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**WELCOME TO WINKLER! RURAL IMMIGRATION INITIATIVES IN
CANADA'S WESTERN PROVINCES**

by

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ABSTRACT

Through information available on the internet and interviews with program officials, 15 rural immigration initiatives and four provincial nominee programs in Canada's Western provinces were investigated to determine which factors contribute to successful attraction, integration, and retention of immigrants to rural areas. Initiatives targeted economic immigrants, and were provincially and/or municipally driven in order to accurately reflect specific gaps in the labour market. The receiving municipality must have the economic and social capacity for the immigrant, which includes the financial and political resources to provide settlement assistance, support of all community institutions, and a welcoming attitude shown towards immigrants. Targeting immigrants belonging to already-existing ethnic groups within the community minimizes the costs of formal settlement assistance while increasing the likelihood of the immigrants' social and political integration. The provincial nominee program is one such initiative incorporating all of these ingredients, and has gained greater use by the provinces and communities over time.

Key words: immigration; rural; Canada; development; provincial nominee program

Table of Contents

I.	Introduction	1
II.	Literature Review	6
	a. Shortcomings of National Immigration Policy	6
	b. Federal-Provincial Immigration Agreements: Promoting Greater Provincial Agency	8
	c. The Provincial Nominee Program	9
	d. Provincial Responsibility for the Delivery of Settlement Services	11
	e. The Importance of Community Capacity and Immigrants' Economic Integration	12
	f. The Benefits of Rural Immigration to the Rural Economy and to Rural Immigrants	13
	g. Already-Established Ethnic Groups as a Draw for Immigrants	15
	h. Public and Private Support	16
	i. Isolated Pilot Programs	17
III.	Methods and Approach	19
IV.	Theoretical Frameworks	23
V.	An Introduction to Immigration Initiatives of the Western Provinces	26
	a. Recent Efforts to Promote Rural Immigration	26
	b. Municipally and Regionally Driven Immigration Initiatives; Benefits and Challenges of Each	28
VI.	What Communities Can Do to Increase Successful Immigration; Realizing the Complexity of Program Design	30
	a. Accessibility of Resources Providing Information on Immigration	30
	b. Provision of Settlement Assistance to Rural Immigrants	31
	c. The Importance of Creating a Welcoming Community	33
	d. Ensuring the Support of the Community and its Agents; Boosting Capacity	35
	e. Funding for Rural Development	36
	f. Establishing Partnerships with Industries and Employers	37
	g. Credential Assessment	38
	h. Targeting Immigrant Groups	39
	i. Means for Bringing in Immigrants	43
VII.	Comparing Provincial Nominee Programs of the Western Provinces	45
	a. Varying Levels of Maturity	46
	b. Provincial Nominee Program Streams: Determining Inclusive-ness and Efficiently Filling Specific Labour Market Gaps	46
	c. Community Capacity for Support	49
	d. Employer Support	50

e. Gaining Licensure and Accreditation	50
f. Recruitment and Promotion Activities	51
g. Patterns in the Settlement of Provincial Nominees	54
h. Retention	56
VIII. Level of Investment in Rural Immigration as a Reflection of Need	58
a. Unemployment in Western Provinces as a Drive for Immigration	59
b. Projecting the Potential of Rural Immigration: Initiative in the Atlantic Provinces	60
IX. Conclusion	62
X. Appendices	65
XI. References	87

List of Appendices

Appendix A: Interview Questions	65
Appendix B: Script for Telephone Interview and E-mail	66
Appendix C: Immigration Initiatives at the Municipal Level, Questions 1 to 3	67
Appendix D: Immigration Initiatives at the Municipal Level, Questions 4 to 6	72
Appendix E: Immigration Initiatives at the Municipal Level, Questions 7 and 8	78
Appendix F: Provincial Nominee Programs, Questions 1 and 2	81
Appendix G: Provincial Nominee Programs, Questions 3 and 4	83
Appendix H: Provincial Nominee Programs, Questions 5 to 8	85

Introduction

Over the last decade, concerns about immigrants' disproportionate settlement in Canada's gateway cities emerged in immigration discourse as a potential barrier to the successful social and economic integration of immigrants into Canadian life. There is widespread concern that large cities cannot manage the rapid increase of ethnically, linguistically, and culturally diverse groups flooding there (see e.g. Walton-Roberts 2004). Concerns about the disproportionate settlement in Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver have been spurred by parallel concerns regarding the costs attached to the settlement of the large proportion of immigrants in these three cities (Citizenship and Immigration Canada¹ 2001). Furthermore, immigrants destined for Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver have a relatively high likelihood of choosing to live in what has been referred to as ethnic enclaves² when possible, which, arguably, inhibits their complete integration.

While Canadians are aware of the costs of providing settlement and integration services to immigrants, Canada's aggressive immigration policy also reflects its awareness of the benefits attached to immigration. Demographically speaking, Canada's population is aging, and the country cannot sustain positive growth given its low birth rates. Furthermore, there is a growing trend towards urbanization, leaving rural areas to suffer population declines. Skills shortages are emerging in a number of areas, particularly in these regions with decreasing populations such as rural communities in Western Canada. On the other hand, some cities have seemingly become saturated with available labour leaving many immigrants underemployed, while many communities

¹ Hereon referred to as CIC.

² An ethnic enclave is a neighbourhood, suburb, district, or area of a community in which a high proportion of an ethnic, linguistic, or cultural group live.

remain untouched by the economic and demographic benefits provided by immigrants. Meanwhile, there is a growing national awareness of the utility and quality of immigrant labour. A number of initiatives have consequently been developed not only to draw immigrants away from urban centres to rural areas, but also to integrate these immigrants into the economic and social fabric of the receiving community to ensure their retention.

However, it is important to bear in mind that rural immigration has been a part of Canada's immigration policy since prior to confederation. Canada was cultivated by European immigrants centuries ago who bought plots of land in the prairies for low prices. Chinese labourers worked for miserable wages to construct the railroad in Western Canada, and upon its completion, many chose to stay in Canada despite intense racism. Even as recently as one generation ago, immigrants were viewed as a source of a cheap labour, and tended to gravitate to wherever there was need (Ray 2007). However, recent challenges to rural immigration and ethical disputes highlight the importance of social support in addition to the availability of appropriate jobs.

'Rural immigration'³ represents a real alternative destination for immigrants otherwise facing varied challenges in the big cities. Small- and medium- sized towns and rural areas possess several key advantages such as fair employment opportunities, stability, home ownership, and a lower cost of living (Bauder 2003; Huynh 2004; Walker, 2005; Krahn et al, 2003). Immigrants, as well as the receiving rural communities and overwhelmed traditional immigrant-receiving cities, can benefit from rural immigration if the initiative is designed properly. However, it is crucial to acknowledge the complexity of intersecting factors affecting rural immigration. Initiatives should be provincially and

³ Immigration or secondary immigration (from another location in Canada) to a small town zone, a predominantly rural area, or Northern hinterland area in Canada (as defined by Statistics Canada based on Beale codes adapted for Canadian nonmetropolitan policy analysis).

municipally driven to more accurately and efficiently fill labour market shortages. Furthermore, appropriate employment for the immigrant is key for successful attraction, integration, and retention, and contributes to rural economic development. Rural immigration initiatives must incorporate a high level of collaboration between multiple stakeholders in the public *and* private sector, including the federal, provincial, and municipal governments, industries and employers, and the receiving community. Building on already-established ethnic and cultural groups is also incredibly helpful in providing settlement assistance and integrating the immigrant into the social fabric of the community. The provincial nominee program, best demonstrated by the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program, incorporates all of these elements into its design.

The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program was initiated as a pilot program in 1996 to facilitate immigration into rural areas, and was soon after solidified in the province's immigration policy (CIC 2006a). Aside from Quebec (which has its own immigration program) and Ontario (which is in the process of launching a provincial nominee program), all provinces and the Yukon territory have established provincial nominee programs in effort to match Manitoba's success (CIC 2006b). The provincial nominee program allows the participating province to "nominate" immigrants for permanent residency (CIC 1996). In doing so, the participating province is declaring that the nominee has proven his or her ability to contribute to the Canadian economy, and has proven his or her intention to establish permanently in the destination province. For skilled workers, this is most frequently demonstrated by the nominee securing a job offer.

Once the nominee is accepted through the provincial nominee program, he or she completes an application to CIC which is reviewed through a particular stream. This

allows the process to be expedited, thus speeding the lengthy process of immigration. CIC's approval for economic immigrants⁴ can take years, whereas an immigrant nominated through a provincial nominee program generally waits 12 months or less (CIC 2007). The program has become a critical tool for rural immigration, and can overcome the challenges met by the national immigration policy.

Although there is an adequate flow of information regarding the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program, there is limited information on the levels of success felt by other provincial nominee programs and other rural immigration initiatives. There is also very little research available on initiatives aimed to increase immigration specifically in rural settings as a great deal of information available focuses upon immigration into medium-sized cities and regionalization. Furthermore, very little of the readily-available literature is peer-reviewed. This may reflect the relative immaturity of the topic, being recent enough that the academic community has not caught up with it yet.

This goal of this report is to identify and investigate rural immigration initiatives in Western Canada in order to understand how regions and communities have taken a more specialized approach to increase immigration. As an initiative designed to curb the overwhelming trend of immigration to Canada's gateway cities, the provincial nominee program serves as a good tool to compare the degree to which provinces are promoting rural immigration. With a more complete and comparative summary of current rural immigration initiatives, it may be determined which key ingredients are significant, and what role each plays. In turn, this may help to indicate what actions can be taken by

⁴ Economic immigrants are one of three types of immigrants, and come to Canada specifically to find work and to contribute to the Canadian economy. The other two types are family class immigrants, who come as dependents of economic immigrants, and refugees, who cannot return to their homeland due to social and political unrest.

municipal, provincial, and federal governments to successfully attract, integrate, and retain immigrants in rural areas.

Literature Review

Shortcomings of National Immigration Policy

The Rural Development Institute's (RDI) Ray Sylvius and Robert Annis (2005) have highlighted the importance of questioning whether CIC policy is relevant to rural Canada; are Canadians in smaller centres and rural areas able to meet employment targets and support their municipal economy? National immigration policy's lack of focus on geographical specificity in determining the suitability of immigrant integration compromises the immigrant's ability to select a destination based on job availability. CIC spokeswoman Susan Scarlett (2003) explained the futility of the federal government's attempts to establish skills shortage lists in effort to identify fields in which immigrant labour would be beneficial: "Demands changed too frequently for immigrant recruitment to keep up" (cited by O'Neill 2003: para 9). It can therefore be argued that the national immigration policy contributes to immigrants disproportionately settling in larger cities and particular areas to their and the communities' detriment (Huynh 2004).

Without information directing immigrants' to specific communities with an abundance of economic opportunities, immigrants are more likely to choose already-popular immigrant destinations. This is evidence of Ravenstein's law of movement, also known as the gravity model (1885 and 1889) which is described in greater detail in theoretical frameworks. To an extent, this describes the challenge faced by current policy makers. While the majority of Canadian-born are also moving to urban locations from rural settings, this trend is amplified by the settlement patterns of immigrants.

In an effort to combat immigrants' disproportionate settlement in major cities, CIC proposed a "dispersion strategy" in 2002 designed to increase rural immigration.

The “dispersion strategy” would allow CIC to direct immigrants to rural locations for five years as temporary workers, following which they would be granted permanent resident status (Bauder 2003; McIsaac 2003). However, in addition to the program’s ethical complications (the question of whether the federal government should or could exert control over the mobility of temporary workers), temporary workers are not eligible for the programs and services available to other classes of immigrants (Bauder 2003; McIsaac 2002; McIsaac 2003; Sherrell, Hyndman, & Preniqi 2005). The federal government would be limiting the integration and potential upward mobility of these immigrants by restricting their choice of destination (McIsaac 2002; McIsaac 2003).

This illustrates the importance of providing adequate settlement supports to newcomers. In lacking sufficient financial and political support for the growing population of newcomers, Immigrant Settlement Agencies⁵ in cities such as Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver are overwhelmed, and cannot afford to provide support to all who require it (CIC 2001). On the other hand, the costs of *inadequate* settlement support are even greater. These costs include immigrants’ underemployment (a waste amounting to millions of dollars; see e.g. Alboim 2002), and worse yet, the immigrants’ return to their country of origin (devastatingly common even among refugees). It would be in the best interest of both newcomers and Canadian-born to support a more proportionate settlement across urban and rural locations.

As a result, there has been an increase in the involvement of the provinces in the immigrant selection process, and a growing interest in sharing the economic and demographic benefits provided by immigration (CIC 2006a; CIC 2002b; CIC 2001). It is

⁵ Immigrant Settlement Agencies are federally, provincially, and privately funded organizations providing immigrants with settlement, employment, and language services.

argued that a greater level of provincial involvement can more accurately and efficiently promote the objectives of different regions (Huynh 2004; McIsaac 2003).

Federal-Provincial Immigration Agreements: Promoting Greater Provincial Agency

Since 1990, federal-provincial immigration agreements have been struck with all Canadian provinces which formally define provincial and federal responsibilities and expectations regarding immigration. Moreover, a number of the provinces have used federal-provincial immigration agreements to secure greater agency in the selection of immigrants and the provision of settlement services. Perhaps the most important policy development relates to the emergence of a variety of federal-provincial agreements aimed at enabling provincial participation in the immigrant selection processes.

The Canada-Quebec Accord of 1991 was the first and most comprehensive of such federal-provincial agreements (CIC 2006a). Quebec obtained sole responsibility for the selection and admission of immigrants destined for the province (proportional to Quebec's population as a part of Canada's population with 5% flexibility) with the exception of family class immigrants and refugees (CIC 2006a). As a part of its regionalization initiative, Quebec set ambitious targets for immigration outside of Montreal for 2001 to 2003 in order to curb disproportionate settlement in Montreal (CIC 2001). The immigration department set up five regional directorates outside of Montreal (Quebec City, the Eastern townships, Monteregie, the Outaouais, and in Laval/Laurentides/Lanaudiere) and made framework agreements for each having region-specific objectives in order to attract a greater number of immigrants to these non-traditional locations (CIC 2001). Although not all of these locations are rural per se, they also face the challenges of immigrant integration despite labour shortages.

The Provincial Nominee Program

The most widespread change as a result of federal-provincial agreements has been the proliferation of the provincial nominee programs, the first of which was launched by Manitoba in 1996. Although the provincial nominee program is generally underutilized outside of Manitoba, it has been widely recommended in efforts to combat urban settlement trends (Krahn, Derwing & Abu-Laban 2003). Its positive effects are evident in some of the province's small towns and cities. Between 2003 and 2005, rural Manitoba received over 3 600 provincial nominees (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006). Although the majority of these immigrants were nominated by Winnipeg employers, thousands of nominees settled in Winkler or Steinbach, two rural communities having partnerships with the program (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006). Winkler and Steinbach, both having approximately 10 000 people, preserve German-Mennonite traditions contributing to each community's ability to draw provincial nominees from Germany (Huynh 2004). Indeed, almost a quarter of provincial nominees into Manitoba from 2003 to 2005 were from Germany (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006). This demonstrates how the program has made excellent use of the province's already-established ethno-cultural communities.

Scholars investigating rural immigration initiatives have found a number of positive features of the provincial nominee program. First of all, the immigrant is offered a wage that the program guarantees has met prevailing regional wage rates, which improves the likelihood of retention (DeVoretz 2003). Furthermore, the immigrant is provided with information about credential recognition and upgrading as well as about the community itself through both the provincial nominee program and the employer-to-

be. This addresses problems such as credential non-recognition and lack of labour market information faced by immigrants across Canada, in both rural and urban communities (Walker 2005). It also allows for immigrants' professional development and advancement, and may be the only initiative in Canada to do so (McIsaac 2003). However, there is no literature which reports upon the extent to which underemployment persists within the provincial nominee program. For example, academia has ignored altogether the provincial nominees who accept a job for which they are overqualified in order to facilitate their immigration to Canada, therefore it is unknown how often this occurs. Another possible direction for research would be to investigate *why* a portion of provincial nominees leave their original employers. This may provide provincial nominee programs with an idea of the areas in which there is room for improvement.

Although the provincial nominee program is applauded in terms of its contributions to rural immigration, a critique of the program is its limited use in provinces other than Manitoba. While many other provinces have gone on to have the CIC-imposed caps restricting the number of nominee's removed, these provinces have the *potential* to gain the same utility from their programs as Manitoba has done (Huynh 2004). In the few years since this critique was made, however, it appears as though other provincial nominee programs are moving closer to achieving the success met by Manitoba. The programs would benefit further from a higher level of national investment and promotion.

Another critique of the program is that it could do more to integrate foreign students (Peykov 2004). Since this critique was made, however, all of the programs in Western Canada have established international graduate streams to increase the

immigration of international students following graduation from a Canadian educational facility. Furthermore, CIC (2006c) has invested \$10 million per year for five years to support two new initiatives designed to facilitate the immigration of international students; the first allows international students to work off-campus during their studies; and the second allows international students to work in Canada for up to two years outside of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver following their graduation. International students working in one of these three cities are only granted a one-year work permit. This demonstrates federal efforts to divert immigration to these three gateway cities.

Provincial Responsibility for the Delivery of Settlement Services

Another outcome of the federal-provincial agreements was that several provinces took on the responsibility for the delivery of settlement services. The first province to take over responsibility for the design and distribution of settlement services was Quebec in the Canada-Quebec Accord in 1991 (CIC 2006b). Following this agreement, the federal government launched a “settlement renewal” process in 1995 which aimed to further delineate settlement responsibilities to the provinces as had already been done with Quebec (Sadiq 2004). Manitoba was the first province following the initiative to transfer the delivery of settlement services to Manitoba’s jurisdiction with funding provided by the federal government in 1996 (CIC 2006b). British Columbia followed suit in its federal-provincial agreement in 1998 (CIC 2006b). While Quebec, Manitoba and British Columbia have a high level of control over immigration policy and initiatives, it is unclear whether other provinces would also benefit from provincially-driven immigration policy since they have yet to strike federal-provincial agreements allowing them to do so.

August and Leo (2006) found that part of the success achieved by Manitoba in promoting immigration and settling immigrants in rural areas may be due to the fact that Manitoba's provincial government is more closely tied to its municipalities than to the federal government. This allows the provincial government to respond more efficiently to municipal and regional needs, namely gaps in the labour market identified in specific communities and regions (August & Leo 2006) and settlement needs where immigrants are pooling. This is called the "Regional Economic Development" approach (CIC 2001), which will be explained in greater detail in the theoretical frameworks section.

The Importance of Community Capacity and Immigrants' Economic Integration

Regionalized or community-specific initiatives are ideal as they more closely reflect the specific needs and capabilities of the communities involved. However, one significant misunderstanding affecting rural immigration is when communities rely upon immigration as a "quick-fix" method to fight economic stagnation or decline; immigration is *not* necessarily an appropriate solution for all regions and communities (McIsaac 2003; Sylvius & Annis 2005). Instead, rural communities need a solution which recognizes broader economic problems (McIsaac 2003; Sylvius & Annis 2005). Many of these regions are losing domestic labourers to more urban areas due to a lack of available work, and therefore, are unable to integrate immigrants seeking appropriate jobs.

Appropriate employment results in a higher likelihood of immigrant retention (Bauder 2005; Bauder 2003; Walker 2005). Furthermore, the likelihood of retention for married immigrants becomes greater if the "dependent" spouse is also able to secure meaningful employment (Walker 2005). While few recent immigrants are attracted to smaller communities, matching skilled workers to appropriate jobs is key to the retention

of newcomers in second- and third- tier cities (Bauder 2005; Krahn, Derwing & Abu-Laban 2003; McIsaac 2003). As an additional benefit, this is reassuring to employers who fear their immigrant employees will be “poached”—recruited by other employers once they have been trained and have gained Canadian experience (Walker 2005).

However, it is unknown if retention due to suitable employment can also be assumed for rural areas (in addition to second- and third- tier cities) due to the minute sample size of immigrants in these communities (Bauder 2005) and the infancy of rural immigration initiatives. It has been proposed that retention in rural communities also depends upon the community’s provision of adequate settlement support, and it must have the institutional and community infrastructure in order to do so (McIsaac 2003).

Developing a successful rural immigration strategy requires the collaboration of multiple agents, including federal, provincial, *and* municipal governments, industry and employers, non-government organizations (NGO’s), Immigrant Settlement Agencies, and occupational regulatory bodies (McIsaac 2003). This ensures that the rural communities have both the “magnets” to attract immigrants and the “glue” to retain them, a metaphor created by Harvard business professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter (1995; cited by McIsaac 2002; McIsaac 2003). According to McIsaac (2002), the solution to building Canada’s rural areas lies in providing these communities with the tools to create their own “magnets” *and* “glue”, not necessarily by attempting to coerce immigrants to work and settle in these areas. The “magnets and glue” theory will be explored further later.

The Benefits of Rural Immigration to the Rural Economy and to Rural Immigrants

In addition to providing substantial economic benefits to rural communities having the capacity for immigration, immigrants themselves are on the receiving end of

several benefits as a result of rural immigration. According to Bauder (2003), immigrants in rural areas fare better economically than immigrants in large city centres (Bauder 2003; Huynh 2004). This runs parallel to and may be attributed to the high level of employment among immigrants in smaller communities relative to their counterparts in urban locations (Bauder 2005; Bauder 2003). In gateway cities, immigrants are too often relegated to the low-skill, low-wage exploitable labour market, and are vulnerable to its fragility (Bauder 2005). In addition to immigrants' pursuit for appropriate employment, ownership of a home is also a key goal for many newcomers, and is more feasible in rural locations having more affordable housing than major cities (Walker 2005).

Also, language skills, which contribute to successful social and economic integration, were found to be inversely related to the size of the destination community (Chiswick & Miller 2001). It was found that immigrants who settled in census metropolitan areas exhibited a lower level of English and French ability than those living outside of these cities (Chiswick & Miller 2001). This may be a result of rural immigrants' high level of interaction with service providers and social groups speaking *only* one of or both of the charter languages. Furthermore, language skills are integral in determining immigrants' social and economic status (Chiswick & Miller 2001).

However, despite these advantages, researchers cannot ignore the challenges posed by and costs associated with immigration in rural or traditionally undesirable locations. Substantial efforts must be made to promote most rural communities as many immigrants are hesitant to move to a community that they have never heard of (McIsaac 2003). Furthermore, immigrants coming from large cities may prefer to live in large cities in Canada (DeVoretz 2003; Walker 2005). Other barriers to successful integration of

immigrants include a lack of already-established ethnic communities (which paradoxically may facilitate *and* inhibit integration) and religious institutions, as well as limited access to settlement services, educational institutions, language and skills upgrading programs, student loans and domestic student fee schedules (McIsaac 2003; Sherrell, Hyndman, & Preniqi 2005; Walker 2005; Walton-Roberts 2004). These barriers operate on both an informal and formal level; informally, ethnic ties may foster the immigrant's gradual integration into the Canadian way of life while providing the immigrant with a homogeneous social network (sharing ethnicity, language, religion, and/or culture); and formally, DeVoretz (2003) found that immigrants are better served by ethno-specific Immigrant Settlement Agencies through the availability of culturally- and linguistically- sensitive services.

Already-Established Ethnic Groups as a Draw for Immigrants

Pre-existing ethno-cultural communities are particularly helpful in facilitating a smooth settlement process, as well as in preserving the culture and religion of the homeland upon immigrating to Canada. A number of initiatives are recognizing the utility of these ethnic communities to encourage immigration to smaller cities. For example, a focus group in Prince George discussed conditions to bolster the success of the BC Regional Immigration Initiative and proposed that the project include collaboration with ethnic groups in each community (Walker 2005). Furthermore, some initiatives have made use of "sister city" relationships developed between Canadian cities and foreign cities in order to attract *and* retain immigrant groups (Walker 2005).

However, since most immigrants are located in Canada's cities, and because immigrants are drawn to where past immigrants have settled (see Ravenstein's Law of

Movement in theoretical frameworks), the popularity of urban environments is undeniable. This can be curbed by promoting the already-existing ethnic communities in rural locations, but like the Canadian-born, some immigrants will inevitably relocate to cities where ethnic communities are practically a guarantee. In May 1995, 905 Kosovar refugees were settled in groups of extended families in medium- and small- sized cities across British Columbia's lower mainland (Sherrell, Hyndman, & Preniqi 2005). This was the first time that a large group of Government Assisted Refugees (GAR's) had been dispersed, and a conscious effort was made to divert these immigrants from Toronto due to the saturation of Toronto's Immigrant Settlement Agencies (Sherrell, Hyndman, & Preniqi 2005). Although many Kosovars expressed contentment to stay in their original host city, those who moved went on to larger cities in British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario, consistent with Krahn, Derwing, & Abu-Laban's 2003 findings on refugees settled in second- and third- tier cities (Sherrell, Hyndman, & Preniqi 2005).

Public and Private Support

In addition to already-established ethnic groups, another feature which increases the appeal of the rural community is the formal and informal support of the community and of stakeholders in the public and private sector. One such example is provided by some smaller communities making use of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program; the shared ethnic background of community members contributes to a high level of community support for the program which is reflected by the involvement of both the private and public sector. In turn, the support of the community implies "a strong message of acceptance and receptivity to individuals considering Manitoba as an immigration destination" (Clement 2002: 17). Many rural communities lack the support

of community members and private enterprises, and place too great an emphasis upon public service providers (Walker 2005). The heavy involvement of community agents and government bodies alike addresses all possible needs of potential immigrants, including employment, language education, adequate living arrangements, and education programs for children (Clement 2002). This addresses another important aspect of rural migration which was mentioned previously; success depends largely upon the receiving community as well as upon the co-operation of multiple stakeholders (McIsaac 2003; Rural Development Initiative and Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation 2005).

Isolated Pilot Programs

The provincial nominee program is an exception to the rule of rural immigration initiatives in that the program has since been employed by most other provinces in efforts to achieve the same success felt by Manitoba. However, some of the other provincial nominee programs are still in the pilot stage (or about to enter the pilot stage in the case of Ontario), thereby preventing a valid and reliable comparison. Given the success demonstrated by the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program, other pilot provincial nominee programs may grow to enjoy the same success as Manitoba with increased resources and awareness (Huynh 2004). Manitoba's Provincial Nominee Program has become a critical tool in achieving annual provincial immigration levels for the province (Clement 2002). Rural immigration initiatives should be municipally-directed (as done in the provincial nominee program) to best meet the needs of the immigrant and community.

In British Columbia, eight small- and mid- size cities banded together in 2004 in effort to research the tools required to achieve a higher level of immigration and more effective settlement and integration practices (Western Economic Diversification Canada

2005). The movement, called the British Columbia Regional Immigration Initiative, required that each community develop a strategy to promote and increase immigration for one year (Western Economic Diversification Canada 2005). The strategies were to be made available to other communities in order to share lessons learned and increase community involvement (Western Economic Diversification Canada 2005). However, after a year of research and consultation, many of these pilot programs concluded without plans to establish a permanent program to attract and integrate immigrants (Bhat 2007).

Although innovative programs and practices have been developed to increase rural immigration across the provinces, most are isolated pilot programs applied in only one region (Rural Development Institute & Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation 2005). There is limited information sharing and collaboration among rural immigration initiatives, restricting the extent to which policy-makers can learn from one another (Rural Development Institute & Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation 2005).

Methods and Approach

Using a combination of publicly-available data provided on the internet and more detailed and specific information acquired through short telephone interviews with key informants, a quantitative and qualitative comparison of 15 rural immigration initiatives and four provincial nominee programs was completed. These initiatives are currently in existence in British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan, and Manitoba. Canada's Western provinces are seemingly similar in their drive for rural immigration; British Columbia has demonstrated a desire for a higher level of immigration to areas of the province suffering from labour shortages; Alberta has the lowest unemployment level in the country and a high level of rural employment available due to the oil industry and agriculture; Saskatchewan and Manitoba both have low unemployment levels, and Manitoba is renowned for its creativity and commitment in terms of its rural immigration initiatives.

Ontario has not placed much emphasis upon rural immigration as the province is already overwhelmed by the high level of immigration into its cities, namely Toronto. Quebec, although it has been investing in regionalization initiatives, is both geographically and politically separate from the Western provinces, and it is uncertain how accessible information will be given my limited language skills. New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia and Newfoundland have high unemployment rates, and are thought to be experiencing a period of economic stagnation and decline, therefore immigration to these provinces may be depressed. The focus upon the Western provinces should reveal the utility of rural immigration initiatives in provinces where rural areas have the capacity and need for immigration.

The 15 rural immigration initiatives are located in a combination of cities and towns, rural municipalities and municipal districts as defined by the Statistics Canada definition for the community (see Appendix C; Statistics Canada 2007d). Although more than half of the communities are cities, all but three have populations putting them in the small town zone⁶ according to Statistics Canada's (2007e) definition; exceptions include Prince George (a smaller metro area⁷ of 70 981 people), which was included for its central involvement in the BC Regional Immigration Initiative, and Lloydminster (a smaller nonmetro city zone⁸ of approximately 23 000 people), which was included for its involvement in Community Integration Planning launched by the Alberta Government (Statistics Canada 2007e). The third exception is the town of Hudson Bay which is defined as predominantly rural⁹ by the Statistics Canada definition (2007e). All of these municipal and regional initiatives reflect efforts to increase immigration. Private immigration initiatives were not included to retain a focus upon publicly-driven efforts.

The focus is upon skilled workers (with the exception of Brooks, which now has an increase of temporary workers in place of a high number of refugees since 1995). Provinces and municipalities have limited control over the settlement of refugees and family class immigrants. Skilled workers are generally the focus of initiatives designed to increase immigration to fill labour market gaps. A possibility for future research would be to investigate the economic benefits created by business class immigrants (investors and entrepreneurs) and business stream provincial nominees immigrating to rural areas.

⁶ Non-metro, less urbanized, having a population between 2 500 and 19 999 people.

⁷ Small metropolitan, having a population between 50 000 and 249 999 people.

⁸ Nonmetro, urbanized, having a population between 20 000 to 49 999 people.

⁹ Nonmetro, rural, having a population of less than 2 500 people.

First, all available information on provincial immigration websites was collected. The main initiatives taken from provincial immigration websites were the provincial nominee programs for the Western provinces. Following ethics approval, short telephone interviews were conducted with program officials to explore characteristics not identified on the websites. These interviews were semi-structured, and the interview questions and informed consent script are attached in Appendices A and B. One possible hindrance to the validity of the research is that interview questions were formed based on the already-available literature, therefore might not be ideal for identifying new and unique characteristics of immigration initiatives. Furthermore, interviews were short and concise in order to make the interview time-efficient for public officials. Lastly, since the data achieved through the interviews was qualitative and subjective, the findings were vulnerable to key informants' biases. Program officials were offered anonymity. Upon concluding each interview, referrals were requested for other immigration initiatives. Interviews spanned from late June to late August 2007.

Some of the municipal initiatives included are not necessarily comprehensive publicly-driven programs designed to bolster immigration; some are included as part of past rural immigration initiatives (see Revelstoke), as examples of successful rural immigration (see Brooks), as programs currently under construction (see Nipawin), and as programs designed to facilitate the settlement of immigrants recruited through private initiatives having a partnership with the provincial immigration branch (see Winkler).

Lastly, the focus of the empirical research was upon attraction of immigrants with less attention given to the quality of settlement programming. Although formal settlement assistance is crucial to the integration and retention of immigrants in rural areas,

government initiatives to increase immigration are often launched hand in hand with settlement services, whereas settlement services are often provided in *all* places where immigrants are settling. Therefore, comparing initiatives designed to *attract* and *recruit* immigrants is likely more demonstrative of efforts to increase immigration where the government would *like* to increase immigration. Retention was used as a measure for integration. It was assumed that a high retention level of immigrants in rural areas reflected that the immigrants were satisfied with the extent to which they were integrated into the economic, social, and political networks of the community. Many immigrants settling in large cities face various forms of social exclusion, and often the only apparent alternative is to return to their homeland, therefore many stay. On the other hand, many immigrants dissatisfied with their circumstances in smaller communities and rural areas move to cities, which is an easier than returning to their homeland. Rural immigrants who *do* choose to stay in smaller communities are likely doing so as they have become successfully integrated and have developed an attachment to the community.

Upon completing the comparison of all initiatives, provincial unemployment levels were looked at to explain the level of investment in each provincial nominee program.

Theoretical Frameworks

The main theoretical perspective applied is the Regional Economic Development (RED) perspective, as well as a variation thereof which focuses upon community development. RED involves members of different communities banding together to identify community needs and challenges shared by all communities. In this case, the communities each define what is needed in terms of immigrant labour, how to recruit immigrants according to these needs, and how to settle and integrate newcomers. Often the solution requires the establishment of a committee to represent the meet the needs of all of the communities while preserving resources. The RED approach focuses on key economic indicators of immigrant integration and suggests that immigrants contribute to the economy and ethnic diversity of rural destinations, while gaining some advantages which may be less accessible in urban locations. The Community Economic Development perspective will focus more so upon the economic development of rural communities as opposed to that of regions or groups of communities (although this will remain a component of the research when investigating regional immigration initiatives). Both the Regional and Community Economic Development perspectives focus on the use of immigrant skills to bolster the economic development of rural areas. It should be noted that immigrant labour cannot revive rural economic stagnation or decline, rather it will be viewed as filling labour shortages where the supply of domestic labour is insufficient. The perspective also highlights the critical importance of the availability of an appropriate job in the immigrants' selection of destination community. Indeed, the destination community must have the *capacity* to adequately employ the individual.

This links to a second perspective focused upon the social and political inclusion of the immigrant in addition to the economic integration. Although economic integration *might* be sufficient for immigrant retention (as suggested by the regional economic development perspective), the “magnets and glue” perspective (a term created by Harvard business professor Rosabeth Moss Kanter) acknowledges the positive effects of social and political inclusion. The perspective suggests that immigrants are initially attracted to a community by “magnets” (which may include economic opportunities, linguistic-, cultural-, and ethnic- groups, family or friends in the community, educational institutions, religious institutions, etc.), and decide to stay in the community as a result of its “glue” (a combination of a variety of factors leading to successful economic, social, and political integration). This perspective takes account for the demographic aspects of the community as well as the resources invested in the complete settlement of the immigrant to improve the chances of their retention.

This is related to the social exclusion perspective which acknowledges the structural inequalities denying particular groups, such as new immigrants, access to social, economic, political and cultural resources which determine full citizenship. Social exclusion refers to the failure of the host society to provide social goods to immigrants such as appropriate accommodation, income security, language services, and programming to deter discrimination (Galabuzi 2004). Aspects of social exclusion include poverty, underemployment and underpayment, and residential segregation, all of which are being combated by rural immigration initiatives. Rural immigration initiatives must take all possible measures to ensure that immigrants are successfully and fully integrated into the economic, social, and political fabric of the receiving community in

order to increase their retention. Immigrants facing obstructions to complete integration are likely to relocate to traditional immigrant-receiving communities where they may continue to be restricted by ongoing social exclusion.

Though dated, E.G. Ravenstein's generalizations about immigration patterns are applicable to current trends in Canadian immigration. Ravenstein's law of movement, or gravity model (1885 and 1889), summarizes the complex set of factors affecting immigration by stating simply that immigrants tend to migrate to areas where earlier immigrants have settled. This trend is both a challenge to and tool for rural immigration. While rural communities cannot compete with the appeal of ethnic communities found in cities, many municipalities can bolster immigration by recruiting immigrants from an ethnic group similar to that already-existing in the community. This may be a challenge for communities lacking a specific ethnic, cultural, or linguistic group. This demonstrates both the challenge of combating the law of movement to traditional immigrant destinations, as well as its utility to establish a flow of immigrants to rural areas.

An Introduction to Immigration Initiatives of the Western Provinces

Recent Efforts to Promote Rural Immigration

It is important to remember that immigration to rural areas is *not* a new or recent phenomenon, as mentioned previously. However, the face of rural immigration has recently changed with the growing concern for disproportionate settlement in Canada's three gateway cities (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver). As summarized by Ravenstein's law of movement, immigrants are much more likely to immigrate to locations where immigrants have settled in the past. Furthermore, these cities now have established ethnic, cultural, and linguistic groups able to provide settlement support to immigrants from almost anywhere in the world. Now the emphasis is to attract immigrants to rural areas (away from traditional destination cities), *as well as* to provide adequate settlement support to ensure their integration, inclusion, and retention. While settlement services are readily available in large cities, many smaller cities and towns are just now establishing programs to facilitate immigrants' settlement and integration. The most recent rural immigration initiatives are driven by municipal, provincial, and national governments to tie promotion and recruitment more closely to settlement support.

Rural immigration activities of this sort emerged just one decade ago. A number of communities in Manitoba established immigration initiatives in the late 1990's and early 2000's, and were generally ahead of similar movements in other provinces. This is parallel to the "jump start" of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. Winkler's settlement agency was established in an official capacity in 1998 (Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services 2007), while Steinbach's settlement agency was established just two years later (Shukla 2007). Portage la Prairie established a

collaborative initiative between its settlement agency and recruitment team in 2004 (Official, Portage la Prairie International Committee and Portage la Prairie International Agency 2007) and the program in the Swan Valley followed in 2005 (Mullett 2007).

Meanwhile, the BC Regional Immigration Initiative was launched as a pilot project in 2004 and concluded in 2005 with little follow-up. It was in 2007 that Prince George joined forces with Kelowna and Kamloops using the findings of the BC Regional Immigration Initiative's investigative research as a guide to increase immigration (Bhat 2007). The Prince George-Kelowna-Kamloops initiative, which doesn't have an official title as of yet, is one of eight initiatives investigated in this report which were established in 2006 and 2007 (see Appendix C). Several of these initiatives are still in the planning stages. For example, the Southeast Community Settlement Committee is currently in the process of approaching surrounding communities, employers, and recent immigrants to determine the communities' needs and the needs of future immigrants (Ernst 2007).

Although planning and implementation for a number of these communities are in the initial stages, the effects of such programs might confirm the potential success of rural immigration that the earlier Manitoba initiatives have achieved. Furthermore, these initiatives may become models for future programs aiming to increase rural immigration. For example, the apprenticeship program launched by the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT) in collaboration with the town of Fairview and the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers will start its first cohort of students this September (McGuire 2007). This an educational program aiming to give immigrants Canadian certification and to promote immigrants' settlement in rural areas (McGuire 2007).

Pending its success, the program has the potential to be used as a model for similar programs across Canada (McGuire 2007).

Municipally and Regionally Driven Immigration Initiatives;

Benefits and Challenges of Each

Most programs use the same means to achieve a higher level of immigration; they are designed to boost the capacity to integrate immigrants within the receiving community as well as increase awareness of the initiative, both abroad and domestically. However, there is one distinction which should be noted. While some programs are designed and operated by a single community (municipally or community-driven immigration initiatives), others are designed and operated by a group of communities in a defined region (regional immigration initiatives). The benefit of a municipally or community-driven immigration initiative is that the community can tailor the program to specifically meet its needs given its limitations and abilities. Most of the initiatives examined in Appendices C, D, and E are driven by independent communities.

On the other hand, municipal programs require sufficient resources to operate, and some communities lack the necessary financial and social support. Alan Mason (Director of Community Economic Development for Revelstoke's Economic Development Commission) recommended that bodies or organizations be established to provide immigration services and communication on a regular basis to a group of communities under its jurisdiction (2007). Mason (2007) reported that independent communities require greater resources than they are able to access. This likely reflects the situation in Revelstoke which was revealed upon the town's participation in the BC Regional Immigration Initiative. Of the eight communities involved in the BC Regional

Immigration Initiative, only Prince George followed through with a regional immigration strategy in collaboration with Kamloops and Kelowna (neither of which were involved in the BC Regional Immigration Initiative) (Bhat 2007). Several communities in the Swan Valley, Manitoba have also formed a regionalized initiative (Mullett 2007) as well as a number of towns in Southeast Saskatchewan (Ernst 2007).

Some municipally driven initiatives benefit surrounding communities as well. For example, South Central Settlement and Employment Services in Winkler also serves immigrants in nearby Altona (40 km East of Winkler) and Morden (13 km West of Winkler) (Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services 2007). Similarly, the Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program provides services to immigrants arriving to Steinbach's surrounding rural areas (Shukla 2007). As previously mentioned, most of the initiatives investigated are municipally driven, which may indicate sufficient financial, social, and political support from the community. The level of community and/or regional organization appears to make a difference in the success achieved by the initiative. The majority of municipal programs outlined in Appendices C, D, and E are employing a few critical methods which have only emerged in the past decade. In this short period of time, these methods have met considerable success.

What Communities Can Do to Increase Successful Immigration;

Realizing the Complexity of Program Design

There is a complex network of organizations, stakeholders, and related bodies which communities can access to bolster the attraction, integration and retention of immigrants. Communities investigating the needs to launch initiatives “require resources beyond an immigration context to create a framework for sustainable growth through immigration (ie: housing, transportation and infrastructure, access to healthcare, education, etc)” (Government of British Columbia 2007b: 1). These supporting bodies vary in their purpose, level of importance (depending on the nature of the initiative), and the source of their design and funding (private and public; federal/national, provincial, and municipal), however, most appear to be driven by the provincial government. To further complicate the cause-effect relationship between initiatives and rural immigration, supporting bodies can affect immigration both directly and indirectly.

Accessibility of Resources Providing Information on Immigration

First and foremost, communities must have a solid understanding of the economy, labour market needs, their capacity for immigrants, and methods with which to attract and integrate them. This information is often a product of public and private research projects. One such example was launched in January 2007. The Rural Secretariat, CIC/Metropolis Foundation, and the University of Northern British Columbia struck a partnership to research regional immigration focusing specifically upon the regions outside of British Columbia’s Lower Mainland (Government of British Columbia 2007b). The project is currently gaining a better understanding of the situation in British Columbia, and determining the needs of communities and immigrants.

Furthermore, information about immigration resources should be publicly available and easily accessible to interested communities and employers. British Columbia's Overview of Regionalization Initiatives reported that the first challenge faced by stakeholders and community leaders was the "labyrinth of on-line immigration-related information" (2007b: 2). Consequently, a comprehensive online *Directory of Immigration Resources* was created in March 2006 in order to provide one-stop access to information about all federal, provincial, and municipal immigration programs and services (Government of British Columbia 2007b).

Provision of Settlement Assistance to Rural Immigrants

Once the community has determined to recruit immigrants, the first and most necessary step is to ensure that there is some form of settlement assistance. Providing settlement assistance, on both a formal and informal basis, is crucial to retaining immigrants in the receiving communities. The British Columbia and Manitoba provincial governments, which are the only provinces in Western Canada responsible for the delivery of settlement services, subscribe a significant portion of provincial immigration spending to such integration and settlement programs. One such allotment of funding, called Welcome BC, was announced June 2007 (Lax 2007). The Government of British Columbia will invest \$43 million over 2 years into settlement and integration services (Lax 2007). Alberta and Saskatchewan also provide settlement assistance, although their settlement programming is designed, funded, and delivered by the federal government.

Provision of settlement assistance is closely related to having the community's support on board as the provision of settlement services can be costly to municipalities. Often, communities must form an immigration committee of some sort which can

demonstrate the community's need for an Immigration Settlement Agency which requires voluntary contributions of the community. Furthermore, the community requires employees to run the settlement agency. Some communities have succeeded in providing assistance *without* establishing an Immigrant Settlement Agency per se. For example, in Hudson Bay, community members have donated furniture and household accessories to furnish trailers for incoming immigrant families (Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee 2007). In Tisdale, the community has contributed on a volunteer basis in forming the Tisdale Immigration Committee (Zazula 2007). However, it is possible in the case of Tisdale that the retention rate could be significantly increased by establishing settlement assistance in a more official capacity.

One interesting feature of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology apprenticeship program is that immigrants are *referred* to the program *by* a settlement agency in Edmonton (Currie 2007; McGuire 2007). The Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers has determined that these immigrants have sufficient language skills to study in a Canadian educational institution and work for Canadian employers. Therefore, some of the main services provided by Immigrant Settlement Agencies have already been achieved before the immigrants' recruitment to the program. However, the program provides appropriate housing, waives the application fees, and defers the tuition and residence fees, demonstrating a high level of organization and financial support many Immigrant Settlement Agencies cannot provide. As a side note, this program is also doing what few programs have aimed to do; it is recruiting underemployed immigrants from *within* Canada. This is not a perfect solution to curbing the burden felt by overwhelmed settlement agencies in traditional immigrant-receiving cities. That is because immigrants

are likely to seek settlement support soon after their arrival to Canada, and are more likely to move only when they have determined that their options in the city are truly limited. However, these initiatives *do* benefit the underemployed immigrant (as well as his or her family), and of course, benefit the employer and the receiving community.

A final feature of the NAIT program which deserves attention is its incorporation and collaboration of multiple stakeholders. This program involves the town of Fairview, the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers, the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology, employers in Fairview and its surrounding communities, and a source of funding. This demonstrates the complexity of immigration programs to rural locations. The success of initiatives is likely improved by the incorporation of multiple stakeholders, directly and indirectly related to immigration, in the public and private sector, on a national, provincial, and municipal level, which contribute to the successful attraction, integration, and retention of immigrants.

The Importance of Creating a Welcoming Community

While the community's support is important for the provision of settlement assistance, its support is also integral in a number of areas which aren't directly related to immigration, but contribute to the success of the immigration initiative. The successful integration of all family members into the education system, the labour market, and the social network of the community is key to the retention of immigrants. Because immigrants' feelings of acceptance largely depend upon their full integration into the social and political fabric of the community, the extent to which immigrants are welcomed into all facets of the community has significant effects. An official of South Central Settlement and Employment Services in Winkler reported that the "feeling of

community” is closely related to the integration of families (2007). Communities such as Lloydminster and Tisdale have family nights and “welcome” barbecues to bolster community participation in immigration initiatives and to facilitate a sense of belonging for newcomers (Tenney 2007; Zazula 2007).

Community support is very important to make newcomers feel welcome. For example, the town of Fairview (“very white Anglo Saxon”; McGuire 2007) has made excellent efforts to support the apprenticeship program at the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology. A bus tour to the community was arranged (bringing immigrants interested in the program from Edmonton) which reportedly bolstered their interest in the community (Currie 2007). Fran McGuire (2007) of the Northern Alberta Institute of Technology reported that a number of the immigrants visiting during the bus tour stated that “they felt more welcome in Fairview than anywhere else since they arrived in Canada”. Enthusiasm shown by community members appears able to overcome the lack of already-established ethnic groups.

Furthermore, a certain level of community support is required to launch municipal initiatives. The town of Vegreville, Alberta was one of six communities involved in a provincial strategy called Community Integration Planning designed to work with interested municipalities to make them more attractive to immigrants (Woo 2007). According to the mayor of Vegreville, Dr. Richard Coleman (2007), “Some of the industries in the town are interested in increasing immigration while the municipality itself, no. So far, there has been no push to hire immigrants” (Coleman 2007). Coleman suspects that a push by employers themselves would be more effective than if done by the municipality. This hypothesis is somewhat contradictory, but illustrates the

importance of having the community on board to facilitate the integration of immigrants recruited by private businesses. A number of communities are actively engaged in the consultation determining immigrant services, which is why so many initiatives are driven by municipal governments and have a high level of involvement with provincial governments.

Ensuring the Support of the Community and its Agents; Boosting Capacity

Many communities require assistance bolstering the social and/or economic capacity for immigrants. Socially, this means ensuring that the community is receptive to diverse populations, and supportive of the immigration initiative. This approach is being taken by the Government of Saskatchewan through its \$1 million Saskatchewan Community Capacity Building Fund. This fund is available to community groups to coordinate and mobilize volunteers to assist with immigration settlement (Kilby 2007). This shows the delineation of responsibility and funding to municipalities in order to more accurately meet the communities' needs given local resource constraints. Furthermore, organizations such as the Alberta Urban Municipalities Association (AUMA) and the Canadian Coalition of Municipalities Against Racism and Discrimination are working towards providing interested communities with the information on how to increase the communities' inclusiveness. For example, AUMA created a *Welcoming and Inclusive Communities Toolkit* in March 2006 and will be conducting an assessment at the end of 2007 to determine the use of these tools (Bocock 2007). Although this toolkit is not designed specifically for rural communities, its benefits may be equally felt by urban and rural communities alike.

There are a number of toolkits which include information on increasing social capacity *as well as* increasing economic capacity for immigrants. These toolkits are supplied by private, federal, provincial, and municipal organizations. Examples include AUMA's *Attracting and Retaining Immigrants Toolbox* and CIC's 2005 *Toolbox of Ideas for Smaller Centres* (to be re-released September 2007 with British Columbia-specific content) (Bocock 2007; Government of British Columbia 2007b). Saskatchewan and Manitoba communities seeking partnership with each provincial immigration branch via the Saskatchewan Community Settlement Plan Applications and Manitoba Partners must undergo application processes ensuring that they meet the programs' criteria which run parallel to criteria outlined in these toolkits (Government of Saskatchewan 2007; Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007). Lastly, on a municipal level, Powell River, British Columbia is marketing an information kit developed through its collaborative initiative (Economic Developers Association of British Columbia and Linx BC) (Randolph 2007).

Funding for Rural Development

In the case of the Powell River initiative and information kit, the main goal of the driving organizations is the economic development of regions and communities. Economic development remains a driving force of immigration. Subsequently, a number of economic development initiatives such as the Economic Developers Association of British Columbia, Linx BC, and British Columbia's Community Futures Development Association (which works in conjunction with the British Columbia Chamber of Commerce) are supportive of increasing immigration as well as migration from within Canada to areas in need of workers (Randolph 2007; Ray 2007).

Funding and support towards rural development boosts the rural economy, thereby increasing rural areas' need and capability for increasing immigration. Funding initiatives such as the Alberta Rural Development Strategy and the regional funding distributed throughout British Columbia (for example, the Northern Development Initiative Trust) are designed to give communities the ability to generate and sustain economic growth and job creation (Alberta Government 2007a; Lax 2007). Since rural labour pools are limited, many of these initiatives will turn to immigrants to fill labour market gaps if the available domestic labour is not sufficient.

Establishing Partnerships with Industries and Employers

Upon exhausting the domestic labour pool, many employers needing workers go through recruitment agencies or go on recruitment missions themselves in order to locate immigrant workers. For example, there are as many as six private recruitment agencies in Lloydminster recruiting foreign workers, and there are also recruitment agencies in Winkler through which businesses recruit foreign workers (Tenney 2007; Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services 2007). Furthermore, some businesses do the recruiting themselves. The McDonalds in Lloydminster launched a recruitment mission in Guatemala (Tenney 2007), and owners of welding companies in Hudson Bay and Tisdale, Saskatchewan went on separate recruitment missions in the Ukraine (Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee 2007; Zazula 2007).

Even *industries* have taken measures to increase immigration to areas where it is needed. In fact, the British Columbia immigration branch was approached in April 2006 by the Ministry of Energy, Mines, and Petroleum Resources (EMPR) with hopes of striking a partnership with Northeastern British Columbia (Government of British

Columbia 2007b). EMPR works closely with businesses in the industries and aims to maximize the growth of the sector through immigration (Government of British Columbia 2007b). However, despite ongoing labour shortages, communities in Northeastern British Columbia require additional community supports to ensure retention (Government of British Columbia 2007b). According to Asha Bhat (2007), “At the end of the day, these initiatives must be locally-driven”.

Although private recruitment initiatives have been successful in recruiting workers to Canada, their success in terms of retention is less certain. For instance, the Tisdale welding recruitment initiative has lost all but 14 or 15 of its original 42 immigrants, namely to Alberta and British Columbia where higher wages are a major draw for skilled immigrants and Canadian-born alike (Zazula 2007). The Tisdale Immigration Committee is currently seeking a person to coordinate settlement services for future immigrants, which will likely increase the level of immigrant integration, providing a “stronger glue” keeping the immigrant in the community (Zazula 2007). This returns us to the importance of adequate settlement support. Again, we are drawn to the benefits of collaboration with the municipal, provincial, and federal government to ensure that all aspects affecting successful rural immigration are taken under consideration.

Credential Assessment

Employers and industries also benefit from government programming by making use of credential assessment and credential recognition programs. Many programs and research initiatives are designed to increase awareness for the lack of credential recognition and subsequent underemployment faced by immigrants in Canada. For example, the BC Internationally Trained Professionals Network is designed to provide

internationally trained professionals throughout British Columbia's Lower Mainland with the opportunity to voice the issues and needs of immigrants with international professional credentials (BC Internationally Trained Professionals Network 2007). Other programs aim to minimize human capital waste by increasing employers' and industries' knowledge about foreign credentials. The National Construction Industry Foreign Credential Recognition Conference in October 2006 is one such activity (Government of British Columbia 2007b). Similarly, Health Match BC and the Alberta Rural Physician Action Plan would likely streamline the credential recognition process for health professionals destined for these provinces. Health Match BC processes all applications to the BC Provincial Nominee Program's Health Professionals stream (Government of British Columbia 2007a). It reviews submissions for accuracy and completeness, provides guidance to applicants until the documentation is complete, and then forwards the applications to the Ministry (Adamchuk 2007). The Alberta Rural Physician Action Plan, which does *not* specifically target international physicians or graduates, aims to increase the pool of potential health professionals for rural communities (Kay 2007). In doing so, the program inevitably oversees the recruitment of a number of internationally-educated health professionals (as the pool in Canada is limited) (Kay 2007). Therefore, it is likely that the program has established a solid knowledge of foreign credentials in the health sector. Although credential recognition requires additional resources, the gains in human capital surpass the costs (see e.g. Alboim 2002).

Targeting Immigrant Groups

While it is critical to create the means by which immigrants are able to achieve successful economic, social, and political integration (and an environment conducive of

doing so), there is another approach which also affects the success of rural immigration initiatives: strategic recruitment practices. In determining where, how, and who to recruit, private and public initiatives alike can target specific immigrant groups to increase immigrant integration and retention. Due to resource constraints, a number of communities have targeted English-speaking immigrants in recruitment practices. Some of these communities do not have language education programs for immigrants, while other communities have limited language education programs, and may not be able to provide workplace-specific language programs. Veronica Zazula (2007) of Tisdale, Saskatchewan reported that “English language is a huge factor—hard to overcome”. This may contribute to the low retention level of immigrants to Tisdale. In order to increase immigration without increasing the resources required for language programming, Powell River, Revelstoke, Portage la Prairie, and Steinbach are all recruiting from the United Kingdom through job fairs and recruitment missions (Randolph 2007; Mason 2007; Official, Portage la Prairie International Committee and Portage la Prairie International Agency 2007; Shukla 2007). However, it should be noted that some communities have benefited from targeting *non*-English-speaking immigrants from specific ethnic groups.

In an effort to recruit immigrants who will put down their roots, a number of municipal initiatives have targeted immigrants having a similar ethnic background to that of an already-established ethnic group within the community. Furthermore, upon establishing a flow of immigration from a specific region or country, many rural communities have benefited significantly from “word of mouth” recruitment—that is, by immigrants recommending to their friends and family in their country of origin to immigrate to the community in which they have now made their home. This contributes

to Ravenstein's law of movement explanation for immigration patterns. In Manitoba, the Swan Valley and Winkler initiatives both recruit from Germany as there are German-Canadians within these communities, thereby making the integration process easier for German immigrants (Mullett 2007; Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services 2007). Additionally, the Steinbach initiative is considering the recruitment of engineers from Germany (Shukla 2007). Immigrants from Germany speak High German, which is very similar to the Low German spoken by ethnic Mennonites in Southeast Manitoba (Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services 2007).

Some private recruitment activities have made use of the same method. For example, the owner of a welding business in the town of Hudson Bay, Saskatchewan recruited welders from the Ukraine (Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee 2007). This was convenient in two ways; first, there was an oversupply of welders in the Ukraine, making it a good source for recruitment; and second, the town of Hudson Bay has a thriving Ukrainian-Canadian population, as well as a Ukrainian Catholic church and Greek Orthodox church (Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee 2007). Similarly, the Filipina president of a recruiting company in Lloydminster, Alberta initially recruited Filipina live-in caregivers, and has since expanded to recruiting a variety of workers from the Philippines (Tenney 2007). These small towns and cities are essentially promoting their ethnic communities, just as ethnic groups of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver have drawn immigrants to those cities.

On the other hand, this may not be a possible promotional feature for some municipalities. Alan Mason of the Revelstoke Economic Development Commission (2007) reported that the city of Revelstoke was unable to put to use this recommendation

from the BC Regional Immigration Initiative: “What we got from the consult is that we need ethnic groups to attract immigrants. But there are no significant ethnic groups—so who do we promote to?” Although this poses a challenge to locating immigrants who will make themselves at home permanently in the receiving rural community, there are other promotional tactics which may be of use, such as the promotion of families.

Recruiting families to rural areas contributes to immigrant retention as families are more likely than single immigrants to get involved in the community and put down their roots. A number of municipal initiatives have expressed and demonstrated the advantages of recruiting families. An official of the Portage la Prairie International Agency and Portage la Prairie International Committee (2007) explained this strategy: “Although we have not targeted a certain group, we are targeting skilled workers with families so that they put down roots in our community and will remain”. This was the goal of the private recruitment initiative for welders in Hudson Bay (Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee 2007). In fact, large immigrant families (having between eight and twelve children) are so common in Steinbach that immigrant retention is measured by school enrolment (Shukla 2007). An interesting variation of this trend occurred in Revelstoke where three or four Korean families moved to the town after the *children* of the family attended the language programs at the local community college. The children learnt of the program after their parents, generally Korean businessmen, took an interest in Revelstoke’s technologically-advanced water filtration plant.

The success of family immigration may be a result of factors in the source country as well. Asha Bhat (2007) of British Columbia’s immigration branch explained that a large proportion of French (France) immigrants coming into Kelowna (as result of the

regionalization initiative's recruitment activities) are young families. According to Bhat, "At age 35 to 40, their career is limited in France, and they want to bring their family to Canada". Surprisingly, none of the officials of the initiatives interviewed expressed the efforts taken to ensure that *both* spouses are appropriately employed, which reportedly contributes to a higher level of retention (Walker 2005).

Means for Bringing in Immigrants

Upon locating interested immigrants and creating supportive and welcoming communities, rural initiatives can use one of two immigration programs to efficiently complete the immigration process: The temporary foreign worker program, and the provincial nominee program. The temporary foreign worker program allows employers to hire foreign workers who apply for a work permit (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2007). Employers must first receive a positive labour market opinion (LMO), which confirms that a foreign worker can fill the job without posing any threat to Canada (Human Resources and Social Development Canada 2007). The temporary foreign worker program has been criticized for its social exclusion of immigrants; temporary foreign workers contribute to the Canadian economy, but must apply for permanent residency if they should choose to stay beyond the term of their work permit, and could be rejected for immigration (although unlikely) (Keung 2006).

On the other hand, the provincial nominee program accepts its nominees as permanent residents who may apply for Canadian citizenship after three years living in Canada (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007). Like the temporary foreign worker program, the provincial nominee program fills labour market gaps in a timely fashion, however, it encourages immigrants to establish themselves and put down their roots in

Canadian communities. An important feature of the provincial nominee program worth noting is that the skilled (and semi-skilled in the case of Alberta) worker stream can be used by temporary workers looking to immigrate to Canada permanently. In fact, the provincial nominee program is promoted through the Alberta Foreign Worker Hotline (for temporary foreign workers already in Alberta), and through “How to Hire Foreign Workers” seminars (Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program 2007). Potential nominees must have the job for which they are applying for six months prior to their application. The provincial nominee program has gained greater use by participating provinces since its creation, although continues to account for a rather small proportion of immigrants outside of Manitoba. Despite its minimal use, the program fills labour market gaps effectively and efficiently with immigrant labour as it is provincially-driven and therefore, more closely tied to the specific needs and challenges of communities.

Comparing Provincial Nominee Programs of the Western Provinces

Indeed, many of the municipal and regional initiatives are coming to have a high level of involvement and use of the provincial nominee program; Manitoba's "Partner" communities and Saskatchewan's "Community Settlement Plan" communities have direct partnership with each province's provincial nominee program (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007; Kilby 2007); and Asha Bhat (2007), manager of Strategic Initiatives in British Columbia's immigration branch reports "very close partnership with our provincial nominee program". This appears to contribute significantly to rural immigration. For example, only 13% of Manitoba's immigrants (excluding provincial nominees) in 2006 chose rural locations compared to 30% of its provincial nominees (Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007). Given the benefits of community and regional development realized by Western Canada's provincial nominee programs, a comparison of the four programs highlights the resources and organization that some provinces have devoted to rural immigration.

While the basic components of all four programs are the same, the programs vary in terms of their flexibility as well as the spectrum of methods used to fill provincial labour market shortages. Using publicly available information (CIC data and provincial nominee program websites), the maturity of the programs were compared, as well as the types of streams used by each program to fill specific labour market gaps. Other structural aspects investigated were programs' partnerships with communities, the level of support demanded of employers, and the programs' referral to credential recognition bodies. These features demonstrate some structural similarities and differences between the programs. Following a comparison of structural features, data taken from interviews

was used to compare the provincial nominee programs' promotional and recruitment activities (which is not structural but demonstrates variation among the programs), and the settlement patterns and retention levels of nominees within the province. The latter two comparisons were used to determine the varying levels of success of the programs.

Varying Levels of Maturity

A number of structural differences may highlight the varying levels of success met by each program. Manitoba has seen the greatest level of utility of its provincial nominee program, in part due to its “jump start”; the first nominees were accepted in 1998 compared to 2000 for British Columbia and Saskatchewan and 2002 for Alberta (see Appendix F; Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007; Official, BC Provincial Nominee Program 2007; Official, Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program 2007; Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program 2007). However, the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program *continues* to nominate the highest number of immigrants each year of all provincial nominee programs, an achievement attributable to the flexibility of the program demands and effective marketing (Official of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007; Official of the BC Provincial Nominee Program 2007; Official of the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program 2007; Official of the Alberta Provincial Nominee Program 2007).

Provincial Nominee Program Streams:

Determining Inclusiveness and Efficiently Filling Specific Labour Market Gaps

A second structural difference, the types of streams through which potential nominees apply, is indicative of the inclusiveness and broadness of each provincial nominee program. All applicants apply through a “stream” which defines their experience

and employment expectations upon arrival in Canada. For example, the International Graduate Stream facilitates the permanent immigration of nominees who have graduated from a Canadian educational institution and have a job offer in Canada. All programs in Western Canada have an International Graduate Stream, a Skilled Worker Stream (for nominees who have achieved the necessary accreditation and licensure and have a job offer in an occupation falling under levels 0, A, and B of the National Occupation Classification Code), and a variation of a Business/Entrepreneur Stream (for which the applicant must have a business plan and meet the minimum investment and personal net worth). These streams are often tailored to the economy and labour force characteristics of the province. For example, the Alberta Provincial Nominee Program allows potential nominees to apply under the Semi-skilled Worker Category which includes job offers for occupations in the National Occupation Classification skill levels C and D, such as bakers, industrial butchers, and truck drivers (Alberta Government 2007b). Furthermore, the Manitoba program makes no specifications for the skill levels of nominees under the Employer-Direct (skilled worker) Stream. This reflects the provincial nominee programs' ability to answer to varying skills shortages. Similarly, the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program includes the Long Haul Truck Drivers Stream and the Farm Owners and Operators Stream to more appropriately fill gaps in the labour market (Government of Saskatchewan 2007). While national immigration policy tends to prioritize highly educated and highly skilled immigrants (in order to better the chances of immigrants "making it" in Canadian society), the provincial nominee program facilitates the immigration of workers in lower-skill jobs when necessary. Since immigrants accept job offers before applying to the program, this demonstrates that they are prepared and eager

to work in the given occupation, whatever it may be. This facilitates the immigration of nominees having skills which match gaps in the labour market, thereby minimizing the waste of human capital.

On the other hand, some provinces include streams to target specific *high-skill* labour shortages; for example, Saskatchewan and British Columbia's programs include streams for health professionals (Government of Saskatchewan 2007; Government of British Columbia 2007a). Specific streams may help potential nominees identify specific labour market gaps for which they may or may not be qualified, or alternately, specific streams may not adequately represent *all* shortages in the province's labour market. Therefore, the provincial nominee program may not be the most appropriate tool to fill semi- and low- skilled labour market shortages. However, the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program has taken measures to make the program more flexible, potentially allowing the provincial nominee program to fill *all* potential labour market gaps.

The most distinct difference between the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program and the programs in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, is that the Manitoba program includes streams under which the applicant does *not* need to have a job secured in Canada. Potential nominees applying under the Family Support Stream, the Community Support Stream, and the General Stream (not given priority) first need to prove that they have viable support (provided by a close relative in Manitoba, or a community or organization which has signed a Community Support Agreement with the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program; Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007). The nominee must also meet the age, language, and employability requirements defined by the stream's criteria (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007). This allows immigrants to

settle in Manitoba where they already have social ties who can provide settlement assistance, which is a significant factor when determining immigrants' destination.

Community Capacity for Support

The Family Support Stream and Community Support Stream demonstrate the benefit of having social support within the community which contributes to the provincial nominee program's high level of retention. However, it is important to acknowledge that the extent to which the community is able to provide support is determined by its capacity. The Saskatchewan and Manitoba provincial nominee programs recognize the importance of the community's capacity in terms of its engagement, involvement, and inclusiveness. Both programs have partnered with communities in order to increase their receptivity of immigrants. Saskatchewan's Community Settlement Plan Applications allows communities who have established a Community Immigration Committee (which represents a formal relationship between the community and the provincial immigration branch) to bolster their immigration through the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (Kilby 2007). Upon approval of a Community Settlement Plan Application, employers within the area can be guaranteed that immigrants that they nominate will receive "community support points" on their assessment rating required of applicants to the Skilled Workers Stream, thus bettering their chances of approval (Kilby 2007). Similarly, several Manitoba communities and organizations have struck a partnership with the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program allowing these communities and organizations to nominate immigrants through the Community Support Stream (as previously mentioned) (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007). An official of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (2007) reported of the list of communities

already receiving nominees that “More communities are added once they are ‘ready’; readiness is based on stakeholders’ employees readiness and preparation, and the availability of settlement support”. This demonstrates the importance of the community’s capacity. The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program website also provides a “toolkit” to communities intending to increase their capacity and inclusiveness for immigrants.

Employer Support

Parallel to community support, often employers involved with the provincial nominee program take responsibility for ensuring a smooth integration process by providing additional settlement assistance. Information about supplementary settlement supports can be found in Appendix H. Larger-scale employers in British Columbia often provide extra settlement assistance to nominees, and Alberta employers are expected to provide ESL classes and additional settlement supports (Official, BC Provincial Nominee Program 2007; Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program 2007). Furthermore, employers of semi-skilled workers in Alberta are responsible for ensuring that suitable and affordable accommodations are available (Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program 2007). The Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program stipulates that employers nominating immigrants through the employer-direct stream must be able to prove to program officials that they can and will provide *additional* settlement supports to nominees, and/or have the support of the local community (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007). This demonstrates the overlap and interdependence between private enterprises and the community initiative.

Gaining Licensure and Accreditation

A final structural feature of the provincial nominee program which deserves recognition is its demand for credential recognition, yet the program acts as a referring agent, thereby preserving the program's resources. While non-recognition of education and credentials and subsequent unemployment plagues immigrants across the country, the provincial nominee program stipulates that nominees gain the appropriate accreditation and licensure prior to their acceptance to the program. All provincial nominee programs in Western Canada provide information on accreditation requirements for potential nominees; the BC Provincial Nominee Program provides a link on its website to *Work Destinations*, which provides comprehensive information on regulated occupations in British Columbia and Canada, as well as a link to Health Match BC which provides information on credential requirements for health professions (Government of British Columbia 2007a); the Alberta Provincial Nominee Program provides information on the International Qualifications Assessment Service (IQAS) which assesses credentials obtained in the nominee's country of origin in order to help individuals obtain recognition of foreign education, licensure, and employment experience (Alberta Government 2007b); the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program, like British Columbia's, provides a link to *Work Destinations*, as well as the appropriate licensing bodies for health professions (Government of Saskatchewan 2007); and finally, the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program provides a *High Demand Occupation List* which summarizes the occupations for which specific licensing or accreditation is required (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007). Employers must guarantee that the nominee has the necessary licensure prior to submitting their application.

Recruitment and Promotion Activities

It should be noted that many of the communities and employers which nominate immigrants do not have a formal partnership with a provincial nominee program. While the British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Manitoba programs have established partnerships in a formal capacity (Bhat 2007; Kilby 2007; Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2007; Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007), many communities and employers independently recruit workers abroad (see the first column of Appendix D), and refer potential immigrants to the provincial nominee program.

As an example of partnership with the provincial nominee program in a more official capacity, the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program promotes communities as well as the province and the program when recruiting abroad (Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007). Municipal programs and initiatives such as the Portage la Prairie International Committee, the Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program, and the Swan Valley Investment Attraction Program provide up-to-date information booklets and brochures to Manitoba Labour and Immigration, who distribute the information during overseas trade shows and immigration missions (Official, Portage la Prairie International Committee 2007; Shukla 2007; Mullett 2007; Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007). Potential immigrants are then referred to Manitoba employers and communities, and once an appropriate fit is established, both parties apply to the program. This allows the provincial government a greater hand in recruiting appropriate nominees (nominees which can demonstrate their intention to settle in the receiving province permanently and who will be suitably employed) while preserving resources for the municipal organizations.

The recruitment and promotional activities of the four provincial nominee programs in Western Canada appear to be very similar (see Appendix G). Trade shows and immigration missions are the most common methods of promoting the programs abroad. According to an official of the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program (2007), “Recruiting workers overseas is used to promote Saskatchewan, identify sources of skilled workers, and increase applications to the province”. Domestic promotion includes outreach activities to Canadian organizations, institutions, and communities to promote the programs within each province.

It should be noted that the nature of recruitment and promotional activities abroad is likely determined by both the quality of education and credentials of the source country, as well as the ethnic, linguistic, and cultural character of the immigrant-receiving community. For instance, the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program reported to promote the program in France, Belgium, and Northern Africa in order to recruit French-speaking nominees (see Appendix G; Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007). This has dual benefits; firstly, presumably this helps preserve the language in the French-Canadian communities of rural Manitoba; and secondly, the French-speaking nominees likely require little or no language assistance, thereby increasing the ease with which the nominees integrate into the community.

This method was tested during the initial phases of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program. An immigration consultant recommended the recruitment of Russian- and German- Mennonites to “fit in” with the rural communities in the Southwest corner of the province, and this has since become a trend, thus minimizing the social exclusion of immigrants (see Appendix H; Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program 2007).

According to an official of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (2007), “word of mouth” referrals have a significant effect upon the promotion of the program, and “[the effect of] family members is huge”. Although both the destination communities and immigrants’ source countries have since grown more diverse in Manitoba, it is likely that recruiting immigrants that are ethnically- and/or linguistically- similar to the inhabitants of the community has initiated and strengthened the flow of immigrants into smaller communities. The other provincial nominee programs appear to be trying to establish the same success by the same means. Furthermore, because there is arguably an increasing level of similarity in terms of ethnic character *among* the four provinces, naturally, there will be overlap between the areas from which immigrants are recruited.

Patterns in the Settlement of Provincial Nominees

However, despite the similarities in terms of the recruitment and promotional activities and the growing ethnic diversity of each province, there are differences between the four provincial nominee programs which may reflect each program’s drive for rural immigration. A significant limitation of this comparison is that only the Saskatchewan and Manitoba provincial nominee programs were able to provide a breakdown of nominees by destination community in one year. The BC and Alberta provincial nominee programs did not track the nominees’ destinations by community, but did keep track of how many nominees settled *outside* of the main urban destinations since each program was created (see Appendix F). While as much as 70% of BC nominees were destined to communities outside of the Greater Vancouver Area (Official, BC Provincial Nominee Program 2007), many of these nominees may be settling in Victoria, Kelowna, Kamloops, or Nanaimo, all of which are cities having over 75 000 people (Statistics

Canada 2007d). Similarly, the Official of the Alberta Provincial Nominee Program (2007) reported that 44% of nominees settled outside of Calgary and Edmonton. There is no record separating the nominees who settled in communities such as Fairview (having 3 297 people) and nominees who settled in Red Deer, Lethbridge, or Medicine Hat (all having populations greater than 50 000 people) (Statistics Canada 2007d).

For the purpose of achieving as fair a comparison as possible, the proportion of nominees who settled outside of the two largest cities in each Saskatchewan and Manitoba were also calculated. In Saskatchewan, the two largest cities (Saskatoon and Regina) absorbed 65% of the province's nominees, leaving 35% destined for smaller cities, towns and rural locations in 2006 (Official, Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program 2007). In Manitoba, the two largest cities (Winnipeg and Brandon, although Brandon is much smaller than Winnipeg) absorbed 71% of the province's nominees, leaving only 29% destined for smaller cities, towns, and rural locations in 2005 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006). Using these statistics to compare the level of rural immigration achieved by each program, it would appear as though the Manitoba program has the lowest level of investment in the rural immigration initiative of the four Western provinces while the British Columbia program has lent the greatest level of support to rural immigration. However, these tools for comparison are quite rudimentary, therefore such conclusions should be taken with extreme caution. Perhaps a greater reflection of the potential utility of the provincial nominee program is the observation of the breakdown of nominees by community.

Although the majority of nominees settled in Saskatoon and Regina, the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program has succeeded in directing immigrants to

tiny communities, presented in Appendix F, such as Leroy (population 412 people) and Annaheim (population 218). The program appears to have a moderate level of utility among small cities and medium- to large- sized towns.

The case in Manitoba is significantly more impressive in terms of its contributions to rural immigration. Although almost 70% of provincial nominees were destined for Winnipeg in 2005, the program facilitated the immigration of over 600 people to Winkler (population 9 106 in 2006) and almost 350 people to Steinbach in the same year (population 11 066) (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006; Statistics Canada 2007d). Other small towns and cities such as Morden (population 6 571), Thompson (population 13 446), Stonewall (population 4 376), Teulon (population 1 124), Virden (population 3 010), and Selkirk (population 9 515) were among the top-ten nominee-receiving communities in 2005 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006; Statistics Canada 2007d). These figures are even more impressive than they appear as the nominee statistics are for immigrants who were accepted in the year 2005, and the community population statistics are for the year 2006 and may already include a number of the nominees who immigrated in 2005 and 2006. In terms of establishing a flow of immigrants to smaller communities, the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program has been met with unparalleled success, and demonstrates the potential utility of rural immigration initiatives.

Retention

Furthermore, the retention of provincial nominees in Manitoba is greater than that of economic immigrants. While 78% of economic immigrants remain employed in the province (a statistic reflecting within up to four years of arrival), the rate of retention of provincial nominees is 88% (Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program). When

comparing the retention level of the Manitoba Provincial Program to that of the other provincial nominee programs (see Appendix G), it *appears* as though the BC Provincial Nominee Program has the highest retention level followed by the Alberta Provincial Nominee Program. However, since the surveys used to determine the retention level of the BC and Alberta programs were voluntary, a fair comparison is not possible.

Level of Investment in Rural Immigration as a Reflection of Need

Given that there are some differences between the four programs which have resulted in varying settlement patterns and levels of success, let us consider factors which contribute to these differences. Factors include community support, capacity, the presence of established ethnic groups, and strategic recruitment and promotional activities, but at the base of all of these factors lies the provinces' need for such an initiative or lack thereof. Ontario and Québec have yet to launch provincial nominee programs, however, even these provinces receive a fraction of Canada's nominees straying from their nominating province. In fact, Ontario has received more provincial nominees than any of the Atlantic provinces every year since the initiation of these pilot programs in 2001 (CIC 2002a). This demonstrates two points; first, a significant challenge of the provincial nominee program is to overcome the dominant settlement patterns of immigrants to urban, ethnically-diverse areas such as the Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver; and second, the number of provincial nominees admitted to a province annually may demonstrate the extent to which a province has recognized its need for the provincial nominee program and has invested in the program accordingly.

The second point would suggest that the provinces with greater skills shortages and lower unemployment rates would promote the provincial nominee program domestically and abroad to a greater extent, and would design the program to more efficiently fill specific shortages and appeal to target nominees. One method of doing so would be by including specific streams tailored to the most significant voids. For example, Saskatchewan includes a Farm Operator stream as well as a Long Haulers stream (Government of Saskatchewan 2007).

Unemployment in Western Provinces as a Drive for Immigration

Unemployment rates may offer some explanation for the level of investment or lack thereof into the provincial nominee program as the availability of employment contributes to the capacity of the receiving province or community. Provinces with higher levels of unemployment may have a greater utility for provincial nominee programs as they may be more desperate for labour. Indeed, this may explain in part why the Western provinces launched pilot provincial nominee programs sooner than the Atlantic provinces. Ben Brunnen (2004) reported that there may be a growing shortage of skilled workers and health care professionals in the Western provinces, especially in rural and remote areas. Indeed, these shortages might be eased considerably at the hand of increased investment in each province's provincial nominee program.

Manitoba's unemployment level is second lowest in the country at 4.3%, which reflects both the perpetual demand for labour, and the provincial nominee program's motivation to adequately settle and retain immigrants while filling labour market gaps (Statistics Canada 2007a). The province with the lowest unemployment level is Alberta having a 3.4% unemployment rate (Statistics Canada 2007b). Alberta appears to have invested greater resources into the temporary worker program as a solution for occupational shortages, although critics have recently drawn attention to this program as insufficient and immoral (Keung 2006). The program, which denies complete citizenship, is an example of institutionalized social exclusion. On the other hand, the provincial nominee program in Alberta has largely been used to facilitate employees' transition from temporary worker status to permanent resident status (Huynh 2004), however, much more could be done to respond to the province's labour market demands. By continuing

to invest greater resources and making better use of its provincial nominee program, Alberta may be able to retain valuable immigrant labour and reduce the shortages permanently.

Saskatchewan and British Columbia have higher unemployment rates than Manitoba and Alberta at 4.7% and 4.8%, but lower than the Atlantic provinces, therefore contributing to the moderate level of development and support for the provincial nominee programs in these provinces (Statistics Canada 2007b). British Columbia already benefits from a high level of immigration due to its ethnic and cultural diversity, whereas Saskatchewan would benefit greatly from further investment in its provincial nominee program.

Projecting the Potential of Rural Immigration: Initiative in the Atlantic Provinces

The Atlantic provinces are facing difficulties retaining even domestic-born workers due to an abundance of skilled workers and a shortage of full-year jobs (Clews 2005; Institute of Island Studies 2000). Indeed, Canada's unemployment rates in 2005 were the highest in the Atlantic Provinces; 8.8% in New Brunswick, 7.9% in Nova Scotia, 11.0% in Prince Edward Island, and an astonishing 14.8% in Newfoundland and Labrador, respectively (Statistics Canada 2007c). This high level of unemployment can be explained in part by an abundance of *seasonal* work as opposed to full-time, full-year work (Government of Prince Edward Island 2007; Institute of Island Studies 2000). However, seasonal and part-time work is insufficient to meet the requirements of the provincial nominee program. Therefore, there may be little need for these provinces to invest resources into the promotion and expansion of their provincial nominee programs. It should be noted that a high unemployment rate may indicate economic stagnation or

decline for which immigration is not necessarily a viable solution, although it is often assumed to be so (McIsaac 2003; Sylvius & Annis 2005). In these cases, the provincial government may need to identify the issues of rural decline before assuming that immigration can make economic contributions (McIsaac 2003).

Related to this, the domestic-born workers in the Atlantic provinces may be less welcoming to immigrants in part due to the perception that immigrants are “stealing good jobs away” from Atlantic Canadians (Clews 2005; Institute of Island Studies 2000). In addition to the hostility sprung from the local competition for good jobs, the sense of community is particularly strong among these provinces leading many immigrants to feel as though they do not belong (Clews 2005; Institute of Island Studies 2000). Immigrants also perceive that the Atlantic Canadians desire limited contact with people from “away” (Clews 2005; Institute of Island Studies 2000). Indeed, alongside the acquisition of an appropriate job, the perceived “fit” into the receiving community is crucial in determining an immigrant’s integration (McIsaac 2003; Rural Development Institute & Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation 2005). In smaller Manitoban communities such as Winkler and Steinbach, one might expect an elitist level of community membership, however, these German-Mennonite communities welcome and support many provincial nominees sharing this cultural background.

Conclusion

The provincial nominee program, as a method facilitating the immigration process, is the one of three aspects in which rural immigration benefits from a high level of provincial involvement. Another way communities can benefit from partnership with the provinces is by collaborating recruitment initiatives. For example, many communities in Manitoba provide updated information to the provincial immigration branch which goes on to distribute these materials on immigration missions and at trade shows abroad. This preserves the community's resources while costing the provincial governments nothing. A final benefit of provincial involvement is its provision of information and funding; communities can access provincial financial and informational resources for building capacity for immigration, rural development, and (in the case of British Columbia and Manitoba) for settlement and integration services.

Most provincial governments can provide assistance in every facet of rural immigration, however, even under provincial jurisdictions, there is a cornucopia of organizations, initiatives, and factors directly and indirectly affecting rural immigration which demonstrates the complexity of program design. There are a number of ways that a community can bolster its rural immigration. Regions, communities, and employers interested in increasing rural immigration can access immigration-related information and resources, and can boost capacity and community support to more appropriately integrate immigrants. Upon establishing settlement programming (formally and/or informally) and community support, communities are equipped to prevent social exclusion which often limits immigrants destined for Canadian cities and towns. Established ethnic groups within communities can assist in the settlement of immigrants and more efficiently

integrate them into the economic, social, and political fabric of community life, which contributes directly to their retention. Furthermore, established ethnic groups can contribute to the immigrants' attraction to the community. The initiatives included in this study made use of a multitude of resources available to communities and methods used to increase immigration. Initiatives effectively designed to attract, integrate, and retain immigrants can demonstrate the significant benefits of rural immigration, both to the immigrant, and to the receiving community.

Because all of the initiatives included in the study were strictly publicly driven and designed, the findings of this research reveal a number of ways that federal, provincial, and municipal governments can increase rural immigration. While the delineation of federal responsibilities (for the recruitment and selection of immigrants and for settlement assistance) to provincial governments has contributed to increasing the success of rural immigration, there are a few policy shifts which could further improve the attraction, integration and retention of immigrants to rural areas. The federal government should remain responsible for providing general information on rural immigration and capacity building. The federal government would benefit from funding a national rural immigration organization in order to increase inter-provincial information sharing of rural immigration studies, pilot programs to increase immigration, making settlement assistance more accessible, and credential recognition. Provincial programs would benefit from a removal of federally-imposed caps upon provincial nominees (excluding those provincial nominee programs for which the caps have already been removed) and from greater agency in the design and delivery of settlement programming (following Quebec, Manitoba, and British Columbia's example). Provincial rural

immigration departments should be established within each provincial immigration branch in order to provide consultation to and referrals for communities interested in increasing immigration. These would work closely with provincial nominee programs. Each province should also create a body responsible for credential recognition (which would also be closely connected to the provincial nominee program). Provinces could also benefit from distributing funding for rural development where needed. In making these changes to federal and provincial responsibilities, municipalities and regions are left with the responsibility to create immigration committees, seek out these resources, bolster social and economic capacity when necessary, and create integration and settlement programming to ensure a receptive and welcoming community.

Although it is unknown what the future of rural immigration holds, most initiatives recently established in the smaller communities of Western Canada have demonstrated efforts to eliminate social exclusion of immigrants in rural areas. This is a relatively new phenomenon in the history of rural immigration, which extends back to the time of Canada's initial settlement. It may be years before solid streams of immigrants are established into all rural communities having the capacity, and may be decades yet before the weight of disproportionate settlement is relieved from cities like Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver. However, immediate benefits for immigrants to rural communities and the communities themselves justify Canada's continual support of rural immigration.

Appendix A: *Interview Questions*

1. How long has [name of the program] been running?
2. How many immigrants have been admitted to the program since its creation?
How many immigrants have been admitted to the program in the past year?
How were these immigrants dispersed among communities? (How many immigrants went to which community/ies?)
3. Is there any information indicating the approximate number of immigrants who have stayed in the community/ies?
4. How is the program promoted domestically? Is there promotion abroad? If so, what does this consist of?
5. Is there a certain ethnic or cultural group that makes up most of the immigrants? Is this group specifically targeted during promotion?
6. What is the ethnic composition of [name of community/communities]?
7. Are there any industries or organizations which employ a disproportionately high number of workers?
8. Does the program or do the employers involved take any additional actions to facilitate the settlement of immigrants? For example, do the immigrants receive assistance with housing, orientation in Canadian society, or other settlement needs?
9. Can you recommend another organization or person to contact also associated with rural immigration initiatives?

Appendix B: Script for Telephone Interview and E-mail

Hello! My name is Elizabeth Harland and I am doing a major research paper comparing rural immigration initiatives in Western Canada for my Master of Arts in Immigration and Settlement Studies at Ryerson University. Through internet searches and short telephone interviews with key informants involved with each initiative, I am collecting data about the structure, support, and success of each initiative, as well as the ethnic make up and industries of the community. The purpose of this study is to identify the factors and possible policy changes to enable smaller, rural communities to attract and retain immigrants, and may identify policy changes which could curb some of the immigration to very large cities.

I was wondering if I could set up an interview to ask a few questions about [name of program/initiative]. The interview is completely voluntary, and should take no longer than 25 minutes. It involves no personal information. Neither participation nor non-participation will negatively affect relations between your agency and Ryerson University. Should you at any point wish to end the interview, you are wholly free to do so, and, if you so indicate, your contributions to the research will be omitted from the study. I understand if there is confidential information which cannot be provided, and you will have access to the final report, should you wish it.

With your consent, I will cite your name to indicate that you are the source of this information. If you are uncomfortable with this, you may remain anonymous and I can cite your job position as part of the organization. Also, you may retract any information that you like, and I will not use it in my data.

For further information you may contact Professor Grace-Edward Galabuzi at (416) 979-5000 extension 6189, or at galabuzi@politics.ryerson.ca.

Thank you very much!

Appendix C: Immigration Initiatives at the Municipal Level, Questions 1 to 3

Yr Est.	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	Retention Level	Measurement
BC				
Powell River, <i>Economic Developers Association of British Columbia</i> in collaboration with <i>Linx BC</i> (BC Economic Development Team)				
2006 Population: 12 957 (CY)	2006 N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)
Description: As one of the eight communities part of the BC Regional Immigration Initiative, Powell River was included in the 2004 consultation conducted by Kim Walker and Leslie Lax. EDABC and LINX aimed to update the strategic plan, and have focused upon foreign investment which includes businesses and skilled worker recruitment. Recruited workers are referred to the BC Provincial Nominee Program.				
Source: Scott Randolph, Manager of Economic Development, Powell River Regional Economic Development Society				
Prince George, <i>(No name for initiative as it is in beginning stages)</i>				
2006 Population: 70 981 (CY)	2007 N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)
Description: Prince George was the main focus of the BC Regional Immigration Initiative in 2004-05, which had relatively little follow-up due to capacity restrictions (Bhat 2007). The city has recently joined forces with Kamloops and Kelowna in collaborating efforts to bolster immigration. The city's main industries are its mills and forestry which historically employed immigrants as cheap labour, however, immigrant labour pooling has become all but nonexistent in Prince George, thus necessitating initiatives to increase immigration to the community, both from foreign and domestic labour pools. It is likely that the BC Provincial Nominee Program will be a large component.				
Source: Christie Ray, Project Manager, Initiatives Prince George				
Revelstoke, <i>(No single initiative)</i>				
2006 Population: 7 230 (CY)	N/A	Unknown	"Fairly good—we're talking small numbers...Could be 20 people total"	Kept track—few immigrants
Description: Revelstoke was one of the eight communities participating in the BC Regional Immigration Initiative, and was included in the research taking place in 2004-2005. Although the BC Regional Immigration Initiative did not result in a successful program in this community, it generated interest and consideration of immigration as a tool for community development. Meetings and discussions with service providers have raised awareness of the issues and challenges, and an initial focus has been placed upon creating a more inclusive and welcoming community for newcomers.				
Unrelated to the BC Regional Immigration Initiative, a small flow of migration was spurred by Korean business interests. Four years ago,				

Korean businessmen expressed interest in Revelstoke's technologically-advanced water filtration plant, however touring the plant was not allowed for security purposes. Instead, they toured the small town, and a language immersion program was created which was attended by the children of the Korean businessmen. Furthermore, several families immigrated to Revelstoke and the mayor of Revelstoke has visited Korea with promotional brochures and packages. Very little progression has been made since.

Source: Alan Mason, Director of Community Economic Development, Revelstoke Economic Development Commission

	Yr Est.	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	Retention Level	Measurement
AB					
Brooks, (<i>No single initiative</i>)	Major imm-	Approx 4000 to	"Not slowing down	Unknown	Unknown
2006 Population: 12 498 (CY)	-igration began in 1995 refugees	5000; initially	at all"; now the immigrants have shifted from ref-ugees to temp-orary foreign workers		
<p>Description: In 1995, primarily Sudanese refugees arrived in large numbers into Brooks and found employment primarily at the meat packing plant. When locally owned, the plant employed 500 people, but has since been bought and re-bought by international companies, and now employs just under 3000 people. At first, refugees arrived from Sudan, Ethiopia, Algeria, and the "lost boys of Sudan" from Cuba. While fewer refugees are arriving to Brooks, the Temporary Foreign Worker program began bringing immigrants into Brooks in March 2007. Recruitment efforts are privately-driven.</p> <p>Source: Don Weisbeck, Mayor, City of Brooks</p>					
Fairview, <i>Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT), Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers, and The Town of Fairview</i>					
2006 Population: 3 297 (T, MD)	February	35	35	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)
<p>Description: In February 2007, these three organizations came together to create an apprenticeship program at NAIT which would give underemployed internationally-educated and domestically-educated immigrants an opportunity to gain Canadian accreditation and experience. The focus here is upon immigrants already in Canada. The first goal is providing an opportunity to gain Canadian certification, and the second goal is to encourage immigrants' settlement in rural locations. Suitable immigrants are referred from the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. The apprenticeship program provides a great deal of support to its students; international graduates don't need to fulfill the "usual" criteria in terms of education achieved (as many are refugees); application fees were waived; and tuition and residence fees are being deferred. This September marks the start to the first cohort.</p> <p>Source: Kamie Currie, Economic Development Officer, Town of Fairview and Municipal District of Fairview</p> <p>Fran McGuire, Consultant for Curriculum Innovation, Northern Alberta Institute of Technology</p>					

Yr Est.	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	Retention Level	Measurement
Lloydminster, Community Supports For Immigrants				
2006 Population: 15 910 (Alberta) 8 118 (Saskatchewan)	2006 N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)
(Lloydminster lies on the border of Alberta and Saskatchewan) (CY) Description: The Community Supports for Immigrants (soon to be changed to Community Supports for Newcomers) was initiated by Lloydminster's Chamber of Commerce, but is moving out of the municipal government due to the high level of employer involvement. Recruitment and promotion is conducted by six recruitment businesses. The focus of Community Supports for Immigrants is upon the settlement of newcomers. Lloydminster is involved with Alberta's Community Integration Planning, which works with interested communities to increase immigration by making communities more attractive to immigrants (Woo 2007). Source: Pat Tenney, Executive Director, Lloydminster Chamber of Commerce				
SK				
Estevan and Weyburn, Southeast Community Settlement Committee				
2006 Populations: 10 084 (CY), 9 433 (CY) May 2007	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)
Description: This initiative is taking a regionalized approach (spearheaded by Estevan and Weyburn) for all of Southeast Saskatchewan focusing upon planning and implementing community settlement. The stakeholders involved are community organizations, employers, and recent immigrants, and the initiative has secured funding from the province of Saskatchewan's Community Capacity Building Fund. The initiative is in the information-seeking stage—figuring out immigrants' needs as well as which communities are to be involved. Source: Chantelle Ernst, (position unknown), Southeast Community Settlement Committee				
Hudson Bay, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee				
2006 Population: 1 646 (T, MD) Summer 2006	23 (including dependents; 6 families)	(same as number of immigrants since creation)	100%	Kept track
Description: Prior to the launch of the Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee, the operator of a welding business went to the Ukraine where there is an oversupply of welders and recruited a number of employees. This initiative has emerged to provide settlement services to these incoming immigrants, as well as others, with the hopes of increasing retention. Source: Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee				
Nipawin, (No name for initiative as it is in the beginning stages)				
2006 Population: 4 061 (T) February 2007	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)	N/A (too recent)

Description: This initiative, although based out of Nipawin, is regionalized and includes surrounding communities to the East and West (Carrot River and Choiceland). All interested agencies gathered to a meeting last February to form a local immigration committee.
Source: Sherry Michalyca, Economic Development and Promotions Officer, Town of Nipawin

	Yr Est.	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	Retention Level	Measurement
<i>Tisdale, Tisdale Immigration Committee</i>					
2006 Population: 2 981 (T)	2006	42 (recruited through local welding company, and expecting 12 immigrants in September	Unknown	"14 or 15 of the initial 42"	Kept track through contact with the company.
Description: A couple of years ago, a Tisdale welding company (Northern Steel) went to the Ukraine to make contacts for recruiting employees. The company initiated a program to make the community more receptive to these immigrants, and community members became involved on a volunteer basis. Retention has been a challenge as immigrants are drawn to higher wages in Alberta and British Columbia. The community is now seeking a coordinator to prepare materials provided to the Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program for overseas missions.					
Source: Veronica Zazula, Chair, Tisdale Immigration Committee					

MB

<i>Portage la Prairie, Portage la Prairie International Committee and the Portage la Prairie International Agency</i>					
2006 Population: 12 728 (CY)	2004	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown
Description: The Portage la Prairie International Committee is responsible for providing settlement services and community tours for newcomers and visitors while the Portage la Prairie International Agency is responsible for encouraging and supporting immigration to the city and surrounding rural municipalities. In March 2007, the Portage la Prairie International Committee submitted the strategic plan to City Council, and has since been approved. These organizations are planning a marketing strategy to attract families to the area as well as a marketing plan to promote the programs within the community.					
Source: Official, Tourism and Special Projects, City of Portage la Prairie					

<i>Steinbach, Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program</i>					
2006 Population: 11 066 (CY)	2000	Approx 4 900	Approx 700	Approx 80%	Based on school enrolment of immigrant children
Description: While Mennonites form a majority in Steinbach and its surrounding areas, a persistent flow of immigrants from Germany					

share their religion, or preserve similar traditions. There is also an increasing number of immigrants from the Philippines. Many of the Mennonite and Lutheran families have a high number of children, thus providing an estimate of the level of retention through school enrolment.

Source: Kim Shukla, Program Coordinator, Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program

Yr Est.	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	Retention Level	Measurement
<i>Swan River, Swan Valley Investment Attraction Program</i>				
2006 Population: 3 859 (T, RM) (Population of surrounding area: 2 784)	46	24	Unknown	Unknown
Description: In efforts to increase immigration, members of the community formed a committee which in turn created a brand and logo for promotional purposes.				
Source: Shirley Mullett, Immigrant Services Coordinator, Swan Valley Enterprise Centre Incorporated				
<i>Winkler, South Central Settlement and Employment</i>				
2006 Population: 9 106 (CY)	1998	Approx 3000 including dependents	Estimated 90%	Going through the records, contacting families and updating files
Description: Many immigrants that access the South Central Settlement and Employment Centre live in neighbouring communities such as Altona and Morden, and in the surrounding rural areas. Winkler has many industrial enterprises which support the capacity for a large number of immigrants.				
Source: Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services				

Yr Est.: Year that the program or initiative was established or launched in an official capacity.

#Imms Creation: Number of immigrants admitted through the program or initiative since its establishment or launch.

#Imms Past Yr: Number of immigrants admitted through the program or initiative in the last complete year (fiscal or calendar year).

Retention Level: Retention level of immigrants within the community.

Measurement: Method used to measure or estimate the retention level.

CY: City

T: Town

MD: Municipal District

RM: Rural Municipality

Appendix D: Immigration Initiatives at the Municipal Level, Questions 4 to 6

	Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic	Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group
BC	Powell River, <i>Economic Developers Association of British Columbia</i> in collaboration with <i>Linx BC</i> (BC Economic Development Team)			
	Trade shows: London, England in February '07; Edinburgh, Scotland scheduled for March '08.	Marketing information kit developed through the program which is sent out by request.	Immigrants from the United Kingdom (no other groups yet due to resource constraints).	Mainly European; small proportion of First Nations; few Asian; few Indo-Canadian.
Source: Scott Randolph, Manager of Economic Development, Powell River Regional Economic Development Society				
	Prince George, (<i>No name for initiative as it is in beginning stages</i>)			
	(The following promotional activities are planned, but not yet in practise)			
	Promoting PG, Kamloops, and Kelowna as a "region of Canada" rather than each community independently.	Approaching local communities directly to locate and target pools of untapped labour (such as women, retired and disabled persons).	Immigrants from the United Kingdom and Germany; Secondary immigrants (immigrants relocating from other parts in Canada)	Mainly European (Germany and the Ukraine); about 6-8% are Indo-Canadian; very small proportion of Chinese-, Korean-, Hispanic-, and Filipino-Canadian.
	Developing a website about the communities involved.			
	Trade shows: United Kingdom and Germany, other parts of Europe.			
Source: Christie Ray, Project Manager, Initiatives Prince George				
	Revelstoke, (<i>No single initiative</i>)			
	"Not too much." Korea: After Korean businessmen visited Revelstoke, the mayor of Revelstoke travelled to Korea, and distributed	Approaching service providers directly; conducting meetings and discussions to raise awareness of challenges and issues.	Immigrants from Holland, Germany, and Korea.	Mainly European-Canadians; there are also some heli-skiing guides from Germany, Switzerland, and France; and some retirees from Germany and Switzerland.

brochures and informational packages.

Source: Alan Mason, Director of Community Economic Development, Revelstoke Economic Development Commission

Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic	Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group
AB			
Brooks, (<i>No single initiative</i>) Lakeside Meat Packers (IBP Meats) is now recruiting in China, El Salvador, the Ukraine, and the Philippines. Initially, most workers for the plant were refugees from Sudan, Cuba (the "lost boys of Sudan"), Ethiopia, and Algeria.	Recruitment in Atlantic Canada; Promotion of local settlement agencies.	Sudanese, Ethiopian, Algerian, and Cuban immigrants were recruited at first. "Once a few were established, we tried to build a Sudanese community." Now immigrants from China, El Salvador, the Ukraine and the Philippines are being targeted.	Other than the large African-Canadian refugee population which grew significantly in 1995 (a rate which has been persistent since and only recently has started to decline), there are only a few Chinese-Canadians and Japanese-Canadians (which are reportedly 3 rd or 4 th generation). There are also a few First Nations members of the community.

Source: Don Weisbeck, Mayor, City of Brooks

Fairview, Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT), Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers, and The Town of Fairview			
None	Referral from the Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers. The program is hoping to promote in domestic publications (ie Somali newspaper published in Alberta) and through Edmonton radio stations. The program has gotten some publicity in Fairview (ie an article published in the Fairview	All immigrants enrolled in the program are "of African decent".	White Anglo-saxon

newspaper). Information about the program has been distributed to employers in Fairview and surrounding rural communities.

Source: Kamie Currie, Economic Development Officer, Town of Fairview and Municipal District of Fairview
 Fran McGuire, Consultant for Curriculum Innovation, Northern Alberta Institute of Technology

Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic	Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group
LloyDMINSTER, <i>Community Supports For Immigrants</i> There are six private recruitment businesses recruiting foreign workers. The president of one company is Filipina and initially focused upon recruiting Live-in-Care-givers from the Philippines, and has since expanded to recruit all kinds of workers. Another company by exporting from the Philippines and China, and has started recruiting foreign workers. Also, McDonalds recruited workers from Guatemala. Source: Pat Tenney, Executive Director, LloyDMINSTER Chamber of Commerce	Not much domestic recruitment. The City of LloyDMINSTER has been recruiting in Toronto, and will continue to do so in September distributing cards and information.	Immigrants from the U.K., Germany, the Philippines, China, and Chile. There is some targeting of immigrants from El Salvador and Guatemala.	There are approximately 200 to 300 Filipino-Canadians in LloyDMINSTER, some Chinese, some South African and Indo-Chinese (many of which are doctors), and a few Vietnamese-Canadians.
SK			
Source: Pat Tenney, Executive Director, LloyDMINSTER Chamber of Commerce			
Estevan and Weyburn, <i>Southeast Community Settlement Committee</i> N/A (too soon)			
Approaching communities, employers, and recent immigrants.		Germany, Ukraine	White, Anglo-saxon
Source: Chantelle Ernst, (position unknown), Southeast Community Settlement Committee			

Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic	Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group
Hudson Bay, <i>Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee</i> All recruitment is done by employers. Source: Official, Ukrainian Immigration Settlement Committee	Word of mouth (efficient in such a small town).	Ukraine, Philippines	Ukrainian-Canadians
Nipawin, (<i>No name for initiative as it is in the beginning stages</i>) N/A (too recent)	A list of a core group of agencies (including employers) was established, and these agencies were approached directly.	N/A (too recent)	White Anglo-saxon, First Nations
Source: Sherry Michalyca, Economic Development and Promotions Officer, Town of Nipawin			
Tisdale, <i>Tisdale Immigration Committee</i> All recruitment is done by employers.	The committee has advertised in the local newspaper, and promoted its initiative "by word of mouth" more than anything.	Ukraine, and a few are from China, and the community has one doctor from South Africa.	"Huge variety—there is no majority."
Source: Veronica Zazula, Chair, Tisdale Immigration Committee			
MB			
Portage la Prairie, <i>Portage la Prairie International Committee</i> and the <i>Portage la Prairie International Agency</i> Trade shows: England and in Germany (date unknown). The committees are also planning to increase marketing of the community abroad to skilled workers with families. The initiative also provides the province with brochures	Local promotion of the committees directly.	There are currently a relatively large number of Nigerians and Israeli Russians immigrating, as well as from Germany, Holland, Mongolia, Korea, the Philippines and the U.S.	"Diverse mixture".

and guides for overseas missions.

Source: Official, Tourism and Special Projects, City of Portage la Prairie

Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic	Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group
Steinbach, <i>Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program</i>			
Trade shows: Two trade shows in the United Kingdom in 2005.	(No specific promotion within Steinbach.)	Trucking companies have targeted immigrants from the United Kingdom as there is a lot of cross-border work, and English-speaking workers have language advantages.	There are three major ethnic groups in Steinbach; Russian-German-Canadians; Filipino-Canadians; and South American-Canadians (Canadians who emigrated to Bolivia, Mexico, and Paraguay, and are now re-turning). Finally, there is a sizable group of British-Canadians as well.
The program also provides the province with updated information and brochures for overseas missions.			
<p>Source: Kim Shukla, Program Coordinator, Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program</p> <p>Swan River, <i>Swan Valley Investment Attraction Program</i></p> <p>Trade shows: London, England, and in Scotland in 2006; to the Netherlands in 2007.</p> <p>An article was written for a German immigration publication. Also, a regional profile has been distributed to potential German immigrants through an immigration consultant in</p>			
A committee was assembled of individuals interested in increasing immigration, and their input was used to create a brand and logo for the Swan Valley region for promotional purposes.		English-speaking countries have been targeted "for practical purposes". The German market has also been approached as the region already has some German immigrants.	The region consists of British-, Scottish-, German-, Russian-, French-, Ukrainian-, and Polish-Canadians, as well as Metis and First Nations people.

Southern Manitoba.

Source: Shirley Mullett, Immigrant Services Coordinator, Swan Valley Enterprise Centre Incorporated

Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic	Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group
<i>Winkler, South Central Settlement and Employment</i>			
Private businesses go through recruitment agencies to recruit foreign workers.	(No specific promotion within Winkler.)	There is a high level of immigration for Russian-Germans as well as of Canadians returning from Mexico, Paraguay, Uruguay, and Belize (who originally emigrated to these countries).	The region has a high proportion of High German and High Russian speakers, which is relatively compatible with ethnic Mennonites speaking Low German.
Source: Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services			

Promotion Abroad: Promotion of the initiative, program, or community that occurs internationally.

Promotion Domestic: Promotion of the initiative, program, or community that occurs within Canada, with a focus upon the promotion of the initiative or program within the community in which it takes place.

Target Ethnic Group: The main ethnic, cultural, or national groups immigrating as a result of the initiative or program.

Community Ethnic Group: The ethnic, cultural, or national backgrounds of the majority and minority groups in the community.

Appendix E: Immigration Initiatives at the Municipal Level, Questions 7 and 8

Industries/Employers		Extra Settlement Actions
BC		
Powell River, <i>Economic Developers Association of British Columbia</i> in collaboration with <i>Linx BC</i> (BC Economic Development Team) Pulp and paper; Catalyst Paper Corporation; this mill once employed 3000, and now just 600.		ESL offered through Camber College
Source: Scott Randolph, Manager of Economic Development, Powell River Regional Economic Development Society		
Prince George, (<i>No name for initiative as it is in beginning stages</i>) Mills and Forestry		The program works with employers to educate them on available settlement programming, and works to identify gaps, and upgrade programs where necessary in order to make these more suitable Prince George's newcomers.
Source: Christie Ray, Project Manager, Initiatives Prince George		
Revelstoke, (<i>No single initiative</i>) Tourism, Heli-skiing		ESL is offered at the local college, and the program is working on adapting materials and adjusting social services. At this point, services are customized (on an individual basis), likely due to the low number of immigrants coming into Revelstoke.
Source: Alan Mason, Director of Community Economic Development, Revelstoke Economic Development Commission		
AB		
Brooks, (<i>No single initiative</i>) Lakeside Meat Packers		(None specified)
Source: Don Weisbeck, Mayor, City of Brooks		
Fairview, <i>Northern Alberta Institute of Technology (NAIT)</i> , <i>Edmonton Mennonite Centre for Newcomers</i> , and <i>The Town of Fairview</i> Multiple employers in Fairview and surrounding communities have agreed to provide part-time work and to oversee placements.		The program has the support of the town; orientation activities include a guided bus tour, a town barbecue, publicity in the local press, and a community group meeting to prepare organizations for including immigrants.

Source: Kamie Currie, Economic Development Officer, Town of Fairview and Municipal District of Fairview
 Fran McGuire, Consultant for Curriculum Innovation, Northern Alberta Institute of Technology

Industries/Employers	Extra Settlement Actions
<p>Lloydminster, <i>Community Supports For Immigrants</i> Medical, Welding, Mechanics, Sheet Metalists, and the Oil Industry</p> <p>Source: Pat Tenney, Executive Director, Lloydminster Chamber of Commerce</p>	<p>Some employers provide starter housing (as there is a housing shortage), however, once the families of the workers arrive, employers face challenges finding appropriate housing for all. There are also welcoming barbecues hosted by the community. "It's unusual to have such community-wide support".</p>
<p>SK</p>	
<p>Estevan and Weyburn, <i>Southeast Community Settlement Committee</i> Manufacturing</p> <p>Source: Chantelle Ernst, (position unknown), Southeast Community Settlement Committee</p>	<p>Consultation with communities to organize support groups to co-ordinate orientation activities.</p>
<p>Hudson Bay, <i>Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement Committee</i> Lorne's Welding and Fabrications, Melenchuk Farms</p> <p>Source: Official, Ukrainian Immigrant Settlement Committee</p>	<p>Orientation services, and providing housing (furnished trailers).</p>
<p>Nipawin, <i>(No name for initiative as it is in the beginning stages)</i> Agriculture, Manufacturing, Honey Production</p> <p>Source: Sherry Michalyca, Economic Development and Promotions Officer, Town of Nipawin</p>	<p>N/A (too recent)</p>
<p>Tisdale, <i>Tisdale Immigration Committee</i> Northern Steel (welding), Irving Machine and Welding</p> <p>Source: Veronica Zazula, Chair, Tisdale Immigration Committee</p>	<p>The town hosts community gatherings, such as family nights. More settlement activities will be planned once the community hires a coordinator this autumn.</p>
<p>MB</p>	

<p>Portage la Prairie, <i>Portage la Prairie International Committee</i> and the <i>Portage la Prairie International Agency</i></p> <p>Simplot and McCains' potato processing plants</p> <p>The Portage la Prairie International Committee (assisting the city in creating an Attraction Plan to encourage/support immigration) works directly with the Portage la Prairie International Agency which focuses upon settlement and community tours for visitors.</p> <p>Source: Official, Tourism and Special Projects, City of Portage la Prairie</p>	
Industries/Employers	Extra Settlement Actions
<p>Steinbach, <i>Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program</i></p> <p>Hog industry and Livestock, Trucking, Technical Workers</p> <p>(Since this is a settlement agency, a number of settlement services are offered; employment assistance; language programming; and an integration coordinator acting as a liaison with the community to encourage community engagement and participation.)</p> <p>Source: Kim Shukla, Program Coordinator, Steinbach and District Immigrant Settlement Program</p>	
<p>Swan River, <i>Swan Valley Investment Attraction Program</i></p> <p>Agricultural production, Forestry, and Manufacturing, however, local labour shortages are not confined to these industries (for example, truck drivers are always in demand).</p> <p>Immigrants arriving through the Employer Direct Stream (of the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program) have been helped to settle by their employer.</p> <p>Source: Shirley Mullett, Immigrant Services Coordinator, Swan Valley Enterprise Centre Incorporated</p>	
<p>Winkler, <i>South Central Settlement and Employment</i></p> <p>Manufacturing; Décor Cabinets, Elias Woodwork, Meridian Industries and Lode King Industries (both agricultural products)</p> <p>Many employers offer workplace language education.</p> <p>Source: Official, South Central Settlement and Employment Services</p>	

Industries/Employers: Industries and organizations which employ a disproportionately large number of workers.

Extra Settlement Actions: Any additional actions taken by employers, the program or initiative to facilitate the settlement of immigrants.

Appendix F: Provincial Nominee Programs, Questions 1 and 2

	Yr Est. Pilot	Yr Est. Official	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	#Imms Destination
BC	1998	2000	3 146	1 254	70% of all nominees are directed outside of the Greater Vancouver Area (not tracked by communities).
Source: Official, BC Provincial Nominee Program					
AB	2002	2007	2 224	802	44% of all nominees are directed outside of Edmonton and Calgary (not tracked by communities).
Source: Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program					
SK	1998	2001	2 256	1 027	<p>Saskatoon (Pop 202 340) 394</p> <p>Regina (Pop 179 246) 278</p> <p>Battlefords (Pop 3 685) 65</p> <p>Swift Current (Pop 14 946) 26</p> <p>Moose Jaw (Pop 32 132) 18</p> <p>Leroy (Pop 412) 18</p> <p>Lloydminster (Pop 8 118) 16</p> <p>Yorkton (Pop 15 038) 15</p> <p>Prince Albert (Pop 34 138) 13</p> <p>Annaheim (Pop 218) 10</p> <p>Hudson Bay (Pop 1 646) 9</p> <p>Tisdale (Pop 2 981) 8</p> <p>Estevan (Pop 10 084) 8</p> <p>Canora (Pop 2 013) 6</p> <p>Maple Creek (Pop 2 198) 5</p> <p>Humboldt (Pop 4 998) 5</p> <p>Englefeld (Pop 227) 5</p> <p>Other (61 communities) 128</p> <p>35% are directed outside of Regina</p>

and Saskatoon.

Source: Official, Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program

Yr Est. Pilot		Yr Est. Official	#Imms Creation	#Imms Past Yr	#Imms Destination
MB	1996	1998	12 920	6 661	
					Winnipeg (Pop 633 451) 3 149
					Winkler (Pop 9 106) 641
					Steinbach (Pop 11 066) 345
					Brandon (Pop 41 511) 122
					Morden (Pop 6 571) 56
					Thompson (Pop 13 446) 18
					Stonewall (Pop 4 376) 14
					Teulon (Pop 1 124) 12
					Virden (Pop 3 010) 12
					Selkirk (Pop 9 515) 10
					Other 240
					Total 2005 4 619
					29% are directed outside of Winni- -peg and Brandon.

Note: The number of immigrants by destination in the past year (Column 5) is taken from 2005 (Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006) for which statistics for the top ten receiving communities were available, however, these figures are reportedly similar to those taken from 2006 (Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program).

Source: Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program; Manitoba Labour and Immigration 2006

Yr Est. Pilot: Year that the program was established in the federal-provincial immigration agreement, and administrative plans commenced.

Yr Est. Official: Year that the program was established in an official capacity, and nominees were first admitted.

#Imms Creation: Number of immigrants admitted through the program since its establishment or launch.

#Imms Past Yr: Number of immigrants admitted through the program in the last complete year (fiscal or calendar year).

#Imms Destination: Number of immigrants admitted through the program by destination community in the last complete year (fiscal or calendar year).

Pop: 2006 population figures for communities (not including surrounding rural townships) taken from Statistics Canada 2007d.

Appendix G: Provincial Nominee Programs, Questions 3 and 4

Retention Level	Measurement	Promotion Abroad	Promotion Domestic
BC 99% (for job <i>and</i> in the province)	Voluntary survey directed by outside parties (no time constraints given).	Series of outreach activities to stakeholders (employers, immigration lawyers, immigration consultants, and immigration officials); selective marketing and recruitment in Europe and Asia.	Outreach activities to universities, industries, and regions (approximately 20 market-ing and promotion activities in a year).
Source: Official, BC Provincial Nominee Program			
AB Estimated 90%	Voluntary survey one year after arrival; including trade shows and job fairs. no means of tracking nominees.	Series of recruitment activities to including trade shows and job fairs.	Outreach activities to gain partnership with employers, educational institutes, industry associations, and communities. The PNP is also promoted through "How to Hire Foreign Workers" seminars. Finally, it is promoted through the Foreign Worker Hotline, thereby informing temporary foreign workers of a means by which to immigrate permanently to Alberta.
Source: Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program			
SK 76%	Survey for nominees who landed between January 2003 and December 2005.	Series of recruitment and promotion missions in the (i) Philippines, (ii) Belgium, France, Switzerland, (iii) Germany, and (iv) Korea. The Immigration branch also accompanies Saskatchewan employers on recruitment missions and immigration fairs overseas.	Series of recruitment and promotion missions in the (i) Philippines, (ii) Belgium, France, Switzerland, (iii) Germany, and (iv) Korea. The Immigration branch also accompanies Saskatchewan employers on recruitment missions and immigration fairs overseas.
Source: Official, Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program			
MB 88%	Imdb (immigrant database) files used	Strategic overseas recruitment (at visa posts, and via recruitment	Promotion to Manitoba communities to prepare for reception of immigrants on

from 2002 to determine the proportion of nominees having income earned in Manitoba (most recent).	missions) in Europe, China (for business mostly), and North Africa (in effort of maintaining francophone communities) in Manitoba. Word of mouth has significant effects.	internet (community planning portal directed to “Partners”). The PNP also promoted to individual communities to establish partnerships for recruitment efforts.
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Source: Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program

Retention Level: Retention level of immigrants within the province.

Measurement: Method used to measure or estimate the retention level.

Promotion Abroad: Promotion of the program that occurs internationally.

Promotion Domestic: Promotion of the program that occurs within Canada, with a focus upon the promotion of the program within the province in which it takes place.

Appendix H: Provincial Nominee Programs, Questions 5 to 8

Target Ethnic Group	Community Ethnic Group	Industries/Employers	Extra Settlement Actions
BC Skilled workers: Immigrants from the U.S., the United Kingdom, and other European countries. Business nominees: Immigrants from Korea and China.	American-Canadians, and the British-Canadians are more likely to be found in regional communities. The Greater Vancouver Area is generally more ethnically-diverse. For example, Korean- and Chinese-Canadians are more likely to stay where there is greater language accessibility.	BC Construction	More successful organizations take extra measures to facilitate settlement as there is the capacity to establish a settlement support system within the organization.
Source: Official, BC Provincial Nominee Program			
AB Immigrants from the United Kingdom	European- (German- and Ukrainian-) Canadians; First Nations	Trades, Transportation and Equipment Operators	Employers are expected to provide ESL classes and help the employee integrate into the community.
Source: Official, Alberta Provincial Nominee Program			
SK Immigrants from the Philippines, China, Ukraine, the United Kingdom, and South Africa	(none specified)	Welders and Machine Operators, Truck Drivers, Cooks, Family Physicians	(none specified other than federally-funded settlement programming)
Source: Official, Saskatchewan Immigrant Nominee Program			
MB Initially a consultant recommended recruiting Russian and German Mennonites to “fit in” with the community in the Southwest corner this became a trend. Now the program is focused upon diversifying. The	German- and Russian- Canadians, Filipino-Canadians, French-Canadians, and Metis	Welders, Truck Drivers, Financial Auditors and Accountants, Engineering, Mechanics and Carpenters	During employer application the MPNP ensures that the employer is providing suitable work and work conditions (providing adequate and settlement assistance is a requirement of the employer in the employer-direct

stream).

Filipino population is growing outside of Winnipeg, and there is a movement to increase the Francophone population by targeting immigrants in France, Belgium and North Africa.

Source: Official, Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program

Target Ethnic Group: The main ethnic, cultural, or national groups immigrating through the program.

Community Ethnic Group: The ethnic, cultural, or national backgrounds of the majority and minority groups in the receiving communities (if patterns can be found).

Industries/Employers: Industries and organizations which employ a disproportionately large number of workers.

Extra Settlement Actions: Any additional actions taken by employers, program or initiative to facilitate the settlement of immigrants.

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