Housing Strategies for Growth in Neepawa, Manitoba:
A Planning Perspective on Preparing for New Immigrants

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Abstract

This thesis examines the housing demand pressures in light of growth due to immigration in the rural community of Neepawa, Manitoba. The town of Neepawa has been experiencing a significant increase in population, resulting from the recruitment of temporary foreign workers, arriving to work in a local pork processing facility. Access to housing has been identified as an important step for the integration of newcomers into their new communities. Many newcomers are remaining in the town after they apply for their permanent residency, often sponsoring family members to join them. Newcomers᾽ housing needs change with their situations. This research looks at this phenomenon from a community planning perspective. The research uses data from 10 semi-structured interviews with key informants, representative of real estate, government, immigrant settlement services, elected officials and industry sectors. The evidence suggests that the housing market within Neepawa has experienced significant change in recent years in light of changing demands in the market. The community has a need for housing that caters not only to newcomers but to an aging population as well. This study points to the need for more research that examines the housing experiences and trajectories of newcomers in rural communities.

Acknowledgements

I arrived at this research topic years after considering the challenges faced by immigrants in their settlement within new communities and often, new cultures. My own family history was shaped by immigration and there are few in Canada whose lives are not touched by it. City planning research has opened its cannon to reflect more pluralistic approaches to working with communities. I am very grateful to have found a profession that inspires so much interdisciplinary work and research. There are many that helped nudge this project along and I am pleased to offer my thanks to them here.

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1. Introduction

While many major urban centres are the primary immigrant destinations and have become known for their diversity, there is growing awareness that rural areas also present viable options for immigrant settlement. Growth in some rural communities is being driven by immigration. In light of this, there is a growing need to understand the impact that immigration should have on planning strategies at the regional and rural scales. This thesis considers possible ways for the theory and practice of planning to engage with immigrant settlement in rural areas. Research about the settlement and integration of newcomers in rural and/or remote areas is recent, but the literature is growing. As local municipalities and businesses seek out prospective immigrants to drive economic development and growth, there is an opportunity to not only meet the needs of settlement services today, but to address long-term planning needs for growth and demographic change in the years to come. This thesis seeks to shed light on the approaches that have been applied in the provision of housing for newcomers in Neepawa, Manitoba.

One of the motivations for this research was an interest in both multiculturalism and multicultural planning. In Canada, the national narrative of multiculturalism has existed for nearly fifty years. Yet, while multiculturalism is at times present in the national psyche and in its policies, it is not always present in policies at the community level. Multiculturalism presents itself in various themes within planning literature. These include its impact on the profession; a new post-modernist wave of pluralistic planning theory; the means through which

planners should think about and approach the profession; and as a way of questioning

established norms within housing preferences and needs.

In 2004, Sandercock offered policy recommendations on how to sustain Canada's multicultural

cities. While her focus has primarily been one orientated towards larger metropolitan areas

and their relationships with multiculturalism, she makes the point that while immigration has

predominantly been a creature of the federal government, it is *experienced* at the community

level (rural or otherwise). She explained that "[m]ulticulturalism is mistakenly seen as a

national policy, when it is also ... primarily, a local matter" (p. 5). This does not excuse the

federal government from participating in the implementation of multicultural programs,

however it does acknowledge that programs must be orientated to and administered at the

local level. Sandercock goes beyond this to draw a link between communities and

multiculturalism. She explains that when immigrants from different cultures and points of

origin, with different personal experiences move to a community, "their presence disrupts

taken for granted categories of social life and urban space as they struggle to redefine the

conditions for belonging in their new society" (p. 6). That is, communities, neighbourhoods,

and municipalities are the receivers of new immigrants in Canada and the means through which

multicultural policies should be understood and delivered.

Qadeer (1997) explains multicultural planning "is pre-eminently a matter of awareness of race

and culture among planners and public officials" (p. 493). He explains that pluralism is one of

the planning approaches which "comes close to accommodating multiculturalism" (p. 483) because the concept is based on equality and a commitment to open bargaining among competing interests which make it particularly relevant. However, multiculturalism expands the definition of the interests to be accommodated beyond race and class and thus extends the meaning of pluralism" (p. 483). Furthermore "the effectiveness of urban planning is assessed by its responsiveness to citizens' need and goals" (p. 482). He then states that this would include differing social class, race, gender, and cultural backgrounds, and "treat all individuals and groups equitably in meeting those needs" (Qadeer, 1997, p. 482).

But as opposed to being considered a sub-discipline of urban planning, multiculturalism has been argued as a necessary lens for all planning policy in Canada (Fleras & Elliott, 1992). Additionally, Qadeer (1997) has argued that multiculturalism affects planning in two ways, "the first is that it holds planning policies and standards up to the light of social values and public goals . . . [The second is] multiculturalism recognizes the legitimacy of ethnic neighbourhoods and enclaves" (p. 482). In this definition, multiculturalism is identified as a tool for ensuring social justice for all and a reality within diverse neighbourhoods in the city. Acknowledging these factors is a key step in ensuring the successful inclusion of immigrants in their communities as well as immigrants' propensity for economic success.

 This country's needs for population growth is no longer being met through birth rates alone. Instead, international migration has widely been championed as the solution to demographic

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constraints. In this context, countries around the world compete for skilled workers and immigrants who will contribute to the economic development of their communities. Many large metropolitan areas in Canada and around the world have become quite adept at this (OECD 2014). And so, not only have global cities begun competing against one-another, so too have regions (for example, Saskatoon-Regina area competes against Southern Manitoba), and even rural areas now vie against each other for their share of the immigration pie. This competition is played out in labour market offers, local services, housing, lifestyle, services and other factors which contribute to quality of life. This idea of competition echoes neo-liberal ideals present in many municipalities. Dobrowolsky (2012) lists the many ways in which immigration policy in Canada is becoming more influenced by neoliberal politics:

> *a) attract highly skilled immigrants; (b) expand low wage, temporary foreign worker programs; (c) diversify immigration "entry doors" and make some more flexible; (d) cut admission and settlement costs; (e) encourage settlement in less well-populated areas; (f) tighten border controls and crack down on undocumented migrants; (g) "change citizenship rules to reduce risks of undesired costs and unrealized benefits to the state"; and (h) sell immigration to the Canadian public…through a policy rhetoric that emphasizes the hoped-for benefits of immigration while downplaying risks and disappointing outcomes (p. 197-198)*

In light of Dobrowolsky's review, it would seem that Canadian immigration patterns have been characterized by three waves: the pre-war immigration wave of 'growing the country', the post-war/1960s-1990s immigration wave which was characterized by 'diversifying the country', and the current/millennial wave of 'economic immigration'. This current, neoliberal wave of immigration corresponds with Dobrowolsky, in that immigration is motivated by economic contexts.

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While one of the initial motivations of this research was to consider multicultural planning within rural communities, through the interviews it became evident that individuals are thinking about the changes in the community in terms of 'needs' (for example, housing) as opposed to the planning context (i.e. multicultural planning). However, this research does contain a variety of subject matter that is often considered within the multicultural planning cannon, including, housing, immigration and rural community planning. These ideas are connected because multicultural planning by nature requires that we see planning issues from an interdisciplinary perspective, encompassing multiple layers of context, community needs and diverse populations. In other words, multicultural planning or pluralistic planning involves "identifying public issues arising from the divergent requirements for space and services found in different ethnic groups" (Qadeer 1997, p. 481). These elements are all present in the community that is the focus of this research. Housing in the community of Neepawa should be multicultural because a multicultural approach pushes planners to consider the specific needs of this community, which has become culturally diverse. This is not to say that all immigrant communities are the same or that a unified, singular, 'multicultural approach' is the solution to planning challenges in ethnically diverse communities. But understanding that one's culture impacts one's experience in the built environment is an important step in exploring the housing demands for a community such as Neepawa.

The thesis is organized in the following manner. This chapter explains the approach and

objective of this work, including the need for research in this area. An explanation of the recent

population growth and current state of research on housing in the community is discussed. The

research questions that directed this thesis are explained and the research approach is stated.

The ethics and limitations of this work are also explained. In Chapter Two, a literature review

offers a definition of key terms used in the research, and an examination of the topics that

include rural perspectives on immigration, immigration in rural communities, housing for

newcomers and planning tools that can be used to generate housing. Chapter Three provides a

socio-economic profile of Neepawa and descriptions of the community's recent rapid growth.

Chapter Four outlines the method of this work. Chapters Five provides a report on the

interviews conducted and an analysis of the data that emerged through this process. Chapter

Six offers recommendations and lessons for other rural communities experiencing growth due

to immigration. Finally, it also provides some final thoughts on this work.

1.1. Problem Statement

Rapid population growth in Neepawa, Manitoba has led to a significantly higher demand in the

housing market over the past few years. There is little published data or literature on the

housing experiences of immigrants in rural communities, much less on those living in Neepawa.

While there have been some preliminary studies examining the condition of the area's housing

stock, these have mostly been limited to examining its condition and quantity (Carter 2010;

Rural Development Institute 2013).   However, there are certain attributes of the housing

market and the area's current policies that, if better understood, could greatly benefit the community and allow for future decisions to be geared accordingly. In consideration of housing policy, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC) identifies three areas of housing security or *core housing need* related to an individual's or family's housing situation. Affordability is closely tied to an individual's or family's core-housing need. CMHC (2014) explains core-housing need as when housing is not adequate (i.e. in need of major repairs), suitable (in terms of number of bedrooms in relation to household members) or affordable (a maximum of 30% of household income should be spent on rent) (p. 17). Among recent immigrants, that is those having arrived within the past five years, core housing need is nearly three times higher compared to that of Canada as a whole (see Figure 2 below). This thesis seeks to assess and address the housing needs of this area with specific attention paid to the context of recent population growth.

1.2. Epistemological Influences: Selecting the Topic

Storytelling is an epistemological approach that has gained momentum in recent years. Sandercock explains that while story was often thought in the social sciences as "'soft', inferior, lacking in rigour, or worst insult of all, as 'woman/native/other' way of knowing" it can be a useful tool in planning practices (2003b, p. 182). Stories can help in the understanding of process, what the catalysts for change are, provide a foundation, illuminate experiences or justify pedagogy (Sandercock 2003). Some however, such as Eckstein, advise caution, stating that "stories' ability to act as a transformative agent depends on a disciplined scrutiny of their

forms and uses" (quoted in Sandercock 2003, p. 182). That in mind, this research is influenced

by the idea of story within planning in the sense that it was an influential driver in the

motivation to understand what was going on in Neepawa and employed as a tool for making

sense of what happened in the community. Changes in the community in terms of population

growth, increased cultural diversity, increased housing demand and changing housing needs as

a result of demographic changes provoked the researcher's instincts that there was a 'story' to

be explored within this community.

1.3. Research Questions

The purpose of this research is to record the existing knowledge on housing challenges for

temporary foreign workers in the town of Neepawa and attempt to highlight some of the

lessons learned from the recent growth in Neepawa. This intent is to bring to light which

approaches were carried out in the community to house newcomers as individuals and/or

following the arrival of families. This research assumes that planners have a role to play in this

process, in addition to other leaders and experts in the community, such as settlement service

providers and industry representatives. The successful settlement of newcomers is an

endeavour that requires input and participation from a number of individuals, often from

different sectors and disciplines. This requires cooperation and knowledge sharing. It is hoped

that planners can play a role in facilitating challenges and be leaders in seeking agreement on

actions and implementing housing solutions in a timely manner. The following research

questions that drive this inquiry are as follows.

What are local and regional planning authorities doing now? A primary objective of this work was to record the existing knowledge around housing for newcomers in the community. It was important to understand in which ways the community and local authority was responding to an increased demand for housing. This lead to other questions as well. ***How are policies and community planning bylaws adapting to the demographic changes in Neepawa? Have bylaws changed and if so, how? What are the policies or initiatives to encourage new housing? Where are they falling short?***

Another research question was concerning whether the community needed to improve newcomers' access to housing, and, if so, what that might look like. **What more could the local authority do in order to meet the needs of newcomers and provide affordable, adequate and suitable housing?** Much of the literature argues that the attainment of affordable, adequate and suitable housing is a primary step in the integration of newcomers into a new community (Teixeira 2009). These concepts are defined in section 2.1.2 under key terms.

1.4. Research Significance

This research took place in the province of Manitoba, specifically in the rural community of Neepawa. Historically, much of the focus on housing within multicultural planning has been on the larger metropolitan centres (Hulchanski & Shapcott 2004; Murdie 2002; Qadeer 1997; Sandercock 1998). More recently, there has been a growing number of studies that examine

the housing experiences of newcomers in midsized cities (Carter et al. 2008; Derwig and Krahn 2008; Teixeira 2009; Walton Roberts 2005). Little attention, however, is paid to planning for diversity and multicultural planning in smaller communities (Shirinova 2014) and as demographics change within these communities, planners need to be involved in how they adapt, grow and develop into the future.

This study touched on the specific housing needs of newcomers to the Neepawa area; it utilized key informant interviews to understand recent newcomers' experiences within the housing market in Neepawa. This presents the existing knowledge on this topic from both the literature and key informants within the community. Attention was paid to exploring housing availability within Neepawa, and it took into account affordability, adequacy, and suitability.

1.5. Ethics

The ethical protocol involved the completion of the online course by the Tri-Council. Following this, an Ethics Protocol Submission and Ethics Board Submission Form was prepared and submitted to the University of Manitoba Research Ethics Board. Minor revisions were required and these were made prior to engaging with research participants.

Newcomers were not interviewed for this study for several reasons. Some literature suggests that some newcomers might be hesitant to speak out about their experiences in the employment and housing markets (Birman, 2005). In Neepawa, temporary foreign workers

(TFWs) are provided housing for their first month in the community. Not all businesses that sponsor TFWs are required to provide housing for newcomers during their stay in Canada, but those under the Seasonal Worker Agricultural Program (SWAP), Agriculture Stream, and the Live-in Caregiver Program (LCP) do have to meet this requirement (Government of Canada 2012). It is possible that newcomers may feel uncomfortable speaking out about experiences given the fact that their ability to stay in Canada is contingent upon their employment tenure. Also, given that there is one primary employer of temporary foreign workers in Neepawa, it may have been challenging to maintain the anonymity of those who offered criticism if it did arise. This situation could have presented some risk to newcomers who would have been asked to participate in this study. Given this, and the researcher's limited experience in coordinating research with subjects who may be at risk, newcomers were not asked to participate in this study.

Key informants that were recruited for this research were sent an Ethics Cover Letter (example provided in Appendix A). The Ethics Cover Letter explained the nature of the research, the process for carrying out interviews, information about withdrawing from research, and it provided contact information of the researcher, the advisor, and the University of Manitoba Ethics Board coordinator. Appendix B also provides a sample of the kind of letter that was used to recruit individuals to participate in the research.

1.6. Limitations

This research makes the assumption that planners, service providers, local experts in real estate and development, are all in a position to affect the settlement experience of newcomers entering a community, and that they have a wealth of knowledge to contribute to the discussion. This research relies on the input of professionals who work in planning and immigration-related fields and aims to explore their experiences and knowledge around this subject. As this thesis seeks to draw attention to the approaches to housing newcomers in Neepawa, it is an acknowledged limitation that this research was unable to involve newcomers. Given the potential for there to be some risk to newcomers in the participation of this research, it was decided that newcomers would not be asked to participate. As a result, some perspectives and experiences might not be addressed within the research. That being stated, those who were interviewed did have firsthand experience with the housing market in Neepawa and the housing needs of newcomers.

Geographical distance was also a limitation encountered during the research. Given that the distance between Neepawa and Winnipeg is roughly 200 km, only a few trips were made to Neepawa over the course of the research and alternative communication tools were required. Therefore, telephone and Skype interviews were used for some of the discussions that were undertaken. It is acknowledged that the use of technology as opposed to face-to-face conversations might have limited the degree to which participants were able to engage with the interviewer and fully respond to the interview questions.

In addition, given that this research focuses on only one community (Neepawa), where the source-country for immigration has been primarily the Philippines, it is possible that the findings from this study will not reflect the experiences or be applicable to other rural immigration centres or their respective newcomer communities. Therefore any lessons learned or recommendations should be considered in context. The demographic make-up of Neepawa is different from other communities experiencing growth, so policy recommendations and conclusions should apply to Neepawa.

2. Literature

The following literature review provides an examination of the research areas pertinent to housing and newcomer communities. This section includes definitions for key terms in this research; a brief explanation of the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) and some key points in Canada's immigration history. These are offered primarily to explain why a community such as Neepawa is experiencing a change in cultural make-up at this point in history. Rural communities and immigration is also explored, concluding that rural communities present different challenges to newcomers in comparison to more urban destinations. This has an inherent impact on immigrant retention. Finally a sampling list of some planning tools that can be made available to municipalities is offered.

2.1. Defining Key Terms

The following section provides definitions of key terms used in this research.

Adequate housing - Adequate housing refers to housing that does not require any major repairs according to residents (CMHC 2014).

Affordable housing - Affordable housing is housing that costs less than 30% of pre-tax household income (CMHC 2014). Affordability is closely tied to an individual's or family's core-housing need.

Community - The term *community* is frequently used to describe the subject area of this thesis. Community is intended to include not only the geographical town of Neepawa and its population, but also the local businesses, organizations, groups and networks that make up the personal connections within this area. The term community is also used to indicate that there are individuals who are a part of the town's business and social fabric but that they may live outside of the municipal boundary of the town.

Core-Housing Need - Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC 2014) explains core-housing need as when housing is not adequate, suitable or affordable.

Newcomer - The term newcomer is used widely throughout the literature as a catchall phrase that may encompasses immigrants, temporary foreign workers, and refugees (Akbari 2011; Beattie 2009; Carter et al. 2009; Clark 2009; Teixeira 2009). The experiences of individuals within these groups may vary widely, both prior to arrival and thereafter. This paper will use the term *newcomer*, as it is used in the literature, as an all-encompassing term for immigrants, temporary foreign workers and refugees. However, when possible, specificity will be used to differentiate between these groups.

Immigrants - Immigrants are defined as permanent residents in Canada, either through the economic, family, business or refugee classes (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2007).

Suitable Housing - Suitable housing refers to having an appropriate number of rooms per occupants based on the National Occupancy Standard (CMHC 2014).

Temporary Foreign Worker - *temporary foreign worker* is defined as a "foreign national engaged in work activity who is authorized, with the appropriate documentation, to enter and to remain in Canada for a limited period" (Elgersma, 2007, p. 1).

2.2. The Provincial Nominee Program

As a means of promoting multiculturalism in smaller Canadian cities, in 2001 the Government of Canada stated in a report by Citizenship and Immigration Canada that it would like to see a greater distribution of immigrant settlements across the country, beyond the primary immigrant destinations of Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. According to Krahn et al. (2005), immigrant populations in smaller and midsized cities are "viewed positively by government departments charged with increasing cultural diversity nationwide" (p. 873). Furthermore, the economic benefits that immigration can bring to a region have become ever more attractive. Regions have been seeking a greater number of immigrants, particularly to smaller and midsized cities, through financial incentives and professional training, or through programs like the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). This raises questions about how smaller communities and rural areas are preparing for and adapting to population growth and change as a result of immigration (Krahn et al. 2005).

Much of Manitoba's success in attracting newcomers to the province has been in reaction to the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP). Between the years 1999 and 2013, Manitoba received

more than 140,000 permanent residents (Province of Manitoba, 2011). The percentage of

immigrants in Winnipeg in comparison to the rest of the province is increasing. In 2010, 77.6

percent of permanent residents chose to make Winnipeg their home; that number increased in

2011 to 83.6 percent (Province of Manitoba, 2011). After Winnipeg, the Western, and Central

parts of the province have received the most permanent resident arrivals. In 2011, these two

areas combined received 1,778 new permanent residents (Province of Manitoba, 2011). The

Western Region of the province includes the communities of Neepawa, Brandon, and Portage

La Prairie. The Central Region includes Winkler, Morden and Altona.
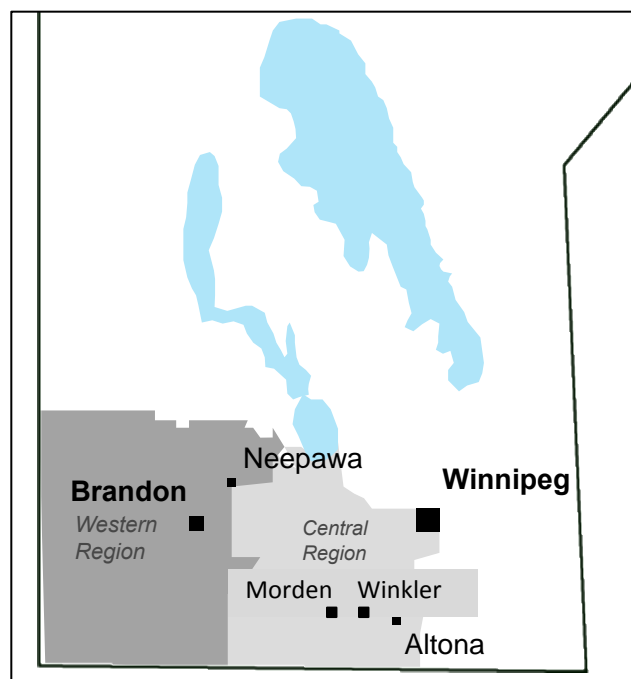
Figure 2.1 Manitoba Key Map

Source: Google Maps, 2015 (adapted)

Between the years 2000 and 2010, Manitoba received more than 97,000 immigrants –

immigration into the province during that period increased in proportion to the rest of Canada

from less than 2 percent to 5.6 percent (Province of Manitoba, 2010). Much of this success in

attracting newcomers to the province has been credited to the Provincial Nominee Program.

Starting officially in 1996, the program originated in Manitoba as a pilot project designed to

target "immigrants to meet shortages in a variety of 'skilled worker occupations', including

construction work, mechanic work, welding, engineering, truck driving, equipment operation,

biotechnology, and manufacturing" (Lewis, 2010, p. 243). Though the majority of new

immigrants in Manitoba choose to settle in Winnipeg (77.6 percent), over 15 percent have

ended up in communities in south-west Manitoba, with the Rural Municipality of Stanley

ranked as the third immigrant destination after Winnipeg and Brandon (Province of Manitoba,

2010).

Provincial Nominee Programs operate as agreements between the federal and provincial

governments that give "a greater role in recruiting, selecting and attracting immigrants

according to the economic needs of the region" (Pandey & Townsend, 2011, p. 498). In this

model the Province nominates acceptable applicants for permanent resident status. The

Province then works with Citizenship and Immigration Canada (CIC) to determine the

"maximum number of immigrants over a given year to be allowed through the program, and

determines whether each nominee fulfills the federal admissibility requirements relating to

health and security" (Pandey & Townsend, 2011, p. 498). Nominees of the program receive

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priority processing by federal immigration authorities (Leo & August, 2009). This aspect of the program is consistent in all provinces where the program is offered (Pandey & Townsend, 2011).

2.3. Immigration Policy in Canada: a Brief History

Canada's *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act* establishes selection criteria under three categories for people applying to immigrate permanently to Canada (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). These classes include *Family Class*, *Economic Class*, and *Refugee Class* (see Figure 2.2 below). In Manitoba, temporary residents who have worked more than six months, or have graduated from a post-secondary institution in the province can apply through the PNP and become permanent residents (Province of Manitoba, 2011).

Between 2002 and 2011, Manitoba received more than 29,900 temporary foreign workers (Province of Manitoba, 2011). Many of these newcomers are ending up in Winnipeg; however, significant numbers of temporary foreign workers are destined for communities outside of Winnipeg (see Figure 2.3 below). As rural populations have declined, as Carter et al. (2008) note, there has been a growing need for "young farmers with new investment and people to fill vacant positions in agriculture-related act" (p. 167). In recent years, immigration numbers to communities outside of Winnipeg and Brandon have been steadily increasing.
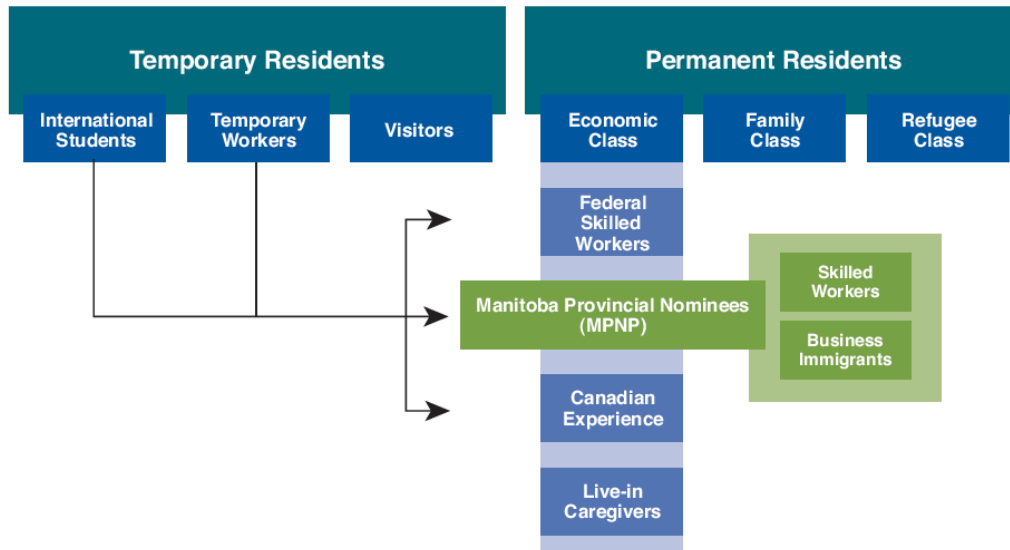
Figure 2.2 Manitoba Pathways to Immigration

Source: Province of Manitoba, 2013
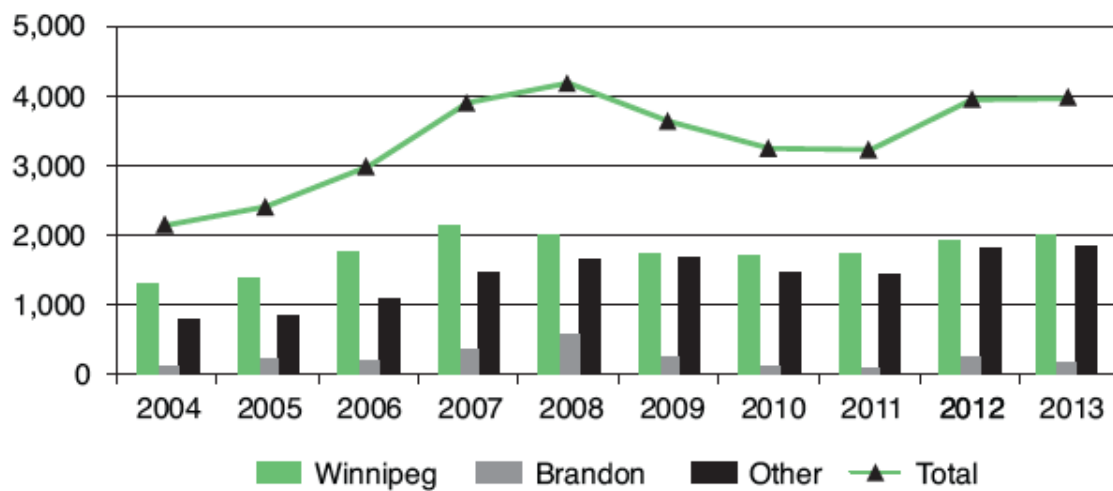
Figure 2.3 Manitoba Temporary Foreign Workers by Community Destination

Source: Province of Manitoba, 2013

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Compared with the overall population in Canada, immigrants tend to be highly skilled and well educated. Recent working-age immigrants are twice as likely to have a university degree than other Canadians (FCM, 2009). Recent research shows that immigrants are also much more likely to be entrepreneurs, contributing new jobs to the market (Price & Chacko 2009). There are numerous benefits to attracting newcomers to rural areas, including drawing growth pressures away from larger cities, such as Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver. For the local communities, benefits include population growth in areas where decline has occurred, thereby improving economic performance – reducing the cost of some services by increasing the number of users (Carter, Morrish & Amoyaw 2008). For newcomers themselves, settlement away from larger cities actually leads to a greater possibility of employment and a greater propensity for integration into the community (Silvius & Annis, 2005).

Immigration in Canada is certainly not a new phenomenon. Since the early days of colonization in North America, intrepid individuals have come to this country seeking better opportunities. Canada's immigration records date back as far as 1860, when there were 6,276 new arrivals in what was then British North America (Krahn et al., 2005). In the early years of the twentieth century, immigrants were flooding into the country. By 1913, 400,870 immigrants had arrived. Initially, there were very few policy restrictions on immigration. It was not until 1885 that race-based restrictions for immigration were introduced. At that time the government established a head tax to ensure that Chinese immigration would be severely limited. European (i.e., white) immigrants were preferred, with preference to immigrants from Northern Europe over Eastern

or Southern Europe (Krahn et al., 2005). Immigration policies remained Euro-centric until the

Immigration Act was passed in 1978. This legislation meant that eligibility for immigration

would be based primarily on a point system that was designed to evaluate potential immigrants

based on education, English and French language abilities, work experience, age, arranged

employment and adaptability (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2010). Since the

Immigration Act was passed, immigrants to Canada have been comprised of more ethnically

and culturally diverse groups than ever before. In 2013, the top source countries were the

People's Republic of China, India, and Pakistan (Government of Canada (CIC), 2013).

The formative period for the Immigration Act began in 1971, when the Royal Commission on

Bilingualism and Biculturalism released its fourth report on the contributions of non-Aboriginal,

non-French and non-English groups to Canada's culture. Dewing (2006) states that the

committee recommended "integration (not assimilation) into Canadian society" (p. 3). This

meant that new immigrants would be encouraged to settle into Canada while still maintaining

their own cultural identities. The policy document outlined key principles that would later

contribute to multicultural policy in Canada. Dewing outlines the key objectives that were

announced in October 1971:

> *To assist cultural groups to retain and foster their identity; to assist cultural groups to overcome barriers to their full participation in Canadian society; . . . to promote creative exchange among all Canadian cultural groups; and to assist immigrants in acquiring at least one of the official languages (p. 4).*

The federal government funded new programs for maintenance of heritage languages and

cultures to support these principles. Dewing notes that equality through "the removal of

racially discriminatory barriers became the main focus of multicultural programs, and race

relations policies and programs were put in place to uncover, isolate and combat racial

discrimination at personal and institutional levels" (p.4). The Commission's recommendations

marked the beginning of a shift in government policy about non-European immigration into

Canada and it is an important milestone in the ideals, which have affected how newcomers are

received in Canadian society today (Dewing 2009).

The rate of immigration has fluctuated over the last century and a half in Canada. The last 20

years however, as depicted in Figure 2.4 below, have been characterized by a period of

consistency and have seen an average approximately of 235,000 annually (Statistics Canada,

2015).

The share of immigrants admitted under economic visas during this period has also increased to

and been sustained at approximately two-thirds of all immigrants, even during the economic

recession of the late 2000s (Statistics Canada, 2015). As the graph above shows, this was not

the case for the economic depression of the 1930s.

In recent years, economic benefits of immigration have become ever more sought after, with

regions competing to attract skilled immigrants, particularly to smaller and mid-sized cities,

through financial incentives and professional training, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP)

and the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. In light of this, smaller communities and rural

areas may want to consider how they are preparing for and adapting to, population growth and change as a result of immigration.

number / rate per thousand
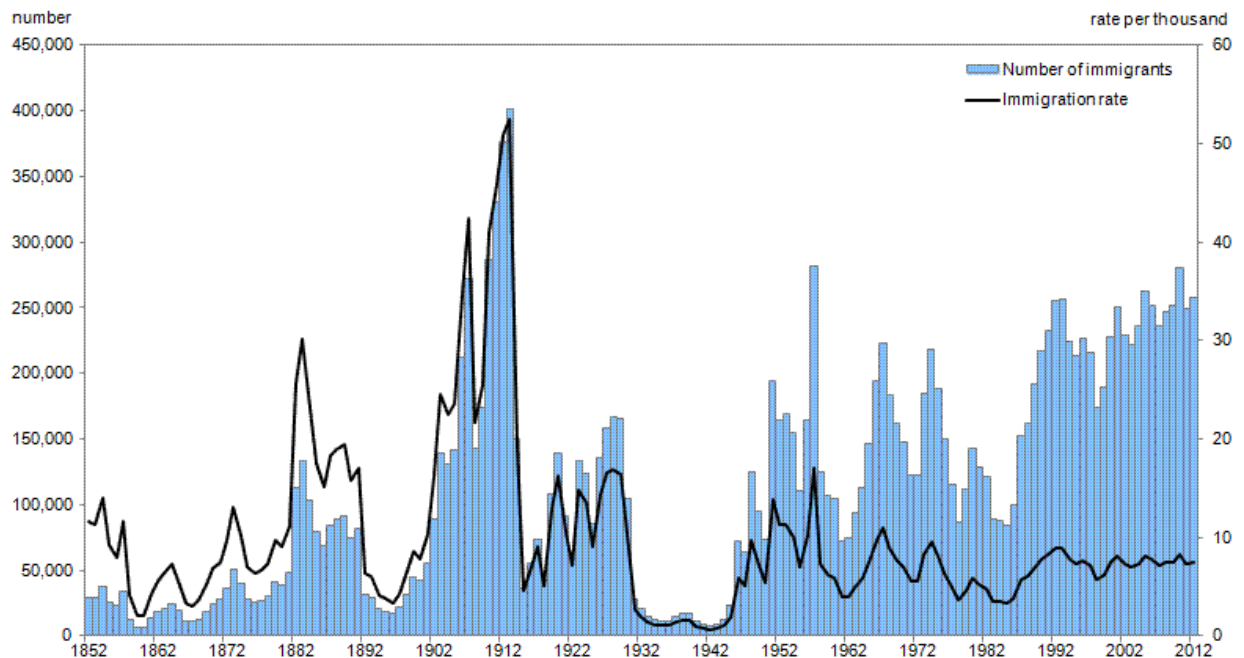
Figure 2.4 Number of Immigrants and Immigration Rate, Canada 1852 - 2012

Source: Statistics Canada, 2015

2.4. New Immigrants in Rural Communities

While many newcomers to Canada will settle in major urban centres, such as the primary immigrant destinations of Montreal, Toronto and Vancouver, others will choose to settle in rural areas. Although the proportion of individuals living in cities is increasing, as a whole, rural Canada is still growing. The total population living in rural areas across the country increased

by 2.7 per cent between the census periods of 2001 and 2006 (Bollman et al. 2007). Between

2001 and 2006, Canada's population grew by 5.4 per cent. In Manitoba, the rural population is

also growing as a whole; however, this growth is not being experienced everywhere. According

to Bollman et al. (2007), rural Manitoba is growing most in areas that are in close proximity to

cities. This urban-centred growth has meant that at each census there have been some rural

areas, which have been reclassified, as urban. The following section provides explanations of

what is meant in reference to 'rural' communities and some of the terms that are used in the

research to describe these settlement areas.

In defining what *rural* is, Bollman (2007) identifies rurality as a relationship between the

dimensions of *density* and *distance*. The distance aspect of this equation identifies rurality as

being far from metropolitan centres, while it is possible to be urban in terms of population

density, employment options are not as prevalent and diverse as to those found in

metropolitan centres. The density dimension of this equation refers to population density,

irrespective of distance from metropolitan centres, so that the population may live in a low-

density environment while perhaps commuting to a metropolitan centre for work or services

(Bollman 2007, p. 4).

According to Statistics Canada, census rural areas are defined as areas having fewer than 1,000

inhabitants and a population density below 400 people per square kilometer. A recent re-

classification for the 2011 Census means that *census urban areas* are now being referred to as

population centres (small, medium, and large). Another matter of reclassification that also influences rural population numbers is the change of population areas that are gaining 'city' status. The Province determines when this designation is given. Neepawa remains a town with a population of 3,629 inhabitants as of the 2011 census. The character of the community remains quite rural, with a population density of 401 persons per square kilometer.

Immigration to rural areas, particularly the Prairies, is a different scenario than the experience of immigrants found in urban Canada. In recent years, strategic and calculated programs and policies have been implemented so that rural communities might gain from the economic growth and cultural vitality that new immigrants offer. In writing about the context of rural immigration, Sylvius and Annis (2008) argue that, when considering rural immigration, it is important to understand that, "each rural community is distinct from the next – offering different sizes, different people, different challenges, sometimes even different languages" (p. 27). The authors go on to state that there are some concerns, and immigration – for example, should not be treated as a cure-all for rural communities experiencing development challenges as a result of out-migration and aging populations.

Another key consideration in terms of distinctiveness is the fact that just as rural communities differ from one another, so too, do immigrants. As Fiedler et al. (2006) note, "there is no longer a 'typical' or 'average' immigrant," and this needs to be taken into consideration (p. 207).   Sylvius and Annis (2008) go further to say, "there is no such thing as an immigrant, if it is

taken to mean a person with predicable motives, preferences and expectations" (p. 131).

Immigrants have different reasons and push or pull factors that influence their decisions to

locate in rural areas. Some of these factors may include employment opportunities, farming or

business opportunities, perception of safety or security, opportunities for children, desire for a

rural lifestyle, quality of life and, in some instances, the presence of members of compatriot

communities (Sylvis & Annis 2008).

With respect to planning theory and practice, the intersection between community planning

and immigrant integration presents considerable opportunity for exploration at the municipal

level. Upon arriving in Canada, new immigrants face a host of challenges. These struggles

influence how immigrants settle into and integrate within a community. Some barriers are

inherent to some of the characteristics newcomers possess: varying abilities in official

languages; minimal income; challenges with labour-market competitiveness/skills recognition;

and/or, the acquisition of suitable and affordable housing (FCM 2011). A report released by the

Federation of Canadian Municipalities (2011) outlines roles for municipalities in immigrant

settlement: "everything from providing culturally appropriate recreation services to translating

garbage pickup schedules and emergency services information" (FCM, 2011, p.14). In addition

to reviewing immigration and settlement trends in Canada, the report also details the rural

context of immigrant settlement. It explains that while many of the settlement challenges

newcomers face in rural areas are similar to those found in cities, in addition to these, they are

also likely to lack: public transportation, multi-lingual healthcare professionals, a range of rental

housing, and, advanced or technical language training (FCM, 2011). Long-term community

planning has the potential to assist in the anticipation of imminent change in rural communities

to accommodate this influx of new residents:

> *New Canadians use and rely on a wide range of core municipal infrastructure —*
> *from public transit, to libraries, to community and recreation centres — to*
> *successfully integrate into their communities. Because of the long lifespans and*
> *high investment costs of these services, municipalities plan infrastructure over*
> *very long-term time horizons, often 20 years or more (FCM, 2011, p. 25).*

The implication for rural areas is that, in addition to planning for aging populations, it is also

incumbent upon municipalities to partner with other levels of government in order to plan for

welcoming communities (FCM, 2011).

2.5. Research about New Immigrants' Housing

The context of a community can have great impacts on the settlement experiences of new

immigrants. Access to adequate, affordable and suitable housing is often a proxy to signify the

successful integration of immigrants, with the attainment of home ownership signifying their

successful integration into Canadian life (Carter 2005).

However, for many immigrants with limited opportunities for economic advancement, home-

ownership is an option that is out of reach, especially in the first few years of settlement

(Gouveia et al. 2005). Of course, there are some immigrants who arrive in Canada who are

immediately able to invest in real estate. As Preston et al. (2006) explain, "not all immigrants

and refugees experience serious housing affordability problems…some immigrants have sufficient resources to afford homeownership upon arrival or soon after" (p. 156).

In the 1980s and 1990s there was an increase in the number of affluent immigrants moving to Canada and building homes in neighbourhoods that were, "traditionally dominated by upper middle-class white Canadians" (Carter, 2006, p. 281). Many of these homeowners were visible minorities coming from Hong Kong, seeking to invest in Canada's global cities. This occurred mostly in select neighbourhoods of Vancouver and Toronto (Murdie 2006). As a result, of the social and architectural changes in these neighbourhoods, tensions ensued. Many of the concerns were couched in terms of opposition to the implementation of designs that were deemed out of character with the existing neighbourhood. The large homes in the suburbs of Vancouver have been un-affectionately described in the literature as 'monster homes', referring to their large size and extensive use of the lot (Murdie & Teixeira, 2003). While the occurrence of this phenomenon in larger cities has been examined, research has yet to explore whether this trend has or is occurring in rural communities.

Housing is typically cited as a barrier that newcomers face during their settlement experience. Access to housing has been identified as "one of the primary routes for immigrants' and refugees' social and economic integration into the host society" (Teixeira 2009, p. 324). Access to affordable housing is also cited as an important aspect of immigrant retention (Derwing & Krahn, 2008). In tight markets "newcomers to the city, including new immigrants and refugees,

may face significant barriers in locating and securing affordable housing in a suitable neighbourhood" (Teixeira 2009, p. 324)

While employment may be available, housing can be hard to find. In order to secure housing, many newcomers are often initially forced to take up residence in less desirable housing situations. Derwing and Krahn (2008) state, "the irony for many immigrants is that the stronger the local labor market, the more costly the housing market" (p. 196). As Teixeira (2009) notes, "some of these people have already been forced into substandard housing conditions because not only is proper housing too costly, but there is also not enough available within city boundaries for those on low incomes" (p. 324). Other strategies for attaining housing include "doubling up with friends and relatives; sub-letting part of a residence to save money; couch-surfing with friends or relatives; holding more than one job" (p. 333).

2.6. New Immigrants' Housing in Rural Areas

For newcomers, the first challenge to settling in a new community is the acquisition of housing. For many, it can be challenging to find housing that is suitable to family size and affordable based on household earnings. Teixeira (2009) found that limited income poses a significant barrier in the acquisition of suitable housing. For many newcomers arriving in Canada, finances are limited and they have already made substantial investments in relocating to Canada. Rental housing or staying with friends or relatives is commonly required prior to seeking home

ownership. In spite of this, many newcomers face significant barriers in the housing rental

market when seeking affordable housing.

For rural areas, a significant challenge identified by Carter et al. (2010) is the presence or

absence of a diverse and robust housing stock. In considering rural southern Manitoba, he

observed that there are very few rental options. Often the only rental accommodations

available are older one- or two-bedroom apartments. There are very few three- or four-

bedroom rental units. Furthermore, older housing stock tends to be smaller, which may not be

suitable for larger families. The age of the house may also mean that it is not as energy

efficient, resulting in higher housing costs. Substandard or poor quality housing is also common

(Carter, 2010).

The availability of housing is also concerning in rural areas, particularly growth centres. In many

communities in South and Central Manitoba, vacancy rates are near zero (Carter 2010). This

phenomenon results in less mobility within the housing markets, "people cannot get into rental

or modestly priced ownership units. People in modestly priced ownership units who may want

to move into rental cannot so these units are not freed up for purchase" (Carter, 2010, p.19).

The degree of success experienced by immigrants after they arrive in Canada hinges upon many

factors that are inextricably linked. One of these factors is the attainment of employment. As

Zehtab-Martin and Beesley (2008) state, "provide adequate employment for immigrants and

the majority of them will stay" (p. 78). Indeed, the provision of employment opportunities

tends to be a key component to the attraction of newcomers to rural areas. Arguably, this has

been the case for the success of immigrant attraction and retention in and around Neepawa

where historically unemployment rates have been lower than the provincial average at around

2% (Statistics Canada 2006 & 2011).

While employment opportunities may draw newcomers to rural areas, choices of employment

types may not offer as broad a selection range as found in urban centres. More and more in

rural Manitoba, single, large-scale industries are moving in and recruiting newcomers to take up

positions that the local labour markets cannot fill (Broadway 2007). In some rural communities,

meatpacking industries have proven to be a major source of employment for new immigrants

and temporary foreign workers. This can result in dramatic population growth. Broadway

(2007) notes, "meat packing has always been marginally profitable and dependent upon

immigrant labour dating back to the early days of the twentieth century" (p. 563-564). In 1997,

in Brooks, Alberta, the opening of the IBP meatpacking plant meant that 2,000 new employees

had to be found in a town of 9,925, where official unemployment stood at 300 persons in April

1996 (Statistics Canada 1999, cited in Broadway, 2007, p. 567).

Limited options in the job market can lead to challenging circumstances for some newcomers.

Heibert (2009) states, "immigrants face monumental economic challenges upon arrival in

Canada and make adjustments as quickly as they can to come to terms with the demanding

conditions of the labour market" (p. 270). Furthermore, Fluery (2006) explains, "recent

immigrants are always at greater risk of poverty than are other Canadians" (p. 43). In rural

communities, where there are often fewer employment options, this might be even more

acute.

One major challenge in the employment market for newcomers is the recognition and

acceptance of foreign credentials. Fluery (2006) notes that there is a decrease in the

recognition of foreign credentials. Immigrants' education and or work experience not attained

within Canada is also often devalued (Aydemir, 2005). However, Akbari (2011) finds that in less

populated regions, immigrants' credential recognition may be less of a barrier in areas where

there are fewer degree holders.

The Government of Manitoba, through recruitment programs like the Provincial Nominee

Program, has supported efforts to attract immigrants. However, there is no growth strategy for

the Regions (Central, West, etc.), nor a plan to accommodate and retain that growth. Efforts to

attract newcomers will result in little long-term change in rural communities if individuals and

families do not stay. Retention is the ultimate goal for communities that are striving to use

immigration as a growth strategy. Employment is clearly identified in the literature as a

necessary component in the retention of newcomers (Abu-Ayyash & Brochu 2006). Derwing

and Krahn (2008) found that when immigrants are selecting second-tier cities, economic

incentives tend to be the primary motivation. However, there is not enough evidence in the

literature to suggest at which point (in time or context) labour market diversity will influence

newcomers' decisions to stay in their host community. The presence or lack of a community of

compatriots, and the recognition of immigrants' skills and education also contributes greatly to

the retention of immigrant groups (Krahn et al. 2005). This has been found in both midsized and

small cities. Further research is needed in order to understand the role that compatriot

communities play in the long-term settlement choices for immigrants in rural areas.

The rapid growth in Neepawa has resulted in challenges related to limited housing

opportunities, including rental and affordable housing (Carter 2010). In other communities it

has been found that investment in the construction of new housing is impeded by the

uncertainty of the economic vitality of some rural communities and their future projections for

growth (Potter et al. 2004). Access to housing is cited as being one of the components for

successful immigrant retention, in addition to employment and the sense of a 'welcoming

community' (Teixeira 2009).

2.7. Planning Tools

The housing needs of Neepawa and the surrounding communities are diverse. As newcomers

arrive as temporary foreign workers their housing needs can be characterized by more single-

occupancy. As families arrive, there is a greater need for housing that is suitable to families of

various sizes and also affordable. Encouraging and maintaining affordable housing in rural

communities can be challenging. The following section offers some planning tools that might be

employed to address the affordable housing issues in rural Manitoba communities. The

following table provides some examples of planning tools that are available to communities in

the promotion of new and affordable housing. It not an exhaustive list but is intended to

provide some recommendations of what is available.

Table 2.1 Some Planning Tools to Encourage Housing in Rural Manitoba Communities

Tool	Application	Jurisdiction Area
Development Plan Policies	Specific policies can support more diverse options for housing (e.g. secondary suites, carriage housing, tiny houses)	Development Plan; Municipalities; Planning Districts
Development Fees	Municipalities can use development fees to facilitate the provision of affordable housing by a) requiring developers of certain types of housing to pay a fee to support affordable housing as a condition of approval; or, b) waive, reduce or adjust development levies for affordable housing	Municipalities; Planning Districts
Retaining Affordable Housing	Communities may limit conversions or demolitions of affordable rental housing or require replacement units at similar rents	Municipalities; Planning Districts
Permitting Secondary Suites	Some municipalities permit secondary suites "as of right" in all single-detached dwellings, while others permit them only in designated zones. In other cases, municipalities permit secondary suites through site-specific rezoning. Secondary suites are governed by provincial or territorial building codes that deal with health, safety and fire protection.	Development Plan; Municipalities; Planning Districts
Modifying Development Standards	Development standards can be relaxed in some municipalities as a means of reducing costs associated with creating new housing. This may include smaller lot sizes, not requiring street paving or waving minimum parking requirements.	Provincial Policies; Planning Districts; Municipalities
Using Inclusionary Housing Policies	Inclusionary housing policies require the provision of affordable housing as part of residential developments.	Development Plan; Zoning By-law

Source: Canada Mortgage and Housing (various sources), 2015

2.8. Literature Conclusion

This chapter has considered some of the possible intersections in the literature of rural immigration and planning. In gazing through a rural lens, this section has reviewed the key areas of immigration that are relevant to planning. Immigration has long been a topic addressed by federal policies, but it would seem that in recent years this portfolio and agenda is being increasingly downloaded onto the provincial and even the municipal level. It would seem that while immigration policy was once characterized by efforts of multiculturalism, today immigration is largely characterized by neoliberal agendas and regionalism. Part of this regionalism occurs through what Dobrowolsky (2008) refers to as diversifying immigration "entry doors." This is manifested in an increased diversity of immigration programs such as temporary foreign worker program and provincial nominee programs. With the growing regional nature of immigration, the role of planning becomes increasingly clearer to justify. With respect to settlement services, housing needs, growth strategies, and other services for new immigrants, when these are articulated at the local level the potential for local planning policy and bylaws can mitigate challenges that are felt by communities.

So far, the author is only aware of one Development Plan in South-Central Manitoba that mentions immigration as a key priority issue. The Rural Municipality of Rhineland and the Towns of Plum Coulee, Gretna and Altona (RPGA) Planning District Development Plan (2011) mentions, albeit briefly, the importance of securing housing options for new immigrants and the importance of communicating with settlement service providers in community planning

processes. Despite growing literature on the topic of immigration and rural areas, there are still

knowledge gaps (particularly at the intersection of planning literature) that need to be

addressed. More research needs to be done in examining the role of planning policies in

addressing immigration objectives and concerns in rural communities. Also, as other authors

have noted (Sylvius & Annis 2008), more research is also needed to examine the choice-

selection process newcomers engage in when deciding to settle in rural communities.

3. The Neepawa Context

The following section provides the socio-economic context for the Town of Neepawa. It also explains the population changes that have occurred in the community, including the recent demand for temporary foreign workers within the community. The current land-supply demands in the community are also explained

3.1. Socio-Economic Context

The town of Neepawa is located roughly two hours northwest of Winnipeg, Manitoba, at the junction of Provincial Highway 5 and the Yellowhead Highway. For many years it served as a commercial centre for the surrounding farming area. Today many economic activities are still centered on agriculture-related industries. Neepawa is also a service centre for the surrounding region, in addition to being the area's principle health centre (Town of Neepawa, 2014. Much of the land in and around Neepawa remains agricultural. According to the Neepawa and Area Development Plan, "the basic criteria for delineating these 'agricultural' areas are soil capabilities, water resources, environmentally sensitive sites, non renewable resource sites and present agricultural land use activities (Neepawa and Area District Planning Board, 2006, p.4).

Neepawa's population as of the last census period (2011) was 3,630. According to McKenzie (1958), by 1958 the population of Neepawa was somewhere between "3000 and 3500, with

variations in municipal, provincial and federal census" (p. 45), suggesting that Neepawaʾs

population has remained more or less stagnant over the past half century. In the fifties,

agriculture was an important local economic source, as was salt mining (McKenzie 1958, p. 45).

Neepawaʾs population remained stable between 1996 and 2006. Between 2006 and 2011 the

growth rate was 10.1%.
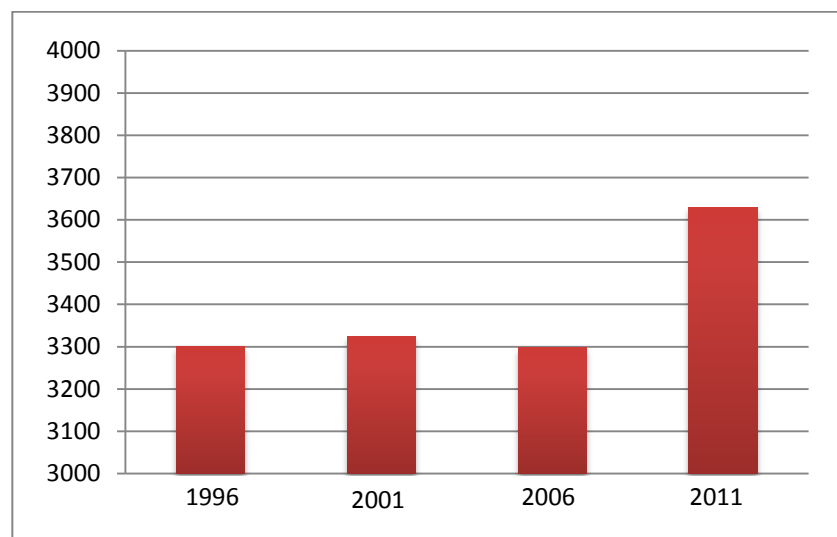
Figure 3.1 Neepawa Population Trends 1996 - 2011

(Source: Statistics Canada, various years)

3.2. Neepawaʾs Population Growth

In 2008, Springhill Farms in Neepawa was purchased by HyLife (formally Hytech Foods) (HyLife,

2015). The company nearly tripled the number of employees from 300 to more than 800 in

2011 (HyLife, 2015). In 2011, the company was ranked as the number one hog producer in

Canada, processing over 1.4 million pigs a year (Kusch, 2011).

Many of the jobs were manufacturing-based and the company had a hard time fulfilling its

labour needs. Efforts were made on behalf of the company to recruit temporary foreign

workers to meet labour demands. In 2011, industrial butchers were listed as the third most

common occupation for individuals being admitted through the Provincial Nominee Program

(Government of Manitoba, 2013). Neepawa is not the only community that has been

experiencing growth due to the hog processing industry. Brandon, Manitoba with its Maple

Leaf Plant has also experienced a recent surge in the number of newcomers, with 642 arriving

in 2007; a significant number of those individuals were fast-tracked into the MPNP.

In Neepawa and across the province, TFWs are entitled to apply for permanent residency

following six months of working in the province (Province of Manitoba, 2013). Many TFWs do

this through the Provincial Nominee Program. Approximately 24 months after arrival

newcomers with permanent residency are able to sponsor family members to come to Canada.

The reunification of families results in increased population growth, and a shift in the housing

types that are needed, from housing for individuals to housing options for families. In 2011 the

percentage of permanent residents who had entered Canada under the family immigration

category was 8.8 %; by 2013 it had risen to 14.8 % (Province of Manitoba, 2013).

Currently, Hylife Foods in Neepawa employs roughly 1000 individuals according to the company's human resources staff.

3.3. Housing Options in Neepawa and Other Rural Centres

There is limited research that has been carried out documenting where newcomers in Neepawa and other small rural centres are settling within the communities and the types of housing that they are seeking or able to attain. Unlike larger cities and metropolitan centres that may experience residential clustering of immigrants living in particular areas, or ethnic enclaves (Qadeer, 2003), in Neepawa and other small centres there is no documentation of such ethnic enclaves in the literature.

The housing stock in most small rural communities can generally be characterized as older, smaller, and composed mainly of single-family detached owner-occupied houses (Carter 2010). There are a number of characteristics of the housing inventory that affect the potential of small centres to provide a range of housing options (Carter 2010). Research examining housing markets in small and rural centres finds that not a lot of apartment-style buildings are constructed and much of the rental market often consists of secondary rental options including "duplexes, single family homes, basement suites, accessory apartments, [and] units above shops . . . In some of the smaller communities as much as 45 to 50 percent of the rental stock is in the secondary sector" (Gunn, et al., 2009, p. 6). Secondary units are often the principle source of rental accommodations in rural areas and "secondary rental units are often more

affordable but they are generally older, smaller, more suited to individuals and couples as opposed to families, and may be in poorer condition" (Carter, 2010, p.13). A recent study noted that in Neepawa's housing stock there were some vacant homes, some fourplexes and some mobile home parks (Carter 2010, p. 13). It also stated that the housing stock is generally older and there are seldom three or four bedroom units available (Carter 2010, p. 14), thus making it more challenging for families to find suitable housing. In some communities hotel/motel units are being used to house new arrivals (Carter 2010). There is often very little new rental stock that has been built and "newer rental units, if there are any, tend to be targeted to seniors" (Carter, 2010, p.13). In 2012, there were 62 new units created through housing starts in Neepawa, in 2013 there were 44 new units introduced and by 2014 there were 23 units added to the town (J. Braun, personal communication, Nov. 30, 2015).

Land supply may also be a challenge in the provision of housing options in rural communities. In 2014, the Town of Neepawa retained MMM Group Limited to prepare a Redevelopment Plan for the former CN Rail Yards within the town. The Town purchased the remediated site from CN with the vision of enabling the redevelopment of the site to help meet the needs of the growing population by providing for new residential and commercial development (MMM Group Limited, 2014, p.1). The study concluded that a mix of land uses should be designated for the parcel with a significant portion allotted to residential and multifamily (Town of Neepawa, 2014). The scope of the study did not provide a breakdown of the number of potential units that the proposed residential land-uses could yield.

The most recent Development Plan for the Neepawa Area Planning District recommends that vacant lands within the community be set aside to accommodate future residential growth. Likewise, a recent land redevelopment plan of the newly acquired CN Rail Yard lands in the Town also sets aside a large proportion of the lands for future residential growth. But while the need for residential development within the community is acknowledged, there is little in place from a policy perspective about how these newly designated residential areas might meet the housing needs of a growing and diverse rural population.

SUBJECT SITE

COMMERCE ST.

PTH 5

PTH 16

MOUNTAIN AVE.

N

The HyLife Plant is located away from the town centre

Figure 3.2 Town of Neepawa CN Yard Redevelopment Site

Source: Town of Neepawa, 2014 (Modified)

Another challenge present for the community of Neepawa and the housing of newcomers within the Town and the surrounding areas is that there are two bordering Planning Districts within the potential 'commuter shed' for the HyLife Plant. Neepawa is part of the Neepawa and Area Planning District. The Town of Gladstone, which is part of the Big Grass Planning District, is close enough that newcomers could be settling in that community. This requires the two communities, with different planning districts, to coordinate in order to ensure there is affordable, adequate and suitable housing to support the growing population between the two jurisdictions. Furthermore, the Provincial Planning offices that serve these two planning districts are located in Brandon and Portage La Prairie, with the Neepawa and Area Planning District receiving services from the former and the Big Grass Planning District receiving services from the latter. The result of this is that there are a number of offices that are responsible for this region.

4. Methods

This section lays out the methods of research that were employed for this study. It explains the interpretive branch of science that influences this research, why interviews were utilized, how interviewees were selected, logistics involved in carrying out interviews, and the means through which the data was interpreted.

4.1. Interpretive Branch of Science

An interpretive branch of social science influences this research. Neuman (1997) explains that this particular branch is related to hermeneutics, "a theory of meaning that originated from the nineteenth century . . . largely found in the humanities" (p. 68). This approach takes the position that data is flush with embedded meaning and needs to be interpreted by the researcher in order to be fully understood. A means through which this can be carried out is possible with what is referred to as 'a reading' of a particular text; Neuman explains this 'text' may "refer to a conversation, written words, or pictures" (p. 68). Interpretive social science is characterized by qualitative research methods (Neuman, 1997). This thesis uses interviews to explore the knowledge that exists around the topic of housing for newcomers in Neepawa. The following sections describe the interview process, the selection of research participants, logistics and the coding of the data.

4.2. Sampling

Individuals selected for this study were working in planning-related fields, and their work with immigrants ranges from direct, first-hand experience, to policy work, and land-use planning. Of the individuals interviewed, some work for or have previously worked with the Government of Manitoba. Some respondents worked in the field of real estate in the study area. Others have local experience working in municipal politics in the Neepawa area or direct experience working with newcomer communities in the Neepawa area. Participants in this study were chosen based on their knowledge of the research topic. Many of them had multiple areas of knowledge within the community, as they performed multiple roles such as members of committees and volunteering with local initiatives in addition to their regular employment. In all cases, it was assumed the professions of the key informants and their employment history, resulted in a sufficient knowledge of housing and/or immigrant settlement within Neepawa. Some informants had more knowledge relating to the housing market while others had significant knowledge related to immigrant settlement but not the housing market. Other informants had a strong breadth of general knowledge of the history of the recent population growth, and were able to articulate ideas about how these themes were connected within the community. The table below describes the skills and backgrounds of the ten participants who were interviewed for this study and denotes the incidences of these skills amongst the participants.

Purposive sampling was used in the selection of these individuals. A random sampling approach would certainly not have yielded the same level of expertise on the study topic. As

Given (2008) notes, "Research participants are not always created equal – one well placed articulate informant will often advance your research far better than any randomly chosen sample of fifty – and the way we sample needs to take that into account" (p. 697). Respondents were chosen based on the researcher's professional contacts in the study area and throughout Manitoba through a snowballing approach, whereby one respondent lead to others.

4.3. Preparation and Logistics

Prior to the interviews, individuals were contacted by email with a request to participate in the interview. Primary email contact consisted of a brief description of the nature of the project and a request for participation. Upon the expression of interest, individuals were sent an informed consent letter as per the *Ethics Protocol* requirements (see *Appendix A*). Prior to interviews a verbal preamble was read aloud by the researcher to the interview. Participants were also provided this letter electronically, in advance.

4.4. Interviews

Semi-structured interviews were used to generate data for the empirical research. Ten interviews were conducted with experts who work in the areas of municipal politics, human resources, government, real estate, and in the non-profit sector. Participants were selected based on their field and their professional knowledge of the immigration context in Neepawa.

Interviewing was selected as a means of data generation based on how individuals perceive the situations and current context at hand. This method allowed participants to discuss their thoughts and what they believe to be important, an approach supported by Zeisel (2006). A chief concern in this project was to contribute to the knowledge of the settlement experience of new immigrants in the Neepawa area, and this approach allowed the researcher to document existing knowledge within the community.

Interview times were chosen at the discretion of the participants. Some interviews were carried out via Skype and others were carried out via telephone, depending on the participants' access to the technology. Face-to-face interviews were not identified as an ideal option due to the cost associated with travel.

Before the commencement of each interview, participants were sent an informed consent letter via electronic mail. Interview participants were read an *Ethics Protocol* preamble (see *Appendix B: Written and Oral Recruitment Communication*) and interviewees were asked if they had any questions before signing the *Informed Consent Form* (see *Appendix A: Ethics Cover Letter*). Participants were asked to sign the *Informed Consent Form* and submit a scanned copy to the researcher. Following the ethics preamble a digital recorder was turned on and the formal interview questions were posed.

The duration of interviews ranged in time from approximately forty-five minutes to one-and-a-half hours. This variance in time was expected, as some interviewees took more time to respond to questions.

During the interviews there were times that participants' familiarity with a particular topic seemed to be considered as common knowledge, as in the interviewee spoke as if the researcher would know the details or reasons for a particular statement being made. In these instances, additional probes were used. Zeisel (2006) describes additional probes as a strategy used to "encourage participants to keep talking—to keep the flow of the interview moving" (p. 230).

The interview-guide used consisted of 21 questions (see Appendix C: Interview Questions/Line of Inquiry). Questions were informed by some of the literature on new immigrants and their settlement in smaller cities and rural areas (Carter 2008; Licher & Johnson 2006; Lewis 2010; and Teixeira 2009). There was an attempt to draw out respondents' impressions of the study area (Neepawa, Manitoba). Due to the varying nature of respondents' professional backgrounds and experiences with new immigrants; different probes were used between questions in order to pursue topics of different expertise. Also, 'reflective probes', were used. 'Attentive listening' is identified as a reflective probe by Zeisel, who states "*the attentive-listening probe,* demands more interviewer participation. The interviewer will listen for the

implied meaning of the respondent's remarks, repeating them back to the respondent as a question, confirming what the interviewer believes it means" (original emphasis, 2006, p. 234).

Immediately following each interview, audio recordings were transcribed using a word processor and the interview transcriptions were printed-out, and a preliminary reading was conducted and key themes were identified.

4.5. Coding Interview Data

Following the transcriptions of the recorded interviews, a preliminary reading was conducted and key themes were drawn out from the interview discussions.   The coding process was an important step in the methodological process because it allowed the researcher to reflect upon the data and consider the meaning of the responses. As Neuman (2000) notes, "coding is an integral part of data analysis" (p.420). It is guided by the research questions and leads to new questions. It frees a researcher from entanglement in the details of the raw data and encourages a higher level of thinking about them".

Neuman (2000) states that open coding involves activities that are carried out at the same time, namely searching out the themes and condensing data by way of categorization into themes. The approach carried out in this research project involved reading through the data, recognizing themes that correspond or diverge from the literature, and creating categories for information in columns within a Microsoft Excel file and inputting the researcher's notes of

what was said or entire block quotations of particular responses. Neuman explains,

"qualitative researchers vary in how completely and in how much detail they code… the

degree of detail in coding depends on the research question, the 'richness of the data, and the

researcher's purposes" (p. 422). The themes that emerge in the reading of the data are listed

in Table 4.1. The data from the interviews fell into emerging categories, with the richness of the

data varying depending on the particular question and/or the respondent. Some respondents

had lengthy, detailed responses for some questions, while others had little to no response for

some questions.

Following the open coding of the data, I returned to the data, once having organized it into

themes in a spreadsheet, and at this time the axial coding process began. When conducting

axial coding "the researcher begins with an organized set of initial codes or preliminary

concepts… organizing ideas or themes and identifying the axis of key concepts in analysis"

(Nueman, 2000, p.423). Through axial coding certain categories of themes were organized

again and also reorganized into different or separate categories. Upon further scrutiny, it

became apparent that some categories were not mutually exclusive and some data was able to

'fit' into more than one category. This was when some important realizations occurred,

confirming the high degree of complexity and interconnectivity of variables in considering the

success of a community's ability to be welcome and house newcomers. Neuman's research

supports this kind of outcome in the coding process, stating that axial coding not only

stimulates thinking about linkages between concepts or themes but it also raises new

questions" (p. 423).

Table 4.1 Coding Categories

Open (Emerging)

- Growth, Housing Costs, Market Changes, Housing Conditions and Suitability, Preferences, Lessons

Axial

- Affordable Housing, Access to Housing, Housing and Retention, Roles of the Third Sector, Planning Tools

Adapted from Neuman, 2000.

Finally, *selective coding* was carried out with the data and all themes that were identified.

Selective coding entails "scanning data and previous codes… researchers look selectively for

cases that illustrate themes and make comparisons and contrasts after most or all of the data

collection is complete" (Neuman 2000, p. 423). Keeping notes on themes and block quotation

facilitated this step in the coding process with the use of a text spreadsheet, where key themes

were reorganized and colour-coded depending on the topic. Consistency and inconsistency

between respondents was recognized with this approach as well.

5. Analysis: Perspectives on Neepawa's Housing Demand and Population Growth

The coding of this data began at the onset of the interviews with the participants. Prior to conducting interviews, I formulated the questions based on the literature that has been carried out in the field of housing and newcomers. Once the interviews began, it became evident that many of the issues that came up were connected and, often, location-specific to Neepawa. Through the interviews, I was able to better understand the problems that were specific to Neepawa. Thus, I was able to ask more informed questions as the interviews progressed. Themes became apparent as I conducted more interviews and started to hear multiple respondents emphasize particular challenges and phenomena related to the immigration-driven growth in Neepawa and its pressures on the housing market.

Depending on participants' areas of expertise, some were very detailed in their responses to some of the interview questions and less so to other questions. For example, some realtors who participated in this study were very reflective on changes in Neepawa's housing market, but often were less specific on the topics of immigrant recruitment and retention. This was a similar occurrence for respondents with other areas of expertise. Despite this, a broad spectrum of knowledge and input on this topic was captured thanks to the professional diversity of respondents who participated in this research.

5.1. What Was Said

In reading through the data, certain topics continually came up, even at times following different interview questions. Some themes that were emphasized in the discussions repeatedly were: rapid growth in the community; the rising cost of housing (affordable housing); housing market changes; housing conditions and suitability; and, lessons learned. These themes were talked about in relation to the influx of newcomers in the community. The interviewees spoke from their professional and personal perspectives, offering their opinions on the lessons learned from the Neepawa experience.

5.1.1. On the Subject of Growth

Some respondents questioned the degree to which Neepawa should seek to grow. At times, the importance of growth was expressed while juxtaposing this with the challenge of maintaining the rural nature of the community:

> *What does the future look like? Do we want to be bigger? More populated? With more infrastructure? I don't know. I think it's important to determine that. (Settlement Services Provider).*

One respondent stated that most of the population growth in the community was coming from the increase in the number of temporary foreign workers, to serve a large employer in the community:

> *Our group has grown to be a quarter of the population. That's roughly around 1000 individuals. That includes initial principals who came over with their family (Industry Informant).*

However, it was also observed that there are a growing number of seniors coming into the

community as well:

> It's not just temporary foreign workers, it's also retirees, as far as housing is
> concerned. We also have a lot of retirees. Not only within the town but also
> within the immediate area we have a very high seniors population as well (Local
> Elected Official 1).

> Right now because of the growth of temporary foreign workers and also retirees
> we are starting to see constraints as far as current capacity (Local Elected Official
> 1).

The growth not only puts a strain on the housing in the community but also on other services:

> The problems that we're having right now is our schools are busting at the
> seams, we have already added to huts at the elementary school, we have had to
> move grade six over to the high school and have added two huts to the high
> school (Real Estate Agent).

And while the lion's share of the growth is happening within Neepawa, growth has also spread

beyond the community to neighbouring municipalities:

> There was always an appetite for rural residential and perhaps even more so in
> that area [immediately outside of the Town of Neepawa] (Planner 2).

Respondents speaking about growth in the community provided their perspectives on the

changes that were occurring in Neepawa. Concerns over preserving the rural character of the

community was expressed. Respondents also understood that much of the growth was due to

increases in temporary foreign workers. But while much of the growth was from newcomers

and their family members, many retirees are also moving into the community. It was noted as

well that this growth is occurring both in Neepawa and the areas surrounding the community.

5.1.2. The Cost of Housing

Respondents remarked on the fact that housing in the community is becoming more expensive

as a result of the increase in demand. Some respondents believed that some landlords were

taking advantage of the newcomers by charging high rents:

> *People were getting greedy and charging $1000 or $1200 dollars a month rent*
> *for a house that normally you would get for $400 or $500, some people really*
> *taking advantage of the newcomers that came here (Real Estate Agent).*

Because of the rising costs of housing many newcomers are finding that homeownership is not

within their reach. One respondent commented on the fact that inexpensive housing is hard to

come by:

> *Most of the very inexpensive housing is already gone. There really isn't anything if you*
> *would be looking at below $120,000. How you interpret that as affordable housing*
> *that's the tough question (Settlement Service Provider).*

And it is hard for the developers to build affordable housing:

> *You can't build affordable housing. You have some people who have built*
> *townhouses at $150,000 but you can't build a stand alone house at $150,000...*
> *and the builders don't like building the cheaper homes because there isn't as*
> *much profit in them (Local Elected Official 2).*

On the topic of housing costs, respondents were concerned that housing costs in the

community were becoming more expensive than they had been in the past. These rising costs

have resulted in home ownership becoming out of reach or more challenging for newcomers. Respondents also stated that there was less inexpensive rental housing available in the community.

5.1.3.   Housing Market Changes

Respondents purported that there have been a lot of changes in the housing market in recent years:

> *There is much more volatility in the market. That is our perception (Industry Informant).*

> *Sometimes there have been competitions for houses. For example, a house that might have sold 12 years ago for $65,000 might have doubled or tripled in value (Settlement Service Provider).*

Respondents noted that with the expansion of Hylife, there was pressure for more rental housing in Neepawa:

> *With Hylife coming, immediately any potential rental space became rental space (Settlement Service Provider).*

And with respect to new housing sometimes the private sector did not always get it right, in terms of what people were looking for or what people were able to afford:

> *There have been quite a lot of housing projects... . One development, which was a little bit more expensive for townhouses, with 3 bedrooms, was meant to be a for-sale property but it ended up serving people as a rental property (Settlement Service Provider).*

Respondents spoke to their perspectives on housing market changes in Neepawa, stating that there has been a lot of these changes in the community, including some volitiliy and bidding wars on housing sales. They noted that the growth of industry had resulted in a greater demand for rental housing. Another point made by a respondent was that while there had been some new housing developments in the community, the private sector did not always get it right, as some housing intended for private sale has ended up in the rental market.

5.1.4. Housing Suitability

With a rapid influx of newcomers into the community, interviewees expressed concerns about how to keep up with overseeing the provision of housing:

> *There were concerns about safety, for example, but it was such a flowing stream [of people] and how do we look after the flowing stream? Because if you don't do anything the stream dams up. Some of the rental housing that is maybe shouldn't be, still that was one way to accommodate them (Settlement Service Provider).*

Respondents noted that housing conditions were a concern but that evidence of such was not always from first-hand information:

> *There is a fair degree of hidden homelessness or overcrowding, just from what I have heard anecdotally. People have had to make do with some crowded situations. I'm not sure how much that continues, I know that a number of years ago that was something I heard about on a fairly regular basis (Planner 2).*

Other respondents expressed concern over housing conditions but stated that they believed oversight and enforcement of standards was a challenge in the community:

The issue about enforcement becomes challenging. I bet you will find a lot of communities where there are certain guidelines that are there, but enforcement isn't consistent necessarily. Now suddenly when you have a real need and it is active and lots are doing it, that whole piece about understanding what the process is - that makes enforcement easier (Industry Informant).

Not all respondents were as concerned about the conditions of housing – two respondents dismissed the concerns as a temporary means to save money or as reflections of newcomers' cultural attitudes towards cohabitating:

A lot of crowding by our standards, perhaps it's not crowding by newcomers' standards, who recognize that it's interim housing. They don't want to live that crowded forever (Local Elected Official 2).

So the TFWs [Temporary Foreign Workers] were really willing to sacrifice what I would call modest accommodations and share space as much as possible in order to reduce the rent. To the point where we found that from Canadian standards, certainly from the Neepawa Community... that what the new workers were willing to accept were far more amenable in comparison to Canadian standards, so in other words they were willing to put X people in a home and yet local people would say, 'well that's over crowding'. But they were doing that for a purpose because they wanted to save money and they had a number of obligations (Planner 1).

One respondent said that concerns over housing suitability might just be a cultural bias:

One thing I think we need to think about is the mindset of - what do we think is suitable housing? Our Canadian concept of x number of bedrooms, and x number of bathrooms, but that might not be what's needed in the situation. They are used to smaller spaces. We need to ask ourselves what is quality housing and what is cultural bias? (Settlement Service Provider).

Another respondent downplayed the concerns with respect to overcrowding, stating that it

might exist, but it was not of great concern due to the general success of settling newcomers in

Neepawa:

> *There are probably some places where there is some overcrowding and probably*
> *some safety issues and things like that. I would say that that is minor and*
> *generally things have worked pretty well (NADCO Representative).*

Respondents expressed concerns over housing suitability and conditions; it was perceived that

there are challenges present in monitoring the quality of housing, in light of the increased

demand for rentals units. It was indicated that there has been talk in the community with

respect to overcrowding, but the incidence of this was anecdotal and had not been

documented. While some respondents expressed concerns over housing conditions, other

respondents stated that these concerns were not significant and that less optimal housing

conditions were a temporary means to an end, or that there might be differences with respect

to cultural norms around living in housing with more people. The responses on the issue of

housing conditions and suitability were mixed, and showed the different perspectives of the

interviewees.

5.1.5. *Preference for Housing*

Respondents weighed in on some of the preferences that newcomers were exhibiting towards

housing in Neepawa stating that, for some, basement suites were initially not preferred:

They didn't want and had an aversion to basement suites. It was like they wanted everything on one floor. Now they want a basement suite so they can rent it out or have a relative stay there (Settlement Service Provider).

Furthermore, mobile homes were also stated as not being desirable:

They really don't go for the mobile homes. Even though it would be an economical option for them. It might have something to do with owning the land (Settlement Service Provider).

Respondents stated that preference for housing in the community did vary. Some respondents stated that newcomers initially did not prefer basements suites, and that mobile homes were also not desirable. Respondents did state that some newcomers preferred more conventional housing, such as above ground apartment units or rooming houses.

5.1.6. Lessons Learned

Respondents were asked to reflect on the lessons learned since the increase in the number of newcomers to Neepawa. Asking if they could go back in time and provide insight to the community, individuals spoke about the need for more planning, greater access to information and increased investment into the community. This section offers the insights that came out of interview discussions.

One respondent talked about the importance of making conditions right to entice developers to invest in the community. It was proposed that a solution could be found in working with senior levels of government, in order to take advantage of existing grant programs:

...the community needs to be able to prepare their documents and planning by-laws in such a way that will help facilitate [developers coming in and building houses]. Not only in terms of policies, designations and by-laws, but also in terms of having a marketing program to entice developers to come in. There just hasn't been a girth of private developers willing to come in to build starter homes because the profit margin just isn't that great. So there needs to be that kind of initiative—a really proactive initiative... one thing would be to work with senior government and look at any incentive programs and see if there are any programs that would lower costs. If it is affordable housing, for example, there is the Home Works Program.... [There is also] a provincial program we are seeking for seniors housing, but there is a component there that deals with affordable housing - to be able to package those together, working with developers (Planner 1).

Another respondent emphasized that finding real estate investment at the onset of population growth in the community would have alleviated stress placed on the market:

Well it's all about timing. If we knew how it was going to go we would have probably sought out investors... if we had had somebody come in and build a 30 suite apartment block for seven or eight million dollars that would really have taken the strain off (Real Estate Agent).

Another interviewee felt that existing facilities could have been utilized as a temporary solution when newcomers were initially arriving:

In hindsight, I think they could have done something with East View Lodge. It was left empty and they could have done something with it. The building itself is solid. It's made of brick. I could have done something with it. They could have gotten it and made it into temporary housing or apartments for temporary workers (FANA Volunteer).

Communication around what the demand was for future growth from the processing plant could have helped with planning and population projections in the municipality:

In some ways some things just happened and it's too late to change the experience of housing for the immigrant community that is already here, but it should certainly position them to plan better should there be any future influxes. I'm not sure what their future plans are at the processing plant for bringing in any more foreign labour, if any, but if they are doing so the opportunity is there for planning to better meet their needs (Planner 2).

Planning and working with local industry goes hand and hand. Respondents emphasized this.

One respondent emphasized the importance of communicating with local industry:

Do a lot of fore-planning. What happened here was we were unaware of what was taking place with the facility, we weren't aware that they were going to expand quite the way that they were and so rapidly (Housing Committee Member/Mortgage Expert).

One respondent recommended that there be increased communication with communities that

have gone through this sort of growth in the past, so that Neepawa could learn from their

experiences:

I would say immediately contact other communities that have been down this road and plan. Talk to people who've been through the experience and get as much information to start your planning. The more you can plan ahead of time, you will head off some of the issues that come up that you hadn't even anticipated (Industry Informant).

Another respondent spoke about the importance of having access to expertise in the area of

population growth and housing demand analyses.

What are the trends, what are the vacancy rates? What are the traditional vacancy rates? Is 40 houses good, is a hundred houses good? We need some hard data that is required in order to make informed decisions and this data should be specific to what you're trying to analyze. I would expect someone who has that knowledge, who is a planner, would not be a dreamer but would be very factual, very targeted, very specific in what those needs are (Local Elected Official 1).

When interviewees were asked to comment on what lessons might have been learned in the community in relation to their recent growth, a number of recommendations were shared. One respondent stated that it was important to entice developers to invest in housing in the community, and that taking advantage of existing government grants was a crucial component to this. Another opinion on lessons learned was that the utilization of existing infrastructure in the community could assist in addressing housing shortages. Some respondents also spoke about the need for more planning services and the importance of communicating with local industry on anticipated employment needs. Finally, communication with other municipalities was seen as an important resource for sharing knowledge related to planning for growth.

5.2. Identifying the Themes

The themes that came out of this research were drawn from the interview discussions and were identified based on knowledge of the literature in these subject areas, as examined in the literature review. The analysis in this section explores the discussions more deeply, identifying the axial codes. This process allowed me to consider not only what the respondents were saying but also what the underlying meaning might be behind these responses. The intention is to unpack the codes that came out of the discussions and present themes that connect these responses to themes identified in the literature and broader issues within the community.

The analysis of the data involved rereading the literature review and considering the impacts on planning processes and intersections between settlement and the planning profession in

general. My interpretation of the data affected the overall interpretation, including the relationships that are drawn between the interviewees' responses and the parallels in the profession. My values also informed some of the interpretations of the data; however, I made efforts to report on respondents perspectives, regardless of whether or not I agreed with their positions or opinions. The themes of affordable housing, access to housing, housing suitability, roles of responsibility and cross-sector collaboration were identified as the axial codes used to explore the meanings behind the open coding process.

5.2.1. Affordable Housing

In Neepawa the housing market is not flush with affordable housing. This is typical of other rural communities. There has only been one housing study done in Neepawa. There are no formal affordable housing policies or programs in Neepawa. The income levels of many of the newcomers are not high. A lot of the work at the food processing plant is at low pay rates.

Some respondents expressed concern over the price of rental housing. Rental housing in Neepawa was understood to be expensive relative to neighbouring communities. Some newcomers are living in potentially crowded conditions in order to save money. The concern about overcrowding was expressed by some. There was also concern over price gouging. Respondents thought that it would be difficult to build affordable housing because they were unable to entice developers, given the low margin for potential profits.

Most respondents reported that housing prices in Neepawa are becoming more expensive. They cited an increased market demand for housing as the reason for this. Some respondents stated that the price of housing has doubled and, in some instances tripled, in the last ten years. As a result, home ownership is becoming out of reach for some. Furthermore the financial constraints placed upon newcomers also impact their ability to afford housing:

> *And then trying to bring the families over. When you have to save to bring your family over plus trying to save to purchase a home, it's a double-edged sword. It's hard to do both (Housing Committee/Mortgage Expert).*

> *They basically needed to save a component for two aspects: to send money back home, because they have family back home, most of them do. And they found out relatively quickly that they needed to save a certain amount of money to apply and be qualified for permanent residency. So that's part of it, they have to save a certain amount to support themselves through that process (Planner 1).*

> *Finally, access to affordable, entry-level real estate is also needed. What I see is when the individuals first come over, they come over single without their families. They get their papers and eventually they bring their families over. They need the transitional housing. Which I would say is being met at the present time (Housing Committee/Mortgage Expert).*

Despite the challenges, there is still a demand for home ownership. It was reported that many newcomers still strive for home ownership in spite of the cost. Other research (Carter 2005; Preston et al. 2006; and Teixeira 2009) has argued that limited income poses a significant barrier in the acquisition of suitable housing. Home and land ownership are priorities for some newcomers.

Affordable housing is an important component of immigrant retention (Teixeira 2009). It allows newcomers to save money in order to be able to sponsor additional family members and save for costs associated with permanent residency. Some newcomers may find it hard to find housing that is both suitable and affordable.

5.2.2. Access to Housing

It is hard to say conclusively whether access to housing is an issue in Neepawa. There is only one housing study available that has been carried out in Neepawa (Carter, 2010) and this predates some of the recent growth experienced in the community. According to interviewees in my research, another study was commissioned by the private sector but it was not made available to the researcher. The responses on access to housing were anecdotal. The aim of this research was not to conduct a housing demand and supply analysis, but to provide existing knowledge on the state of housing for newcomers in Neepawa in light of recent population growth, as it was understood by the respondents, and to reflect upon this in light of the existing literature.

Newcomers actually need a variety of options, depending on their situations and where they find themselves in their settlement journey. One can presume based on the need of housing for individuals to housing for families, that newcomers need access to different housing types over the course of their settlement trajectory. Newcomers who come over alone as temporary foreign workers are looking for inexpensive housing in order to save money to either send

home and/or to pay for their permanent residency process and perhaps to bring family over. If

and when family members arrive, access to suitable housing becomes a challenge.

A lack of housing is also causing newcomers to have to make sacrifices in terms of space,

potentially leading to overcrowding. While some respondents indicated that overcrowding

might be justified as a means to an end, the issue remains largely ignored by any municipal by-

law on overcrowding. Overcrowding is not mentioned in the Development Plan or Zoning By-

law (Neepawa and Area District Planning Board, 2006;Town of Neepawa, 2006). Respondents

did identify overcrowding as being present in the community. However, it was expressed as

being largely unaddressed.

> *Are they talking about it? I don't know how formally they're talking about it but
> certainly they're talking about it. It is known. The issue about enforcement
> becomes challenging. I bet you will find a lot of communities where there are
> certain guidelines that are there, but enforcement isn't consistent necessarily.
> Now suddenly when you have a real need and it is active and lots are doing it,
> that whole piece about understanding what the process is - that makes
> enforcement easier. Because you are educating upfront instead (Industry
> Informant).*

There is not yet consensus on whether or not Neepawa has been able to meet the housing

need:

> *No I don't think there's a question about that. A lot of times, my question about
> that is several times I have spoken with Hy-Life about buying houses and being
> able to rent them out and they are the ones bringing people over and only giving
> them housing for 30 days. So then they have to fend for themselves. Now there's
> enough Filipino families here that take others in but there were rumours that
> there were six or eight people living in a three bedroom house. Like I said, nobody*

was sleeping on the street but it's just that maybe it wasn't as comfortable as
what they were used to (Real Estate Agent).

Based on the interviews conducted, it is not yet clear to what extent overcrowding is a problem within the community. Some respondents viewed overcrowding as a means to save money. Should it be found that newcomers are deciding to cohabitate with multiple roommates or additional families, local by-laws may need to be enforced if rental suites do not meet regulatory codes. It is not clear whether the desire to save money is the sole motivation for newcomers in seeking housing that was perceived as overcrowded. Another reason for this might be if the need for housing in the community has not been met. While some respondents spoke about the potential for cultural differences with respect to household numbers and what might be considered only crowded by 'Canadian' standards, caution should be exercised in excusing unsafe or overcrowded housing as being culturally acceptable for some.

5.2.3. Housing and Retention

Access to housing is essential to the creation of an open and welcoming community – making housing available to newcomers will help to ensure that they feel like they have a place in the community. This is tied to the success of retaining newcomers in the community. Respondents understood this notion and were supportive of it.

There is a connection between access to housing and community integration. As
they get their families here and get settled into their homes and the kids get into
the school system, they assimilate into the community quite well. They are quite
involved in the community (Housing Committee/Mortgage Expert).

Some respondents believed that the needs of temporary foreign workers are being met – that

the rental market has been able to accommodate people and that as they are able to purchase

housing, the market has yielded options for newcomers:

> *So I think we have assisted in that as new apartment blocks have gone up or*
> *housing units are built, we are able to meet the needs of these temporary foreign*
> *workers. And then, moving to the purchasing of homes, I think that we have been*
> *able to meet the needs of the individuals as they have been able to get into the*
> *market (Real Estate Agent).*

Availability of housing within the community keeps newcomers from leaving to other

communities in search of housing. But some are already leaving the community – choosing to

relocate to other communities once they find housing elsewhere. Many are deciding to relocate

to communities around Neepawa:

> *We now have 15 families in Gladstone which is about 35 km away. It's a much*
> *smaller community and it has been great for that community. They still work here*
> *but they found housing there. We have some in Minnedosa. We have some north*
> *of town in smaller communities, still working in the area (Industry Informant).*
>
> *So they are moving to other communities and making arrangements for taking*
> *the bus or some other way of getting to work (Local Elected Official 2).*

Multiple respondents stated that they saw the connection between access to housing and

community integration. It was noted that some newcomers are deciding to move to nearby

communities in search of housing. Some newcomers are deciding to leave and travel to other

communities beyond the surrounding area. Respondents believed, however, that the moves to

more distant locations were motivated by employment drivers, such as the promise of higher

wages in Alberta.

5.2.4. Roles of the Third Sector Organizations

The third sector consists of agencies and groups, aside from government, which are connected

to the housing and settlement of newcomers in the community. These include settlement

service providers, the Kinsmen Club, community associations and religious groups. All these

groups operate under different mandates but have arguably contributed in varying capacities to

the settlement experiences and housing of newcomers. The third sector plays an important role

in the community with respect to providing housing for newcomers.

Neepawa and Area Immigrant Settlement Services is the federally funded immigrant service

provider in Neepawa. They are mandated to provide assistance and support to refugees and

permanent residents within the community (Neepawa and Area Immigrant Settlement Services,

2015). Contrary to what might be expected, settlement service providers are not supposed to

provide support services to temporary foreign workers because they are brought to Canada

under provincial initiative. One informant explained the focus change for settlement service

providers:

> *[Historically] The feds funded it but the province operated it. [The Province] was
> very focused on the temporary foreign workers and helping them move through
> the process. But it didn't seem to be as focused on the permanent residents
> aspect because there was so much to do with the temporary foreign workers.*

When Citizenship and Immigration Canada said we are taking this back again, it meant our mandate became exclusively permanent residents. The temporary foreign workers then are being addressed largely by their employers (Settlement Service Provider).

This limited mandate made it more difficult for the local settlement service provider to provide direct housing support and advocacy to temporary foreign workers in the community. The settlement service provider has refocused programing to cater to the needs of newcomers after they receive their permanent residency status.

Aside from providing direct support to those newcomers with permanent residency, the settlement service providers also play a key roll in terms of communicating the needs of their clients to the community by liaising with local agencies and organizations. They are also involved with the housing committee, an extension of Council that focuses on finding housing solutions for the community.

Respondents spoke of the Filipino community's civic participation and volunteerism. The Filipino Association of Neepawa and Area (FANA) offers volunteers to the community and fundraising capabilities. One respondent explained:

They have really become part of the fabric of this community. They help out. If you have an event that needs volunteer support, look out. I can pick up the phone and make one phone call and I can have seven volunteers here this afternoon, if I needed it. Very community minded (Industry Informant).

They explained that this group offers volunteer resources but they are not a social enterprise, they have no formal funding and there are no paid positions within this group. It is not their mandate to provide or initiate access to housing within the community.

The Kinsmen Club is another community organization active in Neepawa. It does provide some funding support for seniors' housing within the community. While it does not provide housing to newcomers, their participation in the development of seniors' housing plays a part in the freeing up of single-family dwellings that might then be occupied by newcomers and their families. In addition to the community clubs, the faith community has also invested in housing in the town. Together all of these groups reinforce the perspective that the community as a whole is working towards integrating newcomers and ensuring they are settled in the community. In the words of one respondent:

> *So those community supports are important. Those services are there. There is the church community as well. And they are all there to help and having people here to help makes people feel welcome. And if it is a good community, it's a place that people want to stay and that is great, in turn, for the industry. Then they don't have to keep getting replacements every year (NADCO Representative).*

The third sector in Neepawa does play some key roles in the provision of housing and the sharing of information related to housing newcomers. Settlement service providers, charitable groups, and community organizations operate in different capacities but work together within the community to address housing needs through advocacy, working with the housing committee. The federal government's changes to the funding conditions for settlement

services have meant that settlement service providers are not able to provide direct assistance to non-permanent residents, such as temporary foreign workers. This has meant that some newcomers, who may arguably need housing information and resources the most, are not currently able to receive it from this source. It is possible that the recent federal government change could result in future changes to this program and the funding conditions associated with it.

5.2.5. Planning Tools, Resources and Needs

The conventional planning resources available to the municipality include the Development Plan for the Planning District, the Town's Zoning Bylaw, and the recently completed CN Yard Redevelopment Plan (2014). The Neepawa and Area Planning District Development Plan was last updated in 2006 (adopted in 2008). The Planning District boundary for Neepawa and Area Planning District has changed and the Planning Board is required to conduct a comprehensive review of its Development Plan. The CN Yard Redevelopment Plan (2014) established a conceptual land use and transportation plan for an area of approximately 50 acres (20 hectares) within the town of Neepawa. Both the Development Plan and the CN Yard Redevelopment Plan identify housing as a key issue in the community. Even in 2008 when it was approved, prior to the significant population growth, the Development Plan noted that "a limited number of scattered infill lots in current residential areas exist, but they are incapable of accommodating any significant demand for housing" (1.1(2), p. 43). Regarding future residential development, it stated:

1) west of the new Neepawa water tower, 2) east of the Whitemud river, north of P.T.H. No. 16, and 3) north of the C.P.R. tracks shall be the preferred areas for development. The order in which development in these areas takes place shall be based on availability of land, development of required cost-effective Municipal services and maintenance of competitive lot prices for all types of housing (1.2(2), p. 44).

The Zoning By-law for the community has not had a comprehensive review since 2008.

A Housing Committee was formed in the community in 2009 as the number of temporary foreign workers started to grow and the demand for housing was increasing. The Committee is at arm's length from Council, comprised of community members with expertise in the areas of business, real estate, community development, and settlement services. The intention of the Committee is to gather input from the major employers, schools, business, chamber of commerce and real estate on matters related to housing the most recent influx of newcomers. While this committee has no funding resources, it does provide some insights in terms of identifying existing challenges and opportunities within the community.

Another planning resource is the Community Regional Planning Branch of the Provincial Department of Municipal Government. The Province provides advisory and administrative assistance related to land-use planning to the Planning District. That being said, providing support in the areas of affordable housing or planning for newcomers was described by one respondent as being beyond the scope of Manitoba Municipal Government. They said that the Province would play a supportive role but not take the lead on such initiatives. The local

municipality did express a desire to have access to more insight and resources within the

Province. One respondent stated:

> *I think one of the things that we need to know is where are the opportunities within the Province? Is it Manitoba Housing and Renewal, or its other initiatives? Governments keep changing the name of various departments or programs depending on the day. You need to target and focus depending on what you need to do. So if you're looking at assisted living, then you looking at Health and Senior and it's perhaps a combination. You just can't go to government and say 'Here I am', but you do need to focus your attention and you need to make sure that your ducks are in order. (Local Elected Official 1)*

The municipality also expressed a need for an understanding of the trends in terms of vacancy

rates, growth projections and up-to-date information and statistical data about their

community.

5.3. Summary of Findings

These interviews helped me better understand the planning problem I set out to explore at the

start of my research. I learned that in some instances, practices within the conventional land-

use planning community could make it more challenging to advocate for the importance of

well-informed social planning initiatives. Many respondents believed that the solutions lie in

better land-use planning, while a few emphasized the importance of understanding the social

circumstances within the community. Focusing on social planning might be a significantly

greater challenge in a smaller community like Neepawa, where access to planning tools and

expertise are more limited than in larger centres like Brandon. I realized that respondents'

occupations within the community greatly influence their worldview and perspective on settlement and housing. Many respondents were quick to recognize and articulate the challenges and opportunities that were present within their disciplines.

The literature review provided knowledge with respect to what I should be asking and what might be expected from participants' responses, but was not always applicable to the area I was researching. However, the themes that emerged in the axial coding process were similar to the research areas that are typically being pursued in the literature. The axial coding themes that were identified included: affordable housing, access to housing, housing and immigrant retention, and the roles of the third sector organizations. I hope that these findings can be useful for future studies. However, no two communities are alike and the growth experience in Neepawa is unique from other communities experiencing growth due to immigration. There are, however, certain lessons learned and experiences that might be of interest to other smaller communities about to face demographic changes due to the arrival of newcomers. They may be useful in facilitating a smoother transition for both the newcomer and the community.

6. Recommendations and Conclusions

This thesis is a small contribution to the knowledge of housing for newcomers in rural communities. Throughout this work, it became evident that there were many considerations and vested stakeholders with respect to this phenomenon. This topic is at the intersection of many disciplines and areas of knowledge. The research attempts to engage with this topic from a planning perspective and it intersects with government, community, business and other groups.

Research and work into this topic needs to continue. Efforts should be coordinated so that knowledge can be shared between rural communities that are experiencing this type of growth. Planning processes can assist by offering insight into what the existing conditions are, coordinating with various groups and stakeholders already within the community, consulting with community members and offering a means for implementing policies that enable communities to be more prepared to adapt to demographic change and welcome newcomers. This section offers some of the lessons learned from the town of Neepawa context, in addition to the implications for community planning on a wider scale, and finally some recommendations for further research are offered.

6.1. Implications for Community Planning

Neepawa is about to embark on a comprehensive review of its planning district's Development Plan. In light of this review, the community is poised to implement a new vision and direction

for the town that will determine the priorities that will shape the lives of its citizens heading

into the future. The Neepawa and Area Plan should consult with newcomer communities and

strive to clearly identify what the demand for housing will be in the coming years: the number

of and type of dwellings units, the need for serviceable land and strategies for implementing

policy directions. In consultation, the planning process should seek input from not only

newcomers but also, I would argue, temporary foreign workers because their presence shapes

the community and their experiences may have an impact on the community's retention rates

as well.

Changes to community planning policies and by-laws are not happening/being implemented at

the same pace as the demographic changes that are occurring. Planning takes time, and

sometimes change in a community's demographic profile can arise quickly. Often the

mandated, five-year review process which planning districts are supposed to follow is not met

in smaller municipalities that lack the capacity to do their own planning work. In cases where

significant community change is being experienced, Provincial ministries should be available to

support and encourage municipalities to engage in their planning processes and undertake

comprehensive reviews when there are considerable developmental pressures.

In addition to encouraging communities to undergo comprehensive Development Plan reviews

with greater regularity, the Provincial Planning Department should expand its mandate and

provide liaising services for municipalities to other Provincial departments on social planning

concerns within the community. This could apply to initiatives beyond housing and immigration-driven growth to include age-friendly community planning, greenhouse gas emissions reduction programs and other incentive programs. Provincial planning services are well positioned to liaise with other Provincial departments and communicate what resources are available to municipalities. Rural municipalities and their planning districts should have regular access to planning services, provincial or otherwise, so that they know what their planning needs are and are in a good position to apply for funding for planning, as opportunities arise.

The professional planning community needs to advocate for social planning as a useful tool in planning for growing rural communities, such as Neepawa. Planners also need to work with other disciplines in these instances to ensure that a balanced and well-informed approach is taken which includes the interests of all groups within the communities. Accepting the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative approaches in these scenarios will help planners better understand the challenges that communities face.

6.2. Lessons Learned in Neepawa

One of the primary questions guiding this research was **what are local and regional planning authorities doing now?** The Town of Neepawa is considering the housing needs within the community through planning studies such as the CN Rail Yard Redevelopment Plan, however based on the interviews it appears that more planning studies are needed to consider how this

land might be developed. Bylaws within the community have not yet been adapted to address the demographic change within the community.

During the interview process, respondents were asked if they could have gone back in time and provided information or insights on the challenges associated with the dramatic population growth and its impacts on housing within the community, what knowledge would have been most useful. These responses assisted, along with additional research, in addressing the research question: **what more the local authorities could do in order to meet the needs of newcomers and provide affordable, adequate and suitable housing?** Respondents᾽ answers varied, some included a need for more planning, better communication with local business and the need for bringing in housing development sooner. Some of the contexts present in Neepawa might be similar to other communities. An increase in temporary foreign workers, a growing number of permanent residents, a large employer and a rural community, and an increased demand for housing options—these factors do occur elsewhere. However, there are some factors that make the Neepawa context very unique. For example, a large proportion of individuals stay in the community, the vast majority of newcomers come from one source country, temporary foreign workers in this community are very motivated to take advantage of opportunities to apply for permanent residency, and they go on to sponsor family members to join them in Neepawa. While the environment might be unique to Neepawa, this section offers some of the lessons learned with the hope that other communities might draw inspiration from the experiences in the town of Neepawa.

Planning can be used as an effective tool in understanding the changes that occur in

communities, what existing challenges and opportunities are, and how decisions can be made

to plan for the future. Planning tools that make sense for communities like Neepawa, that are

experiencing growth due to immigration, include housing studies and growth projections in

addition to community plans. Provincial planning should also provide funding, directly or

indirectly, to communities for social planning studies that look at issues like growth due to

immigration from a qualitative and quantitative perspective.

Another important strategy is to work with existing groups within the community to understand

how they are reacting to change and working together to mitigate challenges as they have

arisen. In the case of Neepawa, these groups included those from settlement services, the

Filipino Association of Neepawa and Area, representatives from the real estate industry, and

the business community, among others. Documenting the relationships and approaches applied

in the form of ad hoc committees, for example, can be extremely useful. Planners can utilize

this knowledge and apply it to the community's planning processes.

 Another lesson learned from the community was the need for assistance and advice on

marketing the community to developers and what resources might be available within the

Province to incentivize the developers to build affordable housing. Some respondents stated an

awareness of programs that some government departments offered, but that the changing of

names and initiatives made it hard to maintain that knowledge without expertise or regular communication with those in government. This service could be performed by Provincial Planning or by a municipal planning consultant, if the community has no planner on staff.

One solution that was discovered was considering creative options for 'freeing up' housing within the community. In Neepawa, there remain a significant number of older adults who are living in single-family housing. Given the fact that many newcomers who bring over family members are looking for housing options that are suitable for families, there has been an increased demand for affordable single-family dwellings. This demand has caused the housing market to rise and some older adults who are living in single-family housing are inclined to sell to gain access the capital in their homes. As a result, the community is considering how to provide housing for older adults and seniors, with the knowledge that single-family housing would become available for newcomers and their families.

Solutions like this might offer relief in the housing market for a period, but planning needs to take into consideration the short, medium and long term needs for the community as well. Communities can consider creative options for dealing with short-term housing needs, such as taking advantage of existing infrastructure, billeting/rooming housing in addition to rental market options. Some options might not be ideal permanent solutions but some flexibility might be needed to accommodate acute demands for housing in the community. The municipality should have the ability to enforce reasonable safety standards when overcrowding

is a concern. By-laws should clearly state standards for rental units and by-laws should be enforced through public awareness, education, and by-law officers.

Another lesson learned from the Neepawa experience is the importance of having industry at the table. In the instance of Neepawa's growth due to immigration, the growth was derived primarily from the temporary foreign worker program and the community has one principal employer responsible for sponsoring hundreds of individuals. Ensuring good communication with the private sector can allow the community to anticipate some of the housing needs into the future. Maintaining an ongoing relationship through committees, for example, is ideal. If newcomers have their housing needs met, and are able to settle their families within the community, this will have positive impacts on the community's ability to retain newcomers and manage growth over the long term.

6.3. Recommendations for Further Research

As the Neepawa and Area Planning District embarks on a comprehensive review of it's Development Plan, it would be interesting to study how the new Plan takes place, in light of what has changed in the community. The planning processes that will be employed will surely need to reflect the changes that have taken place.

More research should be conducted that considers the housing experiences of newcomers in rural communities. This topic has not been significantly examined within the literature. Future

research should highlight the experiences of newcomers as they first arrive as temporary foreign workers and follow their housing trajectory through to the arrival of family members, and the search for family-oriented housing. Newcomers voices should be heard in the research, but it should be done in a way that is sensitive to their situations, particularly as temporary foreign workers, and offers them a secure platform to provide criticism, should they have it. Finally, research with newcomers should be done in partnership with community liaisons that have built relationships with those in the community, such as those working in the settlement service sector or those involved with community associations.

6.4. Final Thoughts

The local planning authority is taking steps to prepare the community for growth due to increased demand for temporary foreign workers. The establishment of a housing committee has meant that there are opportunities for communication between different interest groups and stakeholders within the community with respect to how decisions are made around housing. The community is also considering land-use needs reflective of a growing community with the completion of the CN Rail Yard Redevelopment Plan. The Plan articulated, and confirmed through consultation, that many would like to see the lands redeveloped to serve as a mix of residential and commercial space. The next steps for the community should include a land supply and demand analysis, a long-term growth plan and a cultural plan.

The movement of people around the world is one of the defining aspects of the age that we live

in. Some migrate to pursue education or economic opportunities, while others migrate to be

reunited with family. Others are forced to migrate in order to flee persecution and war. These

newcomers continue to arrive and their presence shapes the communities that they live in and

are a part of. The objective of this research was to consider the current context of housing need

as it relates to growth due to immigration in Neepawa, Manitoba, to record the existing

knowledge present in this community, and to present lessons learned from the Neepawa

experience. Ensuring that newcomers have access to housing is essential to the development of

open and welcome communities. We must be open to change and accepting of others'

differences, in terms of their preferences and values. The community planning profession can

be leaders in initiatives to plan for welcoming communities.

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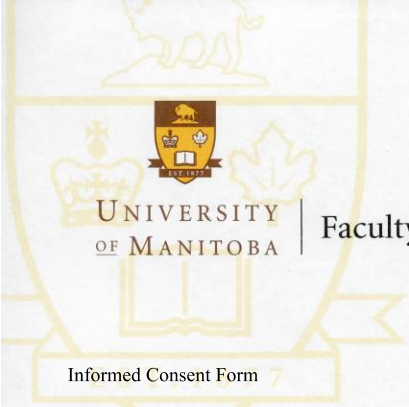Hylife (2015, June). Who we are. Retrieved from http://www.hylife.com/who-we-are/

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Appendix A: Ethics Cover Letter

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UNIVERSITY OF MANITOBA | Faculty of Architecture

Informed Consent Form

Study Title:
Immigrant Housing Strategies In Neepawa, Manitoba: Planning For Welcoming Rural Communities

Principal Investigator: Kelly McRae
Sponsor: Richard Milgrom – Department of City Planning

This consent form, a copy of which I will leave with you for your records and reference, is only part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. If you would like more detail about something mentioned here, or information not included here, you should feel free to ask. Please take the time to read this carefully.

Project Description:
The growth of Neepawa's population in recent years has created a significant demand for housing of various types and tenures. This research seeks to explore the state of housing availability within Neepawa and explore the specific housing needs of newcomers to the area. It will use key informant interviews and a focus group to understand the current housing state in Neepawa, as it relates to the provision of housing for temporary foreign workers and new immigrants. An assessment of the current and anticipated housing needs will be provided, as well as lessons learned for decision-makers, community planners and local elected representatives.

In the course of the interview/focus group, I will ask questions about your experiences and perspectives related to housing access for newcomers in the housing market in Neepawa. Although this research is primarily directed toward the production of an academic report, I hope that it will provide practical suggestions for various levels of government about the challenges, opportunities and techniques required to provide adequate, affordable and suitable housing for all in Neepawa.

Location and Time Requirement:
Participation will require approximately 45 minutes of your time and would take place on _____ at _____, in Winnipeg, Manitoba / Neepawa, Manitoba. I request that you permit me to digitally record our conversation, but if you object I will take notes by hand.

I hereby provide consent to the researcher using a voice recorder for audio recording the interview. (Please indicate your preference).   Yes   No

Participation in this project is voluntary and you may decline to answer any question or withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. Participants are free to withdraw at any time throughout the course of this research project.

Confidentiality:
As the research lead, I will keep any information gathered in this research strictly confidential. Only the researcher will have access to the data. You will not be named or identifiable in any reports of this study. If any statement you made during this interview is used in a research report it will be attributed to an anonymous source. Information containing personal identifiers (e.g., this consent form) will be destroyed as soon as it is no longer necessary for scientific purposes. Interview transcripts will be deleted and/or destroyed by shredding once the project reaches its conclusion.

umanitoba.ca

Dissemination:

A summary of the research process will be provided to all those who participated in the study . The completed practicum will βε μαδε αϐαιλαβλε ιν ΠΔΦφορμ ατ το αλλτηοσε ωηο αρε ιντερεσεδ ιν αχχεσσινγ τηε φινσηεδ προδυχτ. Φλλααι η χομπλετιον οφ τηε πραχτιχυμ ανδ γραδυατιον φρομ τηε προγραμ, τηε φινσηεδ πραχτιχυμ ωιλλβε αϐαιλαβλε ονλινε τηρουγη τηε Μ παχε φυνχτιον ον the University of Manitoba Libraries website. Details ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ s part of the informed consent pro▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮

Ρισκσ ανδ Βενεφιτ

There are no explicit risks to participants in this study . Subject matter is not controversial and does not deal with sensitive συβφεχτ ματερ Ινφορμ ατιον ωιλλβε κεπτ χονφιδεντιαλ ανδ ναμε σ ωιλλ νοτ βε υσεδ ιν τηε φιν ηεδ ρεσεαρχη παπερ . Τηε ποτεντιαλ βενεφιτ το τη στυδψ χουλδ φυρτηερ ιδεντιφψ χομμυνιτψ, πολιτιχαλανδ/ορμ αρκετ βαρριερσ το ηουσινγ αχχεσσ φορ νεωχομ ερσ το Neepawa, Manitoba, as well as other growing communities.

Consent:

Ψουρσιγνατυρε ον τηισφορμ ινδιχατεσ τηατ ψου ηαϐε υνδερστοοδ το ψουρσατισφαχτιον τηε ινφορμ ατιον ρεγαρδινγ παρτιχιπατιον ιν the research project and agree to participate as a subject. In no way does this waive your legal rights nor release the researchers, σπονσορς ορ ινϐολϐεδ ινστιτυτιονσφρομ τηειρ λεγαλ ανδ προφεσσιοναλ ρεσπονσαβιλιτιεσ Ψου αρε φρεε το ωιτηδραω φρομ τηε στυδψ ατ ανψτιμ ε, ανδ /ορρεφψαιν φρομ ανσωερινγ ανψθυεστιονσ ψου πρεφερ το ομ ιτ, ωιτηουτ πρεφυδιχε ορχονσεθυενχε. Ψουρχοντινυεδ παρτιχιπατιον σηουλδ βε ασ ινφορμ εδ ασ ψουριντιαλχονσεντ, σο ψου σηουλδ φεελφρεε το ασκ φορχλαριφιχτιον ορ νεω ινφορμ ατιον throughout your participation.

The University of Manitoba may look at your research records to see that the research is being done in a safe and proper way .

This research has been approved by the Human Ethics Board at the University of Manitoba. If you have any concerns or complaints about this project you may contact myself ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ Richard Milgrom can be reached at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ The Human Ethics Coordinator may also be contacted at ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ ▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮▮ . A copy of this consent form has been given to you to keep for your records and reference.

_____

Participant's Signature   Date

_____

Researcher   δ   Date

Εμ αιλορ συρφαχε μ αιλαδδρεσσ το ωηιχη α συμ μ αρψοφφινι ησ ανδ φριτεν ρεπορτσ(ορ ψουρ σιτιον) σηυλδ βε σεντ:

Appendix B: Written and Oral Recruitment Communication

Example:
Dear _____,

I was referred to you by "_____" of "_____". My name is Kelly McRae. I'm a graduate student in the Masters of City Planning Program at the University of Manitoba. As a requirement of my program, I am undertaking a research project for my degree and researching the housing strategies for newcomers in rural areas, specifically looking at Neepawa, MB.

This research considers the planning perspective on housing needs of newcomers to Neepawa, and examines where the discrepancies exist between what is needs and what is availability. It also considers the current and historic approaches that have been made to address these needs. Because my program is a city planning degree, I will specifically be interested in what role planners could play in addressing these needs.

I was wondering if you would consider having a discussion with me about this topic in the form of an interview. I'd be happy to accommodate you schedule and I think your perspectives would be a valuable contribution to this research. There are some protocols required when conducting interviews for academic research. These formalities ensure ethics are followed while research is being done. I can explain this to you in detail when we speak in person or over the phone.
I look forward to speaking with you and thank you for your time.

Sincerely,

Kelly McRae

Appendix C. Interview Questions / Line of Inquiry

Introduction and Perspectives
Please explain your position and the capacity of your work with newcomer communities.

Could you describe the predominant immigrant groups present in Neepawa? What are their source countries?

Would you describe temporary foreign workers (TFWs) as vital to the future of Neepawa, Manitoba?

What would you identify as the primary challenges that exist in making Neepawa a more welcoming community?

Changes
In what ways has the housing market changed in Neepawa over the past 5 years? Over the past 10 years? 20 years? What has contributed to these changes? How has the community responded?

In your experience, have you witnessed an evolution of the housing needs in Neepawa and the surrounding area?

What do you consider the opportunities or strengths possessed by Neepawaʾs current housing?

By which means have housing developments in Neepawa been funded?

Access, Availability and Suitability
How successful or unsuccessful had Neepawa been in providing housing for newcomers within the community? Can you speak to how this might change over the course of their arrival (for example, transitional housing versus permanent housing after the first month?)

What is your opinion regarding Neepawaʾs ability to provide affordable, adequate and suitable housing for all residents? Is the housing stock affordable in Neepawa?

What do you consider to be Neepawaʾs greatest challenge in providing housing for newcomers?

In your opinion, what are the most significant barriers that immigrants face in their housing tenure in Neepawa? Does this change over time?

In your opinion, do newcomers face challenges with the suitability of the housing stock in Neepawa (for family size and number of rooms, etc.)?

In your opinion, do you believe there to be a connection between housing access and the creation of an open and welcoming community?

Renting Versus Ownership
How would you describe the housing experience of immigrants and newcomers in Neepawa in the past few years. Please explain how things have changed or stayed the same. Are they renting or buying?

Do renters in Neepawa face challenges unique to their situation?

Are there people buying their first or second homes as investments?

Would you say it is relatively easy for newcomers to buy a home here in Neepawa?

Housing Location
Are new immigrants going outside of the town of Neepawa to find housing? If so, what do you believe are some of the motivations for this?

Where in the community are newcomers settling?