# All Roads Lead Home: Immigration Flows into Timmins and What this Means for RNIP Impacts

Research Report | April 2022
By: Mercedes Labelle

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## Land Acknowledgement

NPI would like to acknowledge the First Peoples on whose traditional territories we live and work. NPI is grateful for the opportunity to have our offices located on these lands and thank all the generations of people who have taken care of this land.

**Our main offices:**

- Thunder Bay is on Robinson-Superior Treaty territory and the land is the traditional territory of the Anishnaabeg and Fort William First Nation.

- Sudbury is on the Robinson-Huron Treaty territory and the land is the traditional territory of the Atikameksheng Anishnaabeg as well as Wahnapitae First Nation.

- Kirkland Lake is on the Robinson-Huron Treaty territory and the land is the traditional territory of Cree, Ojibway, and Algonquin Peoples.

- All are home to many diverse First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples.

We recognize and appreciate the historic connection that Indigenous people have to these territories. We recognize the contributions that they have made in shaping and strengthening these communities, the province and the country as a whole.

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# About the Author

## Mercedes Labelle

Mercedes Labelle graduated from McGill University in 2020 with an Honours Bachelor of Political Science and Urban Systems. During her studies, she focused on Canadian politics and public policy processes, specifically researching the uneven distribution of benefits and services between urban and rural communities. At McGill, Mercedes provided analysis on Canadian Politics for the McGill Journal of Political Studies (MJPS). Through her involvement with MJPS, Mercedes developed a deeper understanding of the diverse interests and needs of the Canadian population. Having grown up in Canada, the United States, and Spain, Mercedes is eager to return to Northern Ontario, where her family now resides. In her free time, Mercedes enjoys listening to podcasts, cooking, and reading.

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# Executive Summary

Ontario's northern, western, and central regions are facing labour shortages, as a result of an aging population, high levels of youth out-migration, and low fertility rates. Timmins, Ontario is no stranger to this issue, as it has experienced high average job vacancy rates of up to 55 per cent in some occupations. To combat the labour market impacts, the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) program has been implemented across all five of Northern Ontario's largest cities. The RNIP aims to spread the benefits of economic immigration to small communities with demonstrated need, by creating a path to permanent residence for skilled foreign workers who want to work and live in one of the participating communities.

To assess the effectiveness of the RNIP program in Timmins, baseline immigration trends are needed to accurately identify which occupations are in need of economic stimulation, and which labour market skills are most beneficial to immigrant success in the community. If admission criteria is not aligned with community-based need, then labour market shortages will only continue to be exacerbated. Which is why evidence-based decision making is crucial to adequately plan for labour supply, demand for housing, and settlement service capacity.

Timmins has experienced a growth in immigration since 2010, with an approximate increase of 70 per cent. Most immigrants have been accepted under the economic class, with the most frequently intended National Occupation Codes (NOC) being food service supervisors, and mining engineers. Although these are the occupations immigrants were most frequently qualified for, the occupation vacancy rates suggest that there is the greatest need for, managers in customer and personal services, corporate sales managers, administrative services managers, other installers, repairers and servicers, to name a few. Timmins has also has targeted NOCs which they hope to attract, with only three of the 35 NOCs being consistent with occupation vacancy.

This analysis finds that five recommendations are to be considered for the effective measurement of RNIP success.

1.  Ongoing annual monitoring and assessment of community-level immigration trends;

2.  Community-specific ongoing assessment of the impact of the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) before, during, and after the program;

3.  Expanded analysis to include secondary and domestic migrants;

4.  Strengthening the alignment between labour market shortages, targeted occupations, postsecondary institutional fields of study, and immigrant-intended occupations to maximize economic outcomes;

5.  Undertaking welcoming community initiatives to welcome, attract, and retain immigrants and the existing population.

# Introduction

Population trends in many of Ontario's northern, western, and central regions are characterized by high levels of youth out-migration and low fertility rates. Add to that the fact that a significant portion of the population is about to age out of the core working-age and labour shortages will emerge. There will not be an adequate supply of young workers to fill these gaps.

Without an adequate influx of immigrants, coupled with integration of the current domestic population into the labour market, shortages will continue to emerge (Ross 2020, 9). To combat this, there must be a baseline understanding of current and future immigration demographic characteristics to engage in evidence-based decision-making that will positively impact Northern Ontario communities. Using the available data, actors—such as workforce planning boards, chambers, municipalities, employers, and immigration partners—can strategically plan for, and fill, labour shortages that will emerge.

The purpose of these research reports is to establish a baseline assessment of immigration trends in each of the five largest cities in Ontario's northern, western, and central regions—North Bay, Greater Sudbury, Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay. These assessments can be used to evaluate immigration pilot programs, such as the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot, and potential future newcomer programs.

The Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) is a community-driven program that is increasing immigration to northern and rural communities by creating a path to permanent residence for foreign skilled workers (Canada 2020c). The five cities participating in Northern Ontario are also its largest cities— North Bay, Greater Sudbury, Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay. There are six other communities outside of Ontario participating in the pilot.

In addition to evaluating current federal initiatives, the data can be used to evaluate, more generally, how communities in Northern Ontario are doing at attracting and retaining immigrants. It is crucial to identify the immigration information that is being collected, the gaps, and who is collecting that data. Additionally, it is important for the data to be collected and reported at the community level. With a more complete picture of immigration trends in Northern Ontario, different communities can be compared against each other to assess the effectiveness of immigration, attraction, retention, and successes. Also, communities can self-assess by monitoring their progress, successes, and areas for improvement. Having this baseline immigration assessment will help communities continuously know which immigrants to target and attract to their communities.
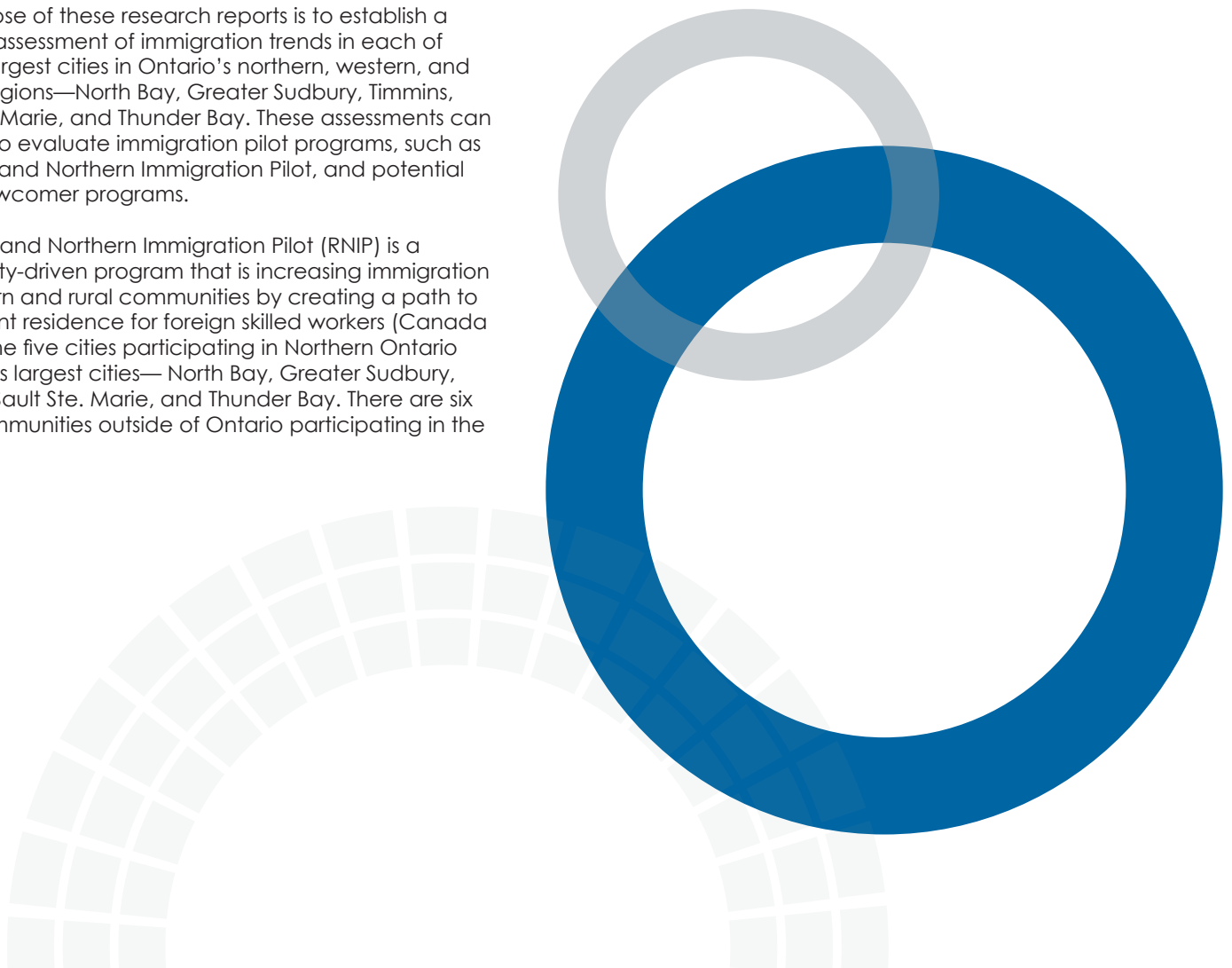
# Methodology

Ideally, an immigration trend analysis would be done annually, with a quick turnaround time so communities can measure the impact of their decisions soon after they are made. Additionally, having baseline data provides a benchmark for assessing progress, or lack thereof, when compared with future reports. But there are limitations in attempting to annually update immigration trends at the community level.

The data sources used for this analysis include Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada's (IRCC) admission data; the 2016 census (and subsequent target group profiles obtained from the Community Data Program); Taxfiler Migration Estimates; Emsi Economic Modeling; and the Longitudinal Immigration Database (IMDB). Notably, the data obtained from the census can only be updated once every five years (as per the frequency of release) and at the time of publishing, details of citizenship and immigration have not been released. The IMDB has an approximate two-year lag for data released and Taxfiler data has a one-year lag. IRCC does have monthly updates to its admission data, but the process for obtaining the data at the community level takes up to six months, and high levels of data suppression are present when requesting data at the community level. Finally, Emsi has economic modelling data updated monthly.

It is important to look at immigration trends in each community over time to see how they evolve, especially when evaluating the impact of a pilot program. But doing so with community-level data, specifically IRCC admission data, reveals that many years have few observations to report, meaning the data are suppressed for privacy reasons (see Appendix A).

Additionally, certain datasets group all immigrants that arrived before 1981 together while others group them together based on those who arrived before 1990. This creates a large group of immigrants that overshadows more recent inflows, which is specifically present when looking at census data. Thus, recent data from post-2000 can provide a more accurate picture of immigration trends and their evolution over time.

For non-permanent residents, change over time is difficult to analyze since the data are largely organized by year of immigration and, technically speaking, non-permanent residents are not 'official' (i.e., landed) immigrants, according to Statistics Canada datasets (notably the census). Non-permanent residents refers to people from another country who had a work or study permit, or who were refugee claimants at the time of the census, and had family members living in Canada with them.

Despite limitations surrounding the frequency of data updates, high levels of suppression, and obtaining this data at the community level, a thorough overview of immigration trends in Ontario's northern, western, and central regions was produced.

Finally, it is important to note the impact COVID-19 has had on Canadian immigration flows, labour market, industries, and so on. This analysis is primarily focused on data prior to the pandemic as that is what was available at the time of writing. Plus, as mentioned earlier, to assess the impact of the RNIP pilot, we need to know the picture of immigration before/at the start of the program in Northern Ontario.

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# Theme and indicator selection

Many indicators selected were identified based on alignment with pre-existing government immigration programs. For example, the Federal Skilled Worker (Express Entry) Program provides permanent residence to foreign skilled workers. There are minimum education, language, and work experience requirements. Then, applications are further assessed based on age, education, work experience, job offers, official language skills, and adaptability (Canada 2020a).

The Ontario Immigrant Nominee Program looks at an applicant's skills, experience, and education. Specifically, in-demand skills, language skills, and status as a recent Ontario graduate (Ontario 2019). Finally, the RNIP Program also creates a path to permanent residency for foreign skilled workers with work and educational experience in specific occupations (Canada 2020c).

As mentioned previously, limitations were present surrounding data availability. Ultimately, seven themes were identified: immigrant characteristics, economic outcomes, housing, education, immigration system, income, and retention. [1]

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1 *Retention data were only available for the Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) of Greater Sudbury and Thunder Bay.*

# Limitations

Economic outcomes, such as income and involvement in the labour market, typically differ depending on the immigration stream the immigrant followed. Among all newcomers, principal applicants in the Economic stream fare best in the Canadian labour market in terms of labour force participation rates and employment rates. In fact, they perform better in these metrics than the Canadian-born population (de Chardon 2019, 6). Additionally, unemployment rates among principal applicants in the Economic stream are on par with Canadian-born citizens. Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons and Sponsored Family stream immigrants usually fare worse.

Although these distinctions are important to note, it was not possible to obtain community-level data separated by stream of immigration and period of admission for all indicators (see Appendix C). When possible, the immigration streams were divided; when not, total immigration numbers were assessed. Addressing these gaps is crucial in getting more specific data to ensure immigrants are not treated as a homogenous group. When evaluating a work experience-based program that will potentially directly impact Economic migrants, it would be useful to have stream-specific data to better assess program impacts.

Analysis of immigration trends must continue through the years, especially when assessing a pilot program. A detailed methodology is needed to ensure that the trend analysis can be replicated in the future. Immigration trends should continue to be tracked throughout Ontario's northern, western, and central regions before, during, and after the end of the RNIP and other immigration initiatives.
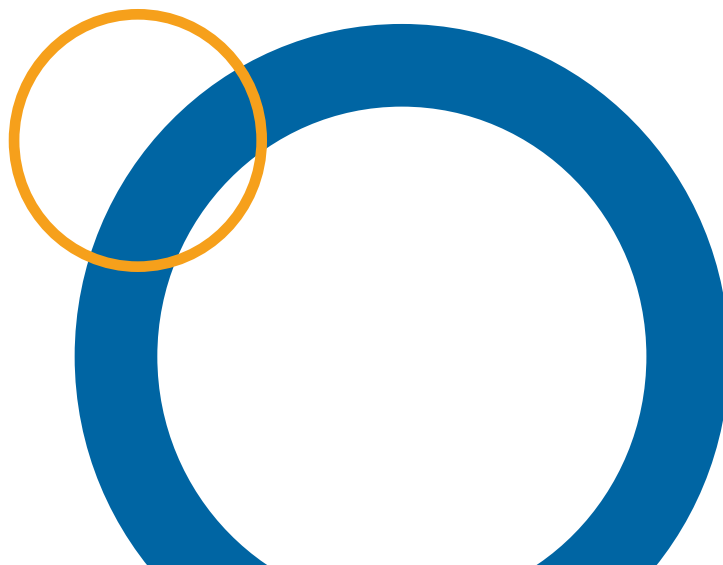
# Immigrant Characteristics

The 2016 census counted 1,390 immigrants currently residing in Timmins. Immigrant, as defined by Statistics Canada, refers to a person who is, or who has ever been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident (Statistics Canada, 2021a). Thus, these figures do not include temporary residents, such as study and/or work permit holders. Most immigrants in Timmins immigrated before 1991—the earliest time frame twith available data. Timmins has been experiencing fluctuating levels of immigration. Since 1991, the time frame with the most immigration to the city is between 2011 and 2016.

Additionally, most immigrants came through the Economic stream (360), followed by the Sponsored Family stream (225) and the Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons stream (40). Most immigrants and non-permanent residents who have come to Timmins since 2001 have a university education. Temporary residents are included in the 'non-permanent resident category,' of which there were 90 in 2016. Longitudinal data are not available from Statistics Canada on non-permanent resident cohorts. They have no official 'period of landing' as they are not landed immigrants.

## Figure 1: Immigrants by period of immigration in Timmins CA, 2016
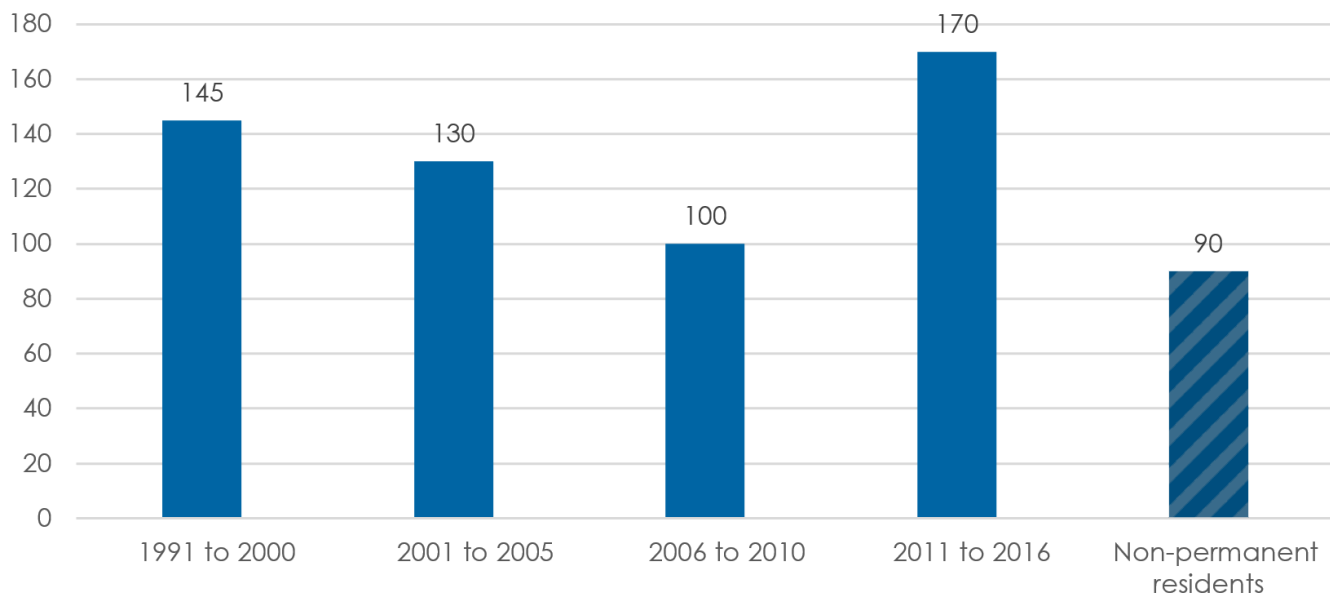


Source: Author's calculations, Statistics Canada, 2016 Census of the Population, Catalogue no. 98-316-X2016001.

To capture the effect of non-permanent (temporary) residents in Timmins, Taxfiler Migration Estimates can be used. Taxfiler data use tax records to estimate migration patterns. Taxfiler Migration Estimates of international in-migrants include those who file taxes and had a previous address (the year before) in a location outside Canada (Canada, 2021a).

Based on the Taxfiler definition of international in-migrants, Timmins has seen a large increase in the past five years[2], specifically in the 2017-18 and 2018-19 tax years. In the 2017-18 tax year, there were 42 international in-migrants. That number jumped to 174 in 2018-19. The gender of international in-migrants in Timmins is mostly balanced. In the 2018-19 tax year, males comprised 55 per cent of this population.

Most permanent residents who landed in Timmins between 1998 and 2019 have Philippine citizenship. Other common countries of citizenship for landed immigrants include India, China, the United States, Syria, and the United Kingdom.

The largest age group at landing in Timmins is consistently 25-44.[3] The second largest group is 0 to 17, perhaps indicating the presence of family immigration. The smallest age group at landing is consistently those over 65.

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2 *The last five years data are available – 2014 to 2019.*
3 *Age groupings done by IRCC are not uniform in age range. Age ranges are 0-17, 18-24, 25-44, 45-65, and 65+. Thus, 18-24 are underrepresented because of category groupings. The two groupings which have the largest age range are 25-44 and 45-65, which might overrepresent these categories in the data.*
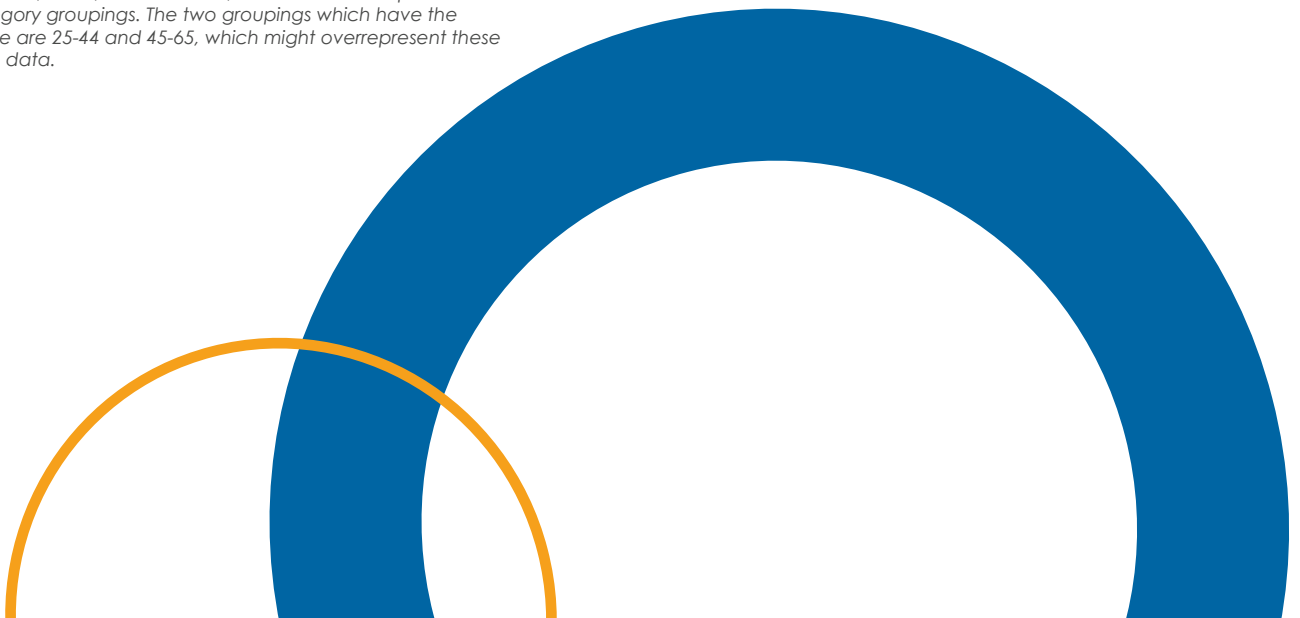
## Figure 2: In-migrant age at landing by year in Timmins CA, 2014-2019
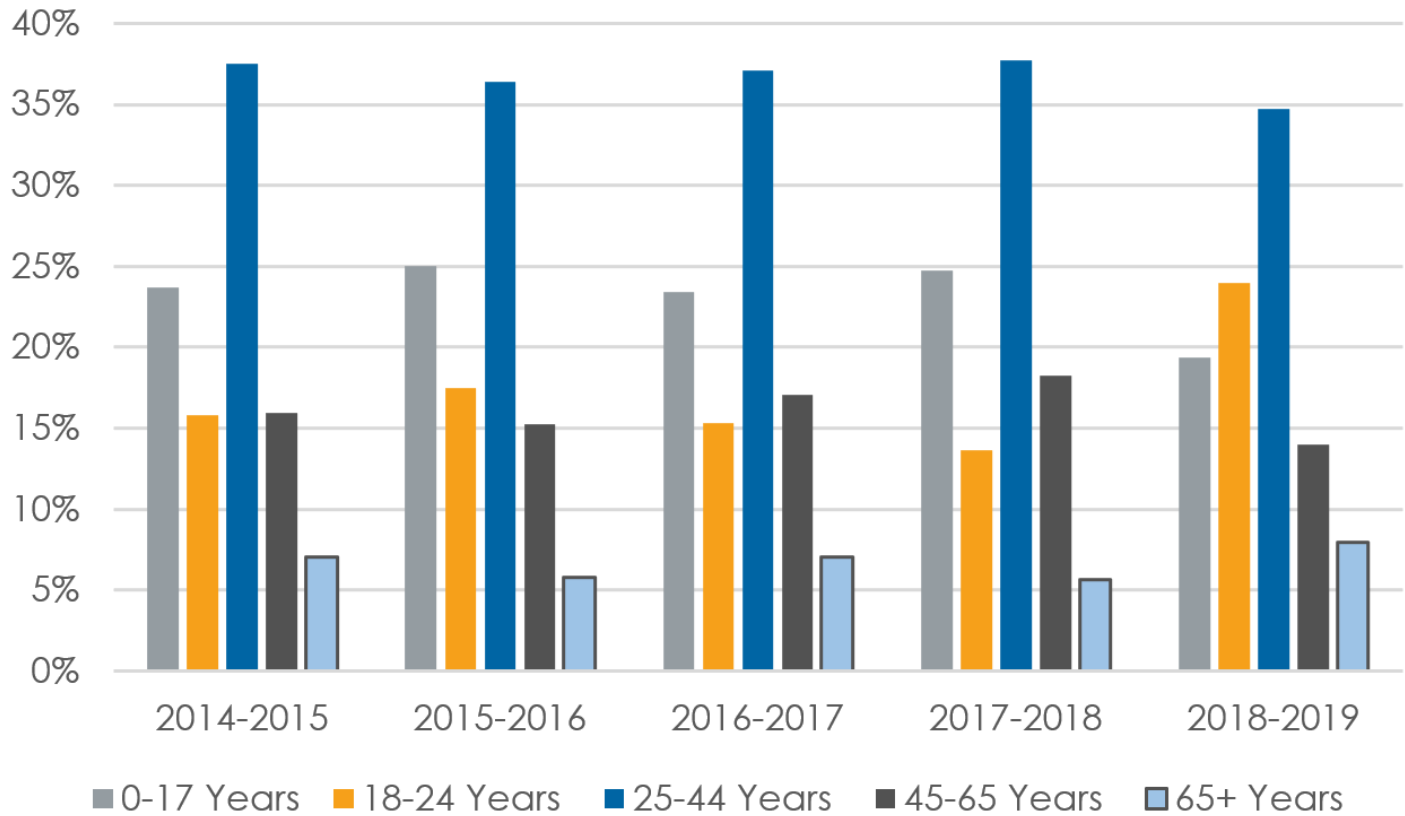


Source: Author's calculations, MIG: Migration Estimates from Taxfiler (T1FF), Table B: By Age Group, 2014-2019.

# Language

The most prevalent language spoken[4] among permanent residents in Timmins is English, perhaps due to the points allotted to English-speakers in the federal Express Entry immigration program. Additionally, English is the primary language spoken in the United States—the most common country of citizenship for permanent residents. In fact, English is the most common language spoken by permanent residents in all 11 Northern Ontario census districts and its five largest cities. Other common languages are Tagalog,[5] Chinese, Arabic, and Gujarati.[6]

The number of Chinese-speaking[7] permanent residents was highest in 1999, with 15 immigrants settling in Timmins, respectively. In the years that have followed through 2019, the number has not exceeded five. The number of Tagalog-speaking permanent residents was highest 2015, with 15 permanent residents recorded.

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4 Language spoken indicates the mother tongue of individuals. The mother tongue is the native language of an individual upon entering Canada.
5 Tagalog is the basis of Filipino and is spoken in the Philippines.
6 Gujarati is a language native to the country of India (Gujarat region).
7 The 'Chinese language' category is not broken down further.

# Stream

Between 2014 and 2019[8], the number of permanent residents coming to Timmins has increased, starting at 45 in 2014 and peaking at 65 in 2019. Between 2014 and 2019, the most common immigration stream for permanent residents was Economic (130). Sponsored Family was the second most common stream between 2014 and 2019 (100).

Between 1998 and 2019, the most common immigration stream for permanent residents in Timmins was Economic, followed by Sponsored Family and Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons. Within the Economic category, immigrants are almost  evenly distributed between principal applicants and spouse or dependants. Within the Sponsored Family category, immigrants are primarily principal applicants.

Economic immigrants primarily know English; very few know neither official language. Sponsored Family immigrants are predominantly English speakers, with a portion not knowing either official language. Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons mostly do not know either official language.

In 2019, Timmins received the highest number of Economic immigrants coming to the city since 1998 (35). The number of Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons peaked at five in both 2017 and 2018.

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8 The most recent years with full data available at time of writing.

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# Analysis

Characteristics such as age, education, and language spoken all are weighted heavily in the Express Entry program stream. For example, higher levels of education, such as university degrees, are given more points in the program. Additionally, certain age groups, such as 18-24, are allotted more points, while other age groups (0-17) receive no points.

Despite French also being an official language, and points being given in the Express Entry program stream to French-speaking applicants, French is not one of the common languages spoken among permanent residents in any of Northern Ontario's 11 districts or five biggest cities. Perhaps French-speaking immigrants are not common within most Northern Ontario districts due to the benefits they receive if they locate in Quebec, such as prioritized credential recognition between France and Quebec (Quebec 2019). But the immigration target set by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada for French-speaking migrants to Canada (outside Quebec) is 4.4 per cent.

# Economic Outcomes

## Intended NOCs

Measuring immigrants' intended occupations can help align labour supply with labour demand. To put it another way, strategically targeting immigrants with skills needed in the community, such as a specific labour shortage, can promote the vitality of the local labour force.

National Occupation Classifications (NOCs) provide an organizational framework of occupations in the Canadian labour market. Occupations are identified and grouped primarily based on the work usually performed, in other words by the tasks, duties, and responsibilities of the occupation (Statistics Canada 2016).

In no particular order, the most frequent immigrant-intended NOCs in Timmins between 1998 and 2019 were:

- Food service supervisors

- Mining engineers

It should be noted that 'Other Intended Occupation' was the most selected NOC answer for every district in Ontario's northern, western, and central regions. Thus, it is excluded from this analysis as to only include specific occupations.

## Occupation vacancy rates

Occupation-specific vacancy rates represents vacancies as a proportion of the total labour force for that occupation. Thus, vacancy rates can identify potential current labour market gaps.
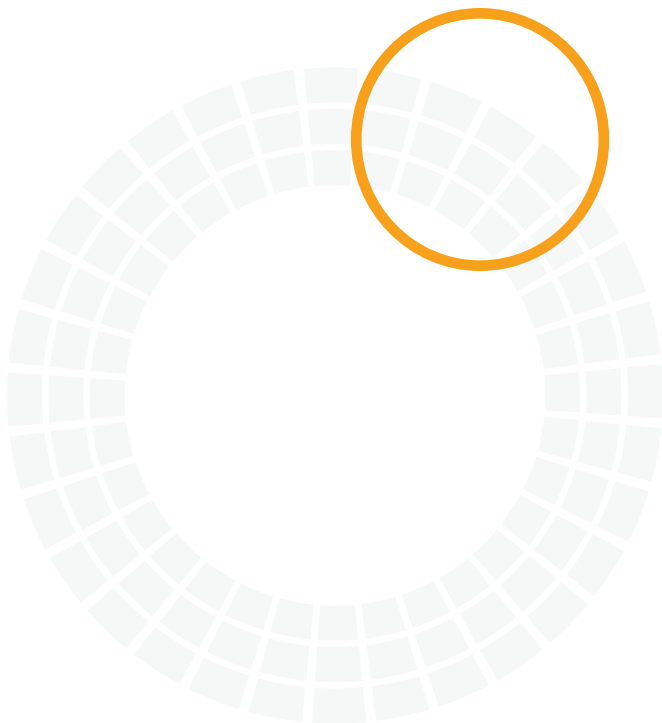
The methodology for calculating vacancy rate mirrors that of Northern Policy Institute's "Assessing Labour Market Shortages" series of reports on North Bay, Greater Sudbury, Timmins, Sault Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay (Ross, 2020). That series reflects trends from 2018, but this paper has updated the calculations to reflect 2020 trends—the most recent full year with data available. A high job vacancy rate typically indicates a stronger labour market for job seekers, as it demonstrates that a higher proportion of the total labour market consists of vacant jobs needing to be filled (Lindzon, 2019).

The data used to calculate job vacancy rates[9] were obtained from Emsi Economic Modeling, which were provided through a partnership with the Ontario Ministry of Agriculture, Food and Rural Affairs.

According to Table 1, there are four management-related occupations facing high job vacancy rates (NOC Skill Level 0) in Timmins. Additionally, there are four Skill Level C occupations facing high vacancy rates:

- Other installers, repairers and servicers

- Other assembly and related occupations

- Security guards and related security service operations

- Customer and information services representatives

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9 *The methodology Northern Policy Institute uses to calculate vacancy rate is explained in the "Assessing Labour Market Shortages" paper series by Alex Ross (2020).*

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## Table 1: Occupations with the highest average job vacancy rates, Timmins CA, 2020

| NOC | Description | Total Labour Market 2020 | Job Vacancy Rate |
|-----|-------------|:-----------------------:|:---------------:|
| 065 | Managers in customer and personal services, n.e.c.[10] | 23 | 55.3% |
| 060 | Corporate sales managers | 24 | 43.7% |
| 011 | Administrative services managers | 110 | 31.3% |
| 744 | Other installers, repairers and servicers | 97 | 23.4% |
| 953 | Other assembly and related occupations | 29 | 18.1% |
| 228 | Technical occupations in computer and information systems | 100 | 12.7% |
| 654 | Security guards and related security service occupations | 199 | 12.5% |
| 655 | Customer and information services representatives | 319 | 11.5% |
| 021 | Managers in engineering, architecture, science and information systems | 62 | 11.1% |
| 733 | Other mechanics and related repairers | 61 | 10.1% |

Source: Author's calculations based on Emsi – economicmodeling.com.

Additionally, the RNIP Program requires communities to target specific occupations that could be seen as in demand that immigrants could fill. In the first year of the RNIP Program, Timmins is targeting the following three and four-digit NOCs (see Appendix D for full list):

- 3413: Nurse aides, orderlies and patient service associates

- 4152 Social workers

- 0213: Computer and information systems managers

- 3111: Specialist physicians

- 111: Auditors, accountants and investment professionals

- 2147: Computer engineers

- 8614: Mine labourers

- 7511: Transport truck drivers

- 7241: Electricians

- 7611: Construction trades helpers and laborers

Of note, Timmins also included an 'Open NOC' category, where admission is at the discretion of the Community Recommendation Committee (CDC).

The overlap between the top occupations in Timmins and RNIP-targeted NOCs by Timmins aligns with three NOCs:

- 0213: Computer and information systems managers

- 111: Auditors, accountants and investment professionals

- 3111: Specialist physicians

Neither top immigrant-intended occupation aligns with identified occupational vacancies in Timmins, but food service supervisors are targeted in the RNIP Program under 063: Managers in food service and accommodation.

Vacancy rate, at first glance, might not seem to be indicative of immigrants' economic outcomes. But when looked at in conjunction with intended and targeted occupations, vacancy rate can indicate whether there is alignment between the occupations experiencing high vacancy rates and employment, unemployment, and participation rates among immigrants.

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10 N.e.c. refers to 'not elsewhere classified.'

# Labour Market Impact Assessments (LMIAs)

When looking at the presence of work permit holders in a specific region, it is important to analyze the jobs they are filling. Labour Market Impact Assessments (LMIAs) are submitted by employers to gain approval, in most cases, to hire foreign workers. A positive LMIA will show that there is a labour shortage that cannot be filled by a Canadian worker or permanent resident, indicating a need for a foreign worker to fill the job (Canada, 2021d). It should be noted that some foreign workers are exempt from needing an LMIA or work permit, such as those in the International Mobility Program.

LMIAs are only approved in regions without high unemployment rates, specifically for lowest skill and lowest wage occupations in accommodation, food services, and retail trade sectors.

The reason for reviewing positive and negative LMIAs is to measure, quantitatively, which occupations are experiencing labour shortages. Specifically, for the RNIP Program, communities select the occupations they will be 'targeting' each year. LMIA information should be considered when identifying labour shortages in each community.
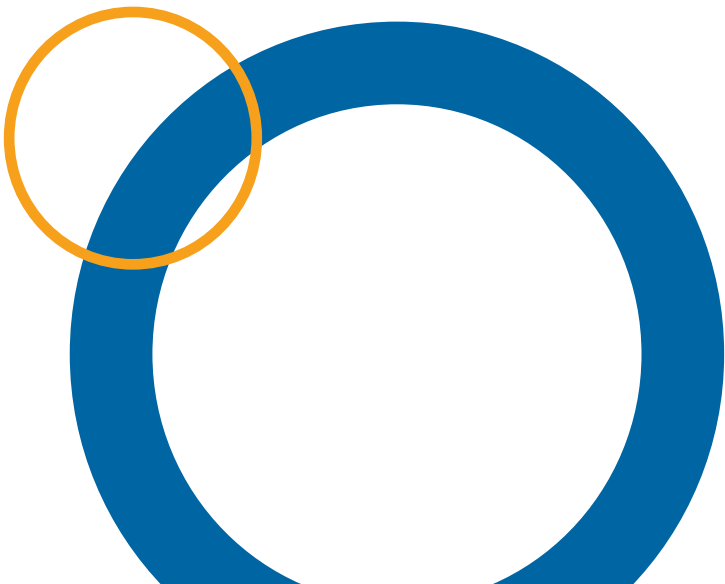
Negative LMIAs are not inherently indicative of the position's ability to be filled by Canadians or permanent residents. It can also indicate that the employer requesting the work permit has provided false, misleading, or inaccurate information in the past two years (Canada, 2021b).

In 2020, there were six occupations **approved** for LMIAs in Timmins, with a total of 12 unique positive LMIAs issued:

- 6322 – Cooks (5)

- 3111 – Specialist physicians (5)

- 2113 – Geoscientists and oceanographers (1)

- 2141 – Industrial and manufacturing engineers (1)

- 6311 – Food service supervisors (1)

As mentioned, an approved LMIA indicates that there is no Canadian talent available to fill the above positions in Timmins. As such, approved LMIA positions are a good indicator for decision-makers of labour market gaps and occupations that could be targeted through the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot, postsecondary institutions, or through additional training and upskilling.

Timmins had one **denied** LMIA application in 2020 for 2113 – Geoscientists and oceanographers. Denied LMIA applications do not necessarily indicate the availability of Canadians to carry out the duties of the occupation. Instead, there are multiple reasons, including a company's past experiences with the LMIA process, that contribute to whether an application is denied (Canada, 2021b a).

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Between 2017 and 2020, there were a total of 33 LMIAs approved in Timmins. They are as follows:

## Table 2: Occupations with approved LMIAs in Timmins, 2017-2020

| NOC | Occupation | Skill Level | Approved Positions | Included in RNIP Y1 NOCs? |
|-----|-----------|-------------|--------------------|--------------------------|
| 6322 | Cooks | B | 7 | **Yes** |
| 6311 | Food service supervisors | B | 6 | **Yes** |
| 7321 | Automotive service technicians, truck and bus mechanics and mechanical repairers | B | 4 | **Yes** |
| 3111 | Specialist physicians | A | 4 | **Yes** |
| 7535 | Other automotive mechanical installers and servicers | C | 3 | **Yes** |
| 6211 | Retail sales supervisors | B | 2 | **Yes** |
| 7311 | Construction millwrights and industrial mechanics | B | 2 | **Yes** |
| 2113 | Geoscientists and oceanographers | A | 1 | No |
| 2281 | Computer network technicians | B | 1 | No |
| 3114 | Veterinarians | A | 1 | No |
| 2141 | Industrial and manufacturing engineers | A | 1 | No |
| 7333 | Electrical mechanics | B | 1 | No |

Source: Open Data - Government of Canada, Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP): Positive Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) Employers List, multiple issues.

Note: In Year 1, Timmins had an 'Open NOC' category.

It is worth noting that there were no positive LMIAs issued in 2020 that aligned with the occupations facing the highest vacancy rates in Timmins (Table 1). As for the occupations in Timmins with the most approved LMIAs over the past three years, two occupations overlapped with occupations facing high vacancy rates: 228 – Technical occupations in computer and information systems, and 733 – Other mechanics and related repairers.

There was one occupation that was both targeted in Timmins' RNIP Year 1 and had a positive LMIA in 2020: 3111 – Specialist physicians. Additionally, RNIP Year 1 targeted occupations aligned with four positive LMIAs issued in the past three years: specialist physicians; construction millwrights and industrial mechanics; heavy duty equipment mechanics; and other transport equipment operators and related maintenance workers. With further alignment of in-demand occupations and the RNIP Program, employers can better attract and retain (as permanent residents) immigrant employees to fill these gaps.

# Employment/ unemployment/participation

Employment rates for immigrants who landed in Timmins between 1991 and 2016 are, on average, higher than those of non-immigrants. The immigrant cohort with the highest employment rate is the cohort that arrived between 2006 and 2010, with 94 per cent employment. Employment rates among immigrants who landed before 1990 are perhaps lower due to fact that many may be aging out of the labour market.

Recent immigrants (2011 to 2016) in Timmins have lower employment rates than more established immigrants. This aligns with trends seen in Kenora. The unemployment rate for the immigrant cohorts that landed between 1991 and 2000 and between 2011 and 2016 is zero, meaning that all immigrants in those cohorts that participated in the labour market were employed.

Non-permanent residents have employment rates that are slightly lower than those of non-immigrants and immigrants. Additionally, their unemployment rate[11] is higher than non-immigrants and immigrants. Non-permanent residents, also known as temporary residents, may be in Canada with permits that have more work restrictions. For example, study permit holders who are enrolled full-time are able to work on- and off-campus without a work permit for up to 20 hours a week during school terms, which could make finding a job more difficult.

Additionally, work permit holders can have either an open or closed work permit. Closed work permit holders are only able to work with the employer specified on their work permit, while open work permit holders can work for any eligible Canadian employer. These factors could contribute to the higher rate of unemployment among non-permanent residents (Canada 2020d).

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11 See Appendix B for definition
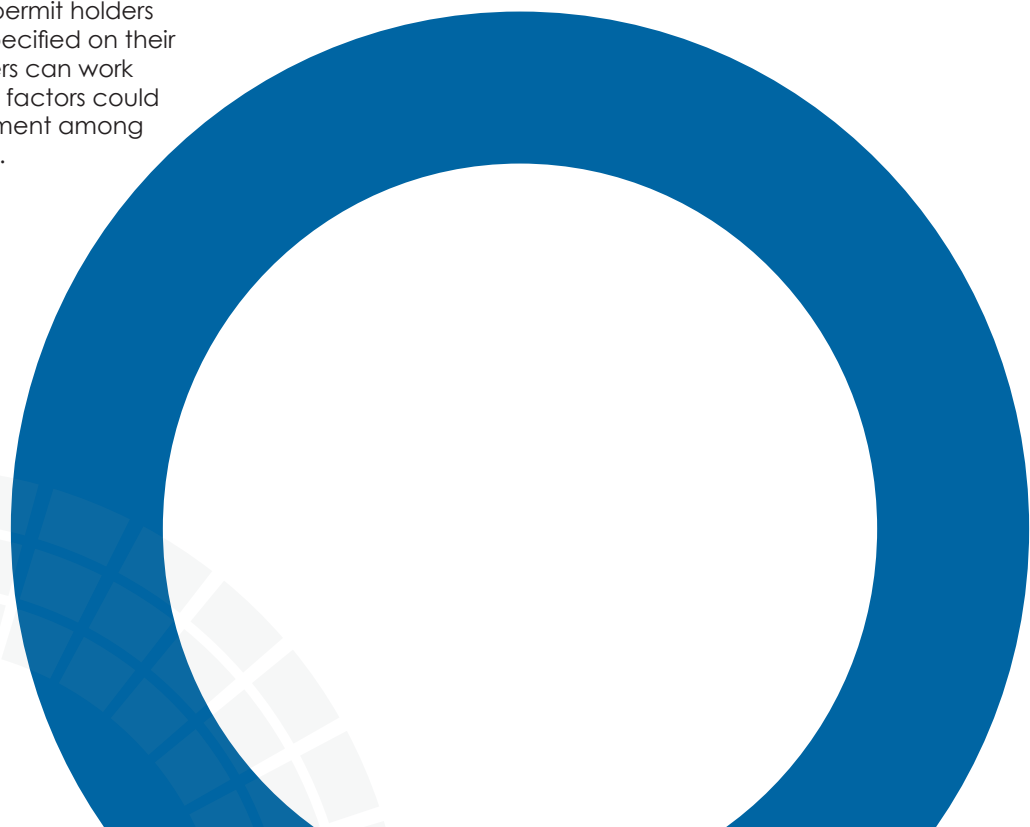
## Figure 3: Employment rates in Timmins CA by period of immigration, 2016
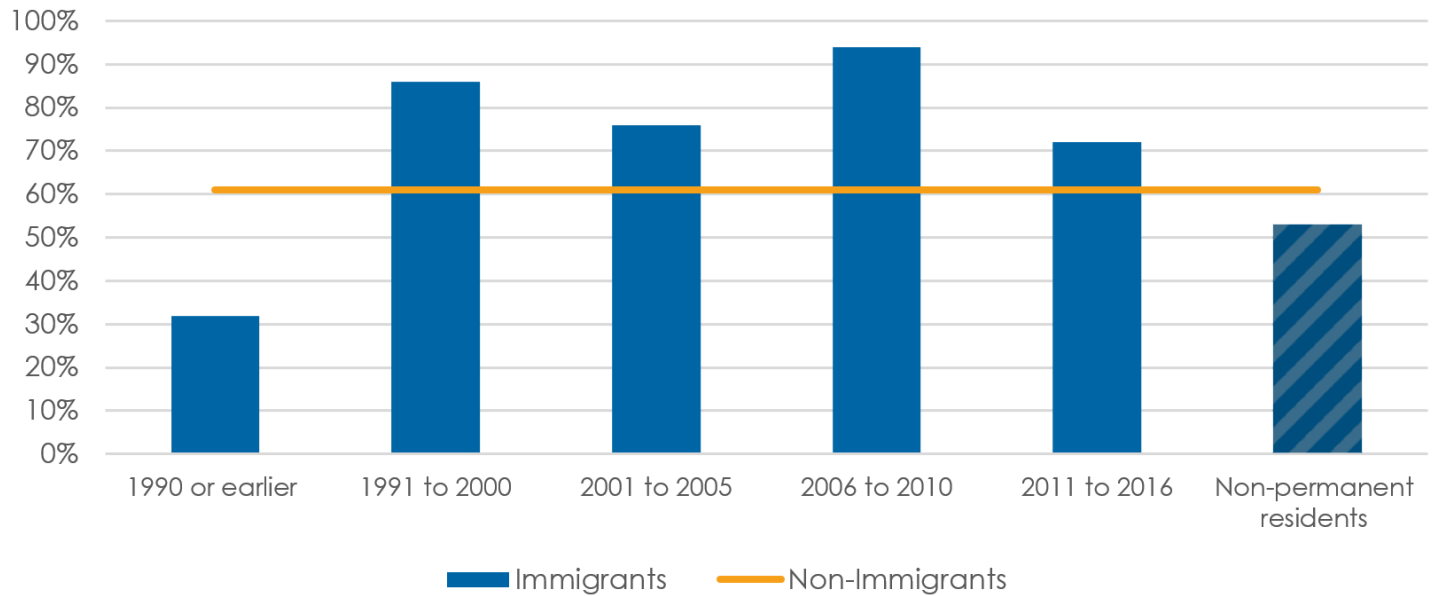


Source: Author's calculations; Community Data Program (CDP); Selected Language, Labour Force, Education, Income and Mobility Status Characteristics; Table EO2767-TBL7R.
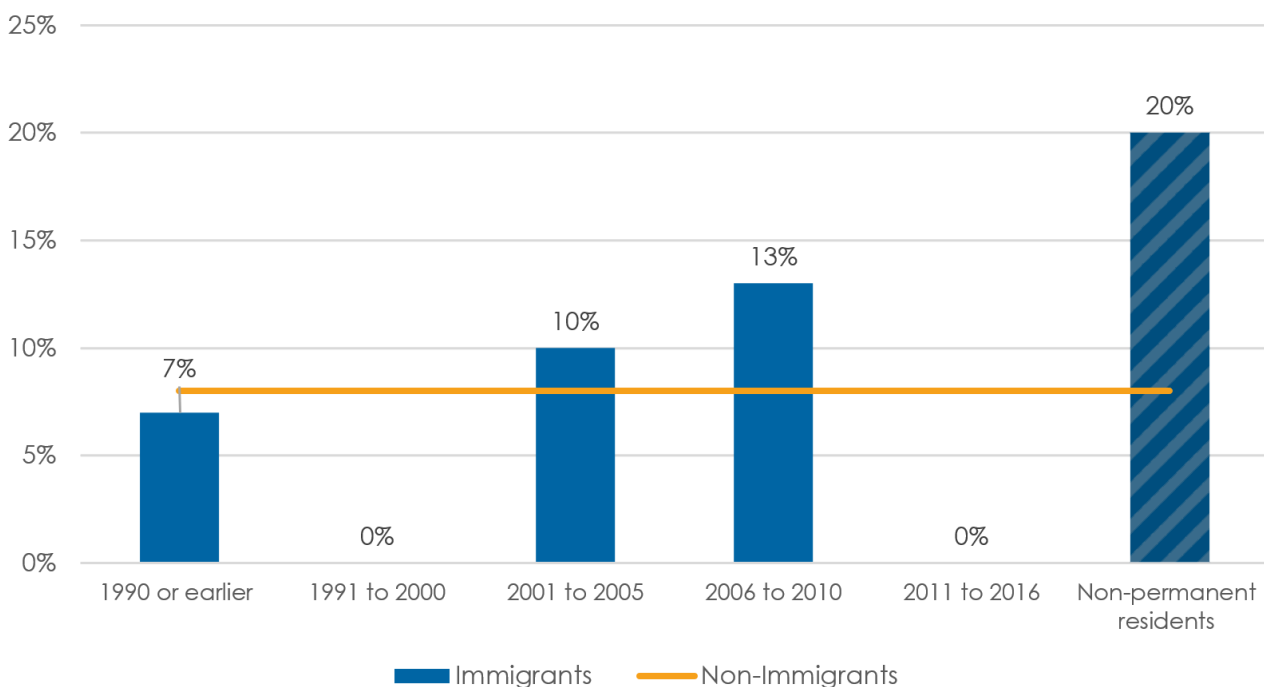
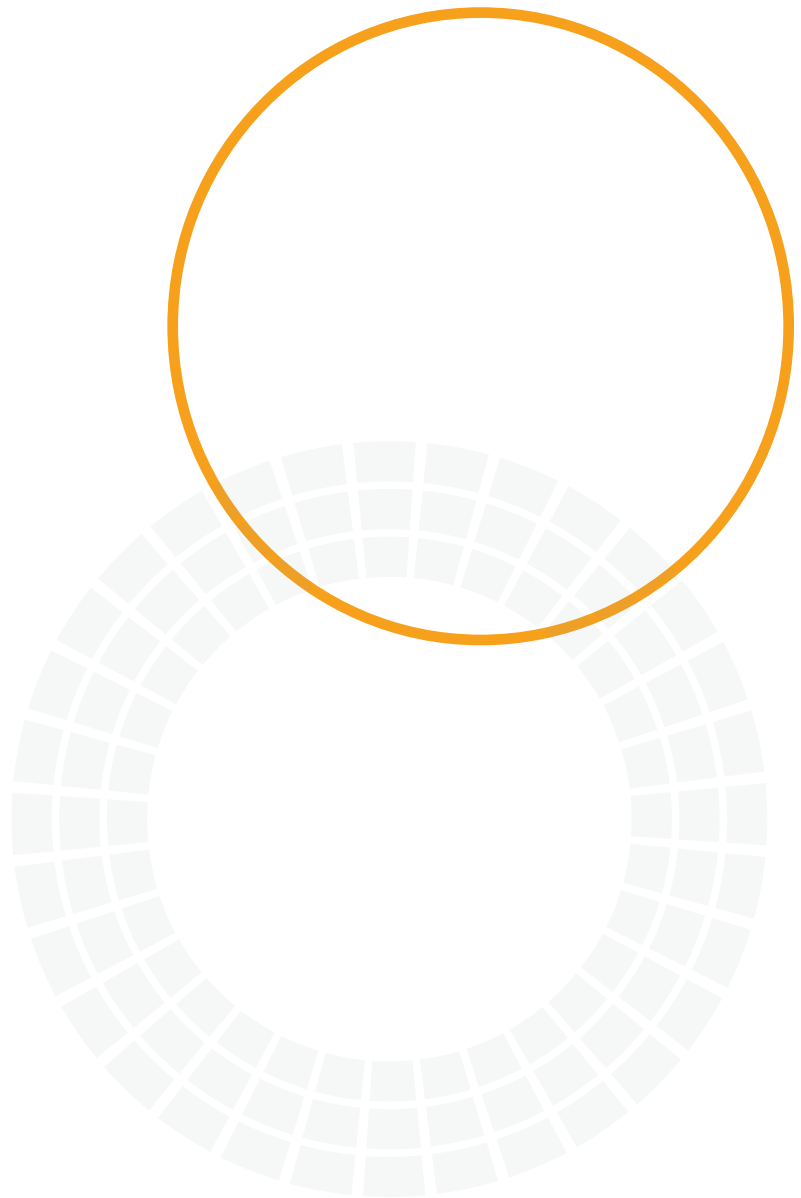## Figure 4: Unemployment rates in Timmins CA by period of immigration, 2016



Source: Author's calculations; Community Data Program (CDP); Selected Language, Labour Force, Education, Income and Mobility Status Characteristics; Table EO2767-TBL7R.

Measuring participation rates between immigrant cohorts indicates the number of immigrants in each cohort actively participating in the labour force, either by being employed or searching for employment. As regions in Northern Ontario are facing an aging population, low birth rates, and youth out-migration, immigrant participation in the labour force is one way to maintain the current standard of living as demographics shift.
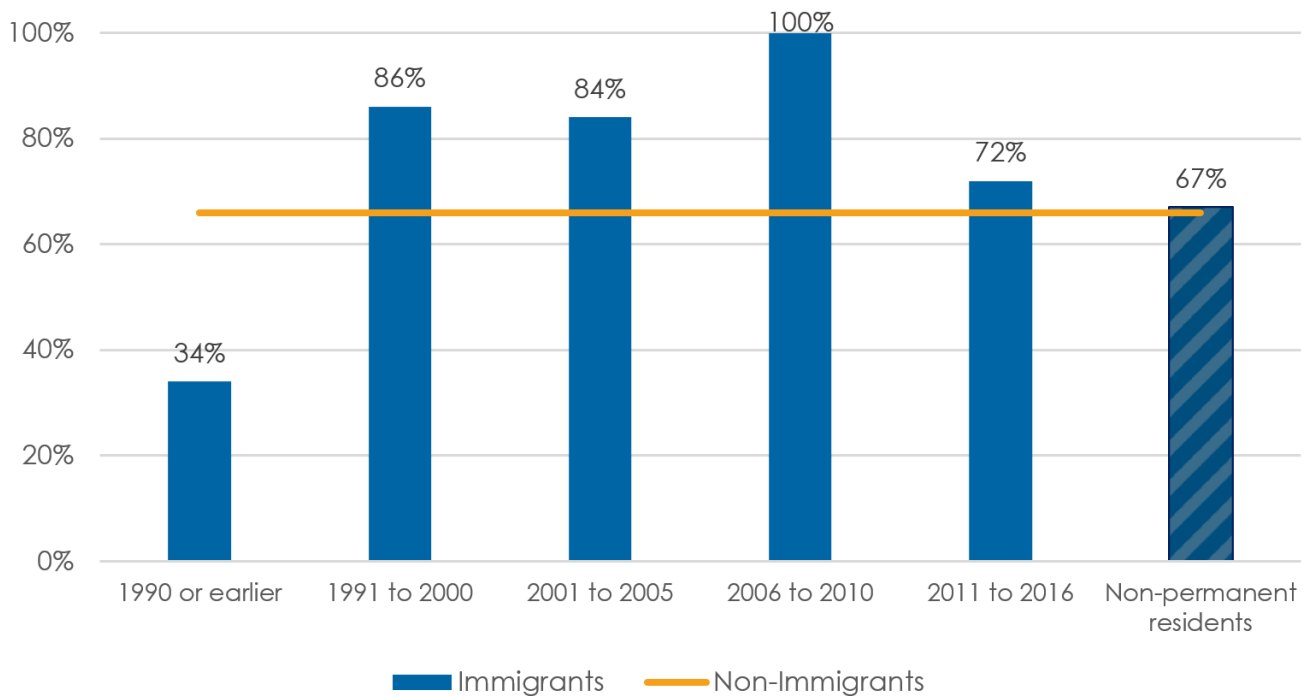
The participation rate measures the total labour force, comprised of those who are employed and unemployed, combined, relative to the size of the working-age population. The participation rate is the share of the working-age population that is working or looking for work.

As mentioned, when discussing employment and unemployment, time since landing is a large determinant of immigrants' labour market outcomes. For example, recent immigrants face labour market hurdles that affect their integration into the labour market, such as lack of language proficiency, lack of recognition of foreign credentials, and inadequate familiarity with the Canadian labour market (Statistics Canada, 2003, 10). A high participation rate combined with a low unemployment rate indicates robust opportunities in the labour market.

Recent immigrants in Thunder Bay participate in the labour market at a comparable rate to more established immigrant cohorts. Non-permanent residents (i.e., temporary residents) are participating in the labour market at a lower rate than the general population and permanent residents. The explanation for the lower participation rate coincides with the rationale mentioned previously regarding employment and unemployment rates: many of these temporary residents are study permit holders with employment limitations. Also, immigrant cohorts, except for those who migrated in 1990 or earlier, have higher participation rates than non-immigrants.

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## Figure 5: Participation rate (%) in Timmins by period of immigration, 2016



Source: Author's calculations; Community Data Program (CDP); Selected Language, Labour Force, Education, Income and Mobility Status Characteristics; Table EO2767-TBL7R.

# Discussion

The federal Express Entry program prioritizes immigrants with certain jobs or NOCs. In fact, all federal Express Entry streams require work experience in NOCs 0, A, or B, which are jobs in management and/or requiring university or college credentials. Thus, the Express Entry program caters to high-skilled workers.

As seen with Timmins' targeted occupations, high-skilled workers are not the only category or skill class of worker in demand. There is also a demand for NOC skill levels C and D. Skill Level C includes intermediate jobs that usually call for high school and/or job-specific training, such as home support workers, nurse aids, transport truck drivers, and heavy equipment operators. Skill Level D includes labour jobs that usually give on-the-job training, such as construction trades helpers and labourers and mine labourers (Canada 2020b). As mentioned previously, Timmins additionally has an 'Open NOC' category, where admission is at the discretion of the Community Recommendation Committee.

In theory, communities targeting immigrants with specific occupational experience as it aligns with their current labour market shortages should result in an increase in employment rates for recent immigrants. Further contributing to positive labour market outcomes, a requirement of RNIP is that the potential immigrant have a permanent job offer, further cementing employment upon arrival.
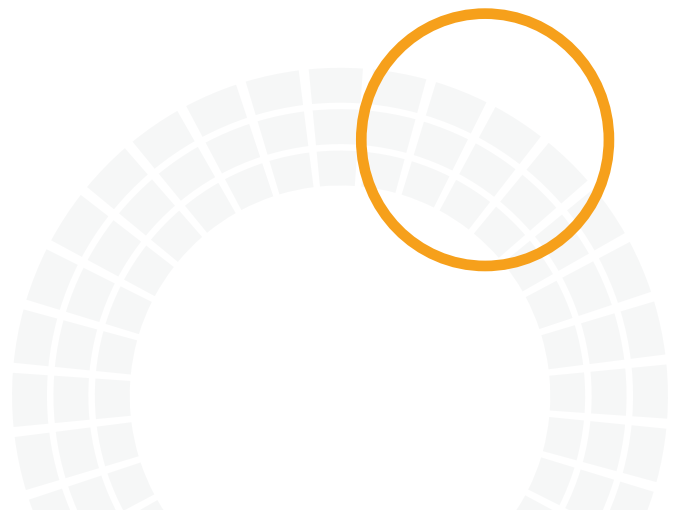
# Housing

Looking at immigrants' housing tenure can help indicate financial security, especially if the dwelling is owned (Haan 2012, 3). Owned housing can also signify an immigrant household's commitment to their new community and society (ibid), which can indicate retention.

In Timmins, recent immigrants are more likely to be renters than non-recent immigrants. Non-recent immigrants—those who have obtained permanent residence more than five years ago—are more likely to be homeowners.

## Figure 6: Immigrant households in Timmins by housing tenure (owners vs. renters), 2016
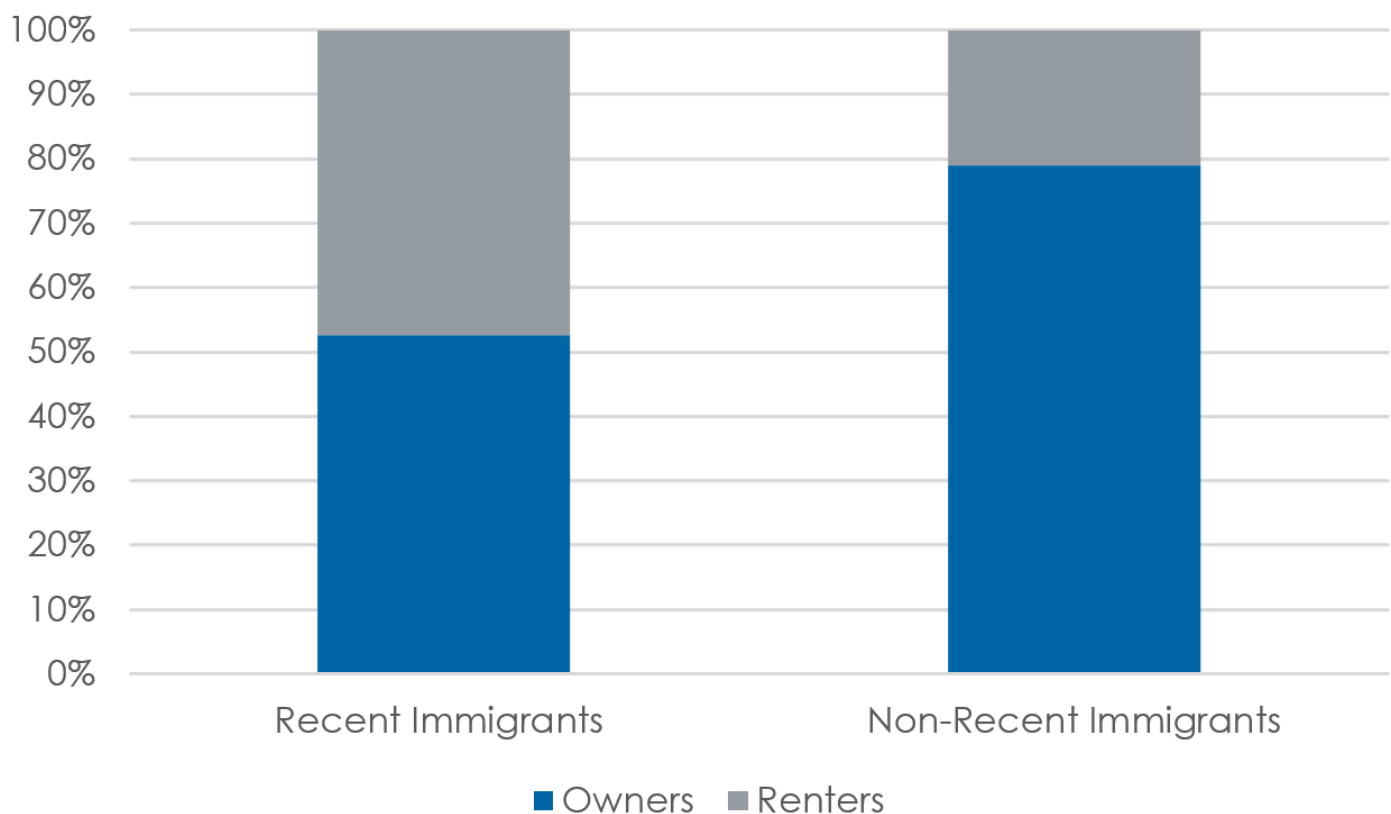


Source: Community Data Program (CDP), Target Group Profile of Recent Immigrant + Immigrant Population, Census 2016.

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There are many factors that can influence housing tenure, such as housing prices, discrimination, admission category, navigating the system, stable employment, access to credit, affordability/income, availability, and adequacy.

Also, the distinction needed when looking at housing tenure is that between recent and non-recent immigrants. A recent immigrant refers to a person who obtained a landed immigrant or permanent resident status up to five years prior to a given census year. For the data used in this paper, a recent immigrant would be defined as someone who landed between 2011 and 2016. Non-recent immigrants landed before 2011.

Non-recent immigrants have had more time to settle into the community, find careers, and make connections. Recent immigrants, on the other hand, might not yet have stable careers—making it more difficult to qualify for a mortgage and/or build credit—community connections, or knowledge of the Canadian housing market.
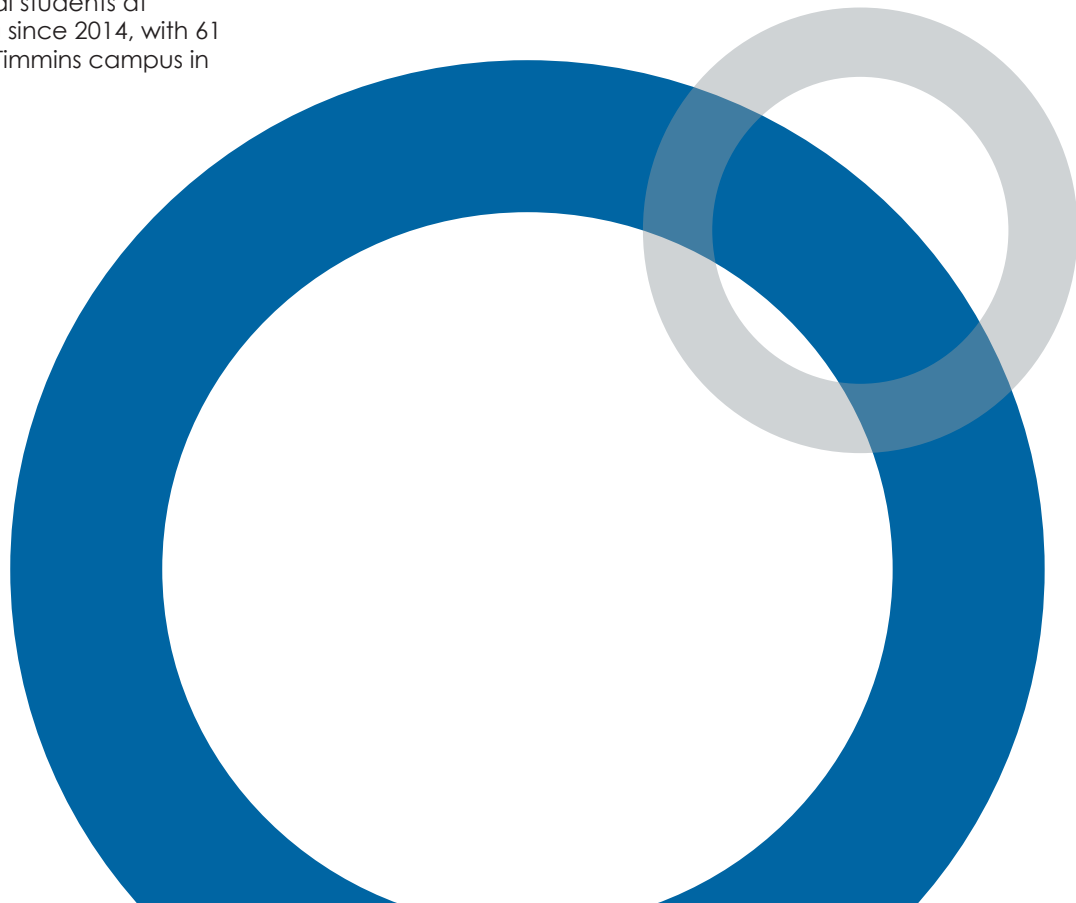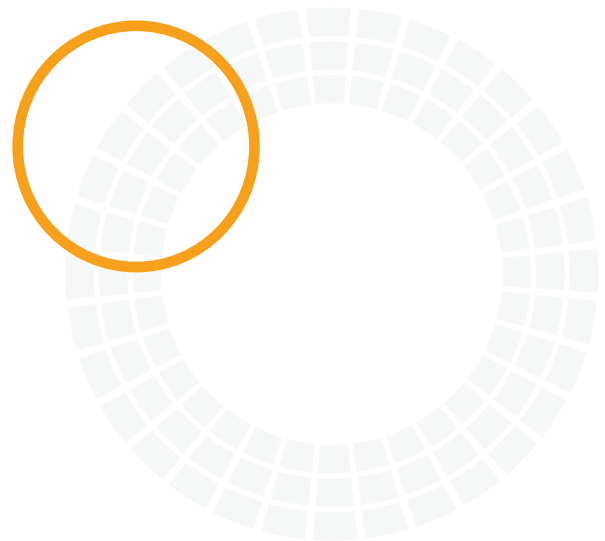
# Education

The most common field of study among immigrants in Timmins is architecture, engineering, and related technologies. It aligns with one of the top immigrant-intended NOCs: mining engineering. The second most common field of study among immigrants is health and related fields. The third is business, management, and public administration.

Immigrants who studied architecture, engineering, and related technologies can fill an identified labour market gap in Timmins: the need for managers in engineering, architecture, science, and information systems. Additionally, immigrants who studied health and related fields can fill the need for physicians, dentists, veterinarians, optometrists, chiropractors, and other health diagnosing and treating professionals. Finally, immigrants who studied business, management, and public administration can fill the need for corporate sales managers, managers in transportation, auditors, accountants, investment professionals, and administrative and regulatory occupations.

Timmins has four postsecondary institutions: Northern College, College Boréal, Algoma University, and Université de Hearst. College Boréal, Algoma University, and Université de Hearst do not have a significant number of international students at their Timmins campuses. The number of international students at Northern College has been increasing since 2014, with 61 international students enrolled at the Timmins campus in the 2017-18[12] academic year.

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12 Most recent data available at time of writing.

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**Figure 7: International students enrolled in Northern College, Timmins Campus, 2012-2018**
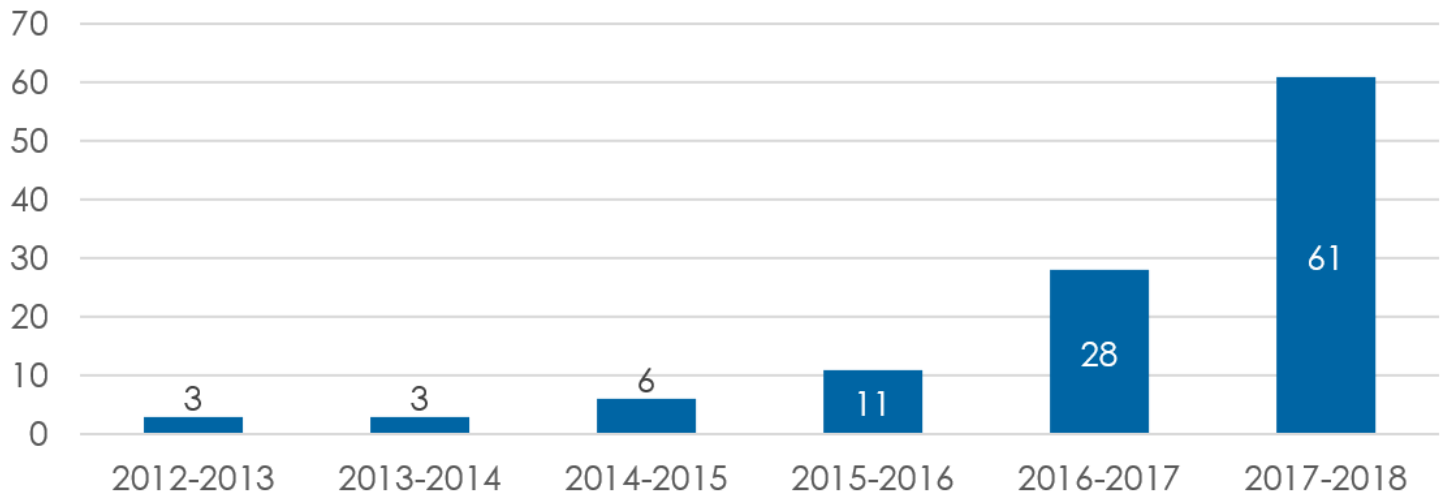


Source: Author's calculations, Ministry of Training, Colleges and Universities (MTCU), Enrolment Data - International and Domestic Full-time Headcounts.

Note: Northern College is in Porcupine; College Boréal and Université de Hearst are not significant sources of international students.

International students comprise an important pool of potential immigrants. They have recognized Canadian education credentials, knowledge of French or English, potentially Canadian work experience, familiarity with Canadian culture, and a connection to the community. For these reasons, international students are expected to integrate quicker into the labour market and society than other types of immigrants (Hagar 2019).

# Immigration System

## Study permit holders

In the City of Timmins, which has Northern College, College Boréal, Algoma University, and Université de Hearst, study permit holders between 1998 and 2019 were primarily citizens of India. The same was true for all the Big Five cities in Northern Ontario. In 2014, Timmins had 10 study permit holders with Indian citizenship. By 2018, that number had increased to 675. In 2019, the number was 655.  Other common countries of citizenship for study permit holders include China and the United Kingdom.

Study permit holders that gained permanent residence in Timmins between 1998 and 2019 primarily did so through the Economic stream. Within that stream, the primary pathway was the Skilled Worker Program. All study permit holders who became permanent residents through the Sponsored Family stream were sponsored spouses or dependents.
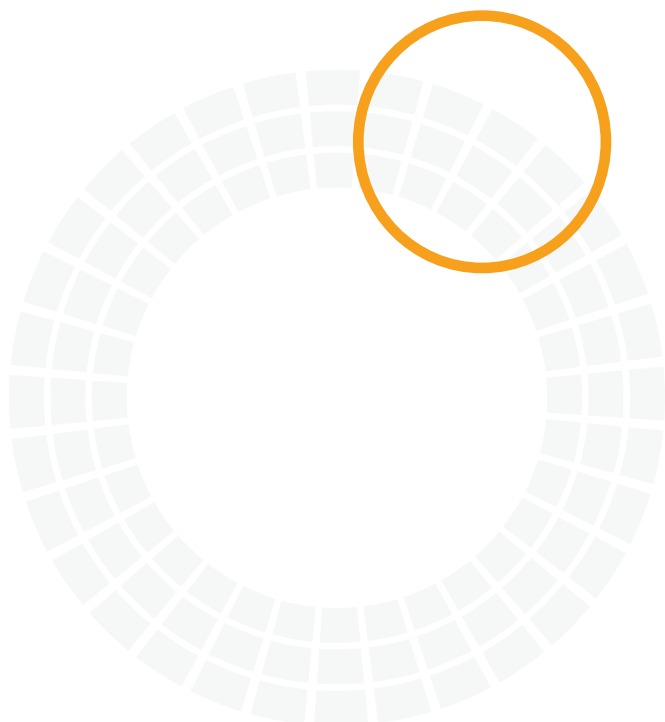
## Work permit holders

Work permit holders in Timmins primarily have citizenship in the United States. The same is true for work permit holders in Northern Ontario's 11 census districts and CMAs. Other common countries of citizenship for work permit holders include India, the Philippines, New Zealand, and Australia.

Work permit holders that gained permanent residence in Timmins between 1998 and 2019 primarily did so through the Economic stream, specifically within the Canadian Experience subcategory. Some gained permanent residence through the Provincial Nominee and Skilled Worker programs.

## Discussion

Temporary residents—work permit and study permit holders—make up a large share of Timmins' immigrant population; they also contribute to the local economy and labour force.[13] International students pay tuition to local institutions and spend their money in the city (e.g., rent, groceries, transportation, textbooks, clothing), with additional indirect and induced economic impacts. Similarly, work permit holders fill in-demand jobs in the community and pay for rent/mortgage, groceries, transportation, and other necessities. As such, it is important to measure their presence, and assess their characteristics, as is done with permanent residents.

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*13 See "Where are the international students? How COVID-19 could affect Northern Ontario's economy," Hilary Hagar, 2020.*

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# Income

## Employment income

Employment income is calculated among immigrants who receive employment income, whereas total income includes both those with and without income. This can result in higher employment income numbers, despite total income also including income from government transfers and investments.

Although employment rates are higher for the most recent immigrant cohort, their median and average income levels are lower than more established immigrants and non-immigrants. This can indicate underemployment; recent immigrants might be working part-time or making lower wages than more established immigrants and non-immigrants.

Average and median employment income is highest among those who immigrated to Timmins between 1991 and 2000, perhaps due to the length of time they have had to become established in the community. The immigrant cohort from 1990 and earlier has the lowest average and median employment income, possibility due to aging out of the labour force or a reduction of hours.

## Household income

Factors that contribute to household income for immigrants include number of people in the household, pre-admission experience, knowledge of official languages, and category of admission (Statistics Canada, 2021b). Similar to other variables, it is important to look at immigrants based on their period of immigration, if possible. For average and median household income metrics, data were only available for all immigrants and recent immigrants.

Household average and median income levels of recent immigrants in Timmins are lower than those of all immigrants. The reasons for the lower levels (both total and after-tax) are consistent with those previously mentioned: recent immigrants need time to settle into their new communities, gain stable employment, have recognized credentials, complete training, and so on.

## Table 3: Immigrant household income statistics in Timmins, 2016

|  | Average total income | Median total income | Average after-tax income | Median after-tax income |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Recent Immigrants | $75,528 | $59,063 | $64,358 | $52,860 |
| All Immigrants | $88,287 | $73,607 | $73,956 | $64,426 |

Source: Author's calculations, Community Data Program (CDP), Household & Family TGP of the recent immigrant population, Census 2016, custom tabulation.

# Low income cut-offs (LICOs)

Low income cut-offs (LICOs) are income thresholds below which a family will likely devote a larger share of its income to necessities such as food, shelter and clothing than the average family. Statistics Canada calculates LICOs by looking at the income threshold for which families are expected to spend 20 percentage points more than the average family on food, shelter, and clothing (Statistics Canada 2015). As the purchase of necessities is done with after-tax dollars, after-tax income is used to determine LICOs.

Zero per cent of immigrants that came to Timmins before 1990 are below the low income cut-off. Immigrants that have been in the community for more than 25 years[14] have had ample time to establish community connections, secure a stable job, and find adequate housing. The literature supports this, commonly stating, "Immigrants and refugees often need some time to settle in their new country, and as a result, years since migration generally corresponds with improved economic and social outcomes" (Crossman 2013).

Additionally, there are no non-permanent residents that are below the low income cut-off. This is noteworthy, as the other four communities looked at—North Bay, Greater Sudbury, Sault Ste. Marie, and Thunder Bay—all had LICO levels of over 50 per cent for non-permanent residents. Furthermore, no other assessed community had LICO levels of zero for any immigrant cohort.

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14 At the time of the 2016 census.

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## Figure 8: Percentage of low income cut-offs after tax (LICO-AT) in Timmins CA by period of immigration 2016
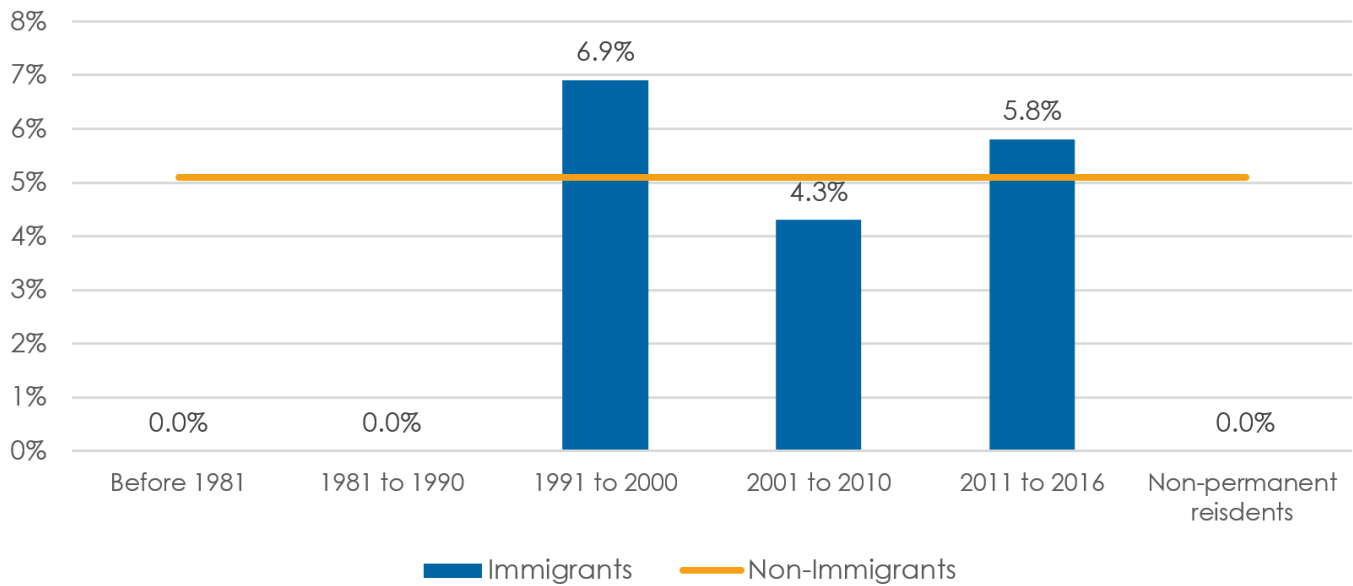


Source: Author's calculations; Community Data Program (CDP); Selected Language, Labour Force, Education, Income and Mobility Status Characteristics; Table EO2767 - TBL7R.

What the above data show is that having lower income levels as a recent immigrant is not a long-term phenomenon. Income levels appear to increase, and LICO levels decrease, in correspondence with time spent in the community. As noted, factors such as immigration stream, knowledge of an official language, and employment situation all greatly affect income levels. Additionally, when more recent data are available, income levels will reflect what is happening in the economy at time of landing for the most recent immigrant cohort. Thus, the COVID-19 pandemic will likely impact employment, income, and LICO levels among recent and non-recent immigrants alike.
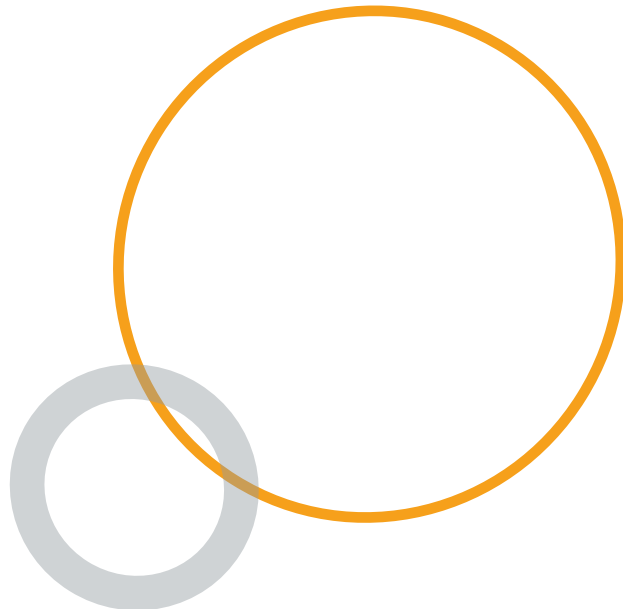
# Conclusion

When assessing the economic Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) Program, the governing principles are grounded in labour market success for principal applicants. For example, trends related to the labour market participation and employment of recent immigrants would be influenced by the fact that RNIP applicants must have a valid job offer in the community. Also, applicants must have either a Canadian postsecondary degree or experience in the field in which they are applying, which would influence income levels. When looking at housing, the previously discussed effects of having stable employment, coupled with more points being given to those who have lived in the community, aid in the search and ownership of housing.

But the impacts of the RNIP are not limited to those directly participating in the pilot. Welcoming initiatives and sustainable economic growth (via immigrants filling labour market shortages) help the entire community. Thus, although the purpose of this paper is to establish a baseline assessment of immigration trends in the region for the purpose of monitoring and assessing the impact of RNIP and other programs, many other aspects need to be looked at in tandem.
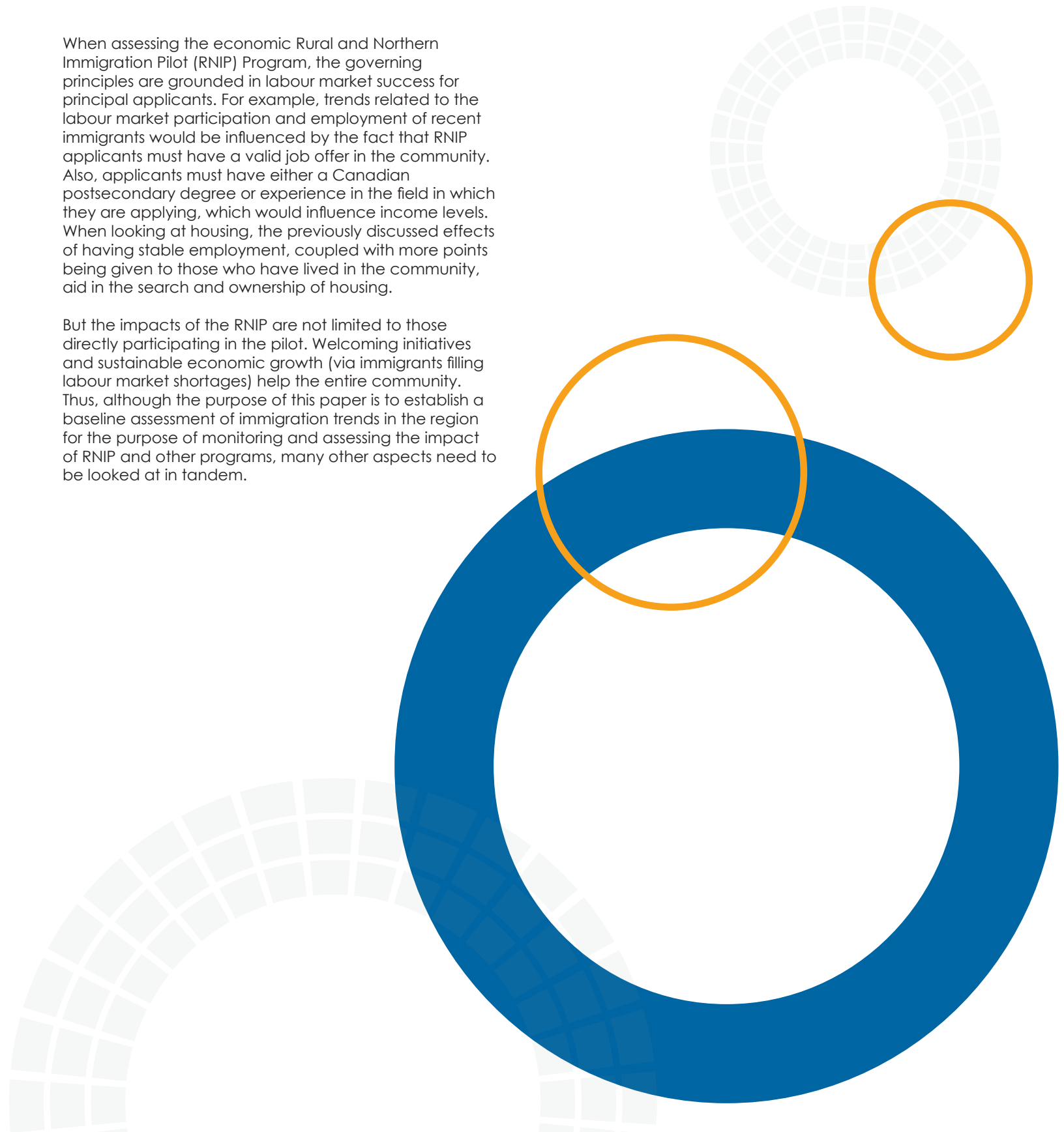
# Recommendations

Economic immigration is a valuable tool for communities to fill labour market shortages and counteract the effects of an aging population, low birth rates, and high levels of youth out-migration. For this process to be not only successful but also meaningful for all parties involved, the following recommendations must be considered:

**1. (1a) Ongoing annual monitoring and assessment of community-level immigration trends in Ontario's northern, western, and central regions**

Now that a baseline is established for immigration trends in Ontario's northern, western, and central regions, this analysis should be used and built on, year-over-year, to monitor and assess trends in the regions.

Not only should immigration trends be monitored and updated but also labour market indicators, such as vacancy rates in specific occupations. This analysis will aid in monitoring the impacts of the RNIP Program, as well as other welcoming, attraction, and retention efforts undertaken by communities.

It should be noted that data availability and accessibility were a challenge, with long wait times for IRCC admission data. Additionally, there were high levels of data suppression when working at the community level. With the upcoming release of 2021 census data, as well as the continued updating of the IMDB and Taxfiler data, a more comprehensive picture of immigration trends can be provided moving forward.

**2. (1b) Community-specific ongoing assessment of the impact of the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) before, during, and after the program**

Although 100 recommendations were available to communities in the first year of the pilot, the COVID-19 pandemic significantly hindered the arrival of immigrants to Canada, as well as the initial rollout of the pilot in some communities. Thus, the number of community recommendations issued in the first year of the pilot was low. This is cited to highlight the difficulties in obtaining RNIP candidate-specific data for Year 1.

Northern Policy Institute has partnered with three RNIP communities in Northern Ontario—Thunder Bay, Timmins, and Greater Sudbury—to monitor and assess RNIP-specific immigration trends and outcomes. The goals of the RNIP are to fill community-specific labour market needs while promoting a welcoming community for all participants, ultimately resulting in high retention levels. Thus, the social and economic benefits of the pilot in each community should be analyzed.

This partnership was offered to all RNIP communities in Northern Ontario, and the data-sharing and analysis partnership remains open. Communities that are interested in community-level RNIP assessments, but do not have formal partnerships, are welcome to partner with Northern Policy Institute for this analysis.

**3. Expanding the above analysis to also include secondary and domestic migrants to (and in) Northern Ontario communities**

Domestic and secondary migrants, and those already in the communities, also shape the economic landscape in terms of participation in the housing and labour market. Additionally, they need access to welcoming infrastructure, employers, and the community as a whole to retain them once they are in the communities.

A limitation to this extra layer of analysis is data availability. IRCC keeps admission records on international in-migrants and temporary residents based on intended destination. Secondary and domestic migration are not captured in these records. Thus, data sources are limited to the census and Taxfiler information.

**4. Strengthening the alignment between labour market shortages, targeted occupations, postsecondary institutional fields of study, and immigrant-intended occupations to maximize economic outcomes**

Available data should be used to align labour supply with labour demand, thus promoting a robust local labour market and contributing to sustainable economic growth. All actors involved—chambers, planning boards, postsecondary institutions, employers, immigration actors—can strategically target labour supply, via targeted immigration, to fill current vacancies.

Most communities analyzed do not have overlap between occupations with high vacancy rates and those under the Year 1 RNIP targeted occupations. To aid in attraction and retention of immigrants, as well as promote positive labour market outcomes for the community, more strategic alignment is recommended. Available data can, and should, be used to guide decision-making, alongside consultations with community partners and employers.

Additionally, those already in the community comprise a large source of labour. Similar to the preceding point, this population also needs to be assessed. Are people already in the communities participating in the labour force? Are they unemployed or underemployed? Are their (foreign) credentials and life experiences adequately acknowledged and compensated?

**5. Undertaking welcoming community initiatives to welcome, attract, and retain immigrants and the existing population to/in Ontario's northern, western, and central regions**

Beyond the trends that can be measured quantitatively, using data gathered from IRCC, the census, Taxfiler estimates, and IMDB, there is a need to also measure attitudes and perceptions of those in the community. A requirement for participating RNIP communities is to undertake welcoming community efforts. Undoubtedly, the effects of implementing welcoming community initiatives will positively benefit people beyond those participating directly in the pilot.

The effects of these initiatives should, similar to immigration trends more generally, be tracked on an ongoing basis. To do this, primary data collection, likely in the form of focus groups and surveys, must be deployed. Important indicators to track include sense of belonging, meaningful employment, positive community interactions, and welcoming infrastructure (such as services available).

When looking at each community's labour market, the individual and community-wide benefits of immigration will be felt when there is an alignment between the labour shortages in the community and the immigrants who are applying their skills to fill these gaps.
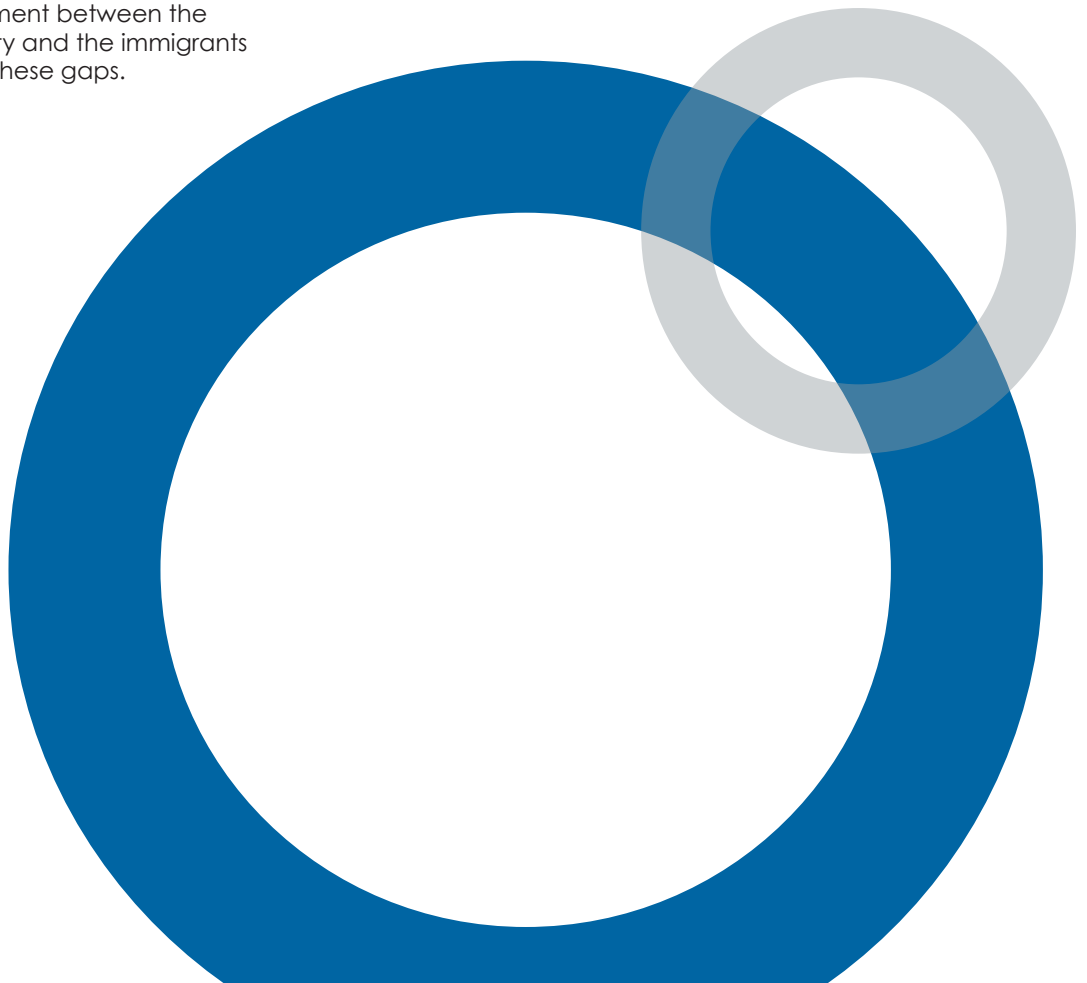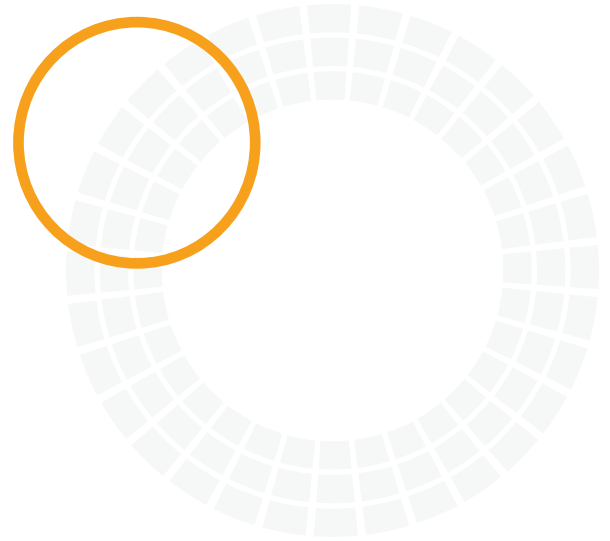
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# Appendix

## Appendix A:
## Data Suppression

All values between zero and five are shown as '--'
in requested datasets from IRCC. This is done to
prevent individuals from being identified when IRCC
data are compiled and compared to other publicly
available statistics. All other values are rounded to the
closest multiple of five for the same reason. Years with
suppressed or rounded data are still significant because
they represent a non-zero value. But there are challenges
when working with small and suppressed data.
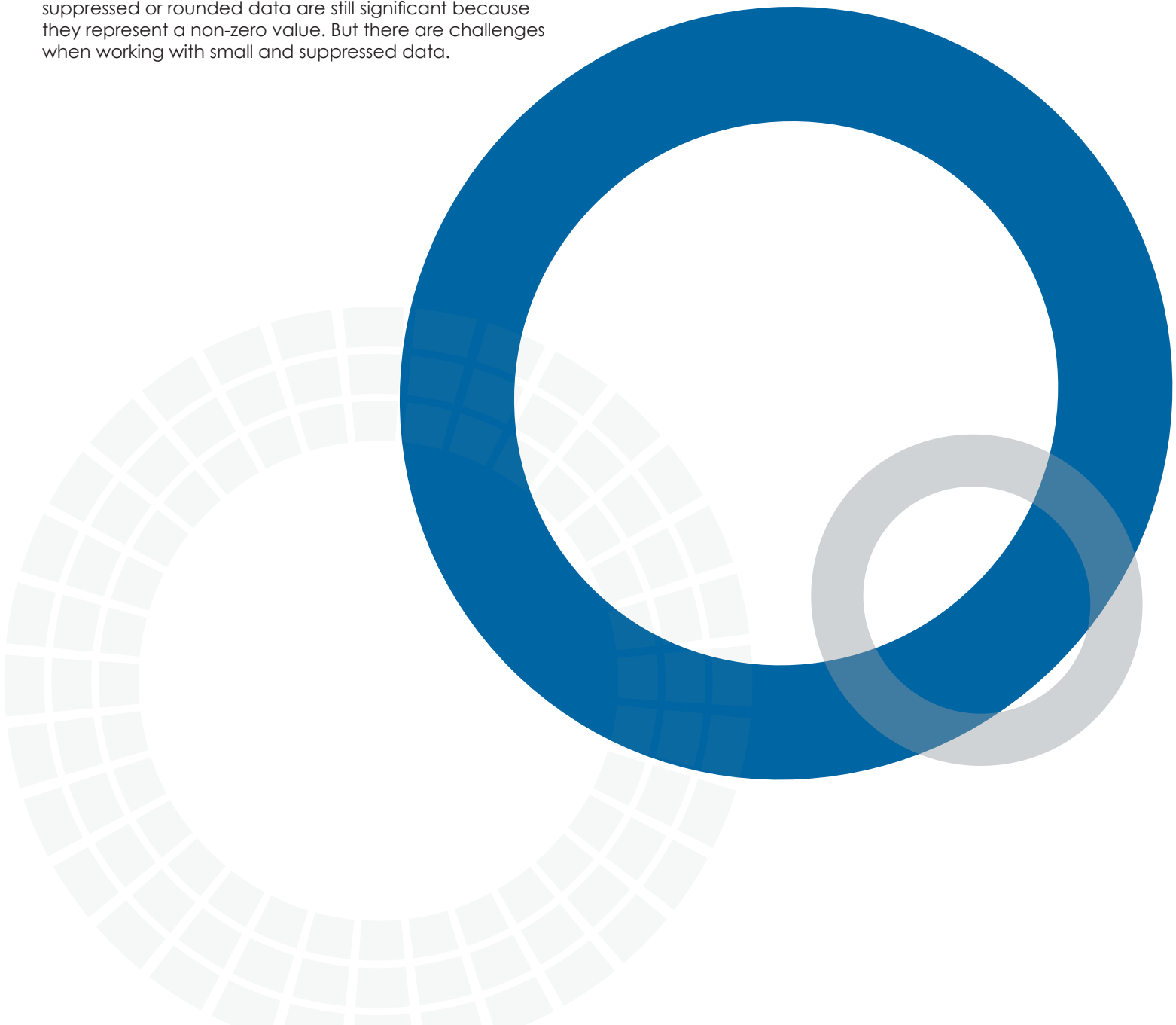
# Appendix B: Definitions

**Economic immigrants:** Immigrants who have been selected for their ability to contribute to Canada's economy through their ability to meet labour market needs, to own and manage or build a business, to make substantial investment, to create their own employment, or to meet specific provincial or territorial labour market needs.

**Sponsored Family immigrants:** Immigrants who were sponsored by a Canadian citizen or permanent resident and were granted permanent resident status based on their relationship either as the spouse, partner, parent, grandparent, child, or other relative of this sponsor.

**Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons immigrants:** Immigrants who were granted permanent resident status based on a well-founded fear of returning to their home country.

**Other immigrants:** Immigrants who were granted permanent resident status under a program that does not fall under the Economic, Sponsored Family, or Resettled Refugees and Protected Persons categories.

**Immigrant status:** Refers to whether the person is a non-immigrant, an immigrant, or a non-permanent resident:

- **Non-immigrants:** Persons who are Canadian citizens by birth.

- **Immigrants:** Persons who are, or who have ever been, landed immigrants or permanent residents. Such persons have been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities. Also includes persons who are Canadian citizens by naturalization.

- **Non-permanent residents:** Persons who do not have Canadian citizenship and who are not landed immigrants or permanent residents. Includes those who have work, study, or temporary resident permits, or who are refugee claimants, and their family members sharing the same permit and living in Canada with them.

**Recent immigrants:** Individuals who obtained a landed immigrant or permanent resident status up to five years prior to a given census year. For the data used in this paper, a recent immigrant would be defined as those who landed between 2011 and 2016.  Non-recent immigrants landed before 2011.

**All immigrants:** Individuals who are, or who have ever been, a landed immigrant or permanent resident.

**Unemployed:** Refers to persons who, during the week of May 1 to May 7, 2016, were without paid work or without self-employment work and were available for work and either:

a. Had actively looked for paid work in the past four weeks; or

b. Were on temporary layoff and expected to return to their job; or

c. Had definite arrangements to start a new job in four weeks or less.

**Unemployment rate:** Refers to the unemployed expressed as a percentage of the labour force during the week of May 1 to May 7, 2016. The unemployment rate for a particular group (e.g., age, sex, marital status, geographic area) is the unemployed in that group, expressed as a percentage of the labour force in that group.

# Appendix C: Indicator List

In total, 24 indicators were identified for trend tracking and analysis for Timmins. Retention rates were only available for the CMAs of Greater Sudbury and Thunder Bay. Data on settlement service providers and usage for only Timmins are not available, as Timmins is covered by the North Bay and District Multicultural Centre.

| Category | Indicator |
|---|---|
| Economic outcomes | Admission of permanent resident (PR) by intended occupation (NOC) |
| Economic outcomes | Unemployment/employment rates |
| Housing | Housing tenure (renters vs. owners) |
| Education | Highest level of education |
| Education | Field of study for international students |
| Education | Field of study for the immigrant population |
| Education | Number of international students by postsecondary institute |
| Immigrant characteristics | Admission of PR by country of citizenship |
| Immigrant characteristics | Gender of international in-migrants |
| Immigrant characteristics | Age at landing |
| Immigrant characteristics | Admission of PR by language spoken (mother tongue) |
| Immigrant characteristics | Study permit holder by language spoken (mother tongue) |
| Immigrant characteristics | Work permit holder by language spoken (mother tongue) |
| Immigrant characteristics | PR by immigration stream and language |
| Immigrant characteristics | PR by immigration stream and family status |
| Immigrant characteristics | PR by country of citizenship |
| Immigration system | Study permit holders by country of citizenship |
| Immigration system | Work permit holders by country of citizenship |
| Income | Percentage of low income cut-offs after tax |
| Income | Median and average total income by immigration status and time frame |
| Income | Median and average employment income by immigration status and time frame |
| Income | Median and average household income |
| Retention | Immigrant mobility – retention rates by years since admission |
| SPOs | Settlement service clients by service type |

# Appendix D: Year 1 RNIP Targeted Occupations - Timmins

- NOC 3012: Registered nurses and registered psychiatric nurses (Skill Level A)

- NOC 3413: Nurse aides, orderlies and patient service associates (Skill Level C)

- NOC 3233: Licensed practical nurses (Skill Level B)

- NOC 3111: Specialist physicians (Skill Level A)

- NOC 3112: General practitioners and family physicians (Skill Level A)

- NOC 4152: Social workers (Skill Level A)

- NOC 4214: Early childhood educators and assistants (Skill Level B)

- NOC 4212: Social and community service workers (Skill Level B)

- NOC 4412: Home support workers, housekeepers and related occupations (Skill Level C)

- NOC 7312: Heavy duty equipment mechanics (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7321: Automotive service technicians, truck and bus mechanics and mechanical repairers (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7311: Construction millwrights and industrial mechanics (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7611: Construction trades helpers and laborers (Skill Level D)

- NOC 7237: Welders and related machine operators (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7271: Carpenters (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7241: Electricians (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7251: Plumbers (Skill Level B)

- NOC 7511: Transport truck drivers (Skill Level C)

- NOC 7521: Heavy equipment operators (Skill Level C)

- NOC 7535: Other transport equipment operators and related maintenance workers (Skill Level C)

- NOC 8231: Underground production and development miners (Skill Level B)

- NOC 8614: Mine labourers (Skill Level D)

- NOC 941: Machine operators and related workers in mineral and metal products processing and manufacturing (Skill Level C)

- NOC 943: Machine operators and related workers in pulp and paper production and wood processing and manufacturing (Skill Level C)

- NOC 111: Auditors, accountants and investment professionals (Skill Level A)

- NOC 121 Administrative services supervisors (Skill Level B)

- NOC 1311: Accounting technicians and bookkeepers (Skill Level B)

- NOC 0621: Retail and wholesale trade managers (Skill Level 0)

- NOC 063: Managers in food service and accommodation (Skill Level 0)

- NOC 0213: Computer and information systems managers (Skill Level 0)

- NOC 2147: Computer engineers (Skill Level A)

- NOC 2171: Information systems analysts and consultants (Skill Level A)

- NOC 2172: Database analysts and data administrators (Skill Level A)

- NOC 2173: Software engineers and designers (Skill Level A)

- **OPEN NOC - up to discretion of the Community Recommendation Committee, high skilled occupations like engineers, veterinarians, chefs, cooks are examples**

# About Northern Policy Institute

*Northern Policy Institute is Northern Ontario's independent think tank. We perform research, collect and disseminate evidence, and identify policy opportunities to support the growth of sustainable Northern Communities. Our operations are located in Thunder Bay, Sudbury, and Kirkland Lake. We seek to enhance Northern Ontario's capacity to take the lead position on socio-economic policy that impacts Northern Ontario, Ontario, and Canada as a whole.*

# Related Research

**All Roads Lead Home: Immigration Flows into North Bay and What this Means for RNIP Impacts**
Mercedes Labelle

**All Roads Lead Home: Immigration Flows into Sault Ste. Marie and What this Means for RNIP Impacts**
Mercedes Labelle

**All Roads Lead Home: Immigration Flows into Thunder Bay and What this Means for RNIP Impacts**
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