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Welcome to Canada: New Demographic and Economic Realities of Increased Migration to Rural Western and Northern Regions

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Welcome to Canada's West: New Demographic and Economic Realities of Increased Migration to Rural Western and Northern Regions



ABSTRACT

Over 280,000 permanent and another 475,000 temporary foreign workers enter Canada each year. Until very recently, 75% of all migrants located to the three big cities: Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver, with the vast majority living in Toronto. In the past five years, however, that pattern has drastically changed. During that time, western Canada's share of immigrants has increased by 62% since 2010. What further differentiates these migration patterns is that immigrants are increasingly less likely to move to large centres even in western Canada, instead many of them are moving to smaller rural communities in search of work. This new migration has profoundly influenced the economies of western Canada, which the four comprises the provinces of British Columbia, Alberta, Saskatchewan and Manitoba, as well as northern Canada which comprises the three northern Territories (Yukon Territory, Northwest Territories, and Nunavut). Today, smaller centres face new challenges in assisting migrants and their families to successfully settle and integrate into the local society and economy. This paper examines key evidence from two 2015 studies on immigration in Canada's west and northern regions. It discusses regional sociodemographic shifts in those regions, the challenges experienced by smaller centres in welcoming and settling newcomers, the economic contexts in which settlement occurs, and the reaction of the host communities in welcoming unprecedented numbers of newcomers to those regions. It concludes with observations meant to engage and assist policy makers and settlement service providers in adjusting to the new realities of migration to the country.

1. INTRODUCTION

Immigration has played and continues to play an important role in the social, cultural and economic fabric of Canadian society. This paper examines various demographic and economic trends among what researchers call second-tier cities and smaller rural centres in western Canada and small urban communities in northern Canada. These are areas where immigrants and temporary workers have not traditionally resettled. Since 2002, due to the ability of provinces to recruit immigrants and foreign workers, more newcomers have chosen to settle in Canada's west and north than ever before. Immigrants arriving today are now more likely to live in smaller centres, particularly if they live in western Canada. In fact, immigrants destined to British Columbia (BC), Alberta (AB), Saskatchewan (SK) or Manitoba (MB) are the most likely of all immigrants to be living in smaller non-urbanized areas.¹ This demographic shift has had significant economic and social consequences for the western provinces.

The purpose of this paper is to identify some of the economic conditions and settlement service needs of newcomers who chose to migrate to non-traditional, smaller rural centres in western and northern Canada. The paper begins by outlining some of the demographic realities of immigration to the western and northern regions and identifies towns and catchment areas where large numbers of newcomers are settling. It briefly highlights some of the economic concerns newcomers have and their economic conditions. The paper ends with an examination of the settlement services provided to newcomers and the service gaps in the smaller centres. Particular attention is devoted to the different needs of permanent residents versus temporary foreign workers as these two groups are very different in terms of their eligibility for employment opportunities and settlement services.

Data for this paper has been generated from two studies conducted by researchers affiliated with Immigration Research West. The *33 Communities Consultation Study* (Ashton et al., 2015) examined the settlement services offered to immigrants in Canada's smaller centres and rural areas in Canada's west and north. This study also identified the gaps in settlement services, particularly in rural areas. The *Western Canadian Settlement Survey* (Wilkinson et al., 2014) is a simple random sample of over 3,000 newcomers to Canada's western region. Researchers asked newly arrived immigrants to identify the services they used and the services they needed but could not access. The purpose of the survey was to identify the group(s) in greatest need in various types of communities. Readers interested in the full results of each study or who have methodological questions may reference the studies at Immigration Research West's website or the Rural Development Institute's website².

2. RAPID CHANGE IN DEMOGRAPHIC REALITIES

Rapid shifts in immigrant arrivals have deeply changed the demographic composition of Canada's western and northern regions. The past ten years of economic growth have shifted demographic and residential patterns of settlement, most dramatically in western Canada. Figure one shows the changes in immigrant arrivals in the Western region. Although British Columbia has long-been a major province of settlement for immigrant newcomers, it has been recently replaced by Alberta and by 2013, it had surpassed BC as the third most popular province of destination for newcomers to Canada.

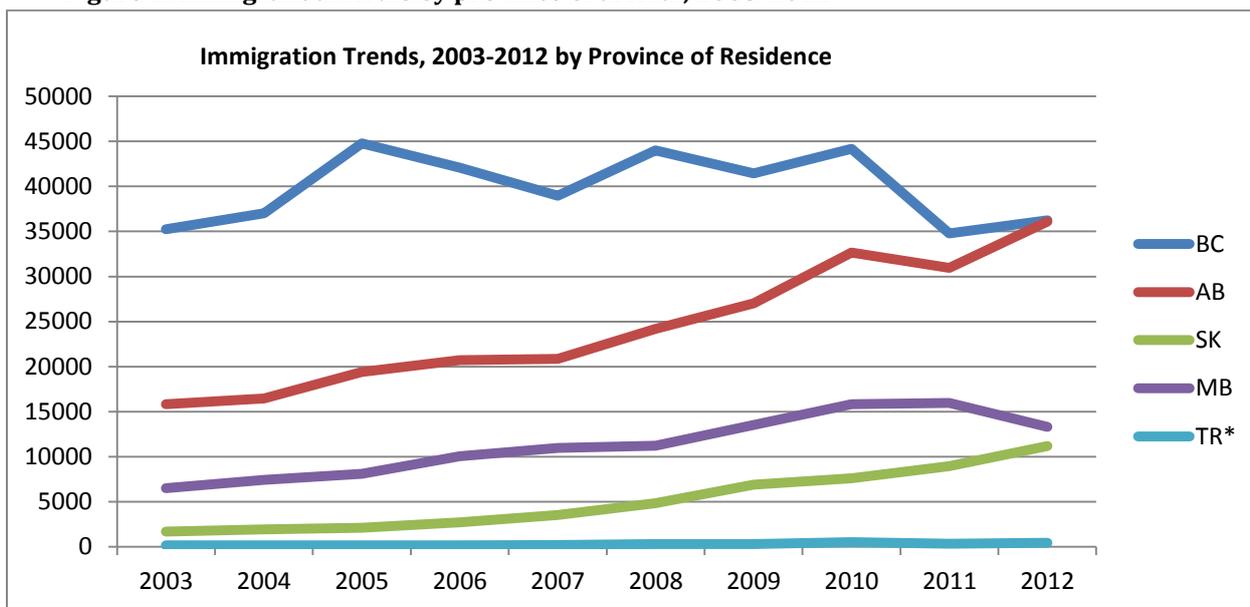
While the numbers of newcomer arrivals have been increasing to Canada's western and northern regions, their settlement patterns are distinct compared to those immigrants moving elsewhere in the country. Since 2004, the number of immigrants entering Canada's west has increased by an unparalleled 62%, an increase not seen elsewhere in Canada. Much of this shift in settlement is due to the healthy economies in the western region. However, some of this change is also due to concerted efforts by the four Western provinces, and particularly the provinces of Saskatchewan and Manitoba, to attract immigrants to their smaller provinces to temper the loss of native-born Canadians moving out of the smaller urban and rural

¹ With the exception of Newfoundland, which has similar trends to western Canada in terms of the number and proportion of immigrants living outside major urban centres.

² http://umanitoba.ca/faculties/arts/research/immigration/about_IRW.html ; <https://www.brandonu.ca/rdi/>

communities in the region. This is also true in Alberta, to a certain extent, although this province has also benefited from significant increases in the arrival of temporary foreign workers. This pattern is particularly prominent in the rural areas where mayors, city and town councils have worked for the past ten years to attract and keep immigrants to bolster rapidly declining populations and to provide needed workers to fill job vacancies. It is important to note that although the number of immigrants to western and northern Canada is increasing, the overall number of immigrant arrivals to Canada as a whole have changed very little in that time. This means that a large portion of the growth in the western and northern regions in Canada is due to a decline in the number of immigrants choosing to live elsewhere in the country. Ontario and the Atlantic region have seen the largest declines.

Figure 1. Immigrant arrivals by province of arrival, 2003-2012



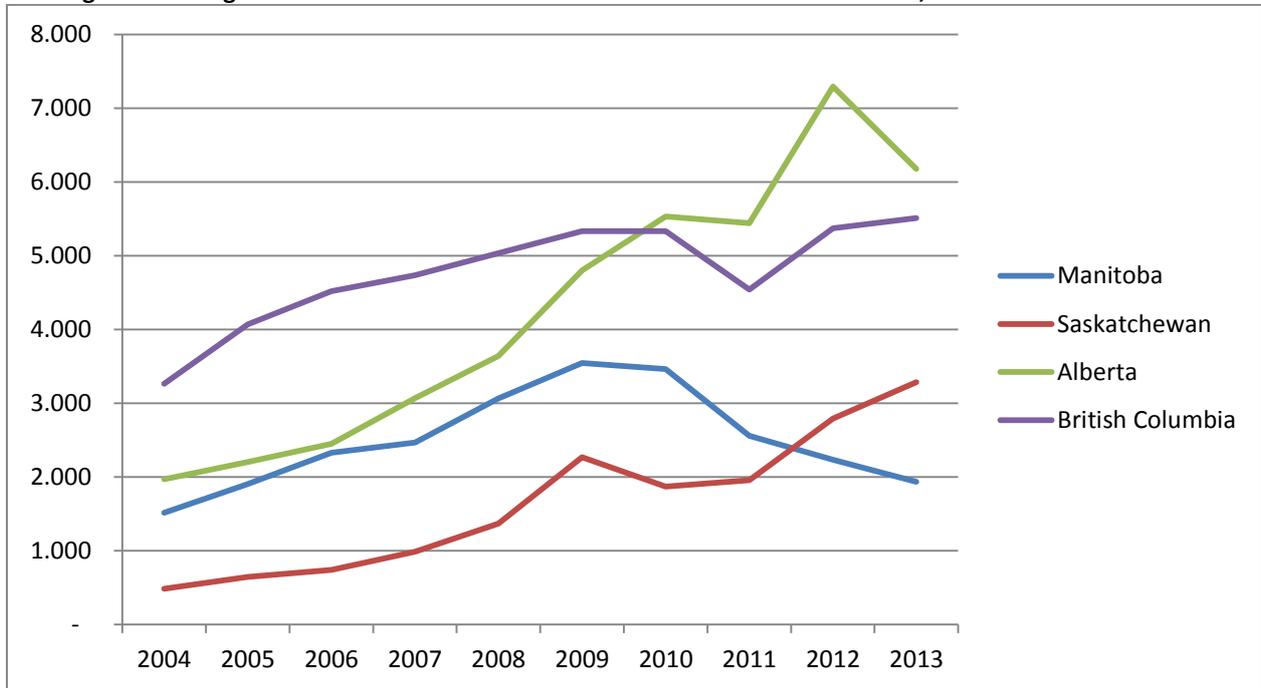
Source: Tabulated from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2014).

An examination of where immigrants move when they arrive to Western Canada is revealing. Figure 2 shows the increasing number of immigrant arrivals to smaller urban and rural areas of the western region. In Manitoba, the most popular immigrant destination is Winnipeg, the province's capital, with a population of nearly 800,000. About 85% of immigrants go to that city, with the rest migrating to much smaller areas such as Brandon (pop 53,229), Thompson (pop 12,839). Even smaller centres have recently attracted newcomers. Neepawa, a town of 2,782 people, consists of 23% immigrants today. In neighbouring Saskatchewan, the main destination cities have tended to be Regina and Saskatoon; however, that has recently changed. Recently, however, that has changed. The southeast part of the province now is home to 1,988 immigrants, making up 5% of the population. This is an area that just five years ago had fewer than 1% of its population born outside of Canada. In Alberta, the demographic picture is similar. Although more and more immigrants to Canada are choosing Edmonton or Calgary as their destination, an increasing number are selecting to move elsewhere in the province. Lethbridge, with a population of 93,004, has welcomed nearly 3000 newcomers in the past four years. Even smaller centres, such as Wood Buffalo, have welcomed nearly 4,000 newcomers during that time. In British Columbia, the patterns are similar. Nanaimo, located on Vancouver Island, is now home to 1,130 newcomers.

The effects that the rapid and substantial increases in numbers of arrivals to these smaller communities in all four western provinces have had and will continue to have not only on the economic, social and cultural fabric of those communities, but also on the need for settlement services over time, should not be underestimated. In some cases, these smaller rural areas are struggling to provide the requisite types and levels of settlement services to meet the needs of their recently arrived newcomer residents. In other areas, welcoming immigrant newcomers is a very new phenomenon, and agencies that provide services to Canadians have to adapt to provide appropriate settlement services for populations they have

never serviced before. Furthermore, new settlement service agencies had to be established where none existed before, and both new and existing settlement service agencies have had to provide services through various innovative means to newcomers living in communities where no settlement agencies exist.

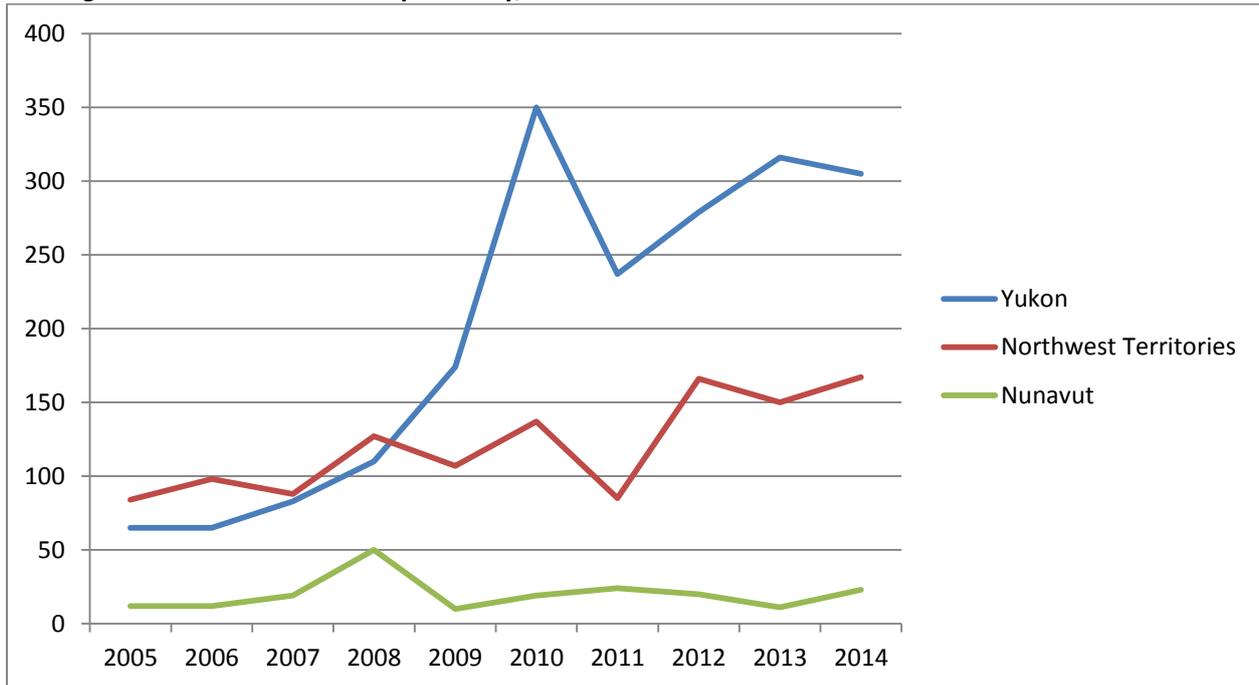
Figure 2. Immigrant arrivals to small centres and rural areas in Canada’s west, 2004-2013



Source: Tabulated from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2014).

The three Territories, although demographically small in comparison, have also witnessed significant changes in the number of newcomers. Many of the newcomers are recruited to take jobs in the mining and service industries, two areas that have difficulty attracting sufficient Canadian workers. The numbers of immigrants living in Nunavut remain very small, but those arriving to the Yukon and Northwest Territories have increased significantly in the past ten years. The geographic distribution of immigrants to these two Territories poses significant challenges to service providers. First, almost all service providers in the region provide services to the Canadian-born Aboriginal and non-Aboriginal population, so adapting to provide appropriate services to newcomers might be challenging. And second, the geographical challenges experienced in the Territories are significant. Almost all service organizations are located in Whitehorse and Yellowknife, the two largest settlements in Canada’s north. This makes it difficult for newcomers settling elsewhere to obtain settlement services due to the large geographic distances between communities there.

Figure 3. Newcomer Arrivals by Territory, 2005-2014

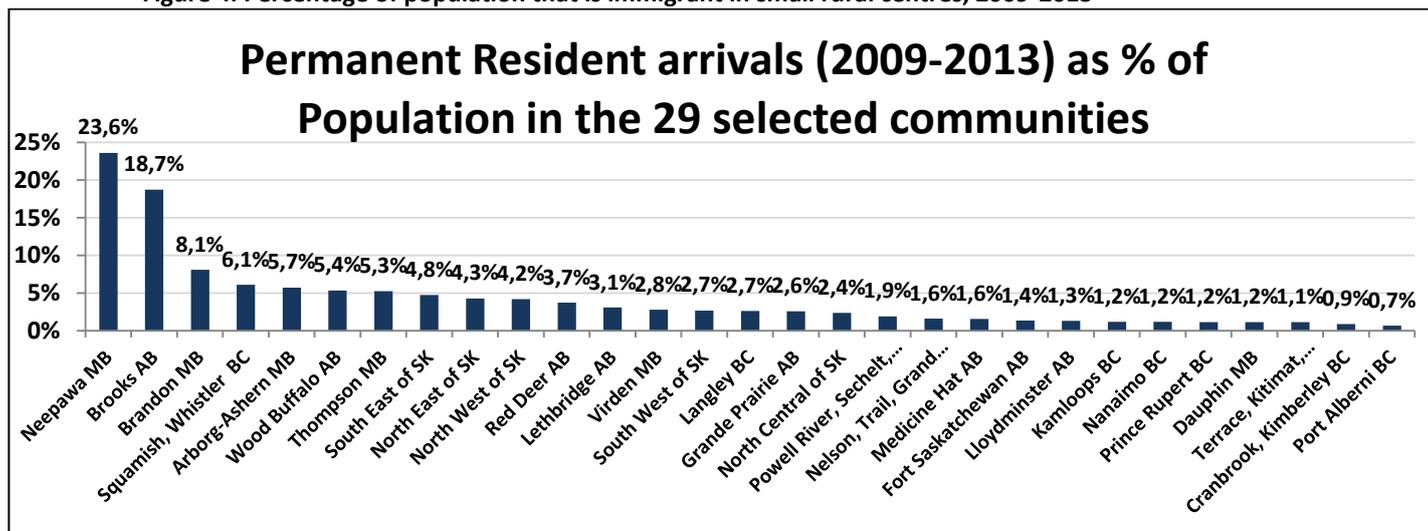


Source: Tabulated from Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2014).

One in five people living in Canada was not born in the country (Statistics Canada, 2013). The percentage of non-Canadian to Canadian born is generally even higher in the largest urban metropolitan communities across the country that receive the highest proportion of immigrants annually. As demographers know, immigrants are not equally distributed in any country. In most nations, immigrants tend to live in large urban centres (Stalker, 2008). This is largely due to the presence of large numbers of ethnocultural and religious community members in large cities in addition to the better availability of employment in the cities. While this is somewhat true in Canada, there are also stark differences in Canada’s settlement patterns compared with other countries. This is particularly true of the recent settlement patterns in the western region. The reason for this is that newcomers coming to western Canada are less likely to live in major cities like Calgary, Edmonton, Saskatoon, Regina, Winnipeg, Vancouver and Victoria.

As Figure 4 below shows, there is significant diversity in the unlikeliest of places. Nearly one in four residents of Neepawa Manitoba (population 3,629) was born outside of the country; in Brooks Alberta (population 13,676), that number is nearly one in five. Readers are asked to note that these numbers do not include the significant numbers of temporary foreign workers living in these communities. Both Neepawa and Brooks, along with Brandon, Wood Buffalo and some communities in southern Saskatchewan, have large numbers of temporary foreign workers who are not counted as part of these figures. In summary, there is great ethnocultural diversity in many small towns across western Canada—a diversity that has happened rapidly and is largely due to immigration and the availability of certain kinds of employment in these areas. This has caused rapid and substantial socio-demographic changes in these regions which have effects on the settlement services needed by and provided to newcomers living there.

Figure 4. Percentage of population that is immigrant in small rural centres, 2009-2013



Source: Tabulations by Ashton et al., 2015; data from Citizenship and Immigration Canada.

3. LABOUR MARKET INTEGRATION

Much of the attraction that Canada’s west and northern regions have for newcomers is due to economic opportunities that have emerged there in the past couple of decades, and particularly the most recent one. The economies of the western provinces and northern territories are very different from elsewhere in Canada. One of the major factors that encourage both those born in Canada and immigrants to move to the western region during the past decade is the comparably higher employment rate and lower unemployment rates. The western region has long enjoyed the lowest unemployment rate in the country. Table 1 shows that in 2015, the employment rate in the three prairie exceeded all other provinces. While the unemployment rate for Canada was 6.9%, the rate was significantly lower in all four of the western provinces. It is also true that labour market shortages are greatest in the western region which is why since 2008 the number of temporary foreign workers to the province of Alberta has outstripped all other provinces, averaging about 34,000 new arrivals per year. Table 2 shows the distribution of temporary foreign workers by province for 2015. On average, two out of every three temporary foreign workers in Canada go to either BC or Alberta.

Table 1. Employment Rate and Unemployment Rate by Province, 2015

	Employment rate	Unemployment rate
BC	63.4%	6.2%
Alberta	73.0%	6.0%
Saskatchewan	70.1%	5.0%
Manitoba	68.3%	5.6%
Canada	65.8%	6.9%

Source: Statistics Canada, (2016).

Table 2. Temporary Foreign Workers by Province of Residence, 2013

	N	%
BC	22,552	22%
Alberta	40,471	39%
Saskatchewan	3,702	4%
Manitoba	1,391	1%
Territories	254	0%
Canada	104,160	100%

Source: Citizenship and Immigration Canada (2015)

The Western Canadian Settlement Survey asked immigrants and refugees various questions about their jobs and job-search experience. Residence in a rural area seems to be an impediment for immigrants living in Saskatchewan and Alberta for finding a job, at least in terms of their perceptions of the difficulty finding work (see Table 3 below). Over half of immigrants residing in rural areas of Alberta and Saskatchewan feel that their lack of Canadian experience contributes to their difficulty finding a job. Only a third of immigrants in Manitoba selected this as a reason for their employment difficulties. Yet two-thirds of urban residents in Manitoba and nearly the same number living in BC, report difficulty finding work due to lack of Canadian experience. We think this provincial difference might be due to the different composition of immigrants to each province. For example, more family class immigrants migrate to BC than any other province and this might affect the perceptions about Canadian experience. In Manitoba, a larger number of immigrants move to rural areas and this group is more likely to be in economic classes and selecting these locales due to job opportunities. For immigrants in Alberta, the differences could be due to secondary migration (but we can't measure this with the current data) and for Saskatchewan, reports³ indicate that immigrants living outside of Regina or Saskatoon face significant challenges with regard to recognition of foreign credentials.

Table 3. Difficulty finding a job by province and urban/rural residence

	<u>Province of Residence</u>				<u>Total</u>
	<u>BC</u>	<u>AB</u>	<u>SK</u>	<u>MB</u>	
Urban	63.3%	41.4%	45.7%	66.6%	881 (56.0%)
Rural	36.7%	58.6%	54.3%	33.4%	692 (44.0%)
Total	431 (100%)	365 (100%)	289 (100%)	488 (100%)	1573 (100%)

Source: Western Canadian Settlement Survey, 2013.

What about other aspects of the economic experiences of immigrants in Canada's smaller rural areas? Where newcomers live plays a role in their ability to easily pay for the things they need. Table 4 shows that newcomer residents in rural areas report it is much easier to pay for the things they need than for newcomers in urban areas. Nearly three-quarters (73.7%) of immigrants living in rural areas report it is extremely easy or very easy to pay for the things they need compared with only two-thirds (66.6%) of urban dwellers. Conversely, 11.7% of urban dwellers report it is very difficult to make ends meet.

³ This observation is based on a conversation the authors had with members of the Ministry of the Economy, Province of Saskatchewan, 04 December 2014.

Table 4. Difficulty paying for everyday items by rural and urban place of residence

How easy has it been for you to pay for the things you need? By rural or urban			
	Rural or Urban		Total
	Rural	Urban	
Not at all easy	6.7%	11.7%	312 (11.1%)
2	6.3%	10.0%	270 (9.7%)
3	13.3%	15.7%	433 (15.4%)
4	22.7%	26.2%	723 (25.8%)
Extremely easy	51.0%	36.4%	1065 (38%)
Total	300 (100%)	2503 (100%)	2803 (100%)

$\chi^2=27.012$ df= 4 $P\leq 0.000$

Source: Western Canadian Settlement Survey 2013

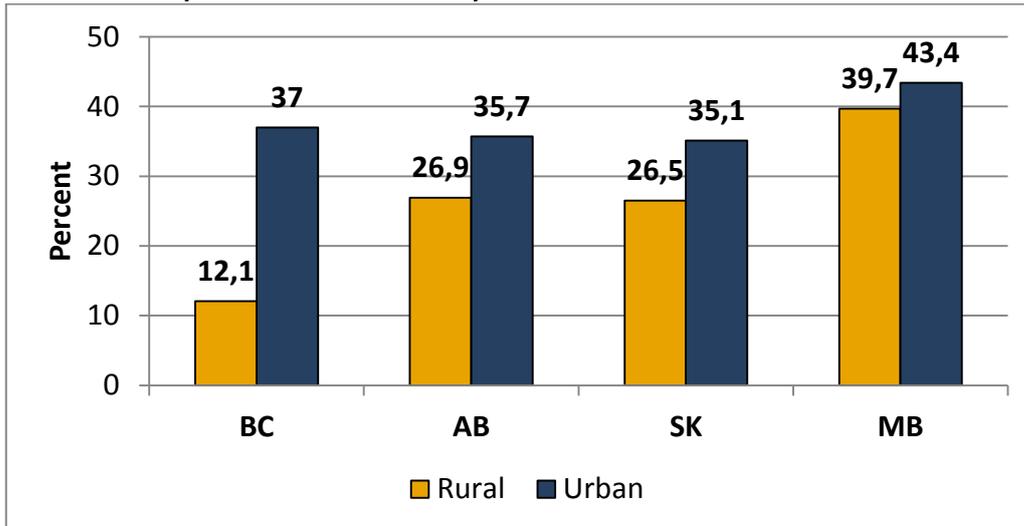
Readers interested in learning more about the employment experiences of immigrants living in smaller urban and rural areas in Canada’s western provinces should consult Wilkinson and Bucklaschuk (2014) for more information.

4. SETTLEMENT SERVICES AND GAPS

Given the recent and steady increase in the number of immigrants and temporary workers arriving in Canada’s western provinces, it is important to assess the number and type of settlement services available and to determine their settlement needs. Not surprisingly, there are fewer services available in smaller urban and rural centres than are available in the larger urban areas. Figure 5 compares the availability of services between immigrants living in the big urban areas with those living in smaller centres. Immigrants in Manitoba were the most likely to report they had received settlement services, though those living in Winnipeg are more likely (43.4%) to receive these services than those living in smaller centres (39.7%). They were, as a whole, more likely to have accessed services than immigrants living in any other western province. Typically, those living in urban centres were more likely to report receiving settlement services than those living in rural areas. Interestingly, only 12% of those living in rural BC indicated they accessed settlement services.⁴

⁴ We are unsure why this number is so low. It could be that immigrants did not require settlement services because family and friends were helping them (as the number of family class immigrants is among the highest in Canada) or they could navigate the new society easily on their own. It could also be that there is an under-reporting of service access, though the researchers feel this is not the case both because ‘services’ was defined to survey participants and also because the surveys were translated into the top 8 languages of origin (so English or French language ability should not have influenced the results).

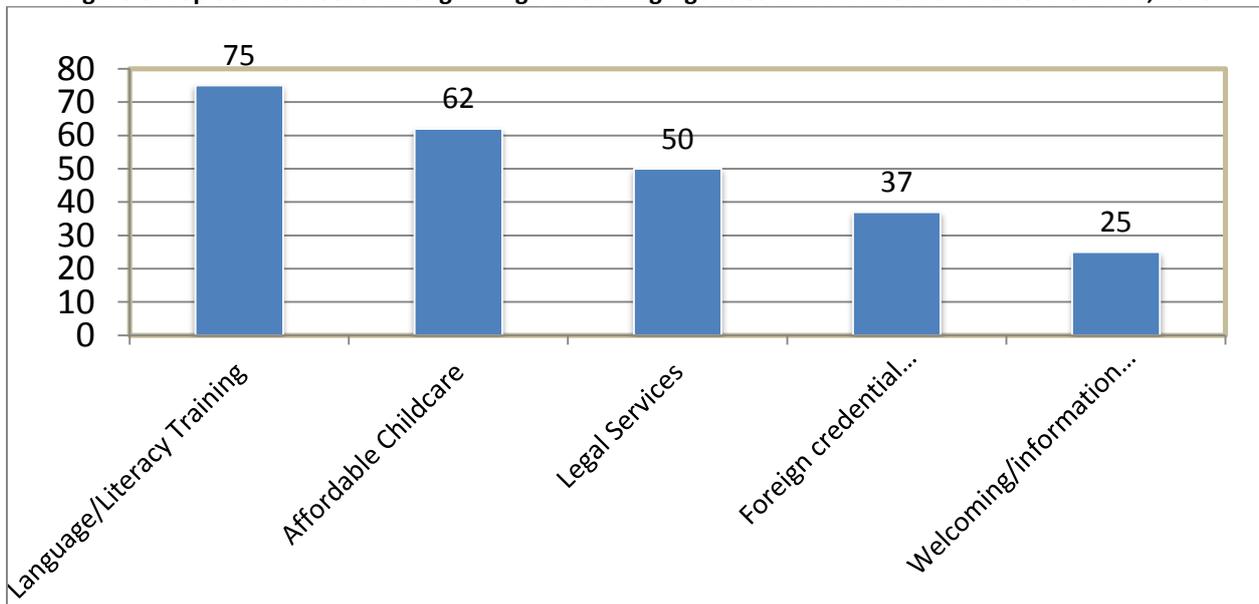
Figure 5. Availability of Settlement Services by Province and Urban or Rural Residence



Source: Western Canadian Settlement Survey, 2013.

Figure 6 provides the results of responses by members of immigrant serving agencies regarding the major gaps in immigrant services. Access to language and literacy training (in English) was the overwhelming gap uncovered by the research. Three-quarters of immigrant serving agencies located in smaller centres indicated they needed more or did not have any access to language or literacy training. Affordable childcare (62%) was another significant need. Foreign credential recognition (37%) and welcoming/orientation information rounded out the top five service gaps.

Figure 6. Top Service Needs among Immigrant Serving Agencies in Rural Areas of Western Canada, 2015



Source: Ashton et al, 2015.

Figure 7 further categorises the service needs of immigrant serving agencies in the western region. Again, the top need identified by settlement service agencies was more language training. Settlement service providers indicated that in most areas, some basic language training was available, but it was grossly inadequate for the needs of the newcomers living there. The greatest needs were higher level language training, such as Canadian Language Benchmark 3 and higher (CLB-3). Access to language training is further complicated by the lack of good public transportation in some areas, a problem that is particular for Saskatchewan and British Columbia where the distances between centres and language training was

great. Some smaller centres lack public transportation entirely, which means that entire groups of newcomers are largely excluded from accessing language training altogether.

Figure 7. Summary of Existing Services and Suggestions for Expansion and New Services in Smaller Urban and Rural Centres in Canada’s western Region.

Services currently offered	Services exist but need more/expansion	Largely not existent
• help with daily life	• language training	• services for men
• cultural events	• childcare	• language training
• language training	• services for women	• foreign credentials recognition
• help finding housing	• mental health services	• job specific language training
• help finding a job	• cultural events	• Information & orientation
• services for seniors	• help finding a job	• transportation supports
• services for women	• services for youth	• specialized literacy services for grade 12 students and adults
• social inclusion and integration support	• legal support/referrals	
• needs assessment & referrals	• Information & orientation	
• Information & orientation	• social inclusion & integration support	
	• services for seniors	

Source: Ashton et al., 2015.

Many respondents also noted the housing challenges faced by newcomers in some smaller and rural areas. Some immigrant families are large and require larger housing units. Other communities lack affordable housing which is also a problem for some newcomers. Some communities also report that although they are welcoming to newcomers, many do not stay for very long, meaning a high turnover of people and this too can influence the social and cultural fabric of the receiving societies.

Most settlement organizations offered social inclusion services, assistance finding a job and housing and some services for women. There are, however, some challenges in accessing services required for effective settlement. In most communities, there is a perceived need for, among other things: more assistance finding employment that matches prior education and work experience; an expansion of child care services additional services and supports for seniors and women; and expanded access to mental health services. Representative of settlement service agencies reported that there are services desperately needed by newcomers that are not available in their communities. In some places, language training was not available, and in almost all places, neither specific ‘work-based’ language training nor were services to evaluate foreign credentials were available.

The surveys also revealed that transportation needs are significant for newcomers in smaller centres as it may take a while for newcomers to acquire a driver’s license and their own vehicle. Service providers noted that the availability of public transportation would benefit all rural residents. There was a call for some specialized services targeted toward male newcomers, much like the services targeted toward women. Finally, most settlement service agencies reported that youth were inadequately assessed in the

education system and that specialized literacy services for teenagers were desperately needed as this group tends to leave school prior to earning a high school diploma because they had difficulty understanding the English spoken by their teachers.

A question that funding agencies have is whether or not existing settlement services can be reconfigured to expand existing services and to provide additional services to newcomers. Immigrant serving agencies were asked whether they had the capacity to expand existing services and to provide new services. Not surprisingly, most organizations reported that they could and would if they were provided additional funds and support. Figure 8 summarizes the results. Not surprisingly, all organizations indicated that financial stress and cutbacks prevented them from providing adequate services to newcomers in their communities. However, most organizations indicated that while expanding existing services and providing new ones was important, equally important and in some cases even more important, was a need to enhance the motivation and mobilization of members of their communities in providing a welcoming space for newcomers. More specifically, their responses indicated they believed that their communities could do a better job of welcoming newcomers, creating spaces and places that encourage cultural, religious and linguistic knowledge sharing, and providing anti-racism training for members of the host community. Some asserted that this was primarily the responsibility of the local governments, rather than their organizations, and that those government ought to assume the responsibility for making their respective communities more progressive and proactive vis-à-vis newcomers.

One of the most significant issues for immigrant serving agencies in rural areas, however, was the need for more and stable funding. Today, the 'contribution agreement system' operated by Citizenship and Immigration Canada⁵ runs on a three year cycle. In the recent past, many community organizations did not know if their three year funding would be renewed until the very last weeks of the funding cycle. This lag-time between funding greatly jeopardizes the ability of many immigrant serving agencies, particularly the small ones, from forward planning. Since most immigrant serving agencies in the rural areas are small, this problem has a greater negative impact in these areas compared to the larger service organizations located in urban centres (many of which can presumably absorb some short-term funding shortfalls if necessary).

⁵ Recently, Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) changed their name to Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC). This paper uses the old name as the data was collected during the time the department was known as CIC.

Figure 8. Organizational Capacity of Immigrant Serving Agencies, 2015

Has adequate current capacity:	Currently lacks adequate capacity:	Will require additional future capacity:
- communicate with stakeholders	- financial support from government sources to maintain current services	- financial support from government sources to maintain current services
- create governing & strategic plan	- financial support from nongovernmental sources to maintain current services	- financial support from nongovernmental sources to maintain current services
- staff skills for delivery & maintenance of services	- mobilize community to support newcomers	- mobilize community to support newcomers
- meet reporting requirements	- provide services in both official languages	- staff skills for delivery & maintenance of services
- staff to provide services	- coordinate services with other SPOs	- create governing/strategic plan
		- staff to provide services
Feedback: Lack of core funding to support strategic and systematic planning.		- communicate with stakeholders
		- coordinate services with other SPOs

Source: Ashton et al., 2015.

To date no special settlement or integration services have been available for temporary foreign workers, international students or refugee claimants. This is a problem that is not unique to the rural areas and western region, but does have an unequal impact because as we learned above, fully two out of every three temporary foreign workers lives in western Canada and many live in smaller centres due to the type and industry of employment. This is an interesting situation, as many temporary foreign workers intend to and do remain in Canada once their contracts expire. Some temporary foreign workers, such as live-in caregivers, are entitled to stay permanently once they have completed their residency and work requirements. Others, particularly those living in provinces like Manitoba, can apply within the province to remain and become permanent residents. Recent research on temporary workers by Bucklaschuk (2016) reveals that over 90%, regardless of their industry, country of origin or temporary worker program want to stay in Canada once their contract ends. This observation is supported by current research on international students where upwards of 85% intend to stay in Canada upon completion of their degrees. Bucklaschuk (2016) indicates that while the program is 'temporary', the intention of most of these migrants is to stay and eventually bring their families to Canada.

Some provincial governments have and continue to provide some additional support to some settlement agencies to offer some settlement services that are not fundable using federal government programs. However, there are differences across the provinces not only in the amount of funds devoted to immigrant settlement services, but also in in the type of immigrants and type of services for which such funds are targeted. Settlement service providers indicated that generally these funds are inadequate to provide the assistance that various immigrant groups, including temporary foreign workers, require. The responses of immigrant service providers on what services they thought temporary foreign workers would need to successfully settle in the region are summarized in Figure 9.

Figure 9: Settlement Service Needs for Temporary Foreign Workers, 2015

Settlement	Economic	Social
Needs assessment and referral	Help finding a job	Childcare
Information and orientation	Educational upgrading	Cultural Events
Greeting upon arrival/initial reception	Recognition of foreign credentials	Social inclusion/ integration support
Interpretation services	Investment opportunities	Legal support/referral
Language assessment	Job-specific language training	Health Services
Language training	Help setting up a business	Mental Health Services
Help finding housing	Financial supports	Recreational services
Help with daily life	Occupational mentorship and networking	Services for seniors
Transportation support		Services for women
		Services for youth

Source: Ashton et al., 2015.

These needs are categorized into three groups: settlement needs, economic needs and social needs. Information related to community orientation and needs assessment are extremely important. Many of the temporary foreign workers land at an airport in a large Canadian city and are immediately shuttled to their place of work, often without a day's rest or orientation. Some employers do provide good orientation and information sessions for new workers, others do not. This is a group that also needs orientation services as they will be living in these communities for as long as four years. Language training is also an issue, and particularly English language training. After all, regardless of what language is used in the workplace, in order to navigate their new but temporary home, knowledge of English is a necessity. After all, inability to speak English poses major obstacles in, among other things, shopping, banking, getting communicating with persons providing services in the health sector, orienting oneself to laws and norms, and socializing. With recent changes to the temporary foreign worker program, more emphasis was placed on recruiting workers with English prior to their arrival so this problem is not as significant as in earlier years. There is, however, a need for continued English language training not only for temporary foreign workers, but also for other categories of newcomers.

As is the case for other categories of newcomers, transportation needs are also a problem for temporary foreign workers. While some employers provide transportation to and from the worksite, in areas where there is no public transportation, it can be difficult for temporary foreign workers to travel to acquire settlement services and basic necessities. Some in this group would not have driver's licenses, and those who have driver's licenses are not likely to have access to vehicles, especially during the early part of their work term.

For those planning to stay in Canada at the end of their contracts, their needs related to employment matters are very similar to other newcomers. Access to foreign credential assessment, additional job-specific language training, access to educational upgrade programs and job search services are needed. The social and cultural needs of this group are also no different from other immigrants. Upon arrival, the provision of culturally appropriate recreation services, reception services and host-society sponsored events will help integrate the population into the larger community. This is particularly important for large immigrant- and temporary-foreign worker receiving communities like Neepawa, Brandon, Wood Buffalo,

and Brooks. Physical and mental health services are also required. Although employers are required to provide medical insurance, there are reports that workers injured on the job are reluctant to seek medical help as they fear deportation (Bucklaschuk, 2016). Among those who do eventually stay, child care, services for seniors and language training are also important.

5. CONCLUSION

It is clear from both studies that immigrants and temporary foreign workers are important and valued members of rural and small urban centres across Canada's western and northern regions. They provide valuable cultural and linguistic diversity to the already rich communities in the area. From an economic standpoint, the immigrants and temporary foreign workers fill important jobs that would go unfilled and as a result, provide economic stimulus to the region. There are conditions that make the migration patterns and living conditions among immigrants and temporary foreign workers to this region unique. The geographic dispersion of immigrants and temporary workers means that access to adequate settlement services can be a problem for those living in smaller urban and rural centres. Access to language training and additional special public transportation supports are needed for the successful settlement and integration of newcomers but may not be economically viable in smaller urban and rural communities. As well, settlement service agencies in these communities tend to be small with limited capacity to provide services to newcomers. Concerted efforts to increase capacity by providing them with additional human and financial resources will be required to help them meet the settlement and integration needs of newcomers.

Some changes may also be required in the eligibility requirements for newcomers to receive settlement and integration services. Rigid eligibility requirements that prevent all temporary workers and some other categories of newcomers from acquiring services mean that integration is uneven and unpredictable. In the long-term, newcomers who do not receive adequate settlement services take longer to find employment and may experience economic and social marginalization. This, together with other settlement and integration challenges faced by newcomers, could pose threats to the social cohesion and harmony of Canadian society, as it has in some other countries.

Equally important is the need for funding to assist smaller communities in providing welcoming spaces and events for established residents and newcomers to interact and get to know each other. Such spaces are needed to improve not only the prospects for settlement and integration of newcomers over the short- and long-term, but also to foster social cohesion and harmony.

Finally, it should be noted that in planning and providing the types of settlement and integration services required at any given point in time, it is imperative that attention is devoted to trends in economic conditions in the country, the provinces and territories, and individual communities therein. With this in mind special attention should be devoted to Alberta and to a lesser extent, Saskatchewan, in light of downturns they have experienced this past year in their economic growth and economic performance in light of dramatic reduction in revenues from some of their natural resources. The extraordinary drop in 2015 and 2016 in oil prices has had a major adverse effect on the economic 'attractiveness' of Alberta to newcomers and other Canadians. If the economic problems are protracted, then dramatic shifts in not only migration and settlement patterns but also in the need for and provision of settlement and integration services in various communities may occur. Regardless of what happens in immigration and settlement patterns, so long as immigrants arrive to smaller urban and rural communities it is imperative that the requisite settlement and integration services are provided and the requisite agencies exist to provide such services.

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