleyanne Hawthorne
(University of Melbourne)**

This latest issue of *Canadian Issues / Thèmes canadiens* (Spring 2007) provides insightful information and viewpoints on the growing debate regarding foreign credential recognition. The 35 articles published in this issue give an informed overview of the challenges involved in the recognition of foreign credentials and suggest a wide range of approaches to dealing with these challenges.

Topics covered by the authors include criteria set by regulatory organizations, the "legitimacy" of the credential recognition process, the prevalence of prejudices and professional protectionism, strategies adopted in Canada and abroad for credential recognition, ways to facilitate professional assessments of immigrants, retraining and transition programs, and the economic, social and cultural contributions of immigrants to Canada.

To order a copy, please contact www.acs-aec.ca

Metropolis Catalogue

Immigration and Rural Economies

2007 Congress of the Humanities and Social Sciences

MAY 26 – JUNE 2

NB - All information is based on preliminary conference programs submitted by participating associations on or before April 27th, 2007. Please check the accuracy by contacting the Program Chair or Local Area Coordinator, commencing mid-May, by consulting the Federations online program at www.fedcan.ca/congress2007.

#8 Canadian Catholic Historical Association (CHHA)

MAY 28

Immigrants and the Canadian Church

Chair: Terence Fay SJ (University of Toronto)

Glenda Lynna Anne Tibe Bonifacio (University of Lethbridge)
"Gender and the Care Divide: Filipino Catholics in Canada, 1992-2005"

Cornelius Jaenen (University of Ottawa)
"Belgians and School Questions in Western Canada"

Glenn Wright (Ottawa)
"Father Andrew MacDonell (1870-1958): A Scottish Benedictine and His Passion for Canada"

#19 – Association of Canadian College and University Teachers of English (ACCUTE)

MAY 27

Structuring Societies

Chair: TBA

Lindy Ledohowski (Toronto)
"Inherited Trauma: The Persistence of Homesteading Stories"

Jennifer Esmail (Queen's)
"A Future for the Deaf and Dumb in the Canadian North-West: The Emigration of British Deaf Workers and the Social Construction of Disability"

Cecily Devereux (Alberta)
"Settler Zombies: Susanna Moodie's Body and the Dream of Empire"

MAY 28

Political English

Organizer/Chair: Mervyn Nicholson (Thompson Rivers)

Jody Mason (Toronto)
"Writing from the Road: Left-Wing Periodical Culture and Social Citizenship in Depression-Era Canada"

Tara Thomson (Victoria)
"'Freedom, just for one night': The Gender Politics of Jeanette Winterson"

Marina Devine (Aurora)
"English Studies for Aboriginal Students: Hoop Dancing or Jumping Through Hoops?"

MAY 29

Æsthetics and Nation in Romantic Theory and Literature

Joint Session with NASSR

Organizer/Chair: Adam Carter (Lethbridge)

D.M.R. Bentley (Western)
"'Sunshine,' 'Pitiless Severity,' and the 'Utmost Variety': Climate and Scenery as Determinants of National Identity and Culture in Nineteenth-Century Canada"

Tilottama Rajan (Western)
"The Ends of Art: Hegel's Symbolic Art and Schelling's Historiography in The Ages of the World"

Wayne C. Ripley (Winona State)
"English Citizenship and Nationhood in Barbauld's Dissenting Poetics and Politics"

#59 – Canadian Sociological Association (CSA)

MAY 29

Discourses of Nationalism I – Revisiting Multi-culturalism and Diversity in the Canadian Nation

Regular Session

Organizers: Carrienne Leung and Darryl Leroux (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University)

Discourses of Nationalism II – Rethinking Canada: Diaspora, Memory and Belonging in the Nation

Regular Session

Organizers: Eve Haque (Department of Languages, Literatures and Linguistics, York University) and Renuka Chaturvedi (Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Carleton University)

MAY 29

Exploring Social Movement Theory

Regular Session

One of four joint session organized with the Canadian Network for the Study of Identities, Mobilization and Conflict

Organizer: Karen Stanbridge (Department of Sociology, Memorial University of Newfoundland)

The session invites papers concerned with conceiving, critiquing, synthesizing, extending, and/or elaborating upon social movement theory. Macro and micro perspectives are welcomed, as are comments on recent debates in the field, including those surrounding emotion and social movements, cultural approaches, and transnational movements.

MAY 29

Social Movements – Case Studies II

Regular Session

One of four joint sessions organized with the Canadian Network for the Study of Identities, Mobilization and Conflict

Organizer: Howard Ramos (Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University)

MAY 30

III. Nations and Nationalism

Regular Session

One of four joint sessions organized with the Canadian Network for the Study of Identities, Mobilization and Conflict

Organizer: Slobodan Drakulic (Ryerson University)

Social Movements – Case Studies III

Regular Session

One of four joint sessions organized with the Canadian Network for the Study of Identities, Mobilization and Conflict

Organizer: Howard Ramos (Department of Sociology and Social Anthropology, Dalhousie University)

Bridging Communities of Place: Insights from the New Rural Economy Project

Plenary session

Session organizer: Pamela Sugiman (CSA President-Elect, Department of Sociology, Ryerson University)

Contributors: Bill Reimer, Ray Bollman, Omer Chouinard, Ivan Emke, Greg Halseth, Emily Huddart, Dianne Looker, John Parkins, Laura Ryser, Sara Teitelbaum, Derek Wilkinson
This session provides insights regarding the conditions and processes linking communities throughout rural and urban Canada. Based on 10 years of research, presenters will discuss how community inter-dependence is altered with changes in trade, migration, technology and policy. Particular attention will be given to emerging strategies and options for capacity-building as communities reorganize to meet their needs and objectives. New forms of governance, service delivery, communications, and environmental stewardship serve as illustrations of the processes involved while theoretical frameworks related to social capital, social cohesion, and capacity-building are used for understanding some of the transformations.

MAY 31

Immigrant Contention in Canada

Regular Session

Organizer: Philippe Couton (Department of Sociology, University of Ottawa)

With immigration rising to record levels in recent years, immigrants are becoming key political actors, nationally and transnationally. Papers in this session will discuss the theoretical and empirical dimensions of the political involvement of immigrants in Canada. Topics may be historical or contemporary. The focus will be on protest and contention, i.e. on the role of immigrants in various types of social movements. These may include anti-racism, civil rights, gender equality, immigrant rights and many others. Single case studies or larger comparative projects are welcome, in English or in French.

MAY 31

Migration and Citizenship in Canada I

Regular Session

Organizer: Lloyd Wong (Department of Sociology, University of Calgary)

Migration and Citizenship in Canada II

Regular Session

Organizer: Lloyd Wong (Department of Sociology, University of Calgary)

JUNE 1

Gender, Citizenship, and Restructuring of Social Policy

Regular Session

Organizer: Amber Gazso, (Department of Sociology (Arts), York University)

#7 – Association for Canadian and Québec Literatures (ACQL)

MAY 27

Déstabiliser les identités nationales

Organizer: Heather Macfarlane (University of Toronto)

"Where the Grass Is Always Greener, but There's No Place Like Home: Travel and Domesticity in Anglo-Canadian, Québécois and Indigenous Road Trip Narratives"

Manina Jones (University of Western Ontario)

"Co-Authorship, Citizenship, and 'Cultural Disturbance' in Thrasher: Skid Row Eskimo and Bobbi Lee: Indian Rebel"

Marie-Hélène Jeanotte (Université de Sherbrooke)

"Espace historique et expérience du monde dans un roman inuit: Sanaaq de Mitiarjuk Nappaaluk"

La littérature canadienne comparée au XXI^e siècle

Marie Vautier (University of Victoria)

"Transcultured Writers, Autobiographical Texts and the Nation"

Sylvia Söderlind (Queen's University)

"Between Babel and Pentecost: Canada in the Translation Zone"

Kristy McKay (University of Alberta)

"Hybrid Identities and the Critique of 'Nation' for Contemporary Canadian Comparative Literature"

La théorie comme praxis

Caroline Rhena Lamb (University of Western Ontario)

"Trading Insults: Competitive and Collaborative Identities in Canadian Hip Hop Music"

Amy Kebe (Université de Montréal)

"Caribbean Canadian Women Writers: Theorizing Diaspora, Transnationality and Female Migrant Labour"

Karis Shearer (University of Western Ontario)

"Anxieties of Influence: Self-Canonization and the Canadian Poet"

#26 – Canadian Historical Association (CHA)

MAY 29

Historical Representation and Memory in Settler Colonialism / Colonialisme, représentation historique et devoir de mémoire

Chair: Sarah Carter (University of Alberta)

Jean Barman (University of British Columbia)

"Erasing Indigenous Indigeneity in Vancouver"

Victoria Freeman (University of Toronto)

"People Without History/A City Without Roots: Indigeneity, Settler Colonialism, and Historical Memory in Toronto"

Robin Jarvis Brownlie (University of Manitoba)

"The Impact of Aboriginal Interventions into Historical Thought and Writing in Canada"

The Immigrant Experience in Canada and Australia / L'expérience des immigrants au Canada et en Australie

Chair: Marlene Epp (University of Waterloo)

Ashleigh Androsoff (University of Toronto)

*"From the Private Sphere to the Public Eye: 'Redressing' the Image
of Doukhobor-Canadian Women in the Twentieth Century"*

Ikuko Asaka (University of Wisconsin – Madison)

*"Ex-Slaves or Immigrants?: The Gender and Racial Politics of
Belonging among the Self-Emancipated People in Canada"*

Lisa Chilton (University of PEI)

*"Made to Feel at Home?" Accommodating Immigrants at Ports of
Entry in early Twentieth-Century Canada and Australia"*

MAY 30

Canadians and their Pasts / Les Canadiens face à leurs passés

Chair: Gerald Friesen (University of Manitoba)

Del Muike (Carleton University)

"Working with Partners in search of their Pasts"

Kadriye Ercikan (University of British Columbia)

*"Comparison of Language-Groups in the Canadians and Their
Pasts Survey"*

David Northrup (York University Institute)

*"Engagement in the Past: Preliminary Findings from the Canadians
and Their Pasts Survey"*

Canadian Society for the Study of Education (CSSE)

MAY 26

CACS/ACÉC

Place-ing Metissage: Exploring "Landed" Citizenship Through Place-Stories

Symposium

Chair: Cynthia Chambers (Lethbridge), Erika Hasebe-Ludt
(Lethbridge), Wanda Hurren (Victoria), Narcisse Blood
(Lethbridge), Dwayne Donald (Alberta), Ramona Big Head
(Lethbridge)

CIESC/SCÉCI & CERN/PRÉC

Identité et intégration : l'importance de l'éducation citoyenne

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Sylvie Courtine-Sinave (Sherbrooke)

Discussant: Sylvie Courtine-Sinave (Sherbrooke)

*"Savoir savant, savoir public : Une question d'autonomie
personnelle et professionnelle pour définir un savoir approprié
à l'éducation à la citoyenneté"*

Fred Duffresne (Patrimoine canadien)

*"L'éducation juridique communautaire comme stratégie
d'intégration pour les minorités raciales francophones de la
ville d'Ottawa"*

Altay Manço (IRFAM – Liège)

*"Diversités et citoyennetés" : une campagne associative
d'éducation à la citoyenneté en Belgique"*

MAY 26

CCGSE/CCÉDÉ

International Students in Canadian Universities

Symposium

Chair: Kelly Edmonds (Calgary)

Jie Xiong (Alberta)

"Towards Internationalization: Language and Identity"

Joseph Musembi Nungu (Alberta)

"Towards Internationalization: Finding a Home Away from Home"

Tejwant K. Chana (Alberta)

*"Towards Internationalization: Lived Realities of International
Students, Then and Now"*

Alice Koech (Alberta)

"Towards Internationalization: Finding the Flow"

Carol Ann Spencer (UNB)

"Understanding Lectures: The ESL Student's Perspective"

Xiaodong Yang (Alberta)

"Critical Examination of Cultural Conflicts"

CIESC/SCÉCI & CERN/PRÉC

Citizenship Education in 21st Century Classrooms: What Do We Know?

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Mark Evans (OISE- IÉPO/UT)

Discussant: Kathy Bickmore (OISE- IÉPO/UT)

Jennifer Tupper (Regina), George Richardson (Alberta),

Michael Cappello (Regina), Lawrence Abbott (Alberta)

*"21st Century Citizens: High School Students' Understandings
and Experiences of Citizenship"*

Laurence Abbott (Alberta)

*"Teachers' Conceptions of Citizenship: Examining Teachers'
Approaches to a Contested Concept Across Discipline Boundaries"*

Sharon Cook (Ottawa), Joel Westheimer (Ottawa),

Kristina R Llewellyn (Ottawa), Alison Molina (Ottawa)

"Civic Learning in Canada: A CPRN Preliminary Report"

Kathy Bickmore (OISE- IÉPO/UT)

*"Peacebuilding Education and 'Safe Schools' in Canada:
Promising and Troubling Cases"*

MAY 26

CIESC/SCÉCI & CERN/PRÉC

Citizenship and the Civic Life

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Dan Cui (Alberta)

Discussant: Neyda Long (UNB/STU), Ottilia Chareka (StFX)

*"The Multidimensional Dichotomous Citizenship Model:
Understanding Democratic Participation of Newcomers in
Atlantic Canada"*

Susan Winton (OISE-IÉPO/UT)

*"Does Character Education Really Support Democratic Citizenship
Education?"*

Jackie Amsden (UBC)

"Youth and Citizenship: Mapping the Urban Environment"

Catherine McGregor (Victoria)

"Civic Acts: Making Knowledge Public"

CIESC/SCÉCI (CERN/PRÉC)

Citizenship and Minoritized Groups in Canada: Past and Present

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Ivor Sinfield (Nipissing)

Discussant: Susan Winton (OISE-IÉPO/UT)

Helen Raptis (Victoria)

"Aboriginal Education and the Shifting Discourse of Citizenship"

Yvonne DeBeer (OISE-IÉPO/UT)

"Citizenship and Special Education"

Reva Joshee (OISE-IÉPO/UT), Jill Goodreau (OISE-IÉPO/UT),

Yuko Sorano (OISE-IÉPO/UT), Michelle Goldberg (Ryerson)

"Citizenship and Adult Immigrants"

CAFE/ACÉFÉ

Constructing Citizen Knowledge, Past & Present

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Todd Horton (Nipissing)

Lynn Lemisko (Saskatchewan)

"Bridging Past and Present: Shifting Constructions of Citizenship in Selected Canadian Social Studies Curricula – Constructing Conceptions of Citizenship in Saskatchewan, 1957–2007"

Kurt Clausen (Nipissing)

"Bridging Past and Present: Shifting Constructions of Citizenship in Selected Canadian Social Studies Curricula – Constructing Conceptions of Citizenship in Quebec 1959–2007"

Kathy Bradford (UWO), Lynn Lemisko (Saskatchewan)

"Traditions of Curricula: Ways of Organizing Knowledge in Elementary Social Studies"

CIESC/SCÉCI (CERN/PRÉC)

Global and Comparative Perspectives on Citizenship Education

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Karen Pashby (OISE-IEPO/UT)

Discussant: Michelle H. Lo Nigro (Australian Catholic University/OISE)

K. Pashby (OISE-IEPO/UT)

"Citizenship and Diversity in the Global Imperative: Multiculturalism and Global Citizenship Education"

Michelle H. Lo Nigro (Australian Catholic University/OISE-IEPO/UT)

"Man is Born Free; and Everywhere He Is in Chains: Are Individuals Able to Be Active and Good Citizens in Today's Society?"

Ali A. Abdi (Alberta)

"Citizenship and Its Discontents: Sub-Saharan Africa and the Need to 'Create' Citizens Through Education"

CACS/ACÉC

Global Education

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Kumari Beck (SFU)

Kumari Beck (SFU)

"How Complicated? Exploring Internationalization of Curriculum As 'Complicated Conversation'"

Mark Evans (OISE-IEPO/UT), Reg Hawes (OISE-IEPO/UT)

"Educating for Global Citizenship: Deepening Professional Learning Through School-University Collaboration and Enquiry"

CACS/ACÉC

Making Knowledge Public: Analyzing Representations of Early 20th Century Settlers of African Descent

Symposium

Chair: Jennifer Kelly (Alberta)

Discussant: George Richardson (Alberta)

Jennifer Kelly (Alberta), George Richardson (Alberta), Dan Cui (Alberta)

"Inclusion and Exclusion: Experiences of Mico Teachers in Alberta 1960s"

Carolina Cambre (Alberta), Lorin Yochim (Alberta)

"Not So Public Knowledge: Images of Canadians of African Descent in Early 20th Century Alberta"

Malinda Smith (Alberta), Nisha Nath (Alberta)

"Bridging Discoursed: The Space Between Language and Public Perception"

CAEP/ACP

Self Concept

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Michael Pyryt (Calgary)

Discussant: Michael Pyryt (Calgary)

Jessica Whitley (Alberta)

"A Self-Concept Model for Students with LD: Does Class Placement Play a Role?"

Shaljan Areepattamanni (Queen's)

"The Academic Self-Concept of Immigrant Adolescents in Greater OISE-IEPO/UT Area Secondary Schools"

MAY 27

ACÉFÉ

Migration and Mobility: Impacts and Influences

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Charles Ungerleider (UBC)

Cheryl Aman (Canadian Council on Learning)

"Understanding the Impact of Mobility on K-12 Student Populations and Schools in British Columbia"

Michael Corbett (Acadia)

"Breaking with Tradition? Globalization, Rural Families and Post-secondary Education"

Bruce Garnett (UBC)

"Ethno-cultural Background, English Language Proficiency and ESL Academic Trajectories"

Trends Across the Americas and Australasia

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Hanne Mawhinney (Maryland)

Discussant: Hanne Mawhinney (Maryland)

Jason Ellis (Windsor), Todd Awender (Windsor), George Lamoureux (Brock), Dwayne Wessel (Windsor), Jenni Donohoo (Windsor)

"Of Class and Culture: Reflections on Access and Educational Policy in Four Countries"

Michael O'Sullivan (Brock)

"The Origins of Grassroots Educational Reform from a Mayan Perspective in Post-Conflict Guatemala"

Hanne Mawhinney (Maryland)

"Renovating the Transitional Links from School-to-Work to Support Cosmopolitan Citizens Across the Americas"

MAY 28

ROUNDTABLES

CACS/ACÉC (LLRC)

Exploring the English Language Backgrounds of Immigrant Students

Lee Gunderson (UBC)

CCGSE/CCÉDÉ

Immigration Experiences of Latin American Women

Judith Lopez-Damian (Lethbridge)

Discussant: Rebecca Coulter (Western)

CCGSE/CCÉDÉ

The Significance of Citizenship Development for Canadian Aboriginal Students

Frank Deer (Saskatchewan)

Discussant: Cora Weber-Pillwax (Alberta)

MAY 29

CACS/ACÉC

Interpreting Self and Other

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Gurjit Sandhu (Queen's)

Gurjit Sandhu (Queen's)

"The Discourse of Brown Bodies: Analysis as Novella"

Diane Watt (Ottawa)

"Complicating Readings of Self and Other Midst Curricular Spaces: Contesting the Narrative of the Oppressed Muslim Woman in Visual Media Culture"

Mary Jeanne Barrett (Regina)

"Are We Undermining Engaged Citizenship?"

CERA/ACCÉ

Large-scale Testing: Factors Impacting Fair Group Comparisons

Symposium

Chair: Yunmei Xu (Toronto)

Discussant: TBA

Zhimei Gu (Toronto)

"Math Self-Efficacy, Math Achievement, and Their Correlates: An Application of Hierarchical Multivariate Linear Modeling"

Susan Elgie (Toronto)

"School Effects on System-Wide Tests: A Focus on Immigrant Students"

Yunmei Xu (Toronto), Eunice Jang (Toronto)

"A Cross-National Investigation into Dimensionality of PISA Mathematics 2003 Using Conditional Covariance-Based Nonparametric Approach"

SOCINET

Racialization, Immigration and Citizenship

Panel

Chair: Jennifer Kelly (Alberta) Jennifer Kelly (Alberta), George Richardson (Alberta), Malinda Smith (Alberta), Carolina Cambre (Alberta), Dan Cui (Alberta), Lorin Yochim (Alberta)

SOCINET

Literacy, Language, and Culture

Multi-Paper session

Discussant: TBA

Brenda Spencer (Alberta)

"Immigration, Literacy, and the Urban School: Effects of Policies for Competing in the Global Economy"

Josée Makropoulos (OISE-IEPO/UT)

"A Case Study of Student Discourses on the Early French Immersion Choice"

John Ippolito (York)

"Manifesting a Multilingual Public Schooling Discourse in Community-referenced Research"

CACS/ACÉC (LLRC/ACLL)

Issues Emerging for Literacy Educators

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Valerie Mulholland (Regina)

Discussant: Heather Blair (Alberta)

Meredith Cherland (Regina)

"A Call for Advocacy Research in Literacy Education"

Fatima Pirbhai-Ilich (Regina)

"Contesting Ogbu: The Academic Performance of Adolescent 'Voluntary' Immigrant Students"

John Ippolito (York)

"Migration, Multilingualism, and Canadian Schooling"

CATE/ACFE

Immigrant Teacher Candidates/Educators and Culturally Diverse Classrooms

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Deborah Berrill (Trent)

Caroline Chassels (OISE-IEPO/UT)

"Internationally Educated Immigrant English Language Learner Participation in an Initial Teacher Education Bachelor of Education Degree Program"

Khalida Tanvir Syed (Alberta)

"Positioning Multiculturalism in Teacher Education through Stories of Immigrant Teacher Educators"

Ann Chinnery (SFU)

"It's Still All about Us: Troubling the Ideal of Cross-cultural Teacher Education"

CIESC

Education in Diverse Multicultural Societies: Comparative Perspectives

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Michelle Helene Lo Nigro (Australian Catholic University)

Discussant: Michelle Helene Lo Nigro (Australian Catholic University/OISE-IEPO/UT)

Michelle Helene Lo Nigro (Australian Catholic University)

"In Pursuit of the Hikmah: The Education of Muslim Student in a Post 9/11 Society (Toronto, Canada and Melbourne, Australia)"

Steve Sider (Redeemer University College)

"Don't Paint the Picture Black: How Rural Schools Encourage and Discourage Diversity as Experienced by Low German-Speaking Mennonite Immigrants in Ontario"

Grazia Scoppio (Canadian Defence Academy)

"The Diversity Smart Organization: A Framework for Diversity Policy and Education"

SOCINET

Community Service-Learning as 'Bad Citizenship'

Panel

Chair: Sara Dorow (Alberta)

Mark Jackson (Alberta)

"'Connected Knowing' and CSL Pedagogy in the Neoliberal University"

Karsten Mundel (Alberta)

"When Things Go Bad: Learning from Conflict in International CSL"

Sara Dorow (Alberta)

"Knowledge as Critical Care: CSL and the Undoing of Global Citizenship"

CACS/ACÉC

Studies in Technology

Multi-Paper session

Chair: Jim Hewitt (OISE-IEPO/UT)

Jim Hewitt (OISE-IEPO/UT), Vanessa Peters (OISE-IEPO/UT)

"A Large-Scale Quantitative Analysis of Instructor Modeling in Asynchronous Computer Conferencing Environments"

Leo Elshof (Acadia), Ann Marie Hill (Queen's)

"Sustainable Practices and Technological Education"

Scott Reid (Ottawa)

"Digital Natives and Immigrants in the Context of Online University Courses"

#233 – Canadian Society for Continental Philosophy (CSCP)

MAY 28

Chair: TBA

Mielle Chandler (York University)

"Sovereignty as an Invasive Species: Recognition, Identity, and the Circumscription of Diversity"

#58 and CSA – Society for Socialist Studies (SSS)

Mobilizing an Anti-Occupation Canadian Movement

Diana Ralph (Carleton University School of Social Work – on disability leave)

#49 – Canadian Population Society (CPS)

MAY 31

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION (Organized by CPS International Committee)

Sessional Organizer: Danièle Bélanger (University of Western Ontario)

Chair: Danièle Bélanger (University of Western Ontario)

Discussant: TBA

Alan Simmons (York University)

"The Employment of Central American Immigrants: Overcoming Deskilling and Marginalization"

Danièle Bélanger (University of Western Ontario) and Wang Hongzen (National Chi-Nan University, Taiwan).

"Network Entry Points and Migration Outcomes: Vietnamese Labour Migrants in Taiwan"

Jenna L. Henneby (Wilfrid Laurier University)

"Bienvenidos a Canadá: Globalization and Agricultural Labour Migration in Canada"

Zitian (Victor) Chen (University of Ottawa)

"Return and Onward Migration of Canadian Immigrants: 1996 to 2001"

JUNE 1

Immigration and Urban–Rural Communities

Session Organizer: Barry Edmonston, University of Victoria

Chair: Barry Edmonston (University of Victoria)

Michael Haan (University of Alberta)

"The Place of Place: Location and Immigrant Economic Wellbeing in Canada"

Teresa Abada (University of Western Ontario), Feng Hou (Statistics Canada), and Bali Ram (Statistics Canada).

"Differences in Educational Attainment Among the Children of Immigrants"

Fernando Mata (Human Resources and Social Development Canada)

"Growth Patterns of Non-European Immigrant Populations: Urban and Rural Communities of Canada 1981–2001"

Anne Milan (Statistics Canada), Éric Caron Malenfant (Statistics Canada), and Mathieu Charron (Statistics Canada)

"The Metro-To-Rural Gradient in Canada: Demographic Changes from 1971 to 2001"

Eric Fong (University of Toronto) and Loretta Ho (University of Toronto)

"Income Disparity between Immigrant and Native-born Populations: A Cultural Explanation"

JUNE 2

Fertility and Family Planning

Session Organizer: Thomas K. Burch, University of Victoria

Chair: T. R. Balakrishnan (University of Western Ontario)

Laurence Charton (Université Marc Bloch, France) and

Evelyne Lapierre-Adamcyk (Université de Montréal)

"A Comparative Study of Fertility Trajectories: Diversity in the Use of Non Reversible Contraceptive Methods, Canada and France"

Stephen O. Kwankye (University of Ghana) and Stephen Obeng Gyimah (Queen's University)

"Migration and Reproductive Behaviour in Ghana"

#56 – Canadian Association of Slavists (CAS)

MAY 26

Ukrainian Ethnology: Research in Progress I

Chair: Andrij Makuch (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies)

Discussant: Peter Melnycky (Alberta Historic Sites and Museums)

Florence Danyluk McKie (Descendants of Ukrainian Canadian

Internment Victims Association (DUCIVA)

"Using Multiple Sources to Fill Out the Story"

David Makowsky (Independent Scholar)

"Building Blocs; A Study of the Ukrainian Bloc Settlement of East Central Alberta from the Perspective of the Census-Taker"

Jennifer Anderson (Carleton University)

"Making 'Back to the USSR' Attractive: the Canadian-Soviet Friendship Society and the 'Progressive Ethnic' Groups"

Ukrainian Ethnology: Research in Progress II

Chair: Brian Cherwick (Independent Scholar)

Discussant: Andrij Makuch (Canadian Institute of Ukrainian Studies)

Nadya Foty (University of Alberta)

"Data Collection and Retrieval: Current Projects at the Bohdan Medwidsky Ukrainian Folklore Archives"

Yuriy Makar (Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine)

"The Development of Canadian Studies at Chernivtsi National University"

Bohdan Medwidsky (University of Alberta)

"Revisiting High and Low Culture: Two Sides of the Same Coin"

Oksana Tyschenko–Monastyrska (National Academy of Sciences of Ukraine)

"The Image of a Horse in the Ukrainian and Crimean Tatar Folklore"

MAY 27

Ukrainian Ethnology: Research in Progress III

Chair: Peter Melnycky (Alberta Historic Sites and Museums)

Discussant: Irene Jendzjowsky (Provincial Archives of Alberta)

Vitaliy Makar (Chernivtsi National University, Ukraine)

"Canadian-Ukrainian Topics in Works by Ukrainian Scholars"

Irene Jendzjowsky (Provincial Archives of Alberta)

"The Changing Face of the Provincial Archives of Alberta."

Maryna Hrymych (University of Kiev, Ukraine)

"Customary Law of Land Settlement among the Ukrainians: Historical Constants and Changes (based on the materials of Ukrainian mass migrations of the late 19th–early 20th centuries"

Mariya Lesiv (University of Alberta)

"Constructing Charisma: Leaders of the Ukrainian Neo-Pagan Movements"

Ukrainians Writing in Canada: The English- and Ukrainian-language Traditions

Chair: Myroslav Shkandrij (University of Manitoba)

Discussant: TBA

Jars Balan (University of Alberta)

"The First Family of Pioneer Era Ukrainian Canadian Literature: The Groundbreaking Contributions of Sigmund Bychinsky and Anna Kuryla Bychinsky"

Lisa Grekul (University of British Columbia – Okanagan)

"'Rigid' Representations: Ukrainian Characters in Novels of the Ukrainian Diaspora"

Lindy A. Ledohowski (University of Toronto)

"The Perseverance of the Prairie Pioneer"

Ukrainian Ethnology: Research in Progress V

Chair: Natalie Kononenko (University of Alberta)

Discussant: Brian Cherwick (Independent Scholar)

Monica Kindraka-Jensen (REEL, Indiana University, Bloomington)

"Shaping Ukrainian-Canadian Family Identity: the 'Beatification' of Alex, Kostaki and Wasył"

Andriy Chervenych (University of Alberta)

"Pioneer Stories: Family Narratives About Immigration and Settlement among Ukrainian Canadians"

Natalia Shostak (University of Saskatchewan)

"Life Stories from the Prairies: Ukrainian Canadian Case"

Greg Borowetz (University of Alberta)

"Dual Coding in the Proverbs of Kalendar kanadiis'koho farmera"

Polish Identities

Chair: Maxim Tarnawsky (University of Toronto)

Discussant: TBA

Joanna Lustanski (McMaster University)

"The Polish Minority Group in Canada: An Ethno-linguistic or Ethno-cultural Community?"

Magdalena Blackmore (University of Manitoba)

"'The Non-Hyphenated Polish Canadian.' A Study in Second Generation Polish Immigrants' Ethnic Identity creation"

Michał Młynarz (University of Alberta)

"Totus Tuus Polonia: The Commemoration of Pope John Paul II in the Construction of Polish Identity and Collective Memory"

MAY 28

Sturm and Drang: The Ukrainian-Canadian Experience from the 20s to the 40s

Joint Panel with CHA

Chair: Rhonda L. Hinthner (Canadian Museum of Civilization)

Discussant: TBA

Vadim Kukushkin (University of Alberta)

"In Search of a Communist Utopia: Ukrainian-Canadian Emigration to the USSR in the 1920s"

Serge Cipko (University of Alberta)

"Reports on the 1932-33 Famine in Ukraine in the Press in Edmonton, Alberta"

Andrij Makuch (University of Toronto)

"Bellum Interruptum: The Ukrainian-Canadian Left and Its Cessation of Hostilities against Nazi Germany after the Outbreak of the Second World War"

#105 – Canadian Communication Association (CCA)

MAY 30

Médias, analyses de discours, identité, genre / Media, Discourses analyses, Identity, Gender

Jenna Henneby, Professor, Communication Studies,

Wilfrid Laurier University

"¿Bueno? : International Communication, ICTs and Labour Migration Et the Mexican-Canadian"

Marco Adria (Professor, Graduate Program in Communications and Technology, University of Alberta)

"Seasonal Agricultural Worker Program

Technological Nationalism Revisited: Historical Regionalism and the Canadian Social Identity

Yuping Mao, doctoral student, School of Communication Studies (Ohio University)

"Bridging Chinese Community with Canadian Society: A Narrative Approach to Chinese Interactants' Metacommunication with Non-Chinese in Canada"

MAY 31

Control Society / Société de contrôle

Diane Dechief, PhD, Faculty of Information Studies (University of Toronto)

"Identity Matters: Immigrants' Encounters with Canadian Documentation Practices"

#56 – Canadian Association of Schools of Social Work (CASSW)

MAY 27-31

Community Engagement as a Methodological Practice: Lessons from a Community-University Research Project on Social Capital and Immigrant/Refugee Women

Uzo Anucha and Colleen Mitchell

Negotiating Citizenship and the Entrepreneurial Self: Funding, Income Assistance, Surveillance and Resistance in the Advanced Liberal Society

Marisa Barnhart

Tackling Immigrants' and Refugees' Social Exclusion by Strengthening their Social Support Networks

Behnam Behnia

Developing Rural Social Work for Chinese Women: Learning from the Field

Tuula Heinonen, Meng Liu, Maria Cheung and Jie Feng

Immigrants and Ontario Works

Ernie Lightman, Andrew Mitchell and Dean Herd

#911 – Royal Society of Canada (RSC)

MAY 31

Gerry Friesen

"Immigration and Identity as Loss and Gain"

THE METROPOLIS PROJECT

Bridging Research, Policy and Practice



Immigration and Diversity Issues Gaining Prominence

Canada accepts some 250,000 immigrants and refugees annually

- Are newcomers finding jobs and succeeding economically?
- What impact has diversity had on Canada?
- Do newcomers face barriers?
- Why do immigrants settle primarily in our larger cities?
- Are there social and economic challenges?
Are we responding appropriately?

Connecting the Research, Policy and Practice

The Metropolis Project Secretariat is the bridge between research, policy and practice

- Supports and encourages policy-relevant research of interest to the Government of Canada
- Increases the uptake of research findings by policy-makers and practitioners
- Manages the international arm of Metropolis

Mobilizing the Network

- **Five Centres of Excellence**, located in Vancouver, Edmonton, Toronto, Montréal and Halifax/Moncton generate policy-relevant research on immigration and diversity
- **Metropolis Conferences** attract 700+ participants yearly
- **Metropolis Presents** is a public forum to discuss research and policy findings on emerging issues
- **Metropolis Conversations** are closed-door sessions of experts that contribute to a more informed debate on immigration policy
- **An Interdepartmental Committee of federal partners** meets quarterly for cross-cutting policy discussion
- **Our publications** transfer research knowledge to policy-makers and practitioners
- **Our award-winning suite of websites** provide access to hundreds of articles and working papers
- **Co-chair of the International Metropolis Project**, the largest immigration network of its kind, bringing together more than 30 countries and international organizations

Our Partnership and Network

Metropolis involves more than 5,500 participants from all over the world

- Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council, Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canadian Heritage, Human Resources and Social Development Canada, Public Safety Canada, Public Health Agency of Canada, Royal Canadian Mounted Police, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Statistics Canada, Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, Canada Economic Development for Quebec Regions, Canada Border Services Agency and the Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada
- Project-based partnerships with other government departments, provincial and municipal governments, non-governmental organizations, and service-providing organizations in the sectors of immigration and settlement
- Partnerships with countries in North America, most of Europe and much of the Asia-Pacific region, as well as a number of international organizations
- Centres of Excellence involve several hundred affiliated researchers, graduate students and post-doctoral fellows from more than 20 universities across Canada

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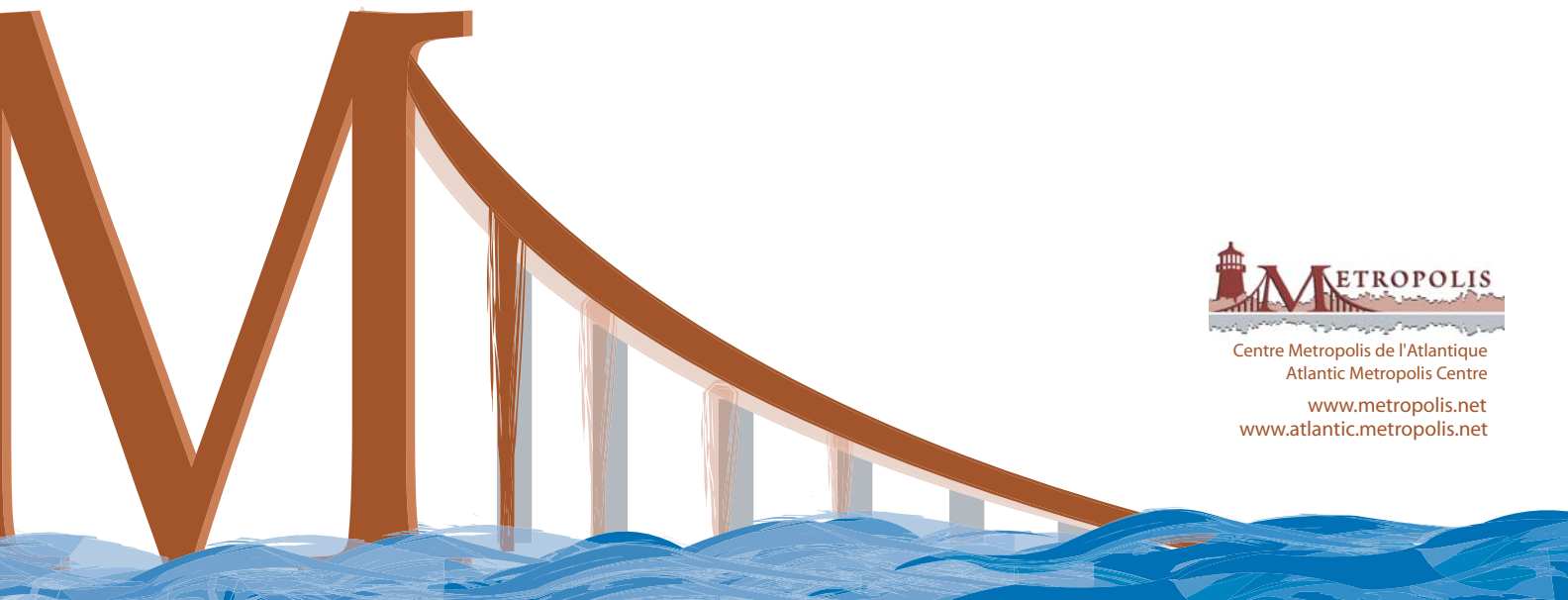
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