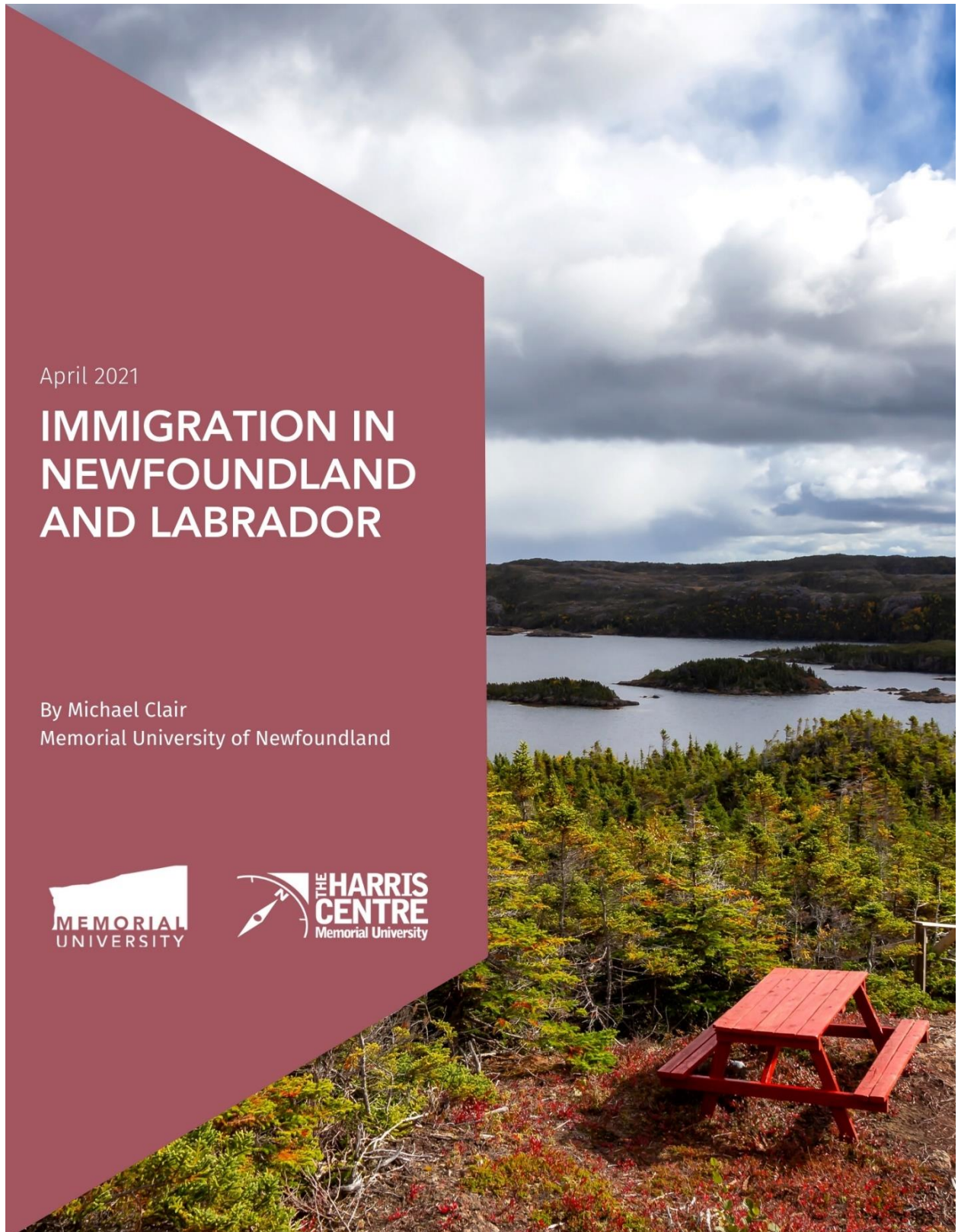


April 2021

IMMIGRATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR

By Michael Clair
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About the Author

Michael Clair, MBA, is a former senior official of government and academia. Over his nearly 40-year career, he has worked in the domains of tourism, culture, regional development, governance, innovation, educational policy and immigration.

As the Director of Culture and Heritage for the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, he led the process that eventually led to the construction in 2005 of The Rooms, the province's museum-archive-art gallery complex that dominates the skyline of downtown St. John's, and that represented the largest investment in cultural heritage in the province in nearly a century.

As the Associate Director for Public Policy at Memorial University of Newfoundland, he chaired a committee of officials from all three levels of government, the province's two immigration settlement organizations and the university that sought to coordinate the immigration activities of these organizations and agencies.

He helped establish the first French First-Language school in St. John's and served as the inaugural president of the federation that advocated for French First-Language education in the province. He currently serves on the Provincial Francophone School Board as well as the Francophone economic development board for the province.

He possesses an MBA from Memorial University of Newfoundland and a fifth-degree black belt in Aikido from the Aikikai Foundation in Japan.

**Immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador:
How it works, how it worked, and how it might work**

**By Michael Clair
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Preface

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are certainly familiar with human migration. During the last half of the 20th century, people moved away by the tens of thousands. Every family has relatives living in the Maritimes, Ontario, Western Canada or farther afield. And every family is grateful for the welcoming reception that these host communities provided to their sons and daughters, nieces and nephews, and other close relatives. Their family members are now fully integrated into their host communities and many have even become leaders in those communities: mayors, coaches, teachers, provincial and federal politicians, etc.

But now things have changed in Newfoundland and Labrador. In the early part of the 21st century, instead of trying to reduce out-migration, the main issue has become how to attract immigrants to the province. Yet there is some resistance to immigration, in some cases strong resistance. Most immigrants today don't look like our traditional immigrants, who came mostly from Europe and the United States. Today's immigrants are more likely to come from the Global South, and from very different cultures than Canada's. This raises questions about the capacity of Newfoundland and Labrador to absorb and integrate them into society. And these questions raise fears and anxieties in the host population.

Immigration is under attack in many parts of the world. An activity that has been central throughout human history is now viewed as something alien and dangerous. This is strange, since almost every extended family in the world includes at least one person who has moved away or come from somewhere else.

The aim of this document is to provide a basic understanding of how the immigration ecosystem works in Canada generally and in Newfoundland and Labrador in particular. In the absence of such understanding, myths and misunderstandings will predominate, likely leading to poor policies and decisions that are counterproductive to creating a sustainable province.

Given its complexity and its multiple components, changes are occurring to the immigration ecosystem almost on a daily basis. And so, it is natural for this document to quickly become outdated in some of its details. However, it is likely that the basics of the ecosystem — the ways in which immigrants can enter the country, the types of services they need to get settled, the types of community activities required to integrate them, etc. — will remain constant, at least for the foreseeable future.

The basic assumption underlying this document is that immigration is key to the province's future. In the absence of immigration, the province's population will decline, its labour force will decline, its economy will suffer, and its rural areas will empty. A declining population will have a devastating impact on the provision of public services, on the repayment of the public debt and on the province's influence at the national level, among many other factors.

Canadians should be rightfully proud of the work of the Government of Canada in capturing and analyzing the data that makes understandable a field as complex as immigration. This document is based in large part on the work of Statistics Canada's Census program and the Open Data provided by Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada. I wish to thank all those who work to collect, organize, analyze and make available this data to researchers such as myself. I have also relied on attorney David Cohen's Canada Visa

website (www.canadavisa.com) for information about immigration to Canada. This website is a source of clear and authoritative information.

References in the text can be found at the end of every chapter. All website URLs were verified on July 19, 2020.

I wish to thank everyone working in the immigration ecosystem of Newfoundland and Labrador, whether in settlement agencies, government, business, healthcare, education, the faith community, in civil society or in any other sector for the excellent work they do in making the system work, often under difficult conditions.

In drafting this document, I have consulted with numerous colleagues, without whose generous assistance this document could not have been written. I list them here in alphabetical order along with the positions they held at the time during which I undertook my research:

Dr. Willow Anderson, Principal, Mind the Gap Consulting

Dr. Jamie Baker, Manager, Programs and Research, Association for New Canadians

Derrick Barrett, Manager, Labour Market Information, Department of Advanced Education, Skills and Labour

Cathy Bennett, entrepreneur and former Minister of Finance in the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador

Remzi Cej, Director, Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism, Department of Advanced Education, Skills and Labour

Kim Christianson, Director of Education, Conseil Scolaire Francophone Provincial

Gaël Corbineau, Executive Director, Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador

Wanda Cuff Young, Vice-President of Operations, Work Global Canada Inc.

Dr. Pauline Duke, co-founder and a lead physician at the Refugee Health Intake Clinic, Eastern Health

Darryl Feener, Assistant Director of Education - Programs - Avalon, Newfoundland and Labrador English School District

Nancy Healey, CEO, St. John's Board of Trade

Marlene Holden, former immigration officer with the Government of Canada, now retired

Dr. Sonja Knutson, Director of the International Centre and Special Advisor to the President on International Affairs at Memorial University of Newfoundland

Elizabeth Lawrence, Director, Economic Development, Culture and Partnerships at City of St. John's

Megan Morris, Executive Director, Association for New Canadians

Dr. Kathleen Parewick, Community Collaboration and Development Coordinator, Municipalities Newfoundland and Labrador

Lloydetta Quaicoe, CEO of Sharing Our Cultures/À la découverte de nos cultures

José Rivera, Executive Director, Refugee and Immigration Advisory Council

Pauline Villaumé, Agente d'établissement, Compas, Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador

Ying Zhang, Retention Coordinator, International Education Newfoundland and Labrador (IENL)

I also wish to thank those persons who have requested anonymity because of the sensitive nature of their comments.

I wish to acknowledge the office of the Stephen Jarislowky Chair in Cultural and Economic Transformation

at Memorial University of Newfoundland: **Dr. Tony Fang** (Research Chair), **Dr. Jane Zhu** (post-doctoral fellow) and **Alex David Wells** (research assistant) for their invaluable assistance in reviewing the draft of this document and providing useful comments.

I also wish to thank the Harris Centre for publishing this document, especially **Dr. Rob Greenwood** (Associate Vice-President Public Engagement and External Relations, and Director of the Harris Centre), and **Dr. Keith Storey** (Honourary Research Professor in Geography, Harris Centre Associate and Research Director for the Population Project) and **Cathy Newhook** (Manager of Engagement & Communications) for their very useful comments.

Thank you all for your valuable help, and any errors, omissions or misinterpretations in this document are mine alone. The opinions expressed in this document are mine alone as well.

Michael Clair
St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador
December 2020

Some Abbreviations and Acronyms

AIPP	Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program
ATIPP	Access to Information and Protection of Privacy (Act)
CCNI	Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration
CLB	Canadian Language Benchmark
CNA	College of the North Atlantic
COMPAS	(French, all caps) not an acronym; refers to how a compass helps with navigation
CORD	Committee on Realizing Diversity
CSFP	Conseil Scolaire Francophone Provincial
ESL	English-as-a-Second Language
FFTNL	Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador
IMP	International Mobility Program
IRCC	Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada
LIP	Local Immigration Partnership
MCP	Medical Care Program (Department of Health and Community Services)
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
NLESD	Newfoundland and Labrador English School District
OIM	Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism (Department of Advanced Education, Skills and Labour)
PNP	Provincial Nominee Program
RIAC	Refugee and Immigrant Advisory Council
RIF	Réseau d'Immigration Francophone
SWIS	Settlement Worker in the Schools
TFW	Temporary Foreign Worker

Some Important Definitions

Citizen: A legally recognized subject of a state or commonwealth, either from having been born there or being formally accepted (“naturalized”); a native or naturalized person who owes allegiance to a country and is entitled to protection from it; additionally, in Canada, a person who is eligible to vote and to seek a high-level security clearance.

Country of origin: the country from which the newcomer departed.

Host country/community: the newcomer’s new home country (Canada), province or community, depending upon the context.

Immigrant: a person residing in Canada who was born outside of Canada, excluding temporary foreign workers, Canadian citizens born outside Canada and those with student or working visas (Statistics Canada definition); consists of permanent residents and naturalized Canadian citizens.

Immigrant settlement agency: a non-governmental and not-for-profit organization that works to help newcomers settle into their new community.

Native-born: a person born in Canada or in Newfoundland and Labrador, depending upon the context.

Newcomer: for the purposes of this document and dependent upon the context, a person who is newly arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador, whether a permanent or temporary resident.

Permanent resident: a citizen of another country who is allowed to live permanently in Canada.

Principal applicant: the person in the family who makes the application for residence on behalf of the family; in the case of an economic immigrant, this person will have the qualifications and language skills to be accepted into the country, but this is not necessarily the case for the dependents.

Temporary resident: a citizen of another country who is allowed to live temporarily in Canada.

Introduction

Newfoundland and Labrador is experiencing a major demographic decline. If things are left to themselves, the population of the province will continue to decrease and its economy will continue to shrink. Over the past two decades, different governments have tried to increase the population by increasing the fertility rate and by repatriating residents who had moved away, but without much success. This poses important questions for society:

- Who will fill the job vacancies created when the Baby Boomers – the largest population cohort of the 20th century — have all retired?
- Who will continue to provide the labour that soon-to-be retirees are currently providing? While automation will replace some of the retiring workers, not every job will — or can — be automated.
- Who will take over the businesses of retiring entrepreneurs when they are no longer able to continue to work? For most small businesses, their owners' retirement income is tied to their business; who will buy them out and provide them with the income they'll need in retirement? If this business is the only one providing a service in a rural area, who will continue to provide this service once the entrepreneur retires?
- If services to seniors, such as elder care or health care, are not available in rural areas, and seniors are forced to move to more urban areas, what will happen to rural communities? For most people, their home is their main asset; what happens if this asset is stranded in a community that is emptying of residents and cannot be converted into retirement income? What if there are no children or family members willing or able to look after the vacant property?
- With the number of retired seniors growing and their lifespans extending, how much of each remaining worker's income will need to be taxed to sustain the pension system?
- With fewer workers in the labour force, each worker will be forced to assume a larger share of the provincial debt. How will this affect the level of taxation in the province?

These and other questions will occupy the minds of the leadership of the province over the next decades, be they in government, business, the education system, civil society, the faith community or elsewhere.

One of the possible answers to these questions is immigration, that is, the attraction and retention of residents of other countries to Newfoundland and Labrador. Canada is among the world's most desirable destinations for persons looking to emigrate from their home countries. It is a developed nation with an excellent education system, the rule of law, a positive attitude towards cultural diversity, many economic opportunities, world-class infrastructure and other assets. It is also a place that is safe from war or political unrest, something which is important for many immigrants coming from unstable geopolitical environments.

But some residents of Newfoundland and Labrador are uncomfortable with attracting newcomers, or at least about attracting newcomers from outside the historic source countries of Western Europe and the United States. Islanders in particular¹ are especially protective of their cultures and are therefore more wary of seeing their cultures changed too much because of the influx of people who did not grow up imbued with the same cultural values.

This document will argue that:

1. The province no longer has any choice about whether or not to accept more newcomers.
2. Current residents have a great deal of control over who they let into the country.
3. Because of the inherent inertial nature of culture, it is extremely unlikely that newcomers will impose

alien cultural values upon the host culture.

4. Newcomers are very likely to make the province an even more desirable place to live.

Having said that, even if there were total agreement about the need for more immigrants, there is no guarantee that they will come. While Canada is considered one of the top five destinations for immigrants in the world, “Canada” for many consists of four provinces: British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec. Newfoundland and Labrador is not on the map for the vast majority of people who wish to emigrate from their home countries. As a result, if a candidate is being considered by multiple employers in different provinces, Newfoundland and Labrador’s relatively low profile may work against the person settling here. This means that this province must work twice as hard as the other provinces to attract immigrants.

This is made that much more difficult because of the historically low levels of immigration in this province. First-generation immigrants comprise only 2½ percent of the population of Newfoundland and Labrador, compared to the national average of 22 percent. This means that there are fewer immigrants here communicating back to their countries of origin, encouraging their friends and relatives to move to the province.

And even if the province was successful in attracting more immigrants, there is no guarantee that they will stay. Newfoundland and Labrador has one of the lowest success rates of any province when it comes to retaining those newcomers that it has managed to attract.

Encouraging immigration is made more difficult by the cautious attitude that the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has taken towards immigration. Despite looming labour shortages, the government continues to set immigration levels that are very low, less than ½ percent of the national target, even though its population is currently 1½ percent of the country’s – and rapidly declining. At the current rate of immigration, the province is not even close to offsetting the population decline nor filling its job vacancies, and without more residents, will have trouble financing the delivery of public services in the future.

But there are bright spots. The Government of Canada is making it easier for immigrants to move to Atlantic Canada. Memorial University of Newfoundland has proven to be a major gateway for newcomers to the province and the College of the North Atlantic is poised to recruit more international students in the near future. Employers are becoming more familiar with the process of recruiting immigrants as well as Temporary Foreign Workers – who could transition into permanent residents. There is an increasing population of immigrants who, in turn, can encourage family and friends to join them here. And there is ample anecdotal evidence of immigrants who were warmly welcomed into their new communities.

The society of Newfoundland and Labrador is slowly building up its knowledge of the immigration process and its expertise in recruiting newcomers. Yet there remain many structural barriers that stand in the way of retaining those people who have been so laboriously recruited. The ability of newcomers – especially temporary residents who wish to transition to permanent status – to gain access to medical care insurance under the province’s Medical Care Program remains a problem. The ability of newcomers to gain employment remains a challenge, forcing many to leave the province to find work. Employers wishing to recruit immigrants complain of long wait times for applications to be processed by government. These and other challenges will need to be addressed if Newfoundland and Labrador is to overcome the low level of awareness that it has among potential immigrants to Canada and its low retention rate of immigrants.

There is ample statistical evidence that Canadians (including Atlantic Canadians) in general are open to immigration and feel newcomers benefit the country. Yet there remain pockets of opposition to immigration, as evidenced by the platform of the People’s Party of Canada in the 2019 Federal election and the policies of the Coalition Avenir Québec since assuming power in 2018.

Outline of the Document

This document is meant to provide an overview of the immigration system in Newfoundland and Labrador, in order to raise public awareness about the need for immigrants and about how individuals and organizations can play a role in the process. The document is divided into the following chapters:

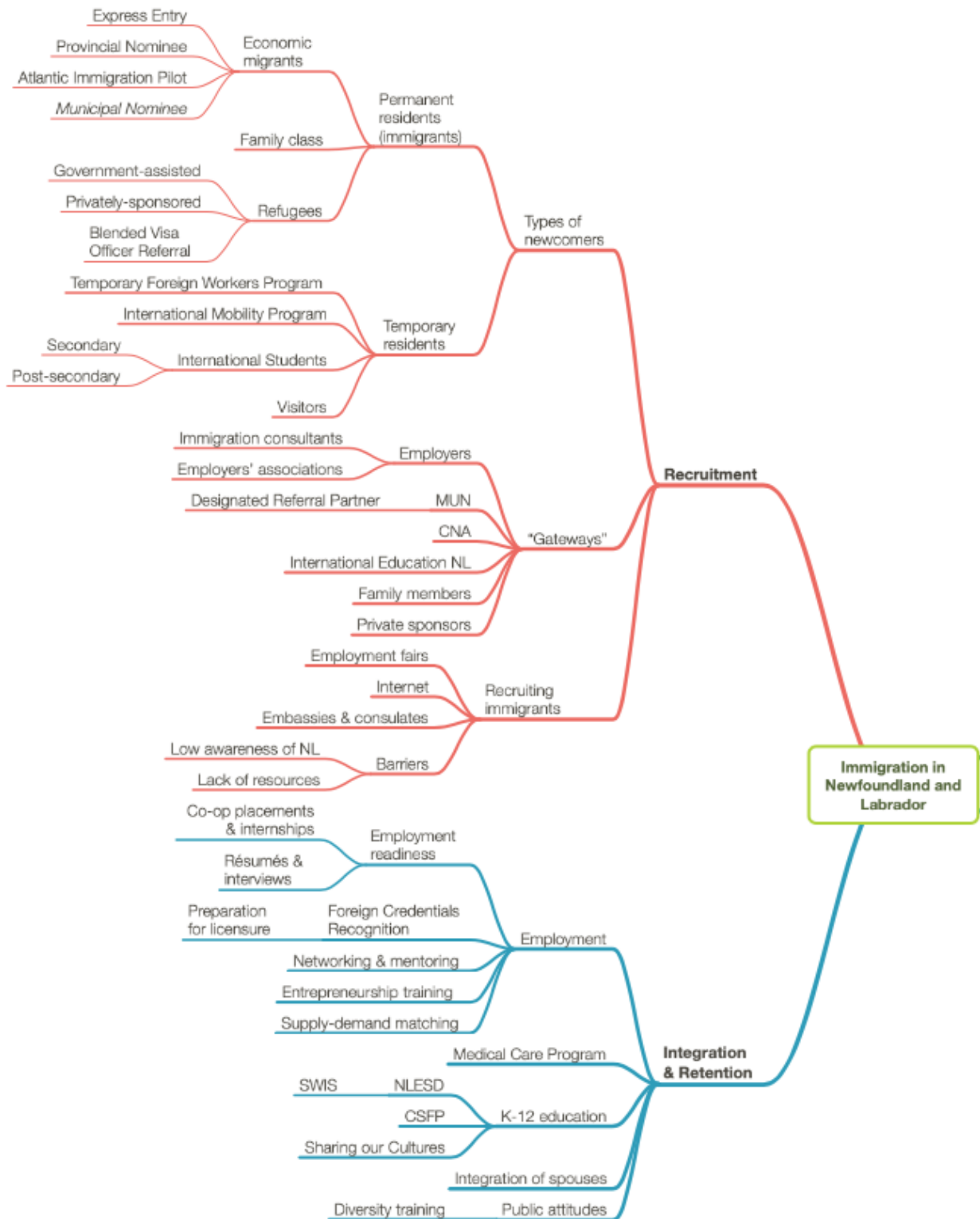
1. **Chapter One** will look at the demographic situation facing Newfoundland and Labrador, and the looming impact of the labour shortage on the province's economy.
2. **Chapter Two** will provide a brief overview of immigration, why the host population should not be worried about inviting more immigrants to settle in the province, the benefits that immigrants bring to the host community, and why the province's high unemployment rate should not deter immigration.
3. **Chapter Three** will look at the recruitment component of immigration: who is allowed into the country and under what conditions, and what "gateways" exist in the province.
4. **Chapter Four** will look at the recent history and current situation regarding immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador and the role of the provincial government in fostering immigration.
5. **Chapter Five** will look at how immigrants are helped to settle in the province. What is the role of settlement agencies, post-secondary educational institutions, municipalities and others in helping people become accustomed to their new home?
6. **Chapter Six** will look at integration and retention, that is, the factors that influence whether immigrants will stay in the province long-term or not: employment opportunities, medical insurance coverage, the education system, the integration of spouses, and public attitudes.
7. **Chapter Seven** will look at some over-arching themes that cover recruitment, settlement, integration and retention: overall coordination, research and the molding of public opinion.
8. Finally, **Chapter Eight** will offer some recommendations on how to increase immigration in the province.

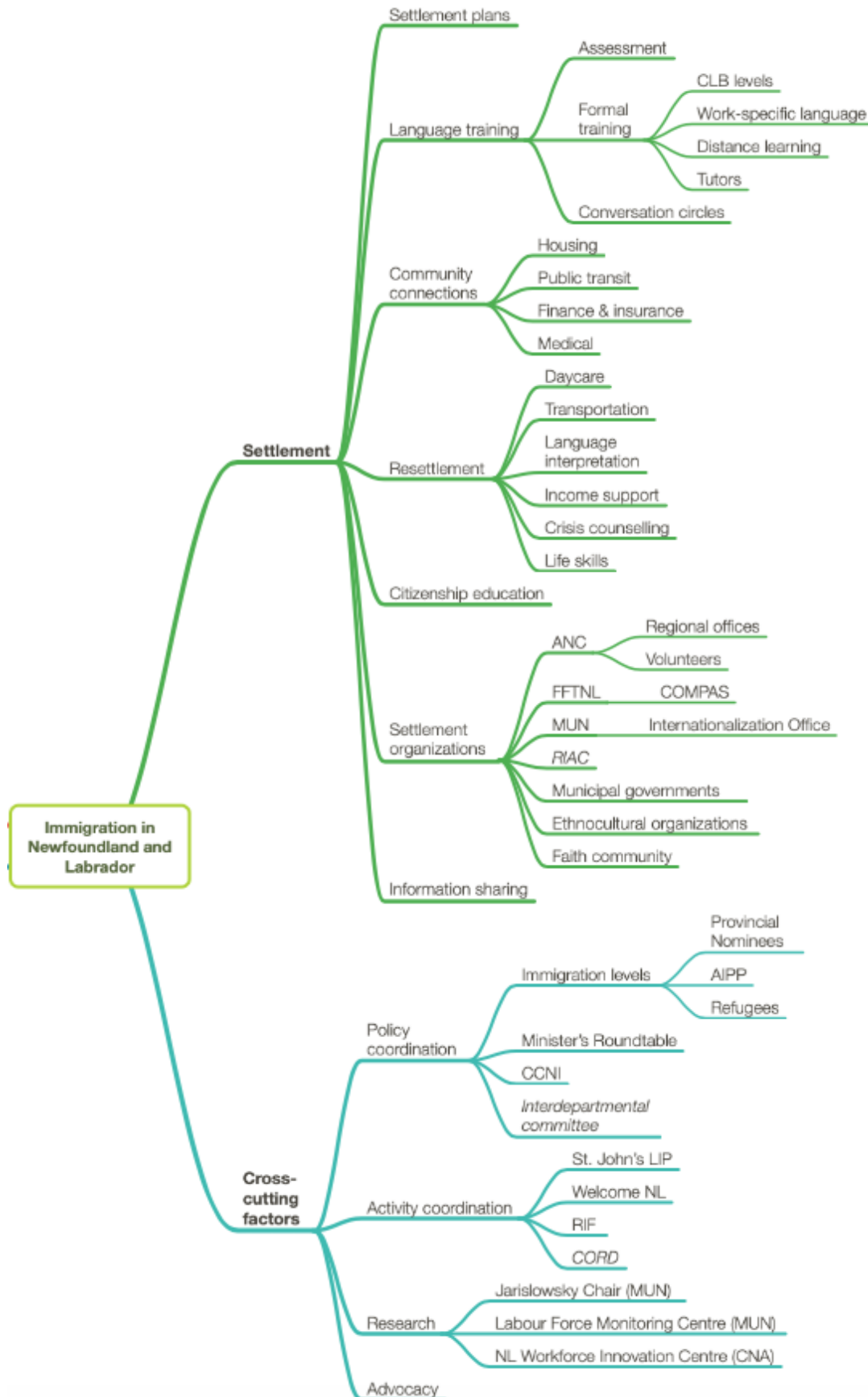
The graphic in Figure 1 on the next two pages provides an overview of the immigration ecosystem in the province and divides up the many elements in the ecosystem according to the chapters in which they are addressed in this document. The purpose of the graphic is not to definitively situate every single element in its one preordained place, but simply to identify as many of the elements that are involved in the ecosystem as possible and to place each in the most logical place where it seems to fit.

Like any ecosystem, the immigration ecosystem of the province is dynamic and ever-changing. Most of the changes will occur in the tendrils, at the extremities. This is where the specific programs are located, and these will change according to the circumstances. As one moves toward the centre of the graphic, the more permanence the ecosystem will have. For example, there will very likely be changes to the Provincial Nominee Program over time, however, it is very likely that Canada will continue to have, as a strategic objective, the attraction of economic immigrants as permanent residents.

¹ Given its geographic isolation from the rest of Mainland Canada, Labrador's culture is as distinct as any island's.

Figure 1 - The Immigration Ecosystem of Newfoundland and Labrador





Chapter One: The Demographic Situation Facing Newfoundland and Labrador

Population

Dr. David Foot, professor emeritus of economics at the University of Toronto, coined the phrase: “demographics explains two-thirds of everything.” In its majestic trajectory, the evolution of a population over the years is a strong but slow-moving current whose course is relatively easy to anticipate. As such, demographics — the study of populations — allows us to predict the future with some certainty. A look at the demographics of Newfoundland and Labrador can help reveal what the future likely holds for its population in the absence of any concerted effort to change it.

In the space of one or two generations, Newfoundland and Labrador has gone from having one of the highest birth rates in Canada to having the lowest. In 1951, the province’s fertility rate (the average number of children per woman) was 4.9, the third highest in the country; in 2018, it was 1.35, the lowest in the country.² A child born today is much less likely to have siblings, cousins, aunts or uncles. This is very different from the second half of the 20th century — the days of the Baby Boom generation — when extended families seemed to go on forever.

It has proven very difficult to reverse the decline of the birth rate. The cost of living (including the cost of daycare), the increased acceptance and participation of women in the workforce, and changing lifestyles have all contributed to lowering the birth rate. Public policies such as the “Baby Bonus”, where parents receive a monthly payment based on the number of children in the family, have not been effective in reversing this trend.

In addition to the decreasing birth rate, in 2006, the number of deaths in the province surpassed the number of births.³ And the decline in the natural population change (births minus deaths) is expected to accelerate into the foreseeable future (Figure 2).

Population projections, published in 2017 as part of the Harris Centre’s *Population Project*⁴, estimated that, based on natural population change alone, the population of the province would decrease by 10% by 2036, to 468,000 people (Figure 3). If current migration patterns are maintained (including immigration), the population would decrease by “only” 8% under the medium scenario assumptions of this report.

The Population Project estimated that the only region of the province to anticipate a population gain will be the Northeast Avalon, and that much of this increase will be due to intra-provincial migration, that is, to people moving away from rural areas of the province into the Northeast Avalon region. A few communities along the Trans-Canada Highway and in Labrador are expected to maintain their populations or experience a relatively minor decrease, but most of the rest of the province can expect to see significant decreases.

Population projections from Statistics Canada show that Newfoundland and Labrador will be the only province in the country to shrink in size from now until 2043.⁵

Figure 2 - Natural Population Change, Newfoundland and Labrador, 1949-2036^p

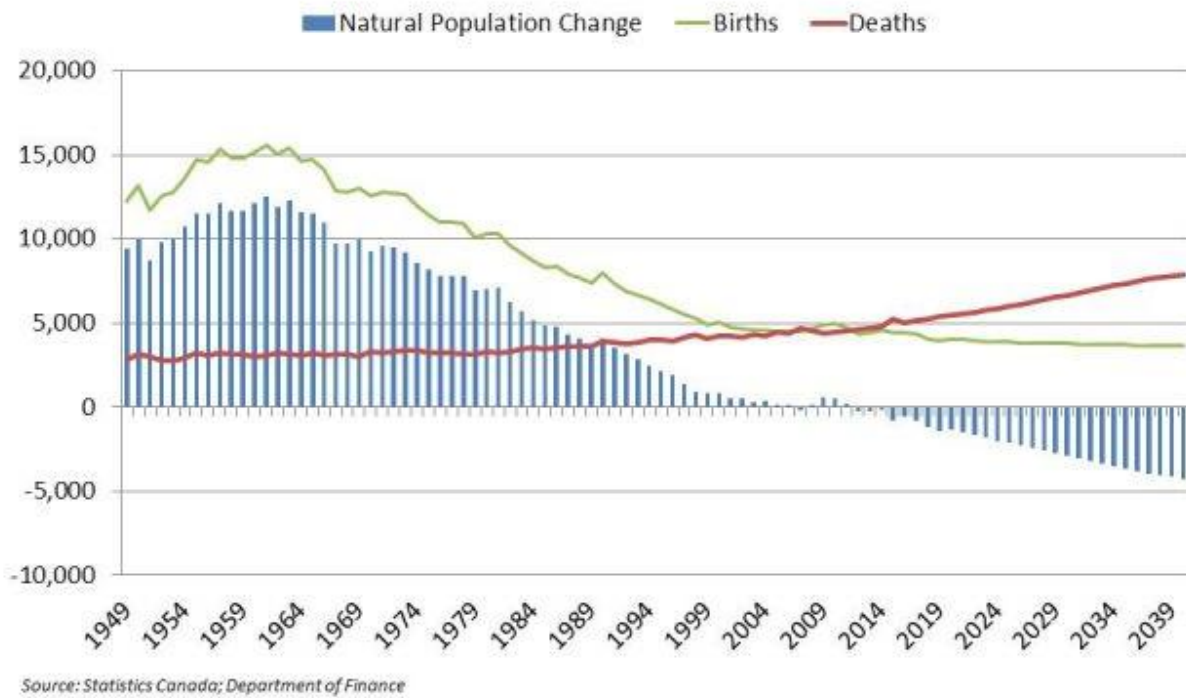
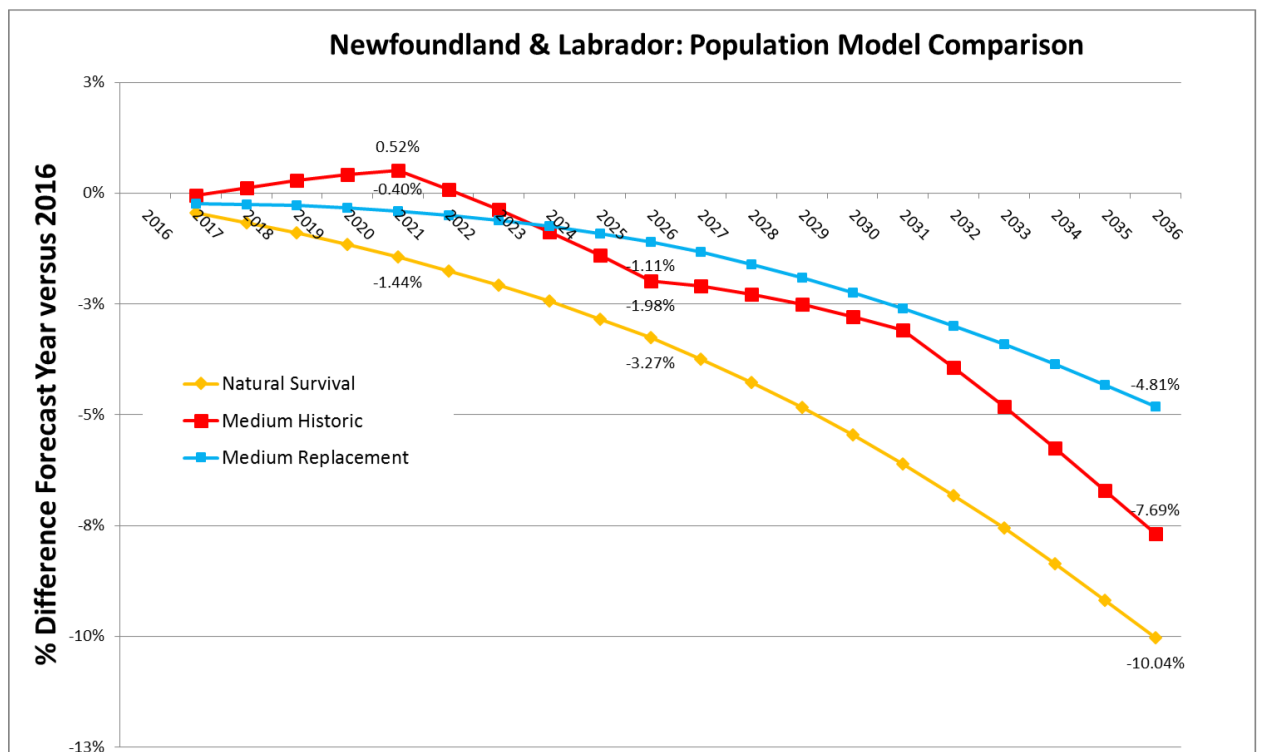


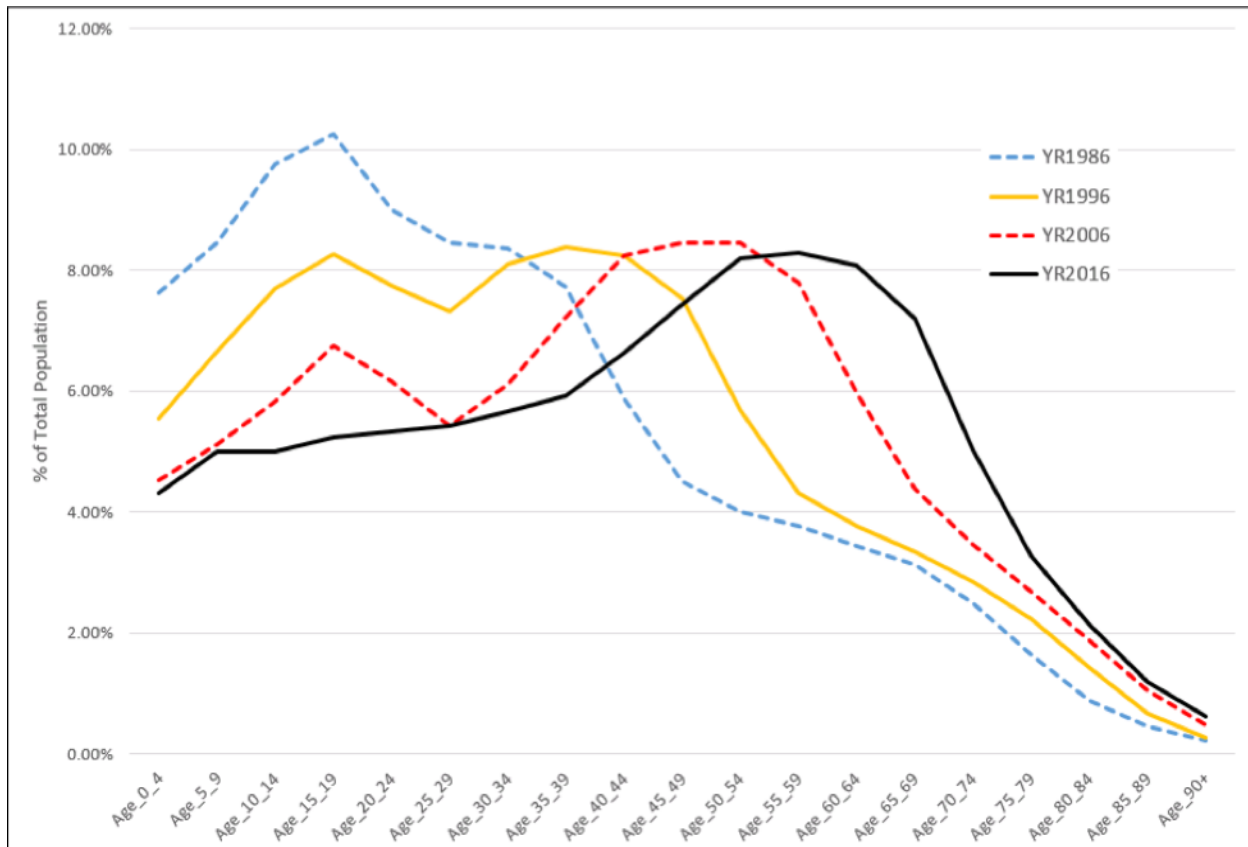
Figure 3 - Population Model Comparisons, 2016-2036^p



Perhaps most significantly, the province is aging faster than the Canadian average. This is because many of the people who moved away in the 1990s, in the wake of the cod moratorium, were families with young children. The result was a hollowing out of rural communities.

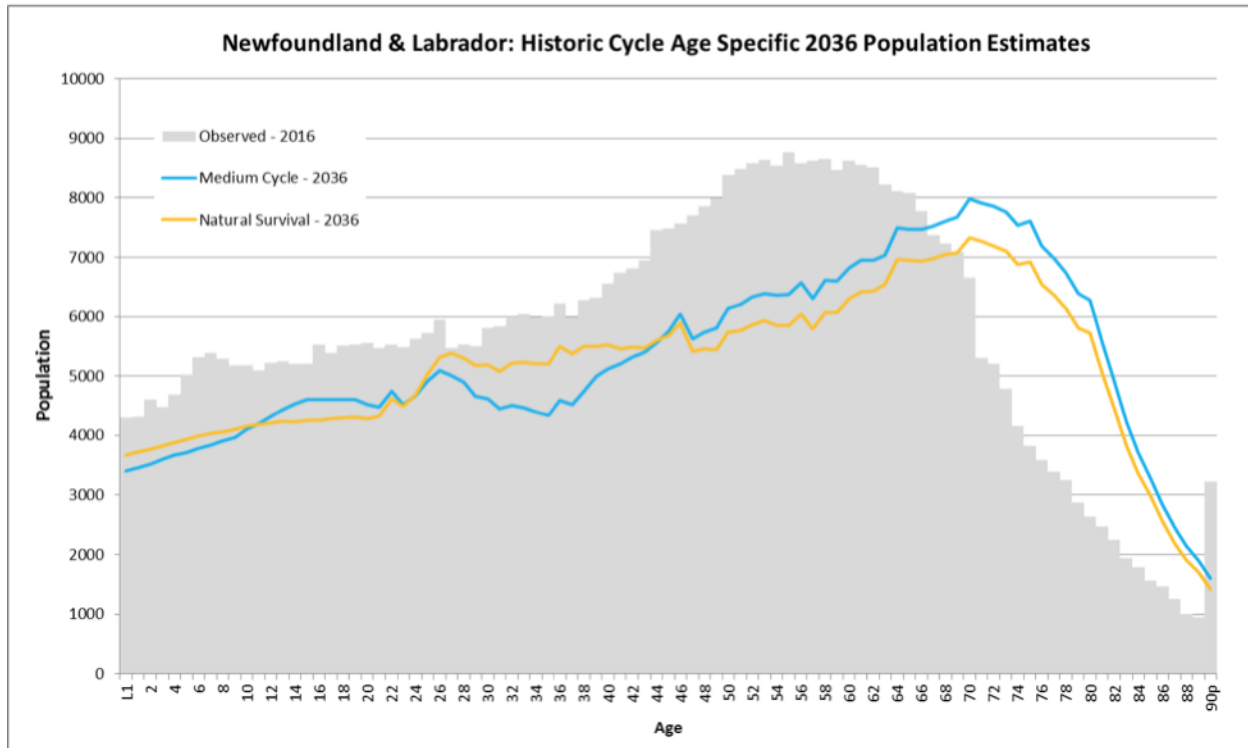
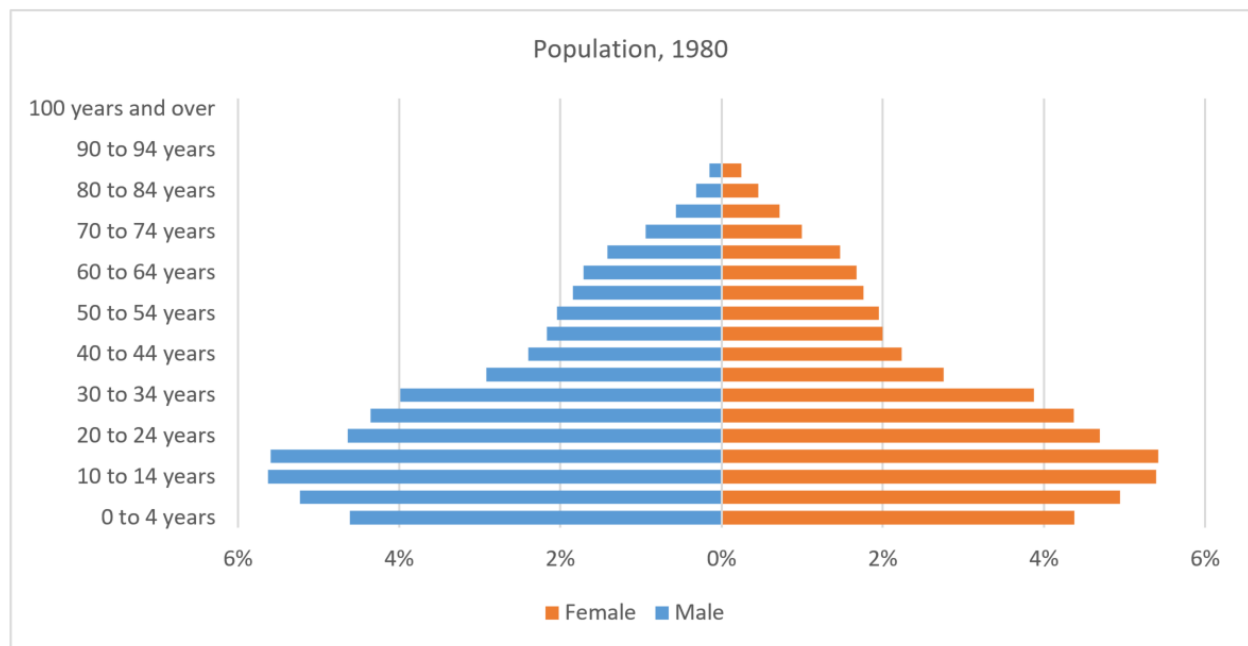
Figure 4 (from *The Population Project*) illustrates the aging of the population. With advancing time (represented by the different curves), the bulge in the population moves inexorably toward the right, that is, the older cohorts of the population will predominate.

Figure 4 - Age Structure, Newfoundland and Labrador, 1986 to 2016



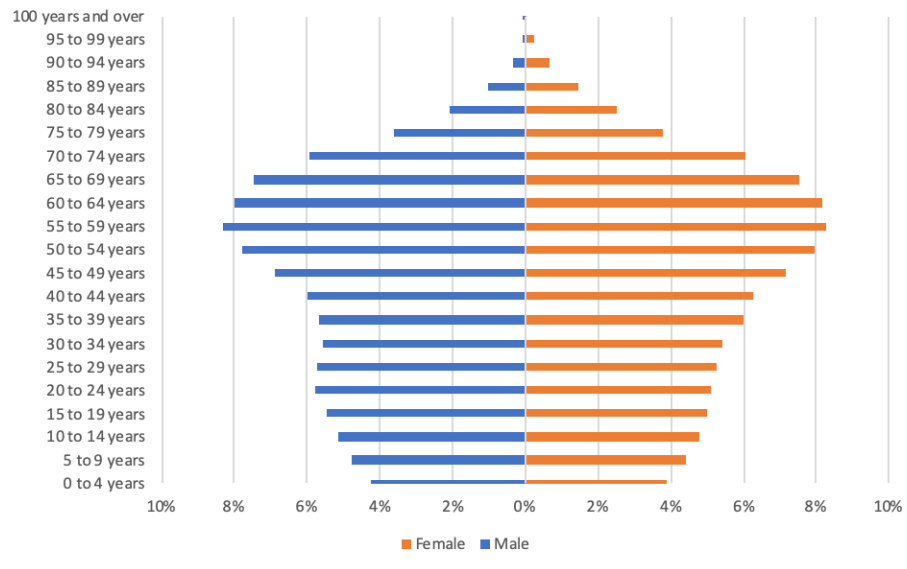
As we project into the future, the population is expected to age even further. Figure 5 below projects the population bulge to be even further to the right by 2036. (The yellow line excludes immigration and emigration, and relies entirely on the birth and death rates. The blue line continues the current pattern of population changes as experienced during the last 10-15 years, including the patterns of immigration and out-migration; it still shows a significant aging of the population.)

From a labour force perspective, a “healthy” population pyramid (such as the one for Newfoundland and Labrador in 1980 in Figure 6) sees relatively few people in old age, many more people of working age, and as many, if not more, children and youth.

Figure 5 - Anticipated Age Structure, Newfoundland and Labrador, 2036p*Figure 6 - Population Pyramid for Newfoundland and Labrador, 1980*

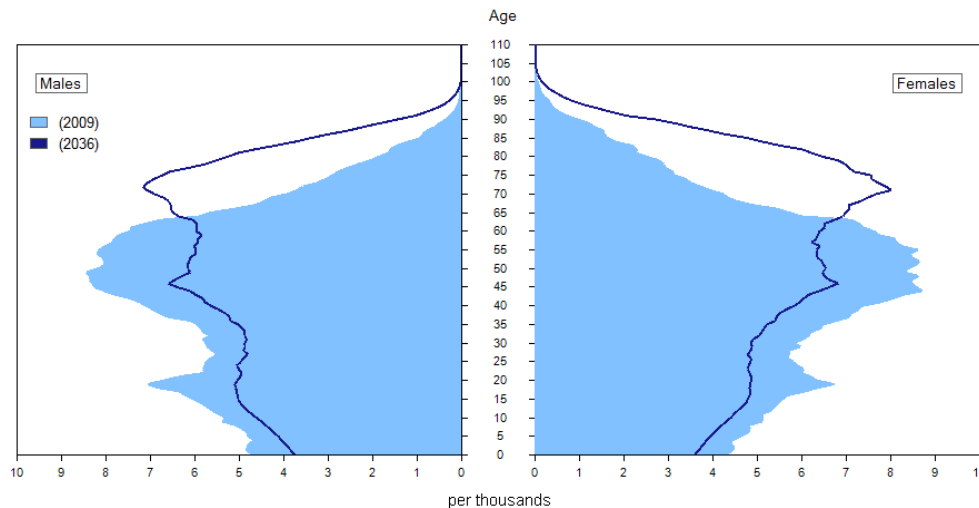
But the population pyramid of the province in 2019 looked increasingly like an inverted pyramid, with lots of older people, some of working age and a distinct lack of children and youth (Figure 7).⁶

Figure 7 - Population Pyramid of NL, 2019



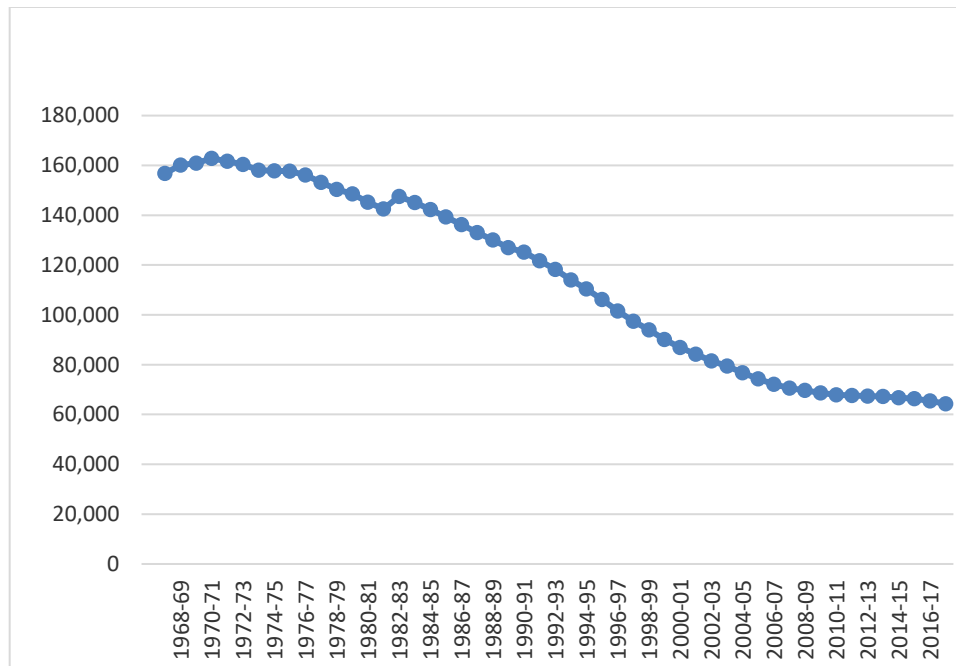
In the absence of immigrants of working and child-bearing age, the situation is only expected to get worse by 2036 (Figure 8).⁷

Figure 8 - Population Pyramids for Newfoundland and Labrador, 2009 and 2036^p



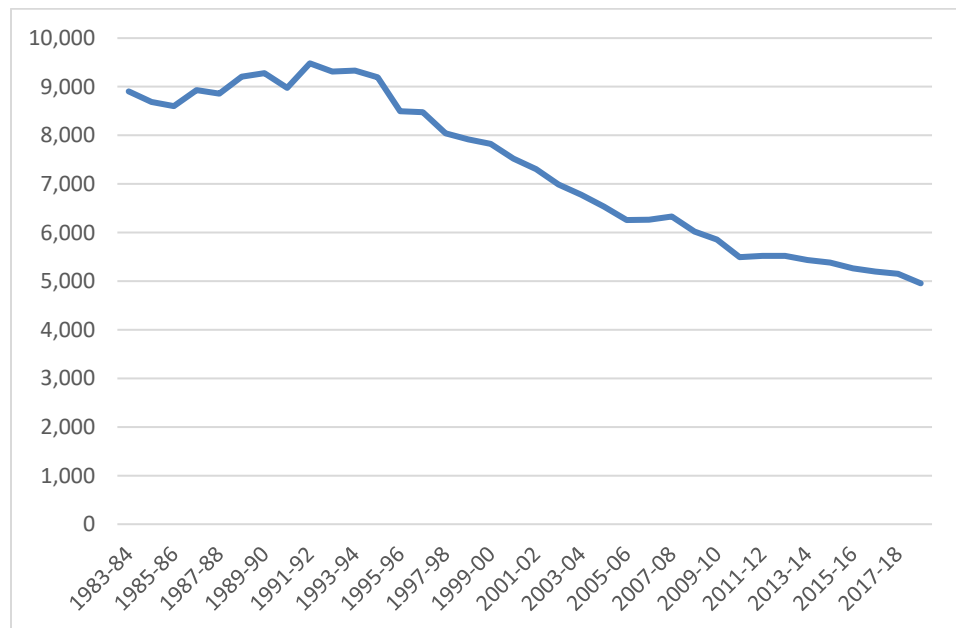
The greying of the population is reflected in the decrease in the school-age population (Figure 9). In just under five decades, the school age population went from a high of nearly 163,000 students in 1971-72 to just over 64,000 in 2018-19.⁸

Figure 9 - School Age Population, 1968-2019



From a labour force perspective, the number of high school graduates is of particular interest. Figure 10 shows the number of graduates since 1983-84. Five thousand students graduated from high schools in Newfoundland and Labrador in 2019, nearly half the number that graduated when Grade 12 was instituted in 1983 and two-thirds the number that graduated 20 years ago. In the absence of immigration, the number of high school graduates is expected to continue to decrease into the foreseeable future.

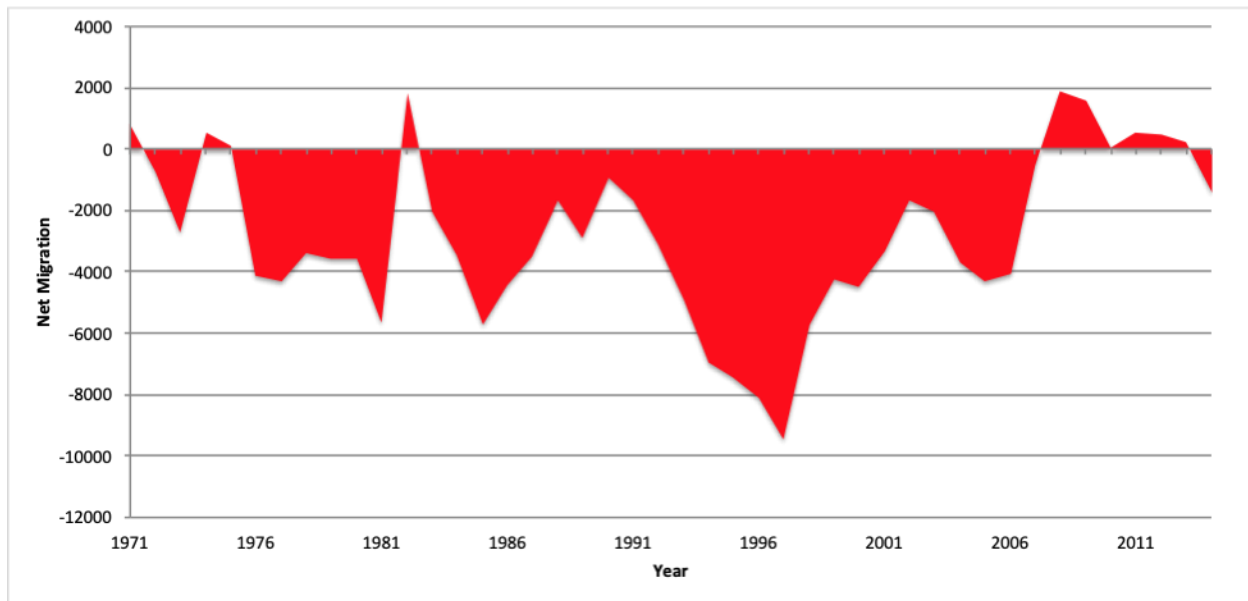
Figure 10 - High School Graduates, 1983-2019



Finally, Newfoundland and Labrador has been part of Canada for nearly 70 years and, during most of this period, there have been very few years when net migration has been positive. Figure 11 illustrates the data

over the past 50 years.

Figure 11 - Net Migration, Newfoundland and Labrador, 1971 to 2014



All these demographic changes will have a significant negative impact on the economy, on the society and on the province's influence on the national scene. The province will be less able to provide public services, including social security and health care programs, especially to those who need them most: the poor, people in rural and remote communities, the elderly. It will become more dependent on the federal government for financial transfers and on multinational corporations for royalty payments. And its political decisions makers will have fewer policy options available to them.

The impacts of a decreasing population are not being fully felt at the present. This might mean that the province can survive with fewer people and workers. But it could also be a case of "the boiling frog" that is put in a pot of cold water and doesn't recognize that the heat has been turned on gradually, eventually leading to its demise. The water temperature still appears comfortable to many people.

Labour Markets

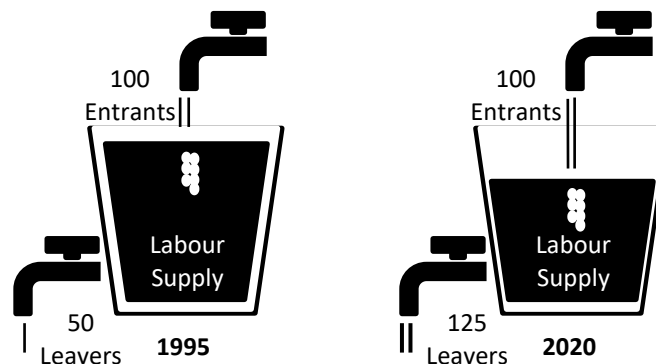
Aggregate data on populations don't tell the whole story. It is also important to look at the labour market, the engine that makes the economy work. If a large percentage of the population is older and retired, then the economy of that society will not be as vibrant as a society of the same size with a younger population.

For most of the 20th century, the province was a net exporter of people. There simply weren't enough jobs in the province for every person of working age and many had to move away in order to find work. Waves of out-migration took Newfoundlanders to "the Boston States," to the Maritimes, to Southern Ontario and to Western Canada. The latest mass migration was following the cod moratorium in 1992, when about 35,000 fish harvesters and plant workers lost their jobs in what was described as the largest industrial lay-off in Canadian history. Reducing out-migration ("how can we keep our young people home?") was one of the primary public policy issues in the province until late in the 20th century.

However, as described in the previous section, things have changed: the fertility rate has collapsed, the school age population has decreased, the number of high school graduates has decreased, deaths outnumber births, and the number of retirees has increased. Employers are beginning to complain about labour shortages.

About 25 years ago, there were 100 new entrants for every 50 people exiting the workforce; today, for those same 100 new entrants, it is estimated that there are now 125 people exiting (Figure 12). In other words, in 2020, for every four persons entering into the labour market, five are leaving it. And the ratio of leavers to entrants is expected to continue to increase over the foreseeable future.

Figure 12 - Entrants in and Leavers from the Labour Supply, 1995 and 2020

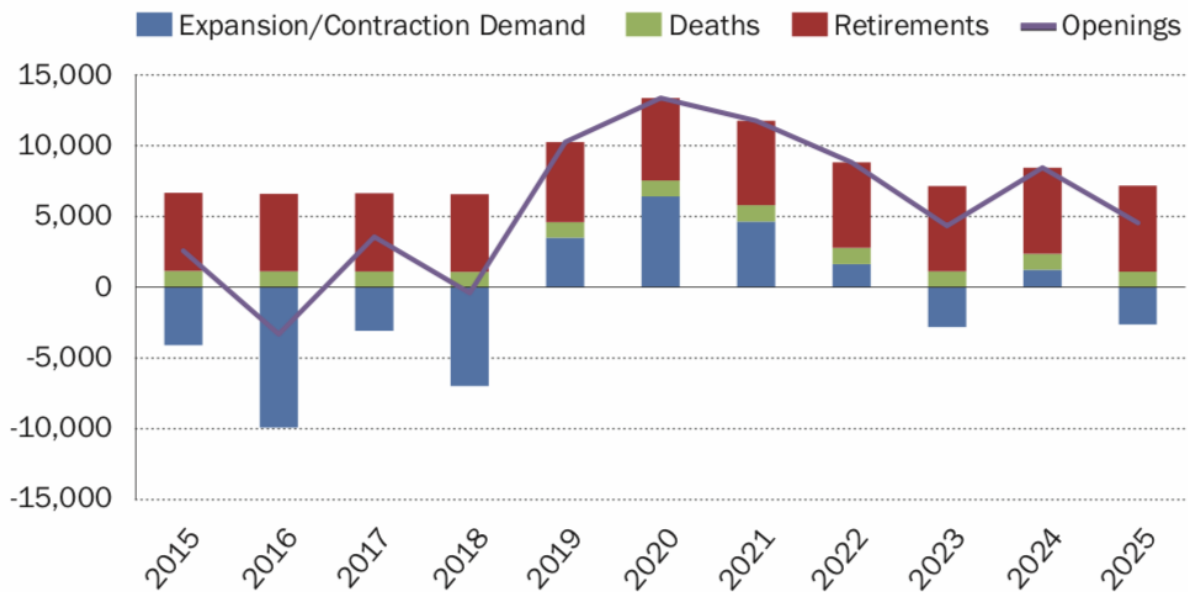


In 2015, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador estimated that there would be almost 64,000 job openings in the following decade. These openings would be due to retirements, deaths and business expansions. The following two figures are taken from *Labour Market Outlook 2025* issued by the government in 2015.⁹ (Unfortunately, this is the latest data with this level of detail that is available.)

According to the 2015 report, in order to fill the anticipated job vacancies in the ten years leading to 2025, the province would need to grow its labour market by an average of 6,400 persons per year.

The economic situation has changed since *Labour Market Outlook 2025* was issued in 2015 and a more recent estimate pegged the labour shortage at around 62,000 workers between 2019 and 2028¹⁰, or an average of about 6,200 workers per year. Chapter Four will show that, at the current rate of immigration, the province is only filling 20% of these job vacancies and, as the number of people leaving the workforce continues to outpace those entering, even more jobs will go unfilled.

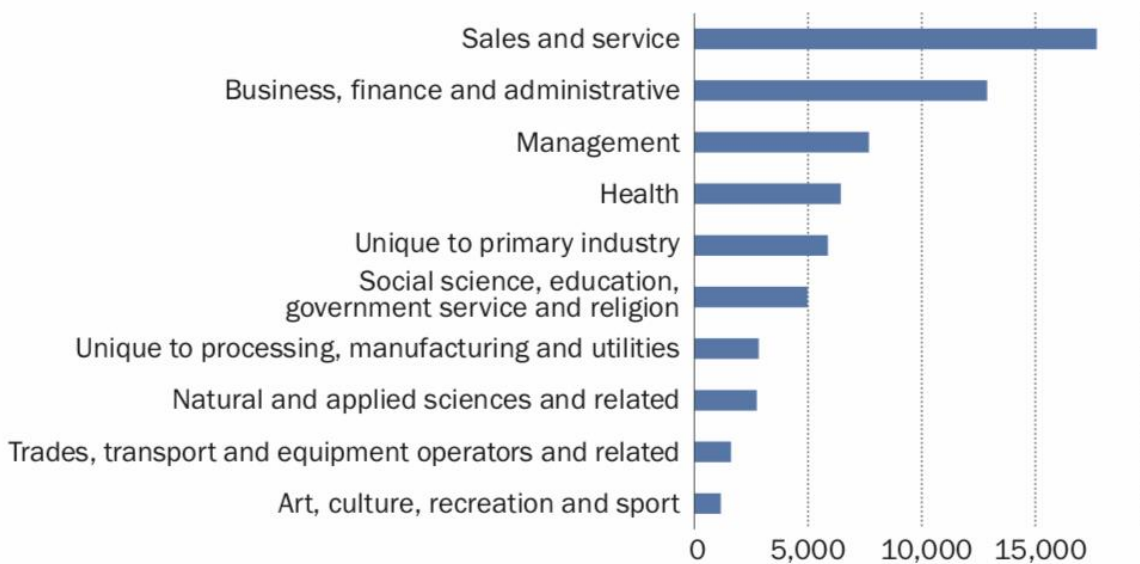
Figure 13 - Job Openings by Source



Source: Department of Finance

The jobs were expected to be in every sector, including healthcare, IT, agriculture, aquaculture, forestry, oil & gas, and mining, and across the board, from front-line staff to managers to professionals (Figure 14).

Figure 14 - Job Openings by Occupation, 2015 to 2025



Source: Department of Finance

The Impact on the Provincial Economy

These demographic changes have already had a major impact on the provincial economy. What further impacts are they likely to have? Let's first remember that there are only two ways to sustainably grow an economy. The first is to grow the population: the more people, the more needs that have to be satisfied, the more commercial transactions that are made, and the more economic activity there is. But as we have seen, Newfoundland and Labrador is going in the wrong direction with regards to population growth, which will inevitably lead to a shrinking economy.

The other way to make an economy grow is to make each worker more productive by improving their tools, equipment, work processes and skills. This is happening to a great extent in the oil and gas, mining, and fishery sectors, the province's three largest export-earning industries. Technology is replacing many of the retiring workers, thereby mitigating the problems of a declining population. But even as humans are replaced with machines and robots, there is still a need for humans to operate and maintain them. And so, as retirees leave the workforce, some percentage of them will still need to be replaced, often by workers with new skill sets.

In some other sectors, like in health care, humans cannot easily be replaced by machines. Health care is a labour-intensive sector that relies heavily on non-routine human interaction or activities. And as people age, especially into their 60s and beyond, they consume more health services than during their working lives. In fact, they consume more health services with every decade of life after 60. As the province with the fastest-aging population, this means that more workers will be needed in health care in the future than are employed today. Where will these workers come from? And will they be diverted away from export-oriented activities such as oil and gas, mining, the fishery and tourism?

And so, while technology will replace some of the departing workers, it will not be sufficient to fill all the vacancies created by retirements.

If you can't replace the retiree, even with automation, the activity that the retiree used to do ceases to be performed, and as thousands of people retire, thousands of tasks cease to be performed, and the economy shrinks. A shrinking economy means less fiscal flexibility, reduced public services, eroding infrastructure, and less influence on the national scene. It means, among other things, fewer people to pay down the largest per capita provincial debt in the country.

The lack of workers acts as a brake on the economy.¹¹ Already, some restaurants have had to shorten their hours of operation because of the lack of staff. Employers in the information technology sector (where work can be done remotely) have had to find contractors outside the province to perform work because of the lack of qualified employees in the province; as the workload increases and more of the work is performed outside, this may provide an incentive for IT entrepreneurs to move their business outside the province.

There are many businesses in the province — especially in rural areas — that operate with reduced hours, that have turned down work or that are unable to expand operations because of a lack of workers. This may force consumers who wish to purchase locally to turn to online shopping to obtain the products they need, further weakening local businesses.¹²

What's more, as workers transition into retirement, there will be fewer and fewer workers left to financially support their retirement. It is estimated that, in the advanced economies around the world, the number

of workers supporting each retiree will go from 4:1 to 2:1. This means that, instead of having four workers supporting every retiree, there will soon be only two — and this ratio will likely be even worse in Newfoundland and Labrador, with its inverted population pyramid. A smaller population of working-age people will have to shoulder the burden of maintaining the pensions of a larger group of retirees. This represents a massive — and unfair — shift of wealth from the younger generation to the older.

The Provincial Government has worked hard to repatriate Newfoundlanders and Labradorians who had moved away to find work. Unfortunately for the labour market, many of the returnees were retirees who had dreamed all their career to move back to the province but who could only afford to do so once they were eligible for a pension. So, in many cases, they did not come back to fill vacancies in the workforce (and may even add to the burden on the healthcare system).

Summary

The province's birth rate is not sufficient to maintain the population at the current level. Deaths currently outnumber births, and at this rate, the population of the province is expected to decline by 10% by 2036. Even if the current rate of immigration is maintained, the population would still decrease by 8%. As well, the population is aging faster than the Canadian average.

There are no longer enough high school graduates to fill the job vacancies in the economy. Technology will not replace all the workers who retire. Labour and skill shortages are already being felt in the form of delayed expansions, shortened business hours and work contracted outside the province. Many of the expatriate Newfoundlanders and Labradorians who return to the province come to retire, and not to work. And the province is not top-of-mind to other Canadians who are looking for work.

All these factors point to a shrinking economy, a lower capacity to deliver public services and decreased influence at the national level.

² <https://www.gov.nl.ca/fin/economics/pop-overview/>

³ <https://www.economics.gov.nl.ca/POP-overview.asp>

⁴ https://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/PopulationProject/Population_Projections_for_NL.pdf

⁵ <https://www.thetelegram.com/news/local/newfoundland-and-labrador-only-province-to-lose-population-until-2043-statscan-354020/>

⁶ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2011/dp-pd/pyramid-pyramide/his/index-eng.cfm>

⁷ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/91-520-x/2010001/ct051-eng.htm>

⁸ https://www.gov.nl.ca/eeecd/files/ENR_19_3.pdf

⁹ https://www.aesl.gov.nl.ca/publications/pdf/labour_market_outlook2025.pdf

¹⁰ <https://www.gov.nl.ca/aesl/files/Workforce-Development-Report-WF.pdf>. It is assumed that the source of the job openings and the job vacancies by occupation would be the same as for the 2015 report.

¹¹ https://www.bdc.ca/en/documents/analysis_research/labour-shortage.pdf

¹² <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/business/economy/article-in-newfoundland-and-labrador-a-demographic-crisis-puts-the-economy-at/>

Chapter Two: Is Immigration the Answer?

The Basics of Immigration

In 2019, Canada invited approximately 341,200 immigrants to enter the country, or about one percent of its population. They settled according to where there were jobs, where they had family already in the country, or (if they were refugees) where the federal government had placed them. In the past, the majority of immigrants settled in one of three cities upon arrival to Canada: Montreal, Toronto or Vancouver — what are collectively referred to as “MTV.” (Some may have settled there following a secondary migration within the country.) However, recently, many smaller cities and even rural areas have been successful in attracting and retaining immigrants.¹³

In theory, immigration is simple: it consists of attracting people from outside the country, helping them settle into their new home, and encouraging them to stay there permanently:



“Recruitment” is the process of promoting Canada (and Newfoundland and Labrador) as a desirable place to move to, processing applications from would-be immigrants, working with employers to help fill labour market needs, and helping people reunite with family members who are outside the country. “Settlement and resettlement” is the short-term process of helping newcomers become established in their new community by providing services such as language and labour market training, and orientation to their community. And “integration and retention” is the long-term process of making newcomers feel at home in their new community by ensuring that they are fully integrated into the social and economic fabric of the community.

As shown in the ecosystem map (Figure 1), immigration is complex, complicated and confusing. It involves all three levels of government, as well as employers, universities and colleges, family members already established in the country, faith communities, and civil society organizations from immigrant settlement organizations to recreation leagues.

Immigrants need to be recruited to the province, need to be settled once they arrive, and must be made to feel welcome by the host society. “Immigration” involves attending job fairs, processing visas, helping employers with paperwork, teaching immigrants English, helping them find affordable housing, assisting job searches, helping them find a family doctor, placing their children in school, helping their spouses find work, recognizing foreign academic credentials, and helping create welcoming communities — among a myriad of other activities.

Putting Things in Historical Perspective

It is in the nature of human beings to move, be it across town into a new home, to another town to study or even to another country to work. Human migration has been going on for as long as there have been humans. Throughout pre-history and recorded history, people have moved either to get away from an

undesirable situation (war, poverty, natural disaster, etc.) or toward a more desirable one (employment, family, a new life in a new country, etc.).

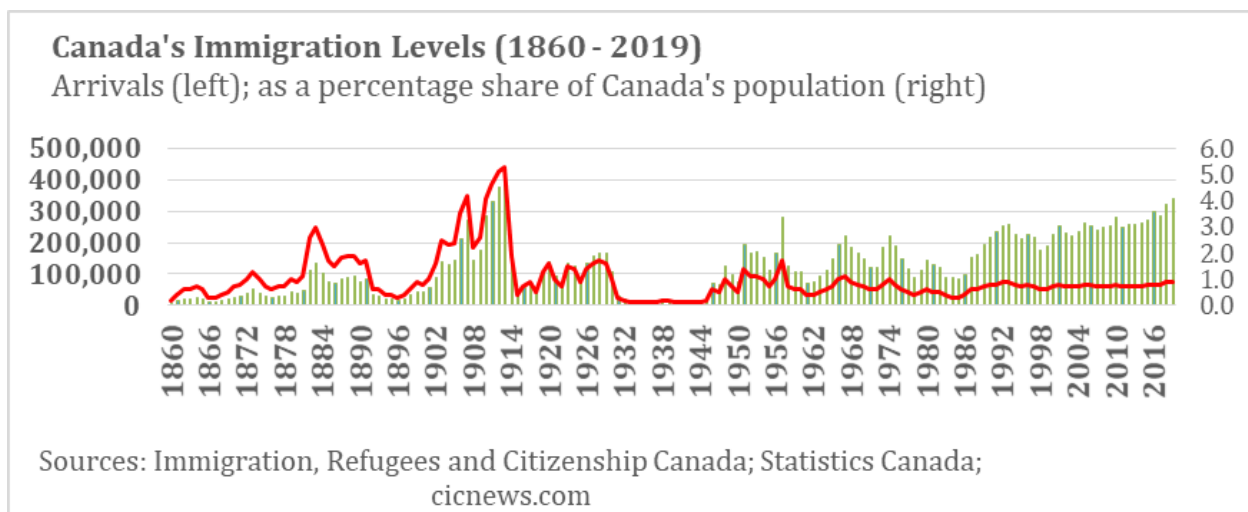
Countries and institutions have dealt with human mobility for centuries and have adopted policies to deal with the comings and goings of people. For example, the creation of visas that allow people to travel between countries dates back centuries. Today, all moves require some sort of institutional involvement to help manage those movements, from changing schools to changing health insurance coverage, even to changing citizenship.

Prior to the First World War, the movement of people from one country to another occurred with relatively few barriers. Western Canada, for instance, welcomed large numbers of immigrants, mostly from Eastern Europe, until 1914; the government gave them land, built a railway to connect the new communities and began delivering public services like education and the postal service. After the First World War, this flow of people became much more controlled and borders became less porous. Governments developed more robust institutions for controlling the entry of immigrants.

The Second World War and its aftermath — where huge numbers of refugees needed to be resettled — further formalized the immigration system, and the 9/11 attacks in the United States added even more controls over the movements of people across national boundaries. The easy movement of people across international borders that was the norm in the 19th century has today become much more sclerotic.

Figure 15 shows the number of immigrants to Canada each year since 1860 (the green bars) as well as the percentage of the overall population that these immigrants represented (the red line).

Figure 15 - Canada's Immigration Levels, 1860 to 2019



But immigration is not just a story of increasing bureaucratization. It is also a human story. Each and every immigrant has his or her own story, his or her own reasons for leaving home to settle in a new community. Moving to a different country, especially one with a very different cultural heritage, involves a high degree of risk on the part of the immigrant: Will I be able to find fulfilling work? Will my spouse and children feel at home there? I will be investing a great deal of time, effort and money to make the move; will this investment pay off in terms of better living conditions and opportunities? Will I regret my decision a year from now?

The Anti-Immigration Discourse

Despite forming an integral part of human history, migration has not been without controversy. As just one example, for extended periods in Canadian history, immigrants were seen as stealing jobs from locals, or as depressing wages for locals (if a local didn't want to take a job because of low pay, an immigrant was prepared to take it). Substantial research has debunked these myths: in Canada, immigrants have been found to create jobs in their new home, add wealth to society and fill jobs that Canadians don't want to perform:

- A study by Statistics Canada in April 2019 showed that immigrant-owned firms in Canada accounted for a disproportionate share of new jobs in the eleven-year period 2003-2013: while these firms comprised only 17% of all new firms created in Canada, they accounted for 25% of all new jobs. According to the study, newcomers to Canada are more likely to start a business that grows more quickly and that creates more net jobs per enterprise than the Canadian-born population.¹⁴
- Business Development Canada says the entrepreneurial rate among newcomers is more than double the rate for people born in Canada, meaning immigrants are twice as likely to create a business than native-born Canadians. With immigrants expected to account for up to 80 per cent of Canada's population growth by 2032, BDC projects this trend will continue to fuel entrepreneurship in Canada over the next decades.¹⁵
- In many lower-skilled occupations, immigrants take on jobs that local workers are unwilling to do and so are filling labour and skill shortages in the Canadian labour market, rather than competing with locals for jobs.

Another argument against immigration states that immigrants are a drain on the public purse. It is assumed that immigrants have lower incomes and draw upon more social security programs than individuals born in Canada. But Statistics Canada research shows that between 2006 and 2017, most of the growth in immigrant employment was in professional, scientific and technical services; finance, insurance, real estate and leasing services; manufacturing; and health care and social assistance.¹⁶ These are high-paying jobs that are likely to contribute more in taxes than they draw down in social benefits.

As well, homeownership rates among Canadians and immigrants are identical (69% of both groups own a home) and the average value of an immigrant's home in Toronto and Vancouver is the same as that of the Canadian-born population. This is an indication that the incomes of immigrants are similar to those of Canadian-born workers and that immigrants are no more a drain on public finances than are Canadian-born workers. This research also shows that the economic performance of second-generation immigrants is comparable to that of Canadian-born children. (While some first-generation immigrants may not perform as strongly as native-born Canadians, their children do – confirming the basic fact that the benefits of immigration are inherently long-term in nature.)¹⁷

The city of Windsor, ON, has compiled a document that addresses these myths as well as others that surround immigration (for example, that immigrants don't pay taxes or that they raise the crime rate).¹⁸

Many of the complaints about immigration are really about refugees. And, in this context, the term "refugees" is equated with being a burden on public services. This is why there is so much talk these days

about refugees entering the country “illegally”, and this discourse is meant to discredit the entire immigration system. The facts are as follows: The persons in question are not entering the country “illegally”; rather, they are entering outside of official ports of entry such as Customs Offices and therefore enter the refugee process “irregularly”, that is, outside of the normal channels. All refugee claimants, no matter how they enter the country, are given refuge until their cases can be heard in a formal tribunal. (When you come across a lifeboat on the open sea, you bring the passengers onto your own ship and figure things out later.) If they cannot prove that they are legitimate refugees, they are removed from the country.

The data show that the system works: irregular entrants into Canada are stopped and are put through a rigorous process to determine whether in fact they meet the criteria for deserving protection. And if they do not, they are sent back to their home country.

As well, irregular refugee claimants allowed to remain in the country after adjudication represent only a small portion of overall immigration to Canada (Table 1)¹⁹.

Table 1 - Irregular Refugee Claimants as a Percentage of All Refugees and of all Permanent Residents

	2017	2018	2019	2017-19
Total permanent residents (PRs) accepted into Canada per year	286,510	321,055	320,300	927,865
... of which, refugees				
Number	38,580	42,460	43,365	124,405
% of permanent residents	13%	13%	14%	13%
Irregular refugee claimants	18,059	20,603	16,077	54,739
Claims processed				
Number	2,202	7,133	15,556	24,891
% of irregular claimants	12%	35%	97%	45%
Claims accepted				
Number	1,140	3,307	7,808	12,255
% of processed	52%	46%	50%	49%
Projected over total irreg.*	9,349	9,552	8,070	26,951
All projected accepted irregular claimants...				
... as a % of all refugees	24%	22%	19%	22%
... as a % of all PRs	3.3%	3.0%	2.5%	2.9%

* % of irregular claims accepted x total number of irregular refugee claimants (e.g., 52% of 18,059 = 9,349)

Between 2017 and 2019, the peak period for such crossings, about 55,000 people arrived through irregular means. By the end of 2019, 45% of these had been processed, of which half were accepted. If this percentage holds for the entire group, this would mean that about 27,000 irregular refugee claimants will be accepted into the country over three years, or on average about 9,000 per year. This represents about 3% of the annual immigrant intake into Canada.

The fact that irregular refugee claimants represent such a small portion of overall immigration to Canada, and the fact that ineligible claimants are sent back to their home countries belie the far-right claims that Canada’s immigration system is “broken” and that the country is being overrun with “illegal refugees”.

Irregular entrants who are accepted as bona fide refugees are counted as part of the 15% quota set aside for refugees in the annual immigration target (see Chapter Three). In effect, they are counted along with

refugees who are being processed by consular officials outside Canada or at official border crossings.

The other negative discourse about immigration is around “culture wars.” Immigration today is more likely to be from the Global South and involve people with different cultures, languages and ethnicities. Some Canadians doubt that these immigrants are prepared to adapt to “Canadian ways.” Populist demagogues emphasize the differences between cultures and how these differences are threatening to the host population.

Such demagoguery is not new, of course. Irish immigrants to the United States in the 1850s were seen as less-than-desirable, compared to the English, Scottish and German immigrants who were arriving at the same time. A generation or two later, it was immigrants from Italy, Portugal and the Balkans who were seen as corrosive to the American culture. History includes many examples of once-debased newcomers being successfully integrated into the majority population — and in turn restricting immigration from other areas of the globe, in effect, closing the door behind them.

Why We Shouldn't Fear Immigrants

Will immigrants overwhelm the host culture and force the host population to accept change against its will? Will immigrants impose cultural values that are unacceptable to the host population?

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians feel a deep attachment to their province and are rightfully proud of their unique culture. In the absence of evidence to the contrary, some people will understandably feel uncomfortable about allowing too many people from cultures that are very different from the English, Irish and Scottish influences that predominate in the “Newfoundland culture”.

(There have been valuable contributions from many other cultures to the “Newfoundland culture”, including from its Indigenous populations as well as from immigrants from la Francophonie, China, Lebanon, Eastern Europe and innumerable other places. It has integrated all these influences over the decades or centuries, to the point where they have been woven tightly into the fabric of the culture. But when people today think about the “Newfoundland culture” – the language, music, culinary traditions, legal traditions, etc. – they generally refer to influences from the British Isles, the source region for the overwhelming majority of the province’s current population.)

What will immigrants do to the culture of the province, a culture that is at the heart of its collective identity? What accommodations will current residents be asked to adopt by newcomers demanding an equal place in society? These are valid questions that deserve to be addressed.

It may be useful to take a quick look at the global situation with regard to immigration and then look at some reasons why newcomers will not impose alien cultural values upon their new home. And the next sections will look at how immigrants actually help improve society and why the province’s high unemployment rate should not be a deterrent to attracting immigrants.

Canada is perceived in the world as a welcoming country that is prosperous, that operates under the rule of law, that has an excellent educational system, that respects personal liberty, and that offers many opportunities for employment. And, as the United States and Britain move to close their borders, Australia, New Zealand and Canada have become the prime destinations for people wishing to improve their personal and professional prospects.

These three countries have retained their welcoming stances despite a tsunami of xenophobia in a number of other countries. This tsunami has led to the election of populist leaders who have promised to restrict immigration into their countries. In Europe, there is Brexit in the UK and “illiberal democracies” in Hungary, Poland and the Slovak Republic. In North America, there remain echos to “build that wall!” between the United States and Mexico.

These are not rational responses to economic pressures. Hungary and Poland are two countries with aging and declining populations; they could do with a few immigrants. England has benefitted from immigration since it joined the European Community back in 1973 (that became the European Union in 1993); its construction and agricultural sectors, for example, are made up mostly of Eastern and Southern Europeans. In the US, it is immigrants from Latin America that keep the agricultural sector going.

So, if restricting immigration is not a rational economic response, what accounts for it? The thickening of borders is an emotional reaction to cultural differences. In the early 21st century, immigration is mostly from the Southern to the Northern Hemisphere, from countries with different systems of government and justice, different decision-making processes, relationships to authority, culinary and musical traditions, clothing, religions and — last but not least — skin colours.

As a result, the mass migration from the Global South has triggered a fear reaction in the Global North. People fear that immigrants will upset the social contract that has offered stability up until now. They are afraid that newcomers will win job competitions over them or their children — even though there are innumerable examples of bias against immigrants in the Canadian job market. They are afraid that newcomers will import the crime and political instability of their country of origin — when these are exactly the conditions that immigrants desperately want to get away from. And they are afraid that the newcomers will want to impose alien cultural values — like Sharia Law or gender inequalities — when there is no evidence or likelihood of that happening.

What is most curious about the reaction is that it is usually the people least exposed to immigrants who seem to fear them the most. In England, for example, the decision to leave the European Union was based primarily on the fear of immigrants, and it was the regions with the fewest immigrants that voted overwhelmingly to leave. In Quebec, it is the rural areas — where there are very few immigrants — who vote most passionately for controls on immigration.

And this fear is making people want to close the borders of their countries to outsiders, because they feel that they are powerless to deal with what they perceive is a torrent of newcomers who don’t share their values and who will want to change their society from under their own feet. But there are four reasons why this will not occur.

In the first place, 60% of immigrants to Canada are economic migrants who bring the skills and knowledge necessary to participate in the Canadian economy. The principal applicants will have learned one of Canada’s two official languages prior to arriving. Many of them will have arrived as international students and will have spent their formative years in Canada, becoming intimately familiar with the country’s culture. At work, they will interact on a daily basis with co-workers, clients, suppliers and regulators, the effect of which will be to integrate them fully into society. Their children will go to school and learn Canadian values there, and discuss their daily activities around the supper table. Studies have shown that most immigrants, even more so for the second generation, have fully integrated in the Canadian society and economy.

Secondly, as stated earlier, people want to move to developed countries because they aspire to live in a place that has a strong economy, the rule of law, excellent education, democratic government, etc. Many newcomers are moving to Canada to get away from societies that don't exhibit these characteristics. Immigrants do not come to Canada in order to bring Canadian society down from the inside; instead, it is just the opposite: they want to share in the benefits that Canada offers.

Thirdly, there is not a "torrent of people". Canada plans to accept about 401,000 immigrants in 2021. This is about 1% of the country's population, and while this number accumulates every year, so does the number of native-born Canadians. For its part, Newfoundland and Labrador has trouble attracting 2,000 immigrants a year, or less than half of one percent of its current population. Not exactly a torrent.

And finally, there is very little likelihood that immigrants will impose alien cultural values on the host population because of the inertia that is inherent in culture and in social institutions.

There is a great deal of inertia built into culture and it is very difficult for anyone, whether newcomer or native-born, to change it. "Culture" in this sense consists of the everyday habits of a society: what people eat, the clothes they wear, the occupations they practice, the faiths they follow, the sports they play, how they entertain themselves, their relationship to authority, how they treat each other in public – the list is nearly endless.

Cultural change is an organic process whereby people evaluate the innovations to which they are exposed and decide whether or not to accept them. These innovations could be in the form of new technologies, new culinary experiences, new fashions, new music, new norms (e.g., wearing masks during a pandemic), new social relationships (e.g., the recognition of same-sex relationships) or a host of new ways of relating to the world and to each other. As these innovations gain a critical mass, they become accepted as part of the culture.

Anyone – whether they are born in the host community or whether they come from somewhere else – can contribute an innovation for the public's consideration, and members of the public, acting individually, decide its fate. If enough people adopt the innovation, it becomes part of the culture. Very often, these innovations are adapted as they are adopted (think of fusions in music, food, fashion and other areas that combine external influences with local practices). This organic process of adoption is one source of the inertia that is inherent in cultural change.

The other source of inertia is the existence of social institutions that have been created over the centuries to reflect a society's values: the justice system, the educational curriculum (what is taught in schools), the media, sports leagues, museums, retail establishments (that provide the food, sporting equipment, clothing, etc., that reflect the host culture) and many others. Changes in institutions lag changes in society, adding an even greater level of inertia. (Just think of how legal recognition of same-sex marriage trailed social attitudes by decades.)

Because of this inherent inertia, it is nearly impossible for alien cultural practices to be imposed on an unwilling host community from the outside. And there is no evidence whatsoever of such practices having actually been adopted in any developed economy.

Despite its inherent inertial nature, culture does change. It is undeniable that the culture of the province has consistently changed during its long history. The culture of Newfoundland and Labrador of 1900 is not the same as that of today. And its culture a hundred years from now will be different again. So, just as it is

unrealistic to impose an alien cultural practice on a society, it is just as unrealistic to expect that a society will remain frozen in time.

If Newfoundlanders and Labradorians feel that their culture is so weak that it cannot withstand contact with the broader world, then the battle is already lost. If they feel that the province's institutions, its cultural expressions and its traditions are so much in need of protection that no outside influence – including immigrants – should be allowed, then it is only a matter of time before it *will* disappear, as its population declines and ages. In fact, Newfoundlanders and Labradorians should take great comfort that their culture has withstood the cultural shock that was Confederation with Canada; for a province with only 2½ percent of the country's population in 1949 (and only 1½ percent in 2020), its artists and tradition bearers have featured prominently in the national cultural landscape and its culture has not been assimilated into the much larger Canadian culture. This speaks to the strength and resilience of the province's culture.

That Which Most Scares Us Today Is What We Will Be Most Proud of Tomorrow

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are rightfully proud of their culture, which is tolerant, inclusive and egalitarian. These are qualities that are absent from many other cultures and that have allowed residents of the province to develop a high level of trust in each other.

But it was not always the case. For a long period in its early history, there existed a great deal of animosity between English (predominantly Protestant) and Irish (predominantly Catholic) settlers. Each group was afraid of and mistrusted the other. This fear and hatred came to a head at the Harbour Grace Affray of 1883 that resulted in the deaths of five men and the wounding of 17 others.

This could have been the beginning of a period of greater animosity between the two populations but instead served as a call to create a better society. A new social contract was created that provided opportunities for Irish Catholics (as well as for English Protestants) to participate more fully in public life.

“The sectarianism was overcome by fairly simple means, and in its place a common sense of the Newfoundland nation developed. [...] There are two major reasons why Newfoundland did not become a ‘second Northern Ireland’: a sense of ‘nativism’ developed, and a practical sharing of power between the two denominations was agreed to by all parties. [...] Seats in the Assembly, Executive Council positions, government offices, judicial appointments and public monies were shared between the major denominations [...] on a proportional basis.”²⁰

This began a social shift towards tolerance, and later acceptance and inclusivity – a turning point in the our history. What had scared us most at one point has become one of our defining moments.

The same can be said of today. Newfoundland and Labrador is facing one of the most important challenges of its history: a demographic decline along with a debilitating debt, all while trying to restructure its economy.

The province needs help to get out of this dilemma. Fortunately, there are many, many people who are prepared to help – because by so doing, they will be helping themselves. These are people outside Canada who wish to better their situations by settling in a place with more opportunities and a more stable society than in their home country. They look to Canada as a desirable place to move but are likely totally unaware of Newfoundland and Labrador. If the province is lucky enough to attract them, they will bring a new energy, new talents, new ideas

and a new breath of life to the province.

Helping Immigrants Helps Us All

In a globalizing world, migration, innovation, and creativity are fundamentally interconnected. All dynamic economies and societies have high levels of immigration, at all socioeconomic levels. There are examples around the world that the influx of persons from other cultures makes a society more economically sustainable and culturally more interesting.

Human societies are complex entities that need to adapt to changes in their environment. One way of instituting change is by taking the perspective of a member of that society and seeing the society through their “lens.” For example, by looking at the world from the perspective of someone with a physical disability, an observer begins to see all types of barriers that an able-bodied person might never notice. When society begins to remove these barriers, it finds that this also benefits many other people. A simple example like sidewalk curb cuts at intersections to help people in wheelchairs ends up also benefiting parents pushing strollers, cyclists, skateboarders, street vendors, tourists hauling luggage, etc.

So, what can be learned by looking at a society from the perspective of the newcomer, especially someone arriving from a very different culture, who is not familiar with the norms, supports, or language of the province?

The first thing to notice is that most of the problems faced by immigrants are problems that many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians also face: finding and keeping a job, integrating into society and obtaining public services. Therefore, it stands to reason that improvements in these areas will help all of society, and not just newcomers.²¹

Improving the economy so that more immigrants end up staying in the province helps all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians find meaningful employment. Improving the job search process to help immigrants – say, by establishing a job registry and making it easier for employers to match job vacancies with qualified employees – will help all job seekers.

Businesses that improve their operations — by raising salaries, improving Human Resources policies, or offering perks — to better retain the immigrants that they have spent so much effort recruiting will, by the same token, benefit their locally-hired employees.

Improving the process of recognizing the foreign credentials of immigrants — whether their academic qualifications or their career experience — will help Canadians in other provinces who wish to move to Newfoundland and Labrador to work. It is often overly difficult for Canadian-born persons who have obtained professional certification in one province to have their credentials recognized in another province. Teachers, massage therapists, tradespeople and many others often need to go through an onerous and often unnecessary recertification process in order to practice in another province. Making it easier for immigrants to have their qualifications recognized in one province will also benefit Canadians moving from one province to another.

Reducing intolerance to immigrants makes society more welcoming to all citizens, including persons with disabilities, Indigenous persons, persons identifying as LGBTQ+, females in non-traditional occupations, etc. An attitude that condemns racism is also likely to condemn other kinds of “-isms”, like sexism or ageism.

Providing better recreation programs will make it easier for everybody, long-time residents and newcomers alike, to integrate into society by providing ways for people to come together in a social setting. Making it easier for immigrants to integrate into society also makes it easier to integrate others who may feel alienated by society.

Revitalizing museums and historic sites in order to transmit the host community's culture to newcomers provides increased opportunities at the same time for native-born citizens to appreciate their own culture.

Transportation is a major issue for immigrants, most of whom come from places with better developed public transit. The public transit system in the St. John's Metropolitan Area (the province's most extensive system) does not serve the entire area, even though a significant portion of the affordable housing is located in outlying areas of the city. Frequency of service is also often mentioned as a drawback of the system, by both immigrants and non-immigrants alike.²² Improving public transit to address the suggestions of immigrants will help all of society.

Providing a one-stop "concierge" service to help immigrants navigate the healthcare system provides a useful model that could be adopted to help all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians navigate through this complex maze. It is estimated that adopting such an improvement system-wide could help cut healthcare costs by reducing missed appointments, improving communications between service providers and ensuring follow-up care.²³

Including the children of immigrants in a daycare or a classroom provides native-born children with an understanding of diversity and promotes empathy for different cultures. Coordinating support services (e.g., psychologists, speech language therapists, social workers, medical practitioners, etc.) to assist refugee children traumatized by war will help students with autism, behavioural issues and other exceptionalities.

The inflow of international students can help colleges and universities make up for the decrease in the number of native-born high school graduates and help to keep these institutions viable and dynamic.

Immigrants bring new ideas, new businesses and new opportunities. Restaurants featuring cuisines from other cultures enrich the eating experience of all residents. The practice of cultural traditions from other countries can positively influence the strong culture of the province: fusions in music, in food, in fashion, in the visual arts and in other areas can make the province stand out even more on the Canadian cultural scene.

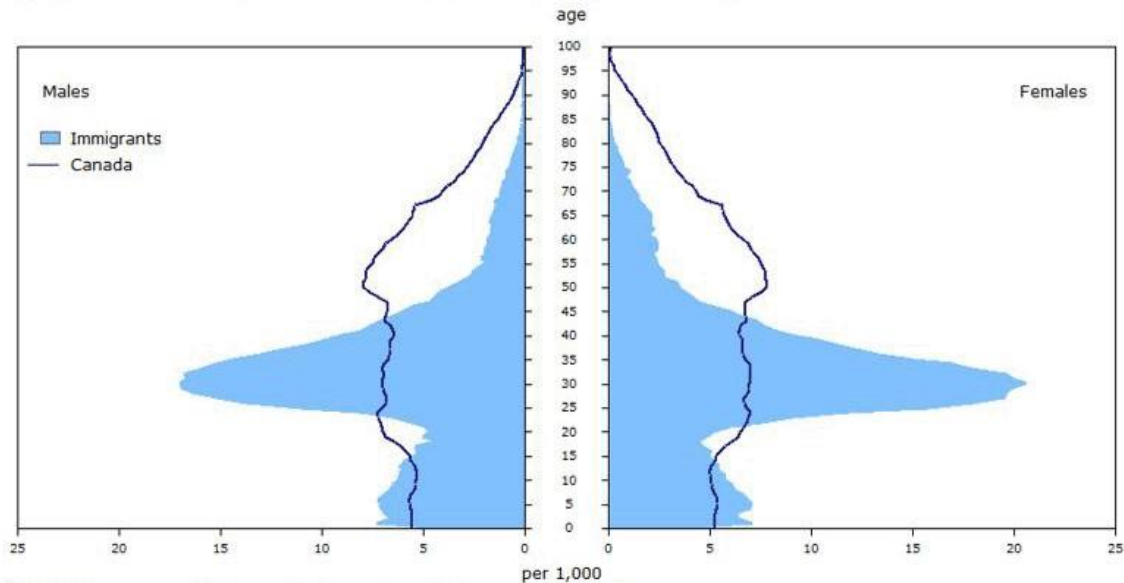
Another important opportunity is in international trade. Immigrants bring not only their skills to the province's labour market, but also their connections to consumer and business markets in their countries of origin. Domestic suppliers of fish, agricultural and forest products, of ocean engineering expertise, of technology solutions and of other goods and services might find new markets in new countries with the help of employees from these countries. Having new outlets for products and services diversifies revenue sources and spreads business risk among more markets.

Immigrants may also be a source of foreign direct investment. Some immigrants may have accumulated wealth in their home countries and now seek to place their funds where investment opportunities are more plentiful and/or where the rule of law offers better protection to private investment. However, it will be important to Canadians that this wealth has not been gained through corruption or criminality,

and that it is not being used to provide an unfair advantage over other would-be immigrants in the application queue.

Finally, the immigrant population is on average younger than the Canadian population overall (Figure 16). For the period from 2012 to 2014, immigrants had a median age of 30.9 years, which was almost 10 years younger than the median age for all Canadians (40.5 years).²⁴ An infusion of younger people helps to address the pension burden that will be increasingly borne by younger Canadians.

Figure 16 - Age Pyramid of the Immigrant and Canadian Populations (Immigrants Included), Canada, 2014



Notes: Data available as of September 2015. Persons aged 100 and over are included at age 100.

Sources: Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada (IRCC) and Statistics Canada, Demography Division, Demographic Estimates Program.

But Isn't the Unemployment Rate Too High for Immigration?

Newfoundland and Labrador consistently has the highest unemployment rate in Canada.²⁵ However, this is not an argument for decreasing the level of immigration. One reason why this is so is that many local workers are only seasonally unemployed. Fishing vessels and fish plants need workers during the fishing season (roughly April to October) and rural tourism operators need workers at around the same time. If all seasonal workers were to find year-round employment elsewhere, they would not be available when the fishery and the tourism industry needed them. Many seasonal workers prefer to earn a lower income by working part of the year and then receiving Employment Insurance for the rest of the year, instead of working year-round, especially if working year-round would require moving to another community (and leaving a residence and relatives behind).

Another reason why the high unemployment rate should not preclude immigration is that this rate only measures the number of people without jobs. It does not take into consideration the number of job vacancies. A high unemployment rate can co-exist alongside a high number of job vacancies if the unemployed do not have the skills required to fill the vacant positions. Currently in the province, many of the job vacancies are in emerging sectors that require highly-skilled individuals, such as in information technology or biotechnology, where the supply of qualified local labour is not sufficient to meet the immediate demand.

It is true that there are many individuals in the province who are unemployed or underemployed and that could be encouraged to continue their studies in order to fill these high-skill positions. While it is essential to provide them with the opportunities to bring them up to the necessary skill level, it may take years to do so when the demand for the skill is immediate and might only be found outside the country.

But upskilling is not simply a question of time: a major challenge for post-secondary educational institutions is enrolling students from families that do not have a tradition of post-secondary education.²⁶ Despite the long-term economic advantages of gaining a post-secondary degree or diploma, it remains a challenge to recruit students from families where neither parent has a post-secondary education. Newfoundland and Labrador has the highest percentage of persons without a high school diploma of any province in Canada (15.7% vs. the Canadian average of 11.5%) and the lowest percentage of persons with a university degree (18.3% vs. the Canadian average of 28.5 %), making it that much more challenging to upskill people in this province.²⁷

And finally, there is anecdotal evidence that the high unemployment rate is partly due to inefficiencies in the job matching mechanism. This needs to be improved in order that entrepreneurs with job vacancies can find the persons with the appropriate skills, and vice-versa.

Even if the structural barriers facing underemployed locals were magically removed, it would still be advantageous to attract immigrants because they have a track record of being more entrepreneurial than persons born in Canada. In other words, not only do many immigrants not replace the Canadian-born in the labour market, they actually create new jobs for them. In doing so, they help to decrease the unemployment rate, not increase it.

Summary

“Immigration” consists of three components: the recruitment of people in their countries of origin, their settlement into their new home and the long-term efforts to retain them in their new home. This simple description masks a complicated and complex process that includes innumerable activities undertaken by a myriad of organizations and individuals.

Immigration has not been an issue for over a hundred years in Newfoundland and Labrador. During most of this period, the main public policy issue related to migration has been “out-migration:” there were not enough jobs in the province to employ all job seekers and so, many people were forced to move away to find work. But now, there are more job opportunities than there are workers.

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are being asked to consider immigration at a time when it is under attack in many places around the world. In Canada, the issue of irregular refugee claimants is being used as an excuse to disparage the entire immigration system, even though this group represents only a very small portion of all immigrants to Canada and even though economic migrants masquerading as refugees are weeded out and returned to their countries of origin. Canada’s immigration system is robust.

It is important to remember that immigrants wish to come to Canada precisely for what it offers, and not to bring it down from the inside. In any event, the culture of the country and of the province – including the rule of law, the work ethic, the social institutions, the daily practice of culture by millions of people who were born and raised in Canada – make it such that it is extremely unlikely that newcomers will be able to impose alien cultural values on the resident population.

While some Newfoundlanders and Labradorians will be unsure about the impacts of inviting more immigrants into the province, they should take comfort in the fact that the province has weathered similarly difficult situations in its history (the Harbour Grace Affray, Confederation with Canada) without losing its unique sense of identity.

Not only should immigrants not be feared, but they should be embraced because they enrich their new homes. They are youthful and bring a new energy and new ideas; they bring their human capital and entrepreneurial spirit; they bring cultural influences that can fuse with traditional practices to create new value; they bring connections to international markets; and some will bring financial resources that they wish to invest in Canada.

Newcomers raise a mirror to society. They force society to look at itself with new eyes and to address problems that have remained unaddressed, problems like efficiently matching labour supply with labour demand, recognizing academic credentials and work experience, making it easier to navigate the health care system, and improving public transit.

And finally, it is to the province's advantage to attract immigrants, even though it has the highest unemployment rate in the country. The high unemployment rate masks such factors as seasonal employment and a misalignment of skills and job vacancies, and is therefore not a useful guide for determining the optimal level of immigration. In addition, immigrants are more entrepreneurial and thereby create new job opportunities for locals, helping to reduce the unemployment rate.

¹³ Canada's population estimates: Sub-provincial areas, July 1, 2018

<https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/190328/dq190328b-eng.htm>

¹⁴ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2019011-eng.htm>, accessed May 19, 2019.

¹⁵ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/71-606-x/71-606-x2018001-eng.htm>

¹⁶ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/71-606-x/71-606-x2018001-eng.htm>

¹⁷ <https://www.cicnews.com/2019/11/immigrants-more-likely-to-start-a-business-and-create-jobs-than-those-born-in-canada-1113140.html#gs.3t1slu>

¹⁸ [https://www.citywindsor.ca/residents/socialservices-/Social-Policy-and-Pathway-to-Potential/welcoming-refugees/Documents/Myths about Immigration.pdf](https://www.citywindsor.ca/residents/socialservices-/Social-Policy-and-Pathway-to-Potential/welcoming-refugees/Documents/Myths%20about%20Immigration.pdf)

¹⁹ <https://irb-cisr.gc.ca/en/statistics/Pages/Irregular-border-crosser-statistics.aspx> and <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/f7e5498e-0ad8-4417-85c9-9b8aff9b9eda> (IRCC_M_PRadmiss_0003_E-4.xls)

²⁰ Thomsen, Robert Chr. "Democracy, Sectarianism and Denomi(-)Nationalism: The Irish in Newfoundland." *Nordic Irish Studies*, vol. 4, 2005, pp. 13–27. JSTOR, <http://www.jstor.org/stable/30001517>

²¹ This is analogous to what occurred when the tourism industry expanded in the 1980s. Improvements to food services, accommodations and attractions to better serve tourists raised the quality of life of all Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.

²² http://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/reports/APTF_2015_Final_Report.pdf

²³ https://www.crto.on.ca/pdf/GROW/Health_System_Navigator.pdf

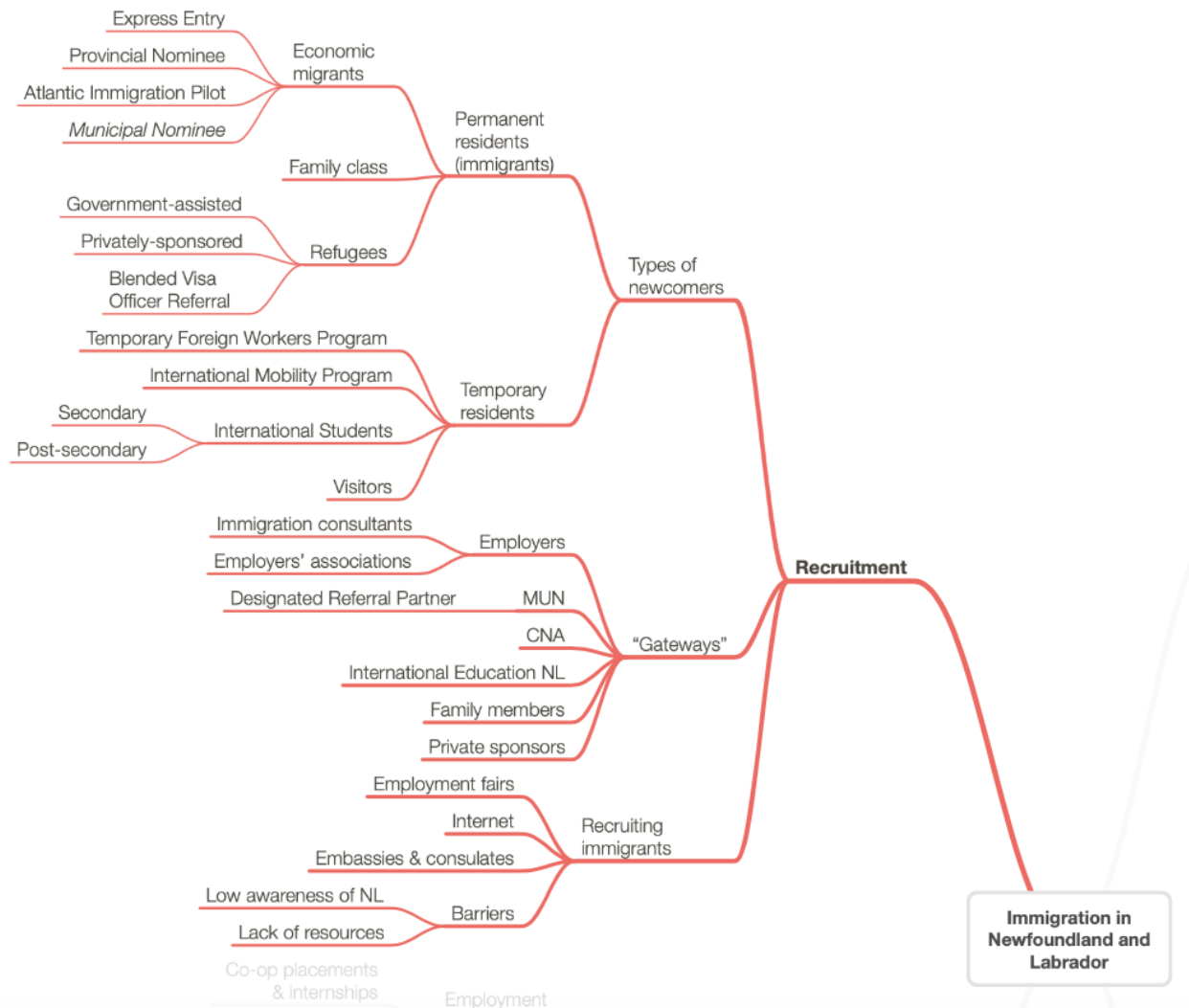
²⁴ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/91-209-x/2016001/article/14615-eng.htm>

²⁵ <https://www.stats.gov.nl.ca/Statistics/Topics/labour/PDF/UnempRate.pdf>

²⁶ <http://www.heqco.ca/SiteCollectionDocuments/Formatted%20Parental%20Ed%283%29.pdf>

²⁷ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/hltfst/edu-sco/Ta-ble.cfm?Lang=E&T=11&Geo=00&View=2&Age=2>

Chapter Three: The Recruitment Process



In Canada, it is the Federal Government that determines who is allowed to enter the country. There are two ways to legally enter the country: as a permanent resident or as a temporary resident. The term “immigrant” refers to persons entering as permanent residents, that is, to persons who are allowed to remain in the country indefinitely and who are eligible to become Canadian citizens. For their part, temporary residents are invited in to perform short-term or seasonal work and are expected to return home afterwards. However, being already familiar with Canada, it may be relatively easy to encourage them to transition to permanent residents.

The acquisition of permanent residence does not equate to the acquisition of Canadian citizenship. A permanent resident is someone who has been granted permission to remain in Canada indefinitely but is not a Canadian citizen. Permanent residents remain citizens of other countries.

A permanent resident is expected to pay taxes and respect all Canadian laws at the federal, provincial and municipal levels, and has the right to:

- receive most social benefits that Canadian citizens receive, including health care coverage;
- live, work or study anywhere in Canada;
- apply for Canadian citizenship; and
- be protected under Canadian law and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms.

A permanent resident is not allowed to vote or run for political office nor hold some jobs that need a high-level security clearance.²⁸

In order to become a citizen, a permanent resident must pass a written test and a personal interview.

In addition to gaining civic rights, there are economic advantages to becoming a citizen. Many immigrants who obtain Canadian citizenship have higher wages than those who do not. In 2016, the median wages of male immigrants admitted in 2006 who obtained citizenship by 2016 was \$40,500, while it was \$31,200 for non-citizens. For female immigrants, the median wages were \$28,100 if they obtained their citizenship and \$21,600 if they did not.²⁹

Permanent Residents

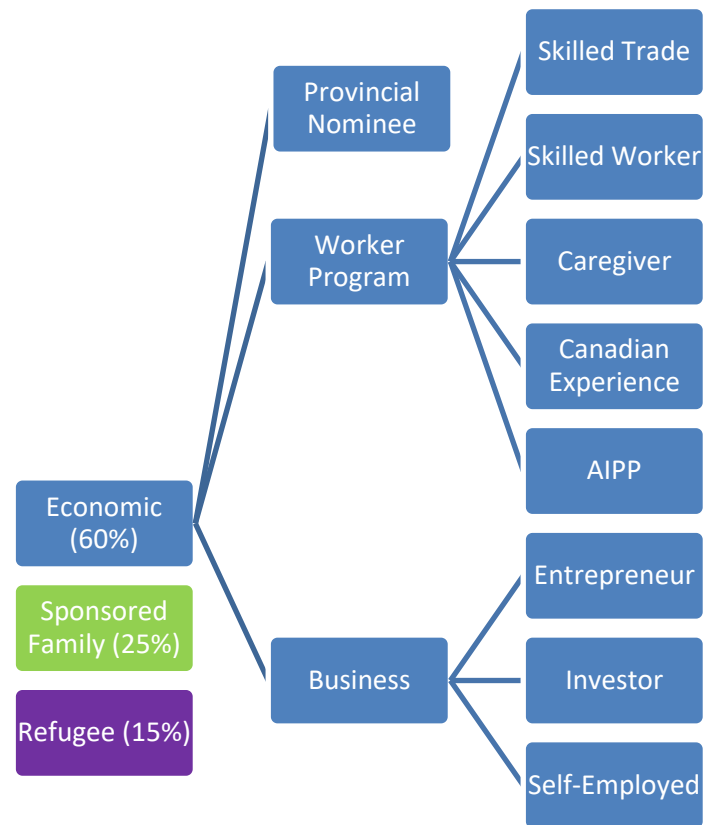
The Federal Government determines the number of permanent residents to be accepted into the country, and this number aims to respond to the wide variety of local variations in labour market needs and in absorption capacities across the country. The target for 2021 is set at approximately 401,000 immigrants, or at about 1% of the country's current population.³⁰ This number includes both the principal applicant (say, a skilled worker) and their dependents (spouse and children).

In addition to setting the overall target, the Government of Canada determines the rules that regulate the entry of immigrants into the country. Since 1967, Canada's immigration system has been focused on attracting economic immigrants. A potential immigrant's chances of entering the country are enhanced by their academic qualifications, employment experience and language competency in English or French, along with their age, health status, security profile and other factors. Economic immigrants make up about 60% of all immigrants allowed into the country every year.³¹

Permanent residents are eligible to receive settlement services (e.g., language courses and orientation to the local community) funded by the Government of Canada until they become Canadian citizens. This is discussed in more detail in Chapter Five.

There are dozens of programs that a potential economic immigrant can use to enter the country, that fall into one of eight categories (Figure 17).

Figure 17 - Categories of Immigrants and Visas 2020



The **Federal Skilled Trades Program** is for skilled trades people with foreign work experience who want to immigrate to Canada permanently; these skills may be in construction, manufacturing, maintenance and operations, technical jobs in natural resources, etc. The **Federal Skilled Worker Program** is for managers, professionals or technical experts with foreign work experience who want to immigrate to Canada permanently. The **Caregiver Program** provides in-home caregivers with the opportunity to become permanent residents once they have 2 years of eligible work experience in Canada. The **Canadian Experience Class** lets those with Canadian work experience apply for permanent residence; “Canadian work experience” is defined as at least 12 months of full-time (or an equal amount in part-time) skilled work experience in Canada in the three years before they apply. This latter program may be most useful for international students (temporary residents) who have worked while studying, for example as part of an Engineering Co-op program. The **Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program (AIPP)** is described below.

The **Entrepreneur** category is intended for experienced business owners or senior business managers who wish to permanently reside in Canada; they must start a new business or buy an existing business and must actively participate in the day-to-day management of the business. The **Investor** category is intended for persons with high net-worth who are interested to immigrate permanently to Canada to invest in local businesses without day-to-day management of the business.³² The **Self-Employed** category is for people who have taken part in cultural activities or athletics at a world-class level or who have been self-employed in cultural activities or athletics, and who wish to immigrate to Canada permanently.

The emphasis of government programs is often on the highly skilled workforce. However, entry-level and front-line jobs are also important. Front-line work is often a person’s first experience with the labour

market and prepares workers for professional work later on in life.

Canada also recognizes its humanitarian responsibility towards people in danger for their lives, be it because of wars, persecution, social exclusion or other factors. The country therefore invites a certain number of **refugees** into the country every year. Refugees may be invited to Canada by the Federal Government (“Government-Assisted Refugees,” or “GARs”) or sponsored by individual citizens or groups of citizens (“Privately Sponsored Refugees,” or “PSRs”).³³ Refugees are screened extensively to determine whether, in fact, they are in danger; economic migrants posing as refugees are weeded out, as are persons suspected of war crimes or other forms of criminality. Refugees make up about 15% of immigrants allowed into the country every year.³⁴

Provinces and territories negotiate the number of refugees they will allow to be settled in their jurisdictions by the Federal Government. Many refugees require substantial support to integrate into their new home community, including language training, orientation and life skills; the amount of federal funding allocated to each province or territory is based in part on the number of refugees allocated to it.

Once accepted into Canada, many economic immigrants and refugees have wanted to sponsor parents, siblings and other close relatives to join them in their new home. The need is even more urgent for refugees from war zones, who may have left behind extended family members who remain in danger. As a result, Canada instituted the **Family Class Program** to address this issue. Immigrants falling into this category make up the remaining quarter of all immigrants allowed into the country every year.

By the early 2000s, the number of applicants for permanent residence had overwhelmed the immigration processing system, with tens of thousands of applicants on the waiting list. In order to expedite the application process, the Government of Canada created the **Express Entry** program for economic immigrants³⁵ in 2015, where applicants are invited to submit an on-line application that is then scored according to established criteria (academic qualifications, language ability, etc.); if the applicant has a valid job offer from a Canadian employer or a degree from a Canadian post-secondary educational institution, this raises their score significantly. Applicants with high enough scores are then invited to apply for permanent residence. These invitations are issued several times a year to meet labour market needs. Applications remain in the pool for a year, after which applicants must reapply if they haven’t been selected.

The Federal Government has delegated certain powers to the provinces and territories that allow the latter to take a more active role in immigration. The **Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs)** allow provinces and territories to identify labour shortages in specific areas (say, skilled trades in housing construction) and establish their own priorities by allocating more points in the Express Entry program to candidates who meet the qualifications in the appropriate National Occupation Codes.

At the time of writing, the Government of Canada had committed to creating a **Municipal Nominee Program** that would mirror the PNP and allow local communities, chambers of commerce and local labour councils to directly sponsor permanent immigrants. At least 5,000 new spaces per year would be dedicated for this program.

Much like Newfoundland and Labrador, the three Maritime Provinces (Nova Scotia, New Brunswick and Prince Edward Island) have traditionally been net exporters of population and labour, and as a result have very low numbers of immigrants as well. But they are also now experiencing labour shortages and, in order to address this situation, the Government of Canada has loosened immigration requirements for all four provinces, making it easier than in the rest of Canada to recruit permanent residents. The **Atlantic**

Immigration Pilot Program (AIPP) accelerates the processing time for qualified applicants by getting employers and settlement agencies involved in the immigration process, and aims to provide an answer to employers and prospective immigrants within 6 months. Settlement agencies are non-governmental, not-for-profit agencies that are funded by the Government of Canada to help settle newcomers. There are 22 such organizations in Atlantic Canada, two of which are in Newfoundland and Labrador (see page 59).

Under this program, an interested employer must be pre-approved by the Government of Canada and a settlement plan must be prepared for each employee by an immigrant settlement agency. At the time of writing, there were over 300 designated employers in Newfoundland and Labrador and the province's settlement agencies had prepared several hundred such settlement plans.

The AIPP makes it much easier for applicants to enter the country and to seek permanent residence. The gamble is that newcomers entering Canada under this program will not simply use Atlantic Canada as a springboard into the rest of the country but will remain in the region on a permanent basis. In any event, employers and communities have a window of time during which to encourage the new hire to remain in the region.

Prior to the AIPP, only spouses of principal applicants in high-skilled positions, such as managers, medical doctors or architects could apply for a Canadian work permit. Now, all spouses are allowed to work.

At the program's inception in 2017, the Government of Canada set a total allocation of 2,000 for the four Atlantic Provinces, of which just under 600 settled in Newfoundland and Labrador (Figure 29 on page 51). The total quota for Atlantic Canada was raised to 5,000 in 2020.

Temporary Residents

In addition to persons seeking permanent resident status, Canada also invites persons to reside in the country temporarily; these temporary residents must leave at the end of their approved stay. Even though they are coming from outside the country, they are not considered immigrants. The number of temporary residents is not formalized in the same way as is the number of permanent residents and instead fluctuates depending on employers' needs, educational institutions' capacities and other factors.

Temporary residents fall into three primary categories: workers, students, and visitors. The latter two categories may be in the country with or without a work permit.

Workers

A temporary foreign worker is theoretically hired to meet a temporary labour shortage. A foreign worker may enter the country in one of two principal ways. In the first place, if the job could be done by a resident (say, a front-line retail job), the employer must prove that they have tried to hire locally but were unsuccessful. This is done by undertaking a Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA): the employer advertises the position for at least four weeks, interviews any local applicants and determines that none of the applicants is suitable for the position. Only then is the employer allowed to hire someone from outside the country. Positions filled in this way fall under the **Temporary Foreign Worker Program (TFWP)**.

Workers are sponsored into the country by an employer who may need them on a seasonal basis (e.g., agricultural or fish plant workers), for a set period of time (say, to work on a construction project), or on an urgent basis. The TFWP is used mostly in the agricultural and fishery sectors, in lower-skilled occupations and in the live-in caregiver category.

A worker invited into the country under the TFWP is given a permit that is job-, location- and employer-specific, which limits the worker's mobility. This benefits the employer, who has invested time and effort in recruiting the candidate, but leaves the employee vulnerable to an abusive employer; should the employee complain about poor working conditions, he can simply be sent back home and replaced with another, more compliant worker.

It is essential that TFWs be provided with the same protections as are available to Canadian workers. Employment standards are enforced by the Provincial and Territorial governments; it is up to them to ensure that TFWs are treated properly. Given the rise in the number of TFWs in the province (page 46) and the importance of transitioning them to permanent status, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador should consider hiring a sufficient number of Labour Inspectors dedicated to this workforce.

The second way that a temporary worker may enter the country is through the **International Mobility Program**. This program is designed for foreign nationals who are exempt from the Labour Market Impact Assessment (LMIA) requirement because of their economic or cultural benefits to Canada. The workers are not displacing any local workers but instead fill a specialist job or are an internal transfer within an international corporation. For example, an engineer working for an international oil and gas company might be transferred to Newfoundland and Labrador to work on an offshore oil mega-project for a couple of years. They would likely bring their dependents with them for that period, and their spouse would be provided with a work permit while in the country. In most cases, the work permits for both the principal applicant and the spouse are open, allowing workers to change employers.³⁶

Other categories of individuals who may enter the country under the IMP include entrepreneurs and self-employed individuals, youth on a work-exchange program, post-doctoral fellows and medical residents, performing artists, and emergency repair and service specialists. An important category consists of international students in Canada who have graduated and who hold post-graduate work permits.

International Students

Students are sponsored by a school board or a post-secondary educational institution and may stay in the country for the length of their program.

Unaccompanied students are allowed into the country to study in the K-12 system, usually in high school. Parents normally enroll their students in a Canadian school in order to facilitate their acceptance later on in a Canadian college or university.

University and college students are allowed to work part-time during their stay and are allowed to remain in the country for up to three years after graduation from a designated learning institution to seek work. Memorial University offers Co-op and internship programs to students in many programs, allowing them to gain valuable Canadian experience, which makes their transition to the Canadian workforce much easier.

Visitors

Visitors are allowed to enter Canada for purposes such as tourism, to visit family or friends, and to attend business meetings, conferences, or trade shows. Visitors from most countries require a visa to enter the country. They can generally stay up to 6 months per visit with a valid visa, and a visa can be used for multiple entries. It is valid for up to 10 years or until the visitor's passport expires.

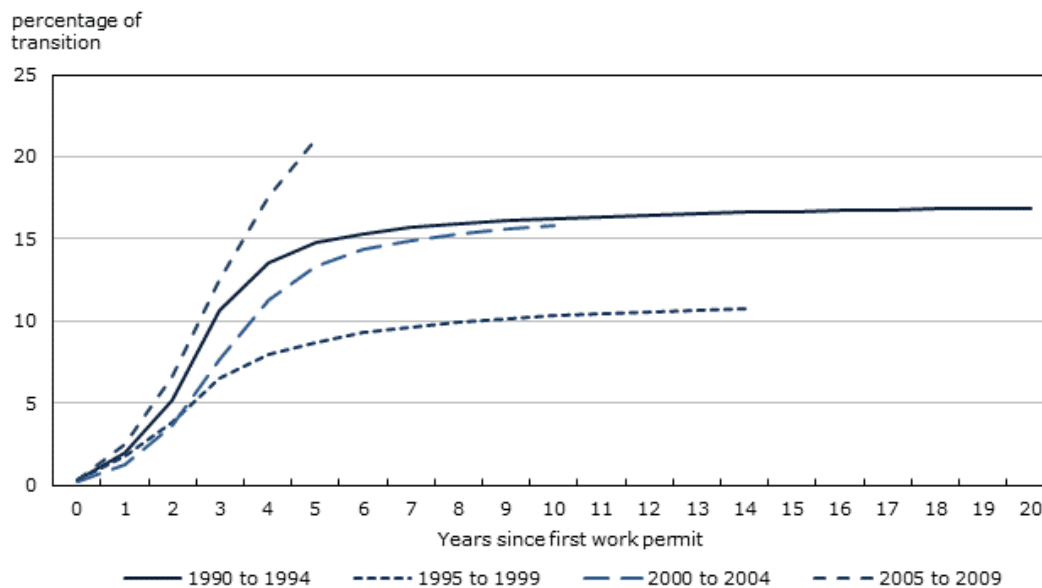
Transitioning Temporary Residents into Permanent Residents

Governments in Canada recognize that temporary residents are a likely pool of permanent residents. After all, during their extended stay, temporary residents have become intimately familiar with the weather, the geography, the society and the labour market of their temporary home and may have become interested in remaining permanently. As a result, amendments have been made to government programs to facilitate the transition of temporary residents into permanent residents.

Prior to 2005, a temporary resident who wished to apply for permanent residence had to leave Canada to do so and then wait to be invited back. This was very inconvenient to those wishing to become permanent residents and the often long waittime increased the chances that the person would not follow through on their interest. Depending on when they arrived in Canada, their retention rate varied from around 10% to 17% (Figure 18; the more time that has elapsed since the temporary resident arrived in the country, the longer the line).³⁷

Since 2005, it is now possible to apply for permanent residence from within Canada and, as a result, the percentage transitioning to permanent residency is trending much higher, as shown by the upper line in the graph.

Figure 18 - Residence Among Temporary Foreign Workers, Canada



Sources: Statistics Canada, Temporary Residents file and Immigrant Landing File, 1990 to 2014.

The rate of retention for TFWs in particular is highly dependent on economic conditions in Canada, especially the availability of appropriate jobs. Generally speaking, the longer the length of the work permit, the more likely the worker is to seek permanent status. Most intra-company transfers for highly skilled temporary work (like offshore mega-projects) will not remain in the country beyond the end of their project; their skills are valued at an international level.

High-skilled temporary workers in both the TFWP and the IMP have more pathways to become permanent residents than low-skilled workers, since the immigration system rewards candidates for human capital

assets such as education, Canadian work experience and language skills. However, lower-skilled workers (for example, in hospitality or foodservice) can still be sponsored by employers under the Provincial Nominee Program, providing them with a pathway to becoming permanent residents.³⁸

“Gateways”

The different ways that permanent or temporary residents can enter the country have their mirror counterpart in the types of sponsors or agents who act as “gateways” for immigrants in the host community.

Generally speaking, permanent residents settle where they have been sponsored. For example, economic immigrants will settle where their employers are located. People arriving under the Family Class program will settle where their families are located. Refugees settle where they are sent by the Federal Government or where they are sponsored by private citizens. The same is true for temporary residents: workers will generally locate where their employers are located and students will move to where their schools are located.

Employers

Employers play a key role in bringing immigrants into the country. If they face labour shortages that cannot be met by persons already living in the country, they can avail of the Express Entry program, the Provincial Nominee Programs and (in Atlantic Canada) the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program to recruit workers who wish to move permanently to Canada.

Employers in a hurry can turn to the Temporary Foreign Worker Program and, even though this process is indeed faster than the permanent resident programs, it is still much slower than what many employers expect. Most employers in the province do not have experience with hiring employees from outside the country and many have an unrealistic expectation as to the time required before the employee can actually arrive at the workplace.

Despite improvements made to the various immigrant recruitment programs to reduce red tape and processing times, immigration remains a complex process that is beyond the scope of most employers. The process remains overly cumbersome for small- and medium-sized enterprises (SMEs) and it still takes months if not years before the employee actually arrives at the workplace. According to employers, it is not unusual for a hiring process to take 6-9 months and the AIPP has apparently not made any significant difference to this timeframe. Where an accreditation process into a regulated profession is required, this can take an additional 6-9 months. As well, the process is unforgiving: because of heavy workloads at consulates and government offices at the federal and provincial levels, a faulty application or an administrative mistake may delay an application for months.³⁹

Some of the larger firms in the province have Human Resources divisions that have gained expertise in hiring immigrants and know who to call in the federal or provincial governments to accelerate an application. Most SMEs do not have the Human Resources expertise to deal with the paperwork involved in sponsoring an immigrant to join their organization, nor do they have the contacts within government to troubleshoot any delays. To address this, employers’ organizations — such as the St. John’s Board of Trade, the Employers’ Council and sectoral associations — have all developed a certain amount of expertise in order to provide some basic advice to enterprises, but they are not equipped to process applications for employers.

If they are not able to navigate the immigration system by themselves, SMEs may hire immigration consultants to undertake the process of recruiting employees from other countries. Persons offering advice to prospective immigrants must be accredited by the Government of Canada. Currently, there are only a handful of certified immigration consultants in Newfoundland and Labrador.⁴⁰

There is anecdotal evidence of unscrupulous consultants outside the province taking advantage of this lack of expertise and misrepresenting Canada's immigration programs to prospective immigrants and/or charging them exorbitant fees for dubious services.

Post-secondary educational institutions

Public colleges and universities play a key role in immigration by recruiting students from other countries to study in Canada, as well as faculty and staff to work here. Canada is currently ranked third in the world for the number of international students that it attracts, after the US and Australia⁴¹. In 2018, there were 570,000 international students in Canada, triple the number from a decade ago. The growth of the middle class in developing countries points to a continued growth in the demand for post-secondary education in Canada.⁴²

(At the time of this writing, the COVID-19 pandemic had interrupted the steady increase in international students to Canadian universities and colleges, with unknown impacts on the long-term trend.)

Research by the Canadian Bureau for International Education (CBIE) shows that international students choose Canada due to the country's strong quality of education, as well as its reputation as a multicultural and tolerant society. Another consideration is that while international students pay higher tuition than Canadian students, their overall expenses in Canada are lower than they would be in the United States, Australia, the United Kingdom or the European Union. A major reason for this is the Canadian dollar is weaker than the U.S. dollar, British pound, and the Euro.

Canada's advantage is also due to the comprehensive study-work-immigrate package that it offers international students. Unlike most other countries, Canada allows international students to work part-time during their studies so that they can support themselves financially. After completing their Canadian education, they are eligible for a Post-Graduation Work Permit that enables them to stay in Canada and pursue full-time employment opportunities for up to three years. International students who want to settle in Canada after graduation are awarded extra points in the federal Express Entry system.

Students are accepted into the country as temporary residents and are a ready source of permanent residents. In the first place, many come to study in Canada with the aim of remaining in the country post-graduation. Of those that don't, they may still be enticed to remain after acquisition of a Canadian degree or diploma and exposure to the society and the labour market. Some 60 percent of international students report that they are interested in becoming permanent residents of Canada after their studies.

An increased intake of international students will likely result in more becoming permanent residents due to the numerous immigration pathways offered to them. In 2018, 25 per cent of the nearly 90,000 people who received a federal invitation to apply for permanent residence through Express Entry were former international students.⁴³

However, while the demand for international education keeps rising, some cracks are appearing in the system. Some students are being accepted into programs without sufficient language skills, hampering their academic success. Some international students are experiencing difficulties finding employment during

their studies. And when international and Canadian students with similar demographics, educational qualifications and pre-graduation work experience were compared, it was shown that international students earned less than Canadian students six years after graduation.

Only about one-third of international students who graduated from a postsecondary program remained and worked in Canada six years after graduation.⁴⁴ Newfoundland and Labrador's retention rate is half that.⁴⁵

Other Gateways

The **K-12 education system** also plays a role in attracting younger students to Canada. Parents generally enroll their children so that they may learn English and graduate with a diploma that more or less guarantees admission to a university in Canada. Students are billeted with local families and pay tuition to the local school board.

The **Government of Canada** and **ordinary citizens**, the latter acting independently or in groups, can sponsor refugees to enter the country. Government-Sponsored Refugees are allocated across the country, as negotiated with the governments of the provinces and territories. Privately Sponsored Refugees settle where their sponsors reside; sponsors must guarantee that they can provide support to the refugee for at least a year.

Immigrants who have become **Permanent Residents** or **citizens** can sponsor close family members under the Family Class program. The more immigrants in an area, the more that can apply under this program. In provinces like Newfoundland and Labrador with many fewer immigrants, this program is much less used, creating a vicious cycle: fewer immigrants mean fewer sponsors which, in turn, means fewer new immigrants.

Francophone Immigration

According to the World Economic Forum, French is the third most "powerful" language in the world, based on geography, economy, communication, knowledge and media, and diplomacy.⁴⁶ This has implications on export markets and on immigration. It also has implications on the sources of refugees, as many Francophone countries in Africa are expected to continue experiencing social unrest.

The Francophone community of Canada is concentrated in the province of Quebec but also includes important minorities in many provinces. At the present time, 4% of the population outside Quebec consists of Francophones, and the Government of Canada has committed to maintaining this share by encouraging the immigration of Francophones to these regions. These regions are mostly rural or small urban and, in order to encourage immigration to these areas, the Government has exempted firms in these regions from certain bureaucratic procedures; for example, employers seeking to hire French-speaking workers under the Temporary Foreign Workers Program are exempt from requiring a Labour Market Impact Assessment before hiring.

Summary

There are two ways that citizens of other countries can enter Canada for extended periods: as permanent residents (immigrants) or as temporary residents. The first can remain in the country indefinitely while the latter must leave after a set period.

The Canadian Government is responsible for setting the number of immigrants to be accepted into the country every year as well as for determining the criteria to be used to select immigrants. Immigrants fall into three categories: economic (60%), refugees (15%) and family reunification (25%). The number of refugees sent to each province or territory is negotiated with the federal government.

The federal government delegates certain powers to the provinces and territories through the Provincial Nominee Program and, in Atlantic Canada, through the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program; this allows the provinces and territories to accelerate the permanent residence process for selected applicants.

Temporary residents consist of workers and students (and the dependents of both), visitors and others. An employer must prove that no local employee is available or qualified to fill a job vacancy before hiring a temporary foreign worker, or that the worker is exempt from such limitations for other reasons (e.g., being an internal transfer within a multinational corporation).

International students are accepted at the secondary and post-secondary levels in Canada. University students are allowed to work while studying and are eligible to remain in the country for three years after graduation to find permanent employment.

Temporary residents – being already familiar with the country – are a handy source of permanent residents and different programs at the federal and provincial levels assist those wishing to make the transition.

Employers and educational institutions are important gateways for economic immigrants and temporary residents. The federal government and citizens can sponsor refugees. And permanent residents, once into the country, can sponsor family members to also become permanent residents.

Finally, employers outside Quebec wishing to hire Francophone workers are exempt from certain bureaucratic requirements.

²⁸ <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/services/new-immigrants/pr-card/understand-pr-status.html>

²⁹ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/181210/dq181210a-eng.htm>

³⁰ <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/notices/supplementary-immigration-levels-2020.html>

³¹ <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/news/2020/10/government-of-canada-announces-plan-to-support-economic-recovery-through-immigration.html>

³² The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador does not have an “Investor” category under its Provincial Nominee Program.

³³ There is also the lesser-used category of refugees who are sponsored by both the federal government and private individuals (“Blended Visa Officer Referral”, or “BVOR”).

³⁴ Newfoundland and Labrador has the highest percentage of refugees to total immigration of any other province, at 19% in 2019.

³⁵ Express Entry is limited to the Federal Skilled Worker, the Federal Skilled Trade, the Canadian Experience Class and some Provincial Nominee Programs.

³⁶ <https://www.cicnews.com/2018/04/looming-u-s-crackdown-could-strip-right-to-work-from-thousands-of-foreign-worker-spouses-0410482.html#gs.8xc8xx>

³⁷ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2017389-eng.htm>

³⁸ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/180129/dq180129b-eng.htm>

³⁹ Author's interviews with employers in 2019.

⁴⁰ Work Global is the only immigration consulting firm based in the Newfoundland and Labrador. Some legal firms are developing expertise in the area of immigration law.

⁴¹ There is evidence that anti-immigrant attitudes and policies in the US and the UK — once the two most popular destinations for the more talented high school graduates from the Developing World — are helping to raise the profile of universities in Canada.

⁴² <https://cbie.ca/what-we-do/research/library/>

⁴³ <https://www.cicnews.com/2019/11/canadas-study-work-immigrate-advantage-1113156.html#gs.3m5vtp>

⁴⁴ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/pub/11f0019m/11f0019m2019019-eng.htm>

⁴⁵ Dr. Michael Hann, Department of Sociology, Western University, presentation at Memorial University of Newfoundland in January 2020.

⁴⁶ <https://www.weforum.org/agenda/2016/12/these-are-the-most-powerful-languages-in-the-world/>

Chapter Four: The Recent History of Immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador

It is illuminating to review the recent history of immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador in order to observe any long-term trends. This chapter will look at the trends in permanent residence since 1981 and the trends in temporary residence since 2000, as well as the current situation today.

Permanent Residents

While Canada is well known in the global immigration community, such is not the case with Newfoundland and Labrador. In the five-year period between 2011 and 2016, the period of greatest economic growth in the province and when oil and mineral prices were at their historic highs, the province attracted only 3,700 immigrants (an average of only 735 per year), or just 0.3% of all the immigrants to Canada.⁴⁷ This does not include the many temporary foreign workers whose companies transferred them to the province to build the offshore structures (among other projects) and who transferred out when the work was completed.

The number of immigrants in Newfoundland and Labrador has fluctuated since 1980 but has shown an overall pattern of increase since 2000 (Figure 19).⁴⁸ The peak in 1992-93 reflects the influx of Eastern European refugees who defected at the Gander International Airport at around the time of the fall of the Berlin Wall.

Over the entire period since 1980, the majority of immigrants have been of the economic category. Economic immigrants represented half of all immigrants in 1980 and two-thirds in 2019 (Figure 20).

However, while the numbers have grown, they remain minuscule in the national context. From 1980 to 2018, the province's share averaged about a third of a percent of all immigrants to Canada. In 2019, the percentage climbed to half a percent, at a time when the population of the province was 1½ % of the country's: while Canada received 330,800 permanent residents,⁴⁹ Newfoundland and Labrador received only 1,850.

As a result, the province has the lowest percentage of immigrants of any jurisdiction in Canada. In Newfoundland and Labrador, immigrants represent only 2.4% of the population, as opposed to Ontario at 29.1% and the Canadian average of 21.9 percent (Figure 21).⁵⁰

Figure 19 - Immigration to Newfoundland and Labrador, 1980-2019

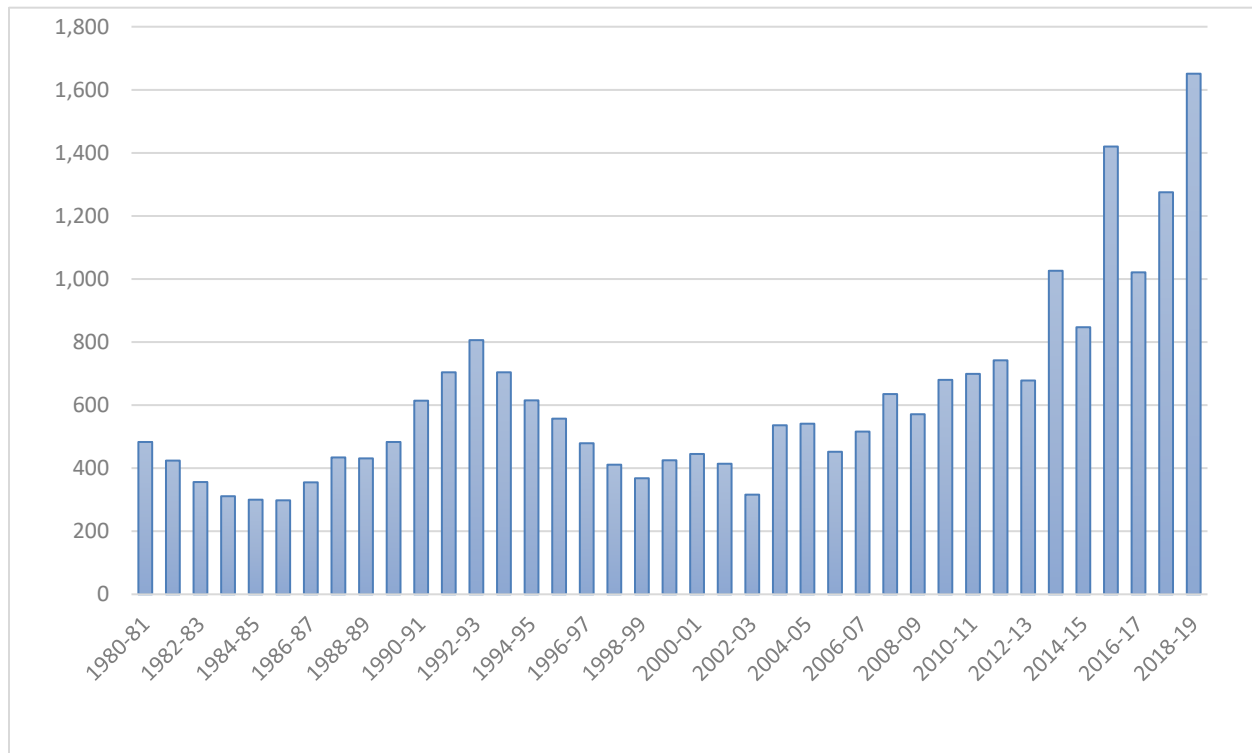


Figure 20 - Immigration to Newfoundland and Labrador by Type and Time Period

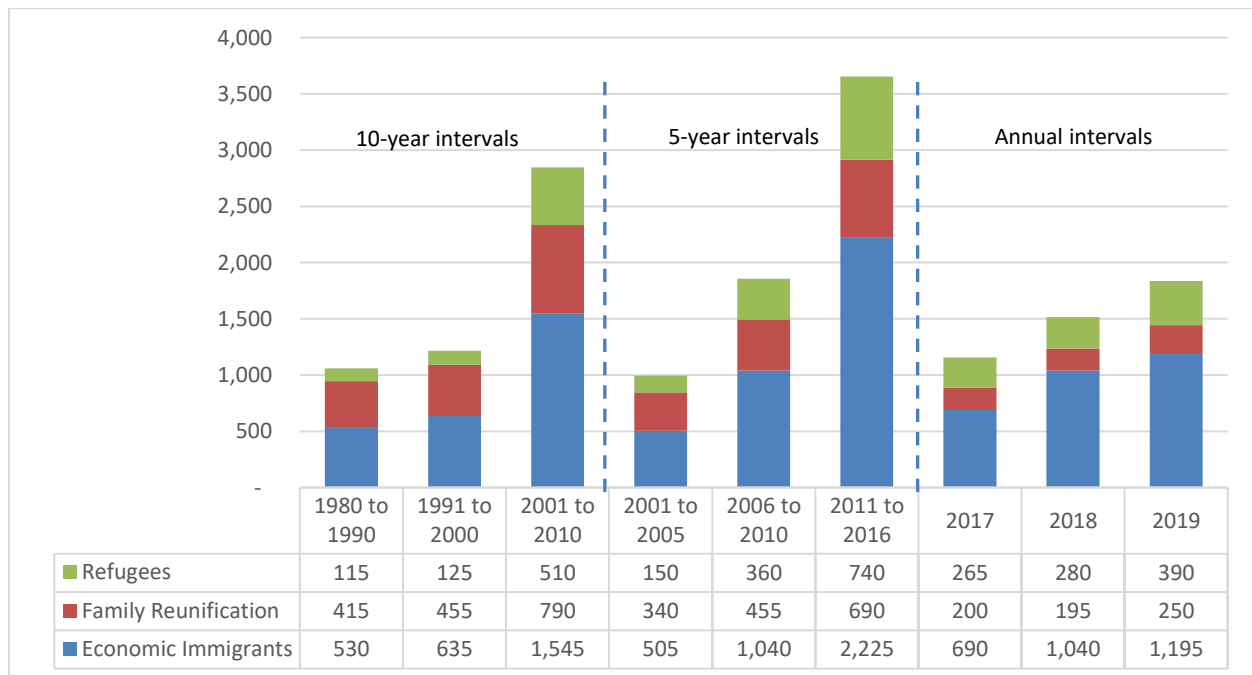
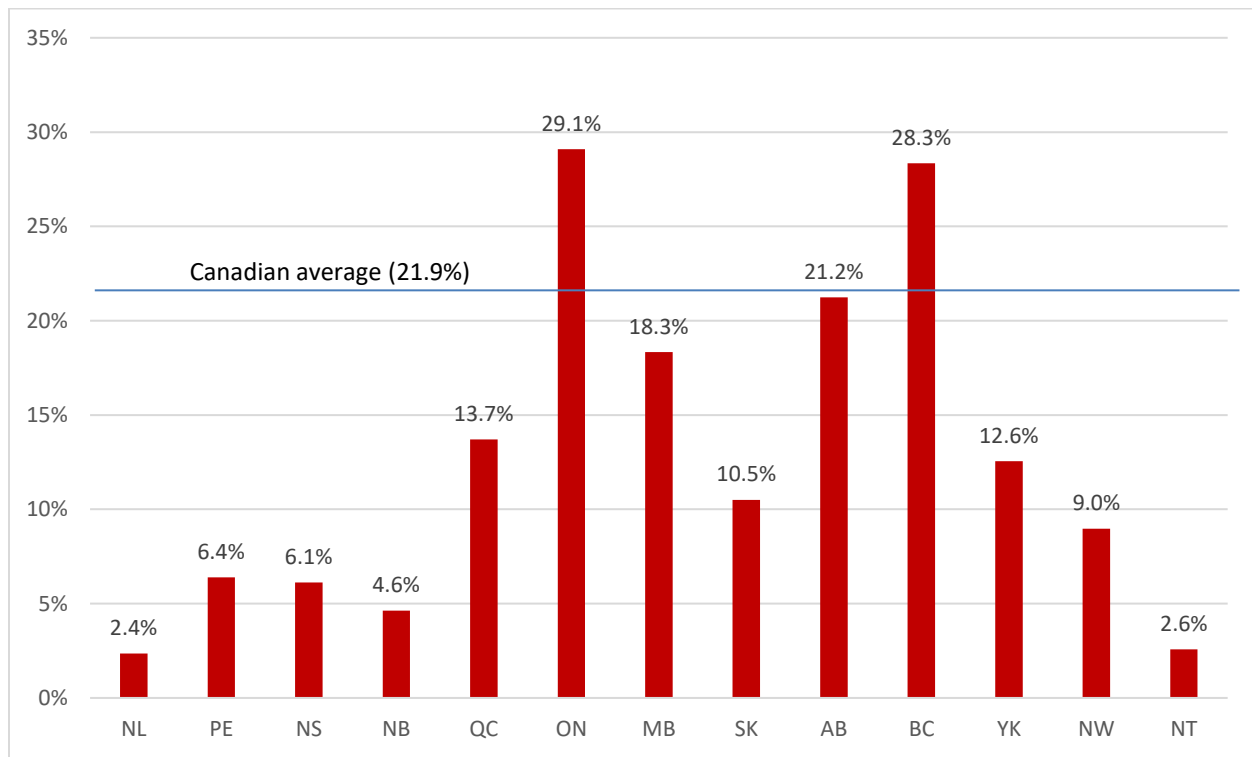
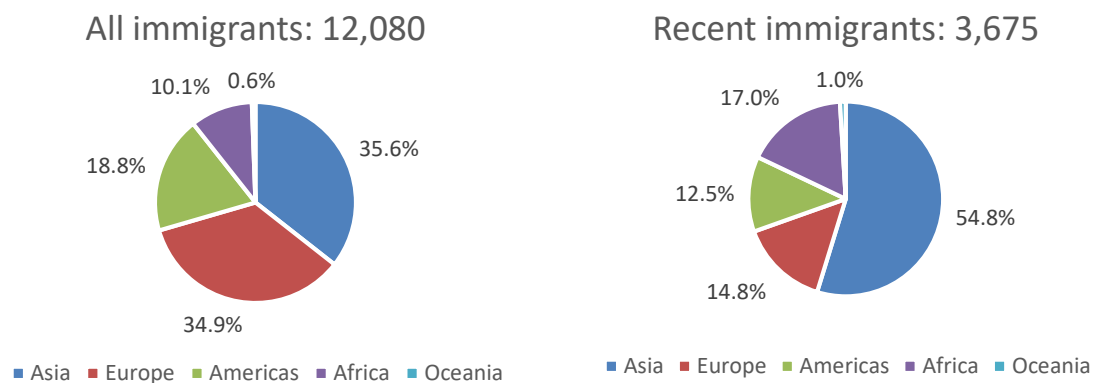


Figure 21 - Percentage of the Population that is Immigrant, by Province, 2016

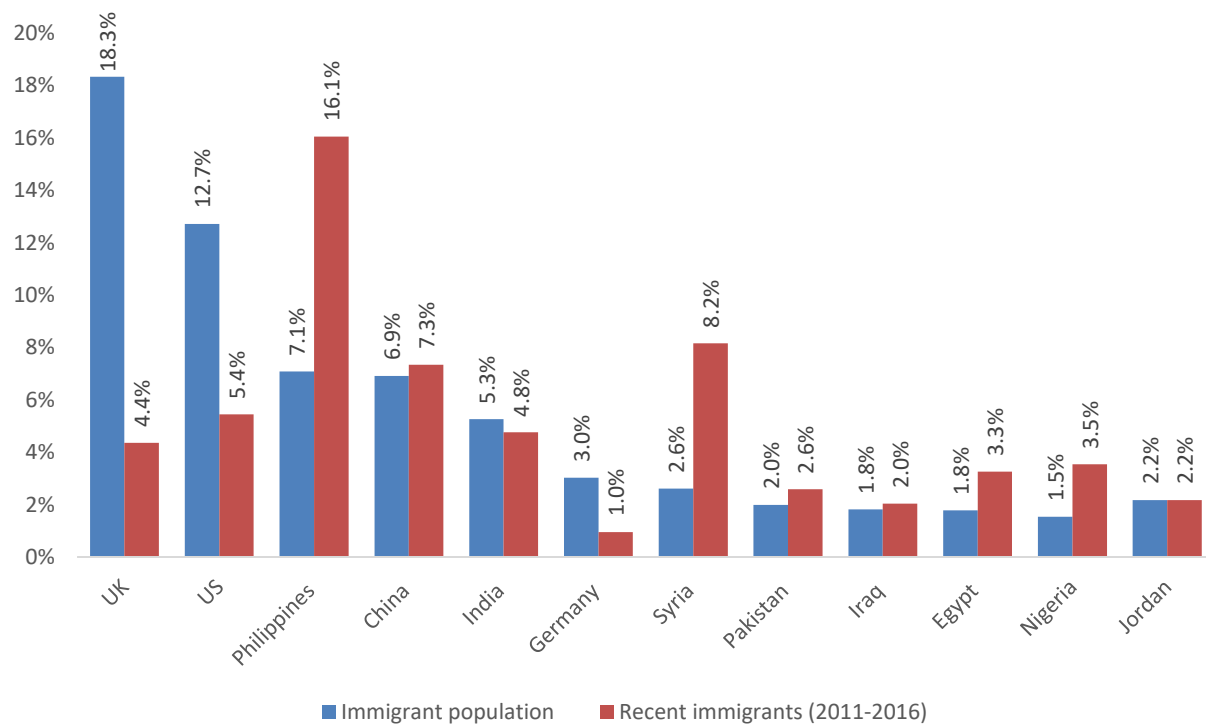


Prior to 2011, the majority (55%) of immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador were from Europe and the Americas, with another third coming from Asia. Since that time, the share of immigrants from Europe and the Americas has been cut in half (to 27%) and the number of immigrants from Asia and Africa has climbed to nearly three-quarters of the total in 2016 (Figure 22).

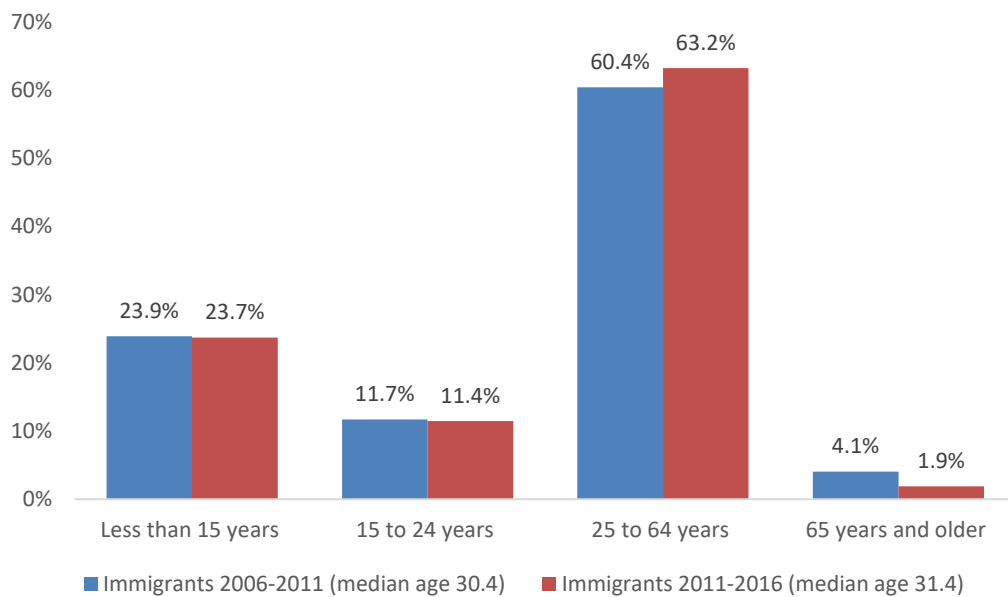
Figure 22 - Places of Birth of Immigrants



The growth in the Asian population comes mostly from the Philippines, China, India and Syria, while the growth in the African population has come mostly from Nigeria and Egypt (Figure 23).

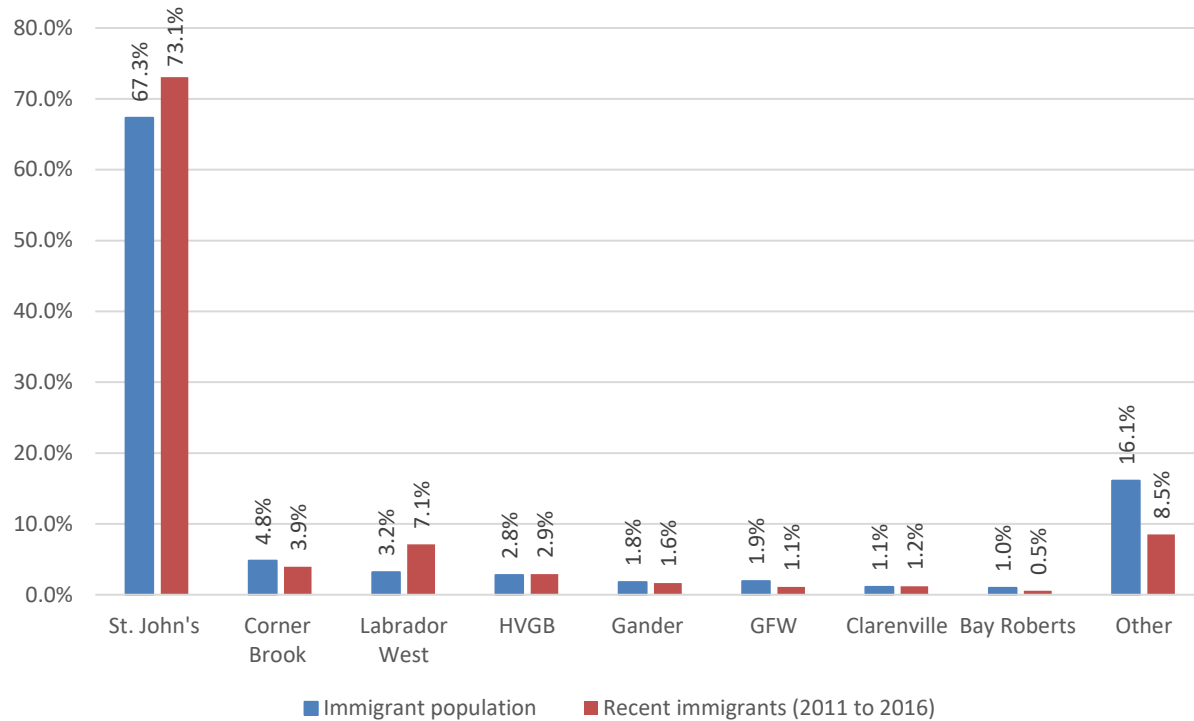
Figure 23 - Top Places of Birth of Immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador

The median age of immigrants is between 30 and 31 years of age, a full 15 years younger than the median age of the population of the province, at 45.6 years of age (Figure 24).

Figure 24 - Age Groups of Immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador

Nearly three-quarters of all recent immigrants have settled in the Northeast Avalon and most of the others have settled in the province's larger municipalities, where the availability of health care services is both an asset as well as an employment opportunity (Figure 25).⁵¹

Figure 25 - Where Immigrants Settled in Newfoundland and Labrador

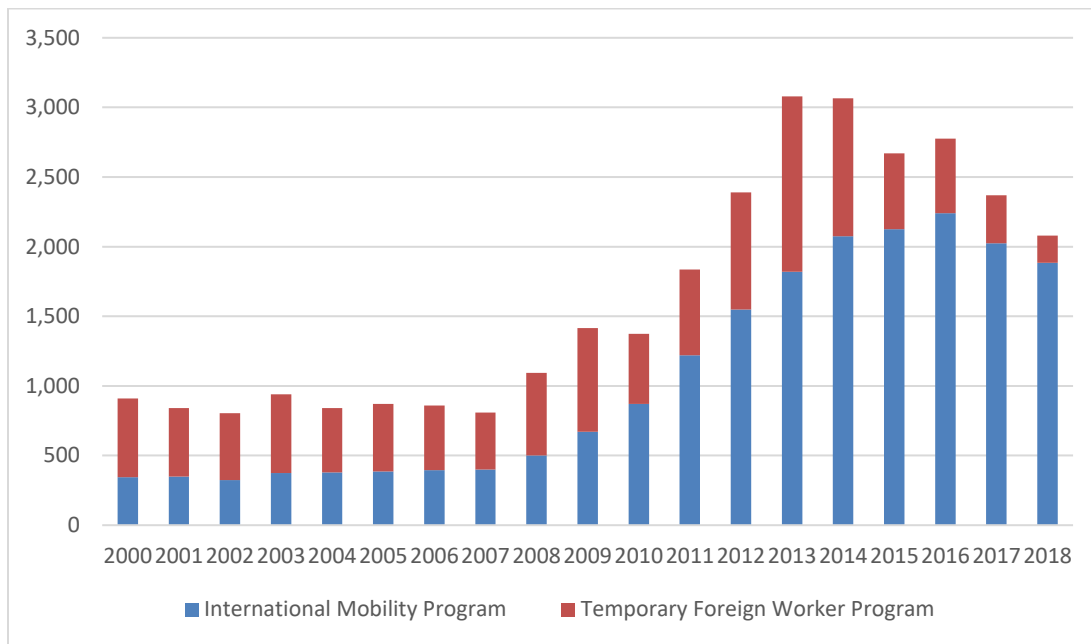


Temporary Residents

Workers

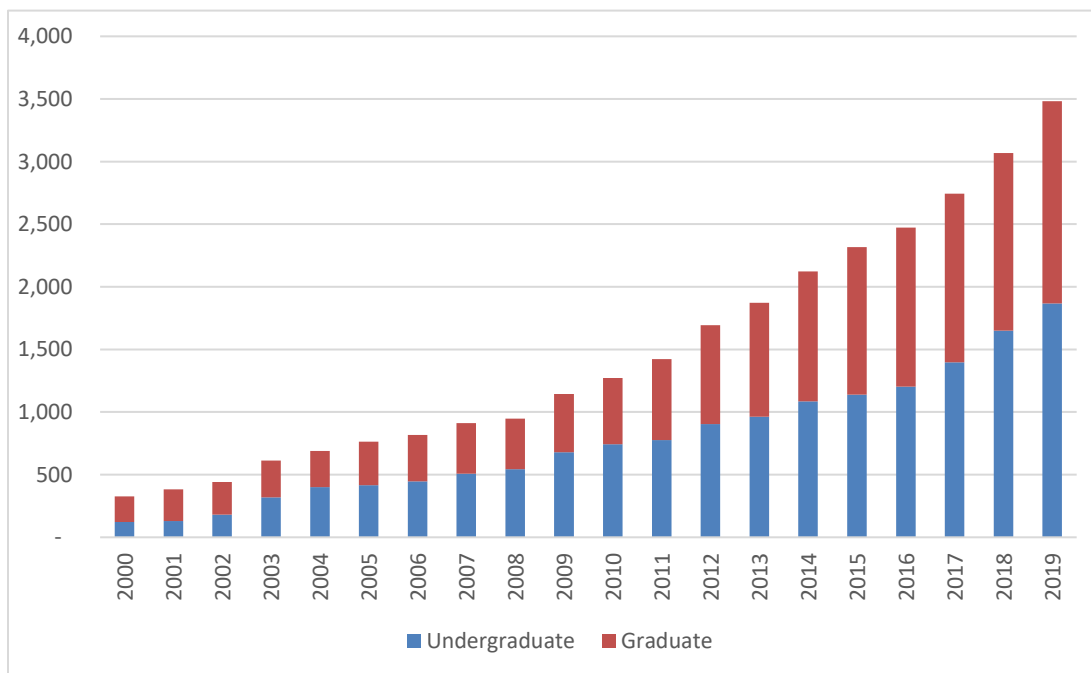
For most of the decade of the 2000s, the number of temporary workers hovered just under one thousand per year. Then, beginning in 2008, there was a rapid increase in their number, likely due to the construction of mega-projects such as the White Rose and Hebron offshore oil platforms and the Muskrat Falls hydroelectric project. The number of temporary residents peaked in 2014 and has been declining since; this is likely due to the completion of some of the mega-projects, the collapse of the “commodity super cycle” in 2015 as well as the general deceleration of the province's economy. The decline is also likely due to restrictions imposed by the Federal Government following abuses of the program by employers, who were replacing permanent local workers with lower-paid temporary foreign workers.⁵² In any event, the recent numbers remain twice the pre-2008 levels (Figure 26).

While the number of temporary residents has increased dramatically and remains at a historically higher level, the province's share never exceeded one percent of all temporary residents in Canada in any one year.

Figure 26 - Temporary Workers in Newfoundland and Labrador, 2000 to 2018

Students

One group that has seen a dramatic increase and where that rise continues is in the number of international students at **Memorial University of Newfoundland**. They have grown from fewer than 500 in 2000 to nearly 3,500 in 2019 (Figure 27). This number had been expected to grow to 3,800 or 4,000 by 2024, however, it is uncertain if or how the 2020 pandemic will impact this projection.

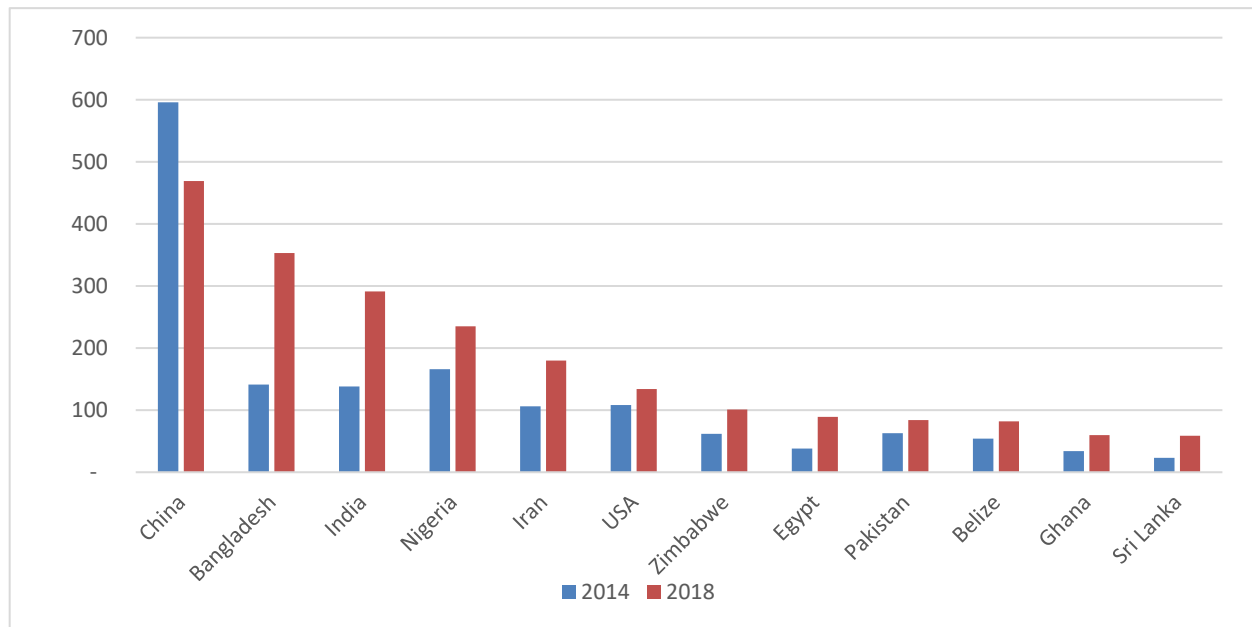
Figure 27 - International Students at Memorial University of Newfoundland, 2000 to 2019

The growth in the number of international students helps to counteract the decrease in the number of native-born high school graduates and helps maintain a high level of dynamism within the university. The growth in the number of international graduate students is particularly promising:

- They play an important role in research and public engagement. The more graduate students, the more such activities can occur.
- They graduate with a higher level of expertise than undergraduate students and can therefore step into more highly specialized positions in business, industry, government or the not-for-profit sector.
- Those that venture into entrepreneurship have the capacity to create more highly specialized and/or more advanced products or services.

The majority of international students come from China, however the countries of the Asian Sub-continent (India, Pakistan, Bangladesh and Sri Lanka) as a collective now surpass that country. Other source regions are Sub-Saharan Africa and the Middle East (Figure 28).

Figure 28 - Origins of International Students at MUN, 2014 and 2018



The increase in international students, faculty and staff at Memorial University has led the university to coordinate the internal operations of those units most involved: the Internationalization Office, the School of Graduate Studies, Faculty Relations, the Career Office, English-as-a-Second Language, the Housing Office, the Genesis incubator and the Centre for Entrepreneurship, among others.

The university's Internationalization Office provides a great deal of support to undergraduate and graduate students, and encourages them to remain in the province after graduation. The Office of Faculty Relations provides similar support and encouragement to faculty. In 2015, Memorial University ranked first among Canadian universities in the International Student Barometer, the global benchmark for international student experience, in the category of support from the graduate school.

Memorial University's Genesis Centre has been designated as a "referral partner" under Immigration,

Refugees and Citizenship Canada's Global Skills Strategy, that allows it to vet applications from highly skilled temporary workers wishing to enter the country. Under this program, applications for work permits are processed within a two-week period.

In 2019, there were fewer than a hundred international students at the **College of the North Atlantic**. The demand for education in the trades and technology is exploding in the Developing World, where birth rates remain high and where young people seek an education that is recognized in the Developed World. As a result, in 2019, the College undertook a more ambitious campaign to recruit international students. Its experience with the Qatar campus has given the College valuable expertise in post-secondary education in the global context, which should stand it in good stead when seeking to attract international students in its home province.

Given the decrease in high school graduates in the province, international students could become an important contributor in helping to sustain the College's network of 17 campuses, many of which are located in rural areas and some of which have low enrolments of native-born students.

International Education Newfoundland and Labrador (IENL) recruits students into the **English School District** from around the world. The province is perceived as a safe place with a good educational system, and graduating with a high school diploma from this province facilitates entry into universities and colleges in North America. There were approximately 450 students enrolled in this home-stay program in 2019, most of them attending schools in the Northeast Avalon region; this is a major increase over the past five years.

Francophone Immigration

The Francophone population of Newfoundland and Labrador makes up about 0.6% of the province's population. While it is concentrated mainly in the Northeast Avalon, the Port-au-Port Peninsula, Central Labrador and Labrador West, employers across the province seek out bilingual (English-French) employees to service tourists or to export goods or services. Approximately 5% of Provincial Nominees in Newfoundland and Labrador (around 50 economic immigrants per year) are Francophones.

Being able to be served in French increases the chances of a Francophone immigrant being recruited and settling in the province. Both the federal and provincial governments have the capability of processing applications in French, and settlement and retention are coordinated by the Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador (FFTNL), a non-governmental organization that represents the interests of the province's Francophone population (see page 59). The FFTNL is accredited by the Government of Canada to develop settlement plans for employers under the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program.

Thirty percent of refugees accepted into the province are from Francophone countries, but adults who spent many years in refugee camps may not be literate in that language. However, the ANC's language school only offers language training in English. This points to the need for French-language adult literacy classes.

The Provincial Government and Immigration

Prior to 2000, the main public policy issue related to human migration in the province was to stem out-migration. As demographic and labour market changes began to be felt in the early 2000s, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador began to take a more active role in attracting newcomers to the province.

In 2005, it created the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism (OIM) whose main role was to:

- Monitor immigration issues at the national and international levels.
- Advise government of immigration issues inside the province.
- Provide input into the government's labour market projections.
- Coordinate the number of Provincial Nominees and refugees (and later, AIPP candidates) with the Government of Canada.
- Process applications submitted under the Provincial Nominee Program and the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program.
- Promote Newfoundland and Labrador as a desirable place to emigrate (including working with Canadian consulates overseas and attending immigration fairs outside Canada).
- Assist communities and businesses to become more aware of the need for immigration and to become more welcoming to immigrants.

The growing global demand for petroleum and minerals from around 2000 to around 2014 (the “commodities supercycle”) brought increased investment to the province. The iron ore mines of Labrador West, the nickel mine in Voisey's Bay, the hydrometallurgical plant in Long Harbour and the offshore petroleum reservoirs off the east coast of Newfoundland were particularly active areas for investment. And in 2012, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador sanctioned the construction of the hydroelectric project at Muskrat Falls. All these mega-projects created a demand for labour that could not be met by the province's existing workforce.

Even though the provincial government had set up the OIM to increase immigration, most of the discourse around labour markets during this period was about hiring temporary foreign workers.⁵³ It seemed to be accepted that, during the construction phase of the mega-projects, the province would need a temporary workforce and the expectation was that many if not most of the foreign workers would leave afterwards to pursue other construction projects elsewhere. As a result, little effort was made to retain them or to convert them into permanent residents. The OIM seemed to be only tangentially involved with monitoring the level of temporary foreign workers and was actually downgraded in the early 2010s, which seems to confirm a loss of interest in permanent immigration on the part of the provincial government.

There seemed to be insufficient thought given to the long-term economy, other than living off the rents generated by the extraction of non-renewable natural resources. The construction of these projects clouded the fact that there were other areas in the economy where labour shortages were beginning to be felt, due to the retirement of the Baby Boomers and the growth of emerging industrial sectors such as information technology and biotechnology.

All through this period, the provincial government had proceeded very cautiously in regard to permanent immigration. It consistently negotiated levels of immigration that were far short of meeting the labour shortages that were beginning to be felt.

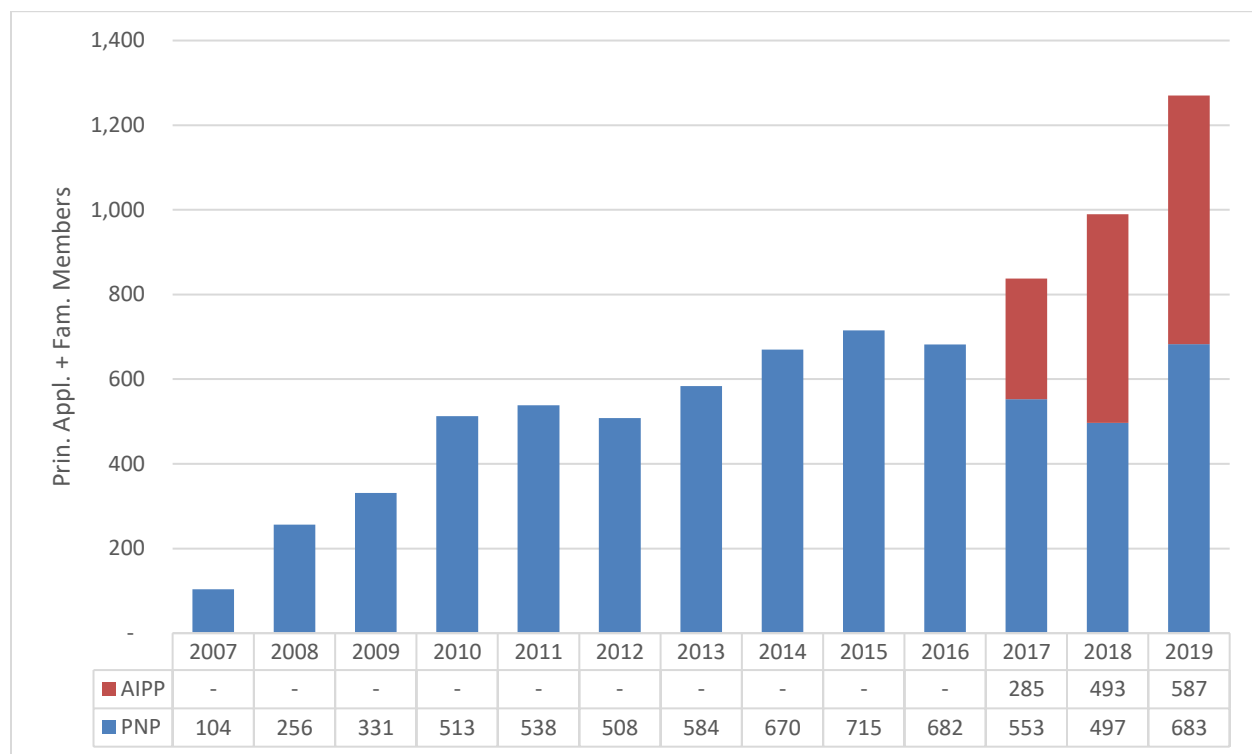
At the same time, provinces and territories with more aggressive immigration programs were negotiating much higher numbers of Provincial Nominees and refugees with the Government of Canada. Manitoba and Saskatchewan are two of the smaller provinces that grew their populations in this way. These provinces hired enough public servants to process immigration applications and were active early on in transitioning temporary residents into permanent status.

In 2017, the Provincial Government renewed its interest in immigration and issued *The Way Forward on Immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador*,⁵⁴ its strategy for increasing the number of immigrants to the province. This was the government's first comprehensive strategy that highlighted the need for immigrants and provided a plan for recruiting, settling and integrating them into the community. As part of this strategy, the OIM saw its resources enhanced, although not back to their original levels.

As of the time of writing, the province focuses on four categories of immigrants under the Provincial Nominee Program: Skilled Workers, International Graduates, International Entrepreneurs and International Graduate Entrepreneurs. There was a fifth category contemplated in the strategy — International Investors — however, the category is no longer listed on the government's website.⁵⁵

The strategy aimed to attract 1,700 immigrants by 2022; this number was reached three years early, in 2019.⁵⁶ In that year, over two-thirds of all immigration to the province consisted of applicants under the Provincial Nominee Program and the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program. Figure 29 shows the number of Provincial Nominees since 2007, when the program was first implemented, and the nominees under the AIPP since that program's establishment in 2017.⁵⁷

Figure 29 - Provincial Nominees in Newfoundland and Labrador, 2007 to 2019



As mentioned earlier, businesses were already complaining about the long processing time to assess nominees and the increase in applications created a backlog for the OIM's five Immigration Program Development Officers. Since May 2019, application processing times have been double the established standard, according to a CBC news report.⁵⁸

As well, some nominees under the two entrepreneurship programs complain of a lack of business expertise at the OIM, claiming that the office lacks the expertise to review business proposals that are submitted

as part of the application package.

Immigration's Impact on the Labour Supply

Not all immigrants enter the labour market, at least, not right away. Some are children, and others are stay-at-home parents. Some are university students who focus entirely on their studies and others are retirees. And some require extensive language training before being able to enter the workforce. However, by applying certain assumptions, it may be possible to estimate the number of people who enter the workforce either immediately upon entry into the country or soon thereafter.

Take 2019 – the province's best immigration year yet – as the reference:

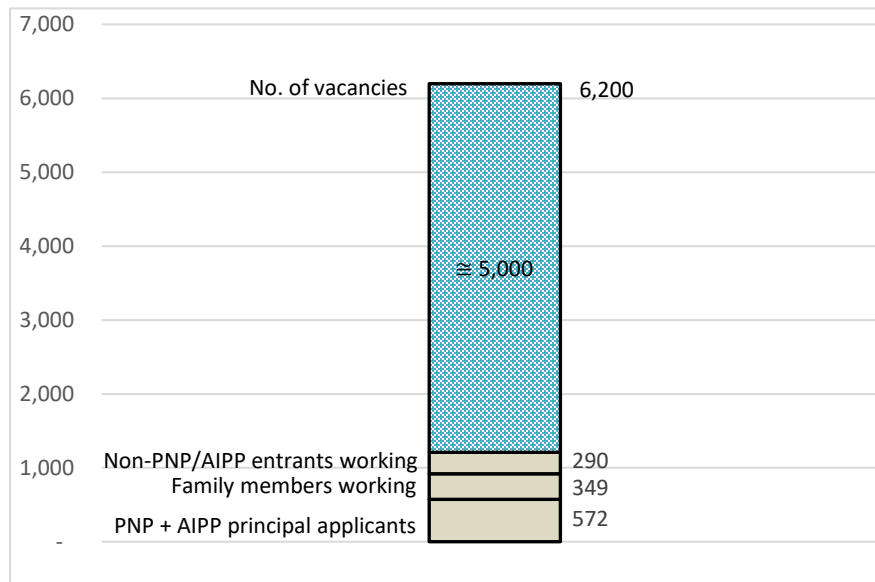
- There were 1,850 immigrants admitted into the province.
- The Provincial Nominee Program and the AIPP together accounted for 69% of this total, or 1,270 persons.
 - Principal applicants comprised 45% of this total, or 572 people.⁵⁹ (At the national level, principal applicants under the economic class represent only 25% of all immigrants.⁶⁰)
 - Of the other 55%, the family members, assume that half of these (349) are spouses who enter the labour market. This is likely a generous assumption, since dependents include children and stay-at-home spouses.
- The other 31%, the non-PNP entrants (580 people), are composed of other economic immigrants, refugees and family class members. Assume that half of these enter the labour market, or 290. This is also likely a generous assumption, since many refugee families include several school-aged children, many family class members are retired grandparents and some spouses will stay at home.

Adding all three categories (572 + 349 + 290) yields an estimated influx into the 2019 labour market of 1,211 people.

In its 2019 labour market projections, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador estimated that job vacancies would average about 6,200 per year in the coming decade. Using this estimate, it is clear that, at the current rate of immigration and even with generous assumptions, the province is at best attracting only enough immigrants to potentially fill 20% of the annual estimated job vacancies, leaving approximately 5,000 jobs per year on average unfilled (Figure 30). This is further evidence, if any were needed, that immigrants are not displacing native-born workers in the labour market.

(In the 3rd quarter of 2019, the Canadian Federation of Independent Business estimated that there were approximately 3,300 unfilled jobs in the province.⁶¹ This is less than the theoretical 5,000 shortfall anticipated by the provincial government, but is of the same order of magnitude.)

Figure 30 - Notional Shortfall to Meet Labour Market Demand, 2019



How are employers addressing this shortage? Is it by having existing staff work overtime? By curtailing hours of operation or delaying expansions? By contracting work outside the province? More research is needed to clarify the situation.

Finally, as shown in Figure 12 on page 13, more people left the labour force in 2020 than in 1995, and this trend is expected to continue into the foreseeable future. That is, even more people will be leaving the labour market in the future than entering it. This will make it even less likely that native-born workers will fill the anticipated 5,000-person annual vacancies.

Increasing Immigration Levels

If the province is to address its demographic deficit and fill its job vacancies, it will have to increase its immigrant recruitment activities. As stated earlier, Newfoundland and Labrador is not known to most people who wish to immigrate to Canada. As a result, it likely takes more effort to convince prospective candidates to settle here, even to inform them of the existence of the province.

The Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism processes applications for permanent residence from wherever they may originate in the world, but it focuses its proactive recruitment efforts in Western Europe, mostly by attending immigration fairs in France, Belgium and Ireland. However, it is clear from the recent pattern of immigration that this is not where the greatest potential can be found.

The low number of immigrants already in the province is a detriment to attracting more, since word of mouth is the strongest form of advertising. This means that the province has to attract “early adopters,” that is, people with a higher appetite for risk who are prepared to settle here in the absence of corroborating information from trusted peers. They can then serve as a “beachhead” for other, more risk-averse peers to join them later.

Concentrating recruitment efforts in a few countries of origin would allow the provincial government to maximize the impacts of its recruitment efforts. Its highly successful tourism advertising campaign could

serve as a model for an immigration recruitment campaign: a powerful message delivered to a targeted audience helped to dramatically increase the number of tourists visiting the province.

Concentrating recruitment efforts in a few select countries might also have the effect of creating a critical mass of people from those countries in the province. The theory is that this critical mass would reduce the incidence of immigrants wanting to leave because they would have more support from peers to settle into their new homes. The example of Syrian refugees is illuminating in this context: in 2015-16, Canada invited over 25,000 Syrian refugees into the country, and 181 settled in Newfoundland and Labrador. Four years later, 161 still remained in the province, for a retention rate of 89%, much higher than the 46% rate for all refugees (Table 2, page 65). While there may be several factors at play, it is likely that the presence of a large enough cohort from that country creates a critical mass of support.

Summary

The number of permanent residents has grown significantly in Newfoundland and Labrador, with the number of economic immigrants increasing faster than any other category. However, the number of all permanent residents is minuscule in the national context, comprising less than half a percent of the total number of immigrants (while the province's share of the national population is three times that).

The majority of immigrants to the province today are mainly from Asia (China, the Philippines and the Sub-continent) and Africa (Egypt and Nigeria). The vast majority settle in the Northeast Avalon with most of the others in communities along the Trans-Canada Highway or in Labrador's two largest towns. The average age of immigrants is 30 years old, a full 15 years younger than the median age in the province.

The number of temporary workers has increased substantially since the early 2000s and, while currently declining now that major construction projects are coming to an end, remains twice as high as it was in the early 2000s. The number of temporary workers in the province has never exceeded 1% of the number of such workers in the country during any one year.

For its part, the number of international students at Memorial University has grown seven-fold in the past twenty years and is projected to grow even more. The College of the North Atlantic is beginning to recruit international students for its seventeen campuses around the province.

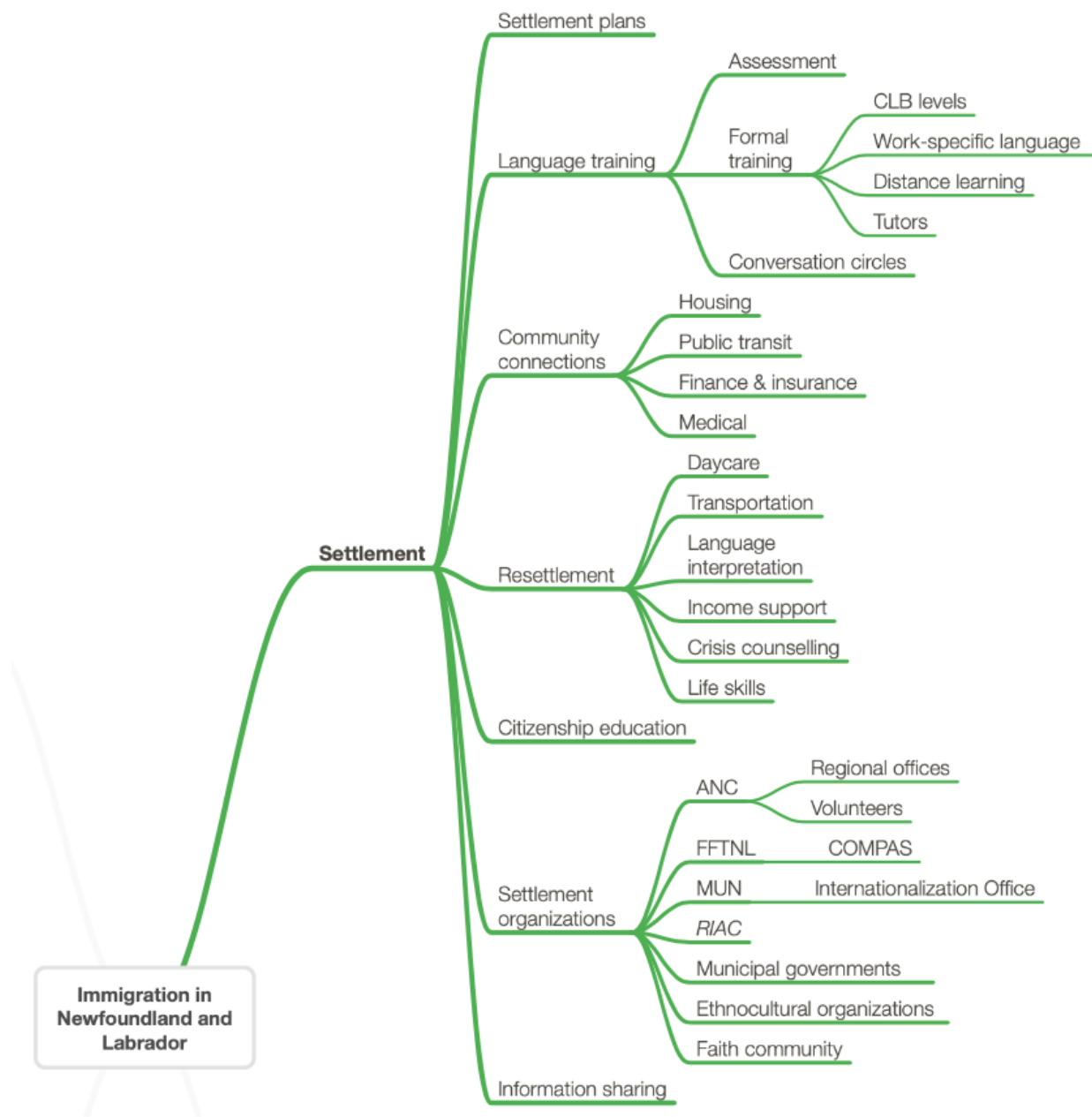
Given that temporary residents are a potential source of permanent residents, the decline in the number of foreign workers is worrying while the growth in the number of international students is encouraging.

While the number of immigrants has been increasing steadily in the province, it remains insufficient to meet the government's own annual estimate of labour demand, filling at most 20% of the job vacancies. It is unclear how employers are dealing with this labour shortage nor what impact the shortage will have for the long-term sustainability of the province. And, as the native-born labour force continues to shrink, the number of unfilled job vacancies will only continue to grow.

If the province is to address the demographic decline and to fill the job vacancies, it will have to increase its immigration targets and its recruitment efforts. It currently focuses its proactive recruitment efforts in Western Europe but that is not where the greatest potential lies. Focusing its efforts in a few target countries would allow it to maximize its impact and might also create a critical mass of ethnocultural peers who support each other and who wish to remain together in the province.

- ⁴⁷ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/cv.action?pid=1710000801#timeframe>
- ⁴⁸ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/as-sa/fogs-spg/Facts-PR-Eng.cfm?TOPIC=7&LANG=Eng&GK=PR&GC=10>
- ⁴⁹ <https://open.canada.ca/data/en/dataset/f7e5498e-0ad8-4417-85c9-9b8aff9b9eda>
- ⁵⁰ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/index.cfm?Lang=E>
- ⁵¹ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=1007013&Geo2=PR&Code2=10&SearchText=Clarenville&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&GeoLevel=PR&GeoCode=1007013&TABID=1&type=0>
- ⁵² <https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/jason-kenney-on-hot-seat-as-controversy-rages-over-temporary-foreign-workers-1.2625377>
- ⁵³ There was also talk about bringing back expatriate Newfoundlanders and Labradorians to move back permanently to work on future unspecified construction projects.
- ⁵⁴ https://www.gov.nl.ca/immigration/files/immigration_new_online.pdf
- ⁵⁵ <https://www.gov.nl.ca/immigration/immigrating-to-newfoundland-and-labrador/provincial-nominee-program/overview/>
- ⁵⁶ <https://www.cicnews.com/2019/08/newfoundland-and-labrador-expected-to-surpass-2022-immigration-target-this-year-0812611.html#gs.0x4ehe>
- ⁵⁷ Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism, Department of Advanced Education, Skills and Labour, June 2020.
- ⁵⁸ <https://www.cicnews.com/2019/08/newfoundland-and-labrador-expected-to-surpass-2022-immigration-target-this-year-0812611.html#gs.32hv1a>
- ⁵⁹ Ibid.
- ⁶⁰ https://www.cicnews.com/2020/03/how-do-we-know-if-immigrants-are-succeeding-in-canadas-economy-0313837.html?utm_source=newsletter&utm_medium=email&utm_campaign=newsletter-20200311
- ⁶¹ <https://www.cfib-fcei.ca/en/media/private-sector-still-plagued-labour-shortages-433000-jobs-went-unfilled-q3-2019>. The smallest firms, those with fewer than five employees, were having the hardest time recruiting workers.

Chapter Five: Settlement and Resettlement



Helping Newcomers Settle into their New Home

Newcomers to Newfoundland and Labrador have a great deal to learn about their new home. In what community or neighbourhood should they live? Is it better to rent than to own their home? Where can they obtain a mortgage? How can they resolve a conflict with their landlord? How can they get access to the Internet? Where will their children go to school? How does the public transit system work? Where do they obtain a driver's license and will they need to re-test? Are the costs of medical care covered and, if

so, which ones? What kinds of recreational activities are available for children?

There are a myriad of other questions to be answered in the process of settling into a new community and so, it is essential that newcomers have easily accessible sources of information to help guide them through the settlement process.

Ideally, the immigrant will have done some preliminary research about their new home prior to arrival and would have some idea of what awaits them upon arrival. The objective should be to obtain as much information ahead of time in order to avoid any negative surprises upon arrival, since unpleasant surprises may make one reconsider the decision to move to their new home and encourage them to move elsewhere at the first opportunity. In any event, no amount of preliminary research will answer each and every question that a newcomer may have.

Moving into a new community, especially if the newcomer is from a different climate, legal system or culture, can be a full-time job for several months or even the first few years. To help newcomers settle into their new homes as easily as possible, host communities often help by providing settlement and, in the case of refugees, resettlement assistance.

“Settlement” is the process of orienting the newcomer to his or her new home. It may involve activities such as:

- finding permanent housing and connecting utilities (electricity, water & sewer, cable, etc.);
- establishing a relationship with financial institutions (banks, insurance companies, credit cards issuers, etc.);
- establishing a relationship with health care providers (family physician, dentist, Medicare, emergency department, etc.);
- obtaining the necessary permits (driver’s license, passport/travel documents, etc.);
- acquiring language training, including work-specific language training;
- acquiring pre-employment training to enter the local labour market, such as résumé writing, interviewing skills, internships, etc.;
- becoming familiar with labour standards (hours of work, health & safety standards, work culture, etc.);
- finding employment;
- placing children in the appropriate school;
- understanding the public transit system;
- becoming familiar with local recreational and leisure activities, bank holidays, etc.;
- becoming familiar with the local weather and clothing requirements;
- receiving training on the citizenship test.

These settlement services can be provided by a wide range of persons or organizations: employers,⁶² labour unions, family members, friends, clergy, school boards, colleges or universities, professionals (e.g., real estate agents, insurance agents), immigrant settlement agencies, etc.

Some newcomers, such as highly skilled employees of multinational corporations, may have lived in communities that offer more or better public services, such as public transit, and may need help to adapt to the lower level of services available in the province.

Other newcomers, such as high-needs refugees, may require a great deal of assistance in navigating their new surroundings (for example, they may not be familiar with concepts such as mortgages or health insurance) and may require more basic and intensive language training over a longer period. As a result, the Government of Canada provides funding to not-for-profit organizations known as immigrant settlement organizations (see next section below) to deliver what is known as the Resettlement Assistance Program (RAP).

“Resettlement” is the term used by the Government of Canada to identify the process of helping refugees who may require additional assistance to become settled in their new home. In addition to some of the activities listed above, it includes:

- greeting the newcomer at the airport and escorting them to their temporary new home;
- the teaching of life skills (budgeting, work habits, etc.);
- childminding for young children while the parent is in school;
- local transportation to bring the parent (and pre-school child) to language training and initial medical appointments;
- liaison with the Faculty of Medicine for medical evaluation and assignment to a family physician;
- language interpretation when dealing with service providers;
- assistance to children in the K-12 school system;
- crisis counselling;
- referrals to key government and community programs.

In the absence of transportation, childcare, translation services, counselling, etc., it would be difficult for refugees to settle quickly into their new home and so, these services are subsidized by the federal government. Each refugee family is assessed as to its needs and a settlement plan is developed for it.

Many refugees are not in a position to work immediately upon arrival to their new home. As such, they may require some type of temporary income support on the same basis as that provided to native-born clients. This includes a monthly shelter allowance which corresponds to provincial shelter allowances, and a basic monthly allowance (for food and incidentals) which is determined by family size and age and corresponds to provincial Employment and Income Assistance rates. During their first year, this support is provided by the federal government and, after that, by provincial and municipal governments. Privately-Sponsored Refugees (PSRs), on the other hand, have their basic needs met by their sponsors for up to a year, or until they are self-sufficient, whichever comes first.

The type of refugee arriving in Canada has changed over the years. In the 1970s, for instance, many refugees were from Communist countries and arrived in Canada with a relatively high level of education in their own language. As such, they were relatively easier to resettle. The adoption of the *Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (IRPA)* in 2002 shifted the refugee selection process from the refugee's ability to resettle to their need for protection. Today's refugees may have spent all of their lives in a refugee camp and may not have received any formal education in their language at all. They may be in poorer health and may therefore require more services over a longer period in order to become settled in their new home.

Despite their having high needs upon arrival, refugees have proven to be extremely motivated to become contributing members of society and to enter into the labour market as quickly as possible. Refugees are

often perceived as being a long-term drain on public services, because they are perceived as being traumatized by their experiences in their home countries and therefore requiring extensive counselling. While this may be true for some, the reality is that most are very resilient and want to become productive citizens as soon as possible. Many take entry-level jobs for which they may be over-qualified, just to start earning an income. And there are many examples of refugees working two or three jobs in order to save money so that they can sponsor family members abroad under the Privately Sponsored Refugee program which, in this province, has become a *de facto* extended Family Class Program.

All persons who enter Canada as permanent residents are eligible to receive settlement (and, if refugees, resettlement) services funded by the Government of Canada.⁶³ These services are meant to accelerate the newcomers' integration into their new homes, in the hope that a smooth transition will result in the newcomers' decision to remain, and not to undertake a secondary migration to another province or country. (Having already moved once, it would not be that difficult to move again.) Permanent residents remain eligible for these services until they become Canadian citizens, at which point they cease being eligible.

Neither temporary residents (workers and students) nor their spouses are eligible for settlement services funded by the Government of Canada, including language training. In order to help retain temporary residents and to transform them into permanent residents, many provincial governments — including that of Newfoundland and Labrador — pay for settlement services for those temporary residents who are on track to transitioning to permanent status (for example, candidates in a Provincial Nominee Program or in the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program). While the primary applicant (the worker or student) may have the necessary language skills and social connections through work or school, the same may not be true of the applicant's spouse.

Organizations that Provide Settlement and Resettlement Services

Newcomers to any new home, especially one that is very different from their country of origin, need assistance to become settled in their new home. There is one organization in the province dedicated entirely to this task and two others for whom settlement is a part of their mandates. (A fourth organization ceased to operate in 2019.) Municipal governments also play a key role as do ethnocultural organizations and the faith community.

The **Association for New Canadians (ANC)** is the largest and best-funded immigrant-serving organization in the province. It was created in 1979 (as the Friends of Refugees) to resettle refugees from Vietnam after the Americans had left that country. Over the years, it has expanded to serve economic immigrants and reunified family members, and expanded into areas such as language testing, pre-employment training, recognizing foreign credentials and offering diversity training to communities and businesses. It is recognized by all stakeholders as the key non-governmental organization dealing with immigration in the province.

The ANC is a non-governmental, not-for-profit organization headquartered in St. John's. It operates a temporary residence for newly arrived refugees, a language school, a daycare, a transportation service and other services in the capital city. As well, it operates regional offices throughout the province, where it works mostly with economic immigrants, temporary workers, Privately Sponsored Refugees, AIPP applicants and international students. It provides settlement and resettlement services to refugees, economic immigrants, reunited family members, and temporary residents on track to becoming permanent. It provides these services with a mixture of about 120 professional staff members and nearly 400 active volunteers from the community.

The ANC has undertaken a number of ground-breaking projects to help newcomers adapt to their new environment, helping them obtain better health care, legal advice, housing, transportation and other services. It partners with the Faculty of Medicine's Gateway program, in which medical students offer health assessments to every refugee; this program has been extended to include dental and vision care, and medical students even undertook fundraising campaigns to purchase car seats and Vitamin D for newborns. It also partners with the Refugee Health Clinic that refers each refugee to a family doctor. Its Refugee Health Interest Group brings together nurses, social workers and other medical practitioners to provide services to refugees and identify gaps in service delivery. It partners with the Public Legal Information Association (PLIAN) to provide information on the legal rights of Canadians. The ANC's long-time founding leader has been recognized at the national and provincial levels for her work with refugees.

The ANC is a founding member of the Atlantic Region Association of Immigration Settlement Agencies (ARAISA), that shares expertise among its members in each of the Atlantic Provinces. The member organizations of ARAISA have been accredited by the Government of Canada to draft settlement plans for employers under the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program. And, as a founding member of, and the Newfoundland and Labrador representative on, the Canadian Immigrant Settlement Sector Alliance-Alliance canadienne du secteur de l'établissement des immigrants (CISSA-ACSEI), it is frequently consulted by both levels of government seeking advice on immigration matters in the province.

The **Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador (FFTNL)** is the organization that represents the interests of the Francophone community of the province. One of the priorities of the FFTNL is the settlement of Francophone immigrants to the province.

The FFTNL manages the COMPAS program that provides settlement services to Francophone newcomers, whether permanent or temporary residents, anywhere they may settle in the province. It has a staff of three people at its office in St. John's. It works closely with the ANC in resettling Francophone refugees and has also been accredited by the Government of Canada to provide settlement plans for businesses hiring Francophone or bilingual employees.

The FFTNL is a member of the Comité atlantique sur l'immigration francophone (CAIF) that coordinates the activities of similar organizations throughout Atlantic Canada.

Memorial University of Newfoundland (MUN) is probably the biggest gateway for newcomers into the province. Every year, it recruits hundreds of students as well as dozens of faculty members and other staff from outside the country. While immigration is a relatively small part of its overall operations, it still mobilizes a great deal of resources in recruiting and settling newcomers to the province. MUN offers ESL courses to students, helps all its newcomers with visa issues, provides settlement services to the spouses of employees and students, organizes events to encourage newcomers to stay in the province after graduation, and helps immigrants set up businesses in the province. Funding for these activities comes from a variety of sources, including tuition fees, the federal and provincial governments and the university's general budget.

Until 2019, the **Refugee and Immigration Advisory Council (RIAC)**, a charitable organization, provided language training, social orientation and settlement advice to newcomers who were not eligible for the subsidized programs of the ANC (such as temporary residents and their spouses) or who were on waiting lists for programs offered by the ANC. RIAC also operated a multicultural radio program and a number of

social enterprises (Creative Sewing Atelier, Art Gallery, an after-hours office cleaning service and a business incubator). It served about a thousand clients per year. For most of its 20-year existence, RIAC was not eligible to receive funding from either the federal or provincial governments and was dependent upon private donations. The organization finally closed its doors in 2019 due to lack of funding.

Municipal governments play a crucial role in helping to settle and integrate newcomers. Municipalities not only offer the most local of government services, like garbage collection, snow clearing and public transit, but also many services that bring people together in social settings, like parks, swimming pools, recreation centres, libraries, and festivals and other celebrations.

There exist a number of **ethnocultural organizations** that provide settlement and integration support to newcomers, usually by organizing social events like dinners, concerts and the like. Examples include the Chinese Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, the Nigerian-Canadian Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, the African Canadian Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, and the Multicultural Women's Organization of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The **faith community** also helps newcomers integrate into the Newfoundland and Labrador society. Organizations such as the Muslim Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, the St. John's Hindu Temple and the NFLD Sikh Society Gurdwara, as well as the long-established Christian churches of the province, are popular meeting places for newcomers.

Language Training

Given the importance of language training in the settlement process, a great deal of resources are invested in providing this training. The ability to communicate effectively is a necessity in all fields of life, from health care to education to employment to recreation to citizenship. That is why permanent residents (primary applicants and dependents) are eligible to receive language training paid for by the Government of Canada to help them settle in and integrate into their new community. Temporary residents on track to transition to permanent status are also eligible to receive language training subsidized by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Competency in the English language is an essential requirement for most jobs in the province. But it may still be possible for the immigrant to work while learning the language. If the work isn't public-facing (for example, working on an assembly line in a fish plant or in an after-hours office cleaning company), it may still be possible to work with a low language competency if there are co-workers from the same ethnocultural group with more developed language skills who can interpret with the employer. In this way, an immigrant might still be able to work before achieving full language competency in English. But full integration in the labour market will require competence in English.

The Association for New Canadians operates a language school in St. John's where it offers formal English classes. It uses the Canadian Language Benchmarks (CLB) standard, a descriptive scale of language ability in English-as-a-Second Language that marks progress along 12 benchmarks on a continuum from basic to advanced. The ANC offers language training up to and including CLB-6. Immigrants who are not literate in their own language (usually high-needs refugees) may first need to take up to three levels of foundation training before being admitted onto the CLB scale. In addition to the in-person classes offered in St. John's, the ANC offers language training via the Internet (the LINC program) and outreach ESL Tutors. The ANC also offers work-specific language training through its AXIS program to supplement the basic language training.

Memorial University also offers formal classes in English-as-a-Second Language (ESL) for students whose language competency is high enough to be able to understand university-level or professional communications and who are admitted to study at the university. It also offers some ESL training to the spouses of international students as well as to newly arrived spouses of faculty and staff.

MUN and the ANC offer conversation circles, where newcomers interact with local volunteers in an informal setting to perfect their English skills. COMPAS does the same with those seeking to improve their French-language skills.

All permanent residents who desire to become citizens must successfully pass a language test (in either English or French) administered by an independent third-party organization. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the Association for New Canadians is the only organization accredited to do this testing, in English only. The cost of this test is borne by the immigrant, who must travel to St. John's to take the test if residing elsewhere in the province. Persons wishing to take the test in French must travel to the Maritimes. Upon becoming a citizen, a person ceases to be eligible for federally-funded language training.

Summary

Settling into a new home is a time- and energy-consuming task. The newcomer is expected to process a great deal of information in a relatively short period of time. The ease with which newcomers settle into their new community may be a factor in whether they remain in that community over the long term. As such, governments invest resources in helping newcomers become oriented in their new community, in particular by funding immigrant settlement agencies – non-governmental, volunteer-run organizations that help newcomers become acclimatized to their new homes. Language training is an important service provided by these agencies.

“Settlement” includes the wide variety of information and services that newcomers need to become settled in their new home. “Resettlement” includes more intensive services that are provided to refugees, some of whom don't have the language skills (and possibly not the life skills) necessary to immediately integrate into the community.

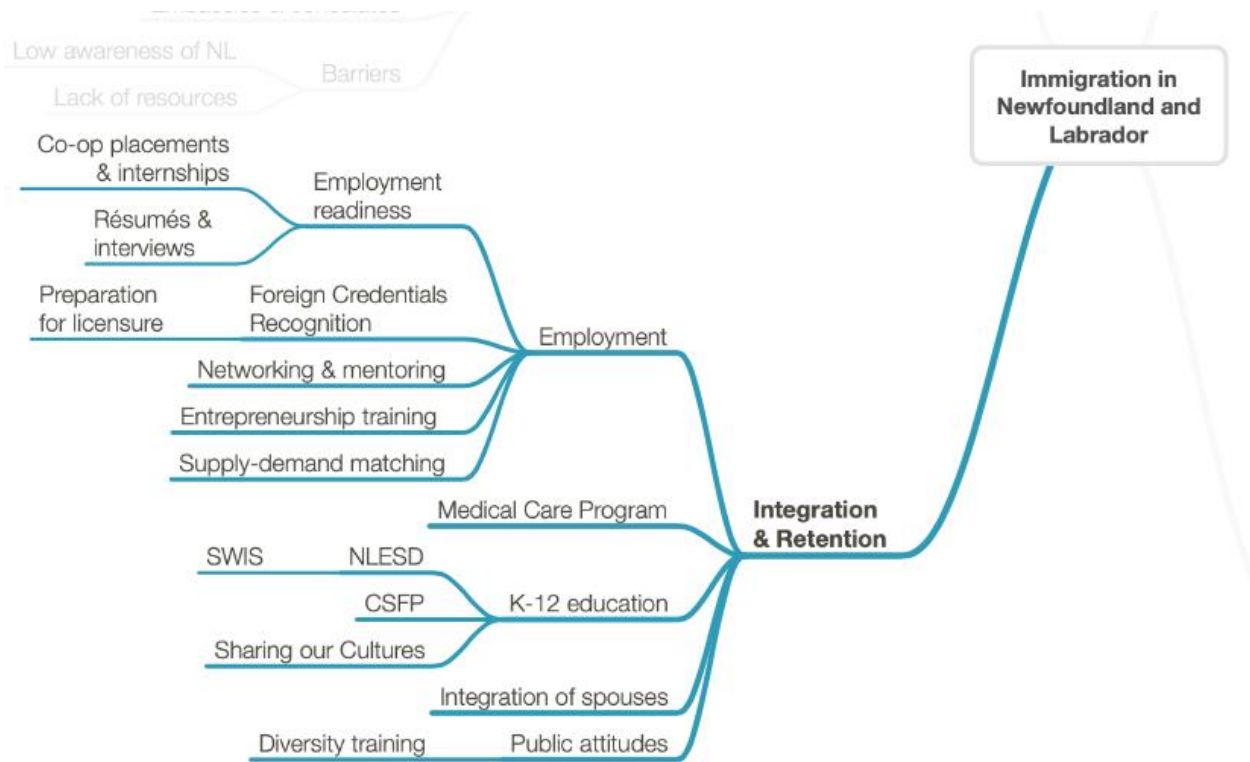
The largest immigrant settlement agency in Newfoundland and Labrador is the Association for New Canadians, which provides a wide range of settlement and resettlement services to permanent and temporary residents. The Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador provides a more limited number of settlement services to French-speaking permanent and temporary residents. Memorial University provides a wide variety of settlement services to students, faculty and staff who are recruited internationally.

Municipal governments, ethnocultural organizations and the faith community also provide useful services to help newcomers settle into their communities.

⁶² Under the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program, employers are explicitly expected to provide and/or to subsidize settlement services to their employees and their dependents.

⁶³ The federal government invests \$1.5 billion per year in settlement support for newcomers. Quebec's program is operated separately.

Chapter Six: Integration and Retention



Full integration is the state where a newcomer feels totally a part of the community. He feels comfortable using the pronoun “we” when talking about his community and feels comfortable advocating for the public welfare. He feels that he will be listened to and respected by his community peers. He feels welcome to participate in public activities, from zoning meetings to festivals. If a citizen, he may even consider running for elected office.

The process of integration is long-term but not every newcomer will decide to stay in the same community or province or even country over the long term. As can be seen from the previous chapter, society expends a great deal of effort to recruit and settle newcomers. Yet, all this effort is for naught if the newcomers don’t stay in their new home long enough to repay this social investment. This is why helping them settle into their new home and helping them feel part of the community is so necessary.

This chapter will look at five factors that play a role in determining whether or not an immigrant will remain in Newfoundland and Labrador: the availability of jobs, the availability of medical care insurance, the responsiveness of the K-12 education system, the integration of the spouse, and public attitudes towards immigrants.

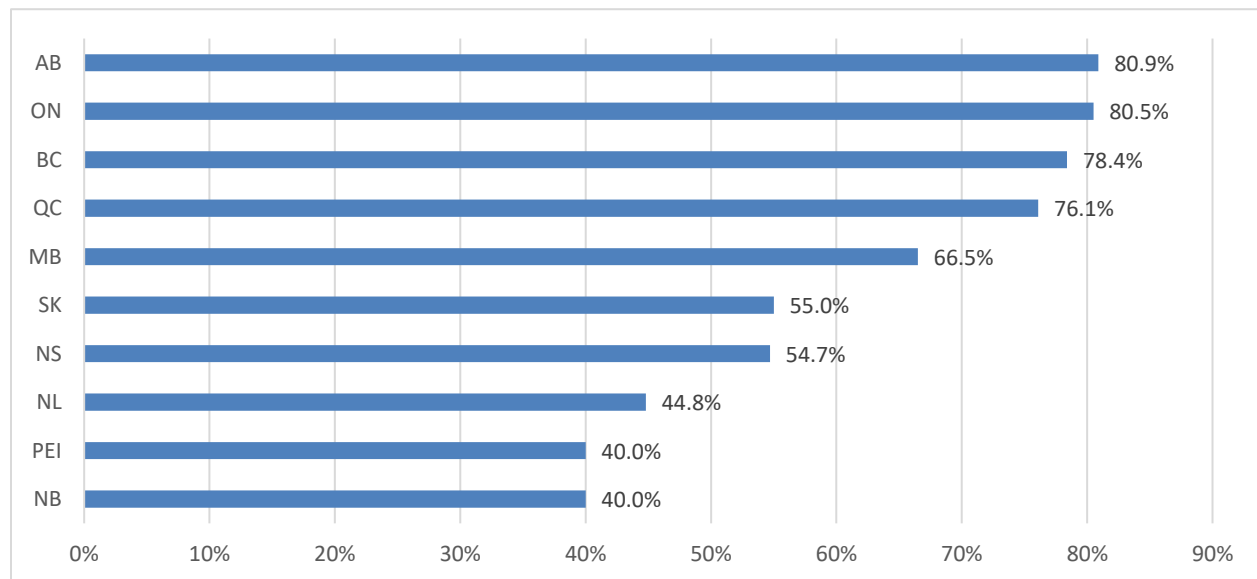
It will be instructive to begin by looking at what is known about the percentage of immigrants who remain in the province over the long term, that is, their retention rates.

Rates of Retention

Measuring the retention rate of immigrants is difficult. In the first place, it must be done over a sufficiently long period of time. But what constitutes an acceptable period: 5 years? 10 years? Longer? Secondly, how can we ensure that we are tracking the same individuals over this period without infringing on their privacy rights? Given these and other challenges, even Statistics Canada has difficulty measuring how long immigrants stay in the province where they first landed.

Dr. Michael Hann of Western University calculates the ten-year retention rates for immigrants who landed in Canada in 2001 as follows.⁶⁴

Figure 31 - Ten-Year Retention Rate of 2001 Landing Cohort, by Province



Another report, this one of tax filers undertaken in 2016, found that only 51% of immigrants admitted into Newfoundland and Labrador in 2011 were still resident there five years later. (The Canadian average was 86%, which means that 14% of immigrants had left the country).

Another study looking at interprovincial migration of immigrant tax filers showed that 76% of immigrants entering the province between 2013 and 2016 were still there by 2017, with the retention rates for economic immigrants being 71%, refugees 80% and family members 94%. This higher rate likely reflects the shorter periods being measured, from one year to four years. (The shorter the period, the more likely that an immigrant would still be present.)⁶⁵

Yet another study (Table 2) shows an overall retention rate of 80%. It compares the number of permanent residents who arrived in Newfoundland and Labrador between 2008 and 2013, and the number who were still resident in the province in 2013 (in other words, immigrants who were still in place up to five years after arrival).⁶⁶ The retention rate for family reunification immigrants was 95%, for economic immigrants (Skilled Workers + Provincial Nominees) 86% and for refugees 46%.

Table 2 - Retention and Net Inflow Rates by Immigrant Category: 2008-2013 Landings

Immigrant Category	Destined at Landing (a)	Out Migration from NL (b)	In Migration to NL (c)	Net Change (d = c - b)	% Change (d/a * 100)
Skilled Workers	435	165	215	50	111%
Canadian Experience Class	10	-	-	-	100%
Family Class immigrants	480	70	45	(25)	95%
Provincial Nominees	1,120	270	-	(270)	76%
Refugees	540	295	5	(290)	46%
Total	2,585	800	265	(535)	80%

While an 80% retention rate appears impressive, this score is the third lowest in the country using this methodology, after Prince Edward Island's 31% and New Brunswick's 74%. Nova Scotia's, Quebec's and Manitoba's retention rates between 2008 and 2013 were all around 90%, and Saskatchewan scored 97%. Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia all scored above 100%, meaning that they benefited from the secondary migration of immigrants who first landed in another province before settling in these three provinces. Newfoundland and Labrador's low retention rate is surprising given that the study period was when the province's economy was at its peak, that is, when the demand for workers would be highest and therefore its retention rate would be expected to be at its highest level.

The fact that Statistics Canada comes up with three different numbers for the retention rate of immigrants is evidence of the difficulty in determining this number. What is consistent among the studies, however, is that Newfoundland and Labrador does not retain 100% of the immigrants that it does initially attract and that the province's retention rate is among the lowest of all provinces. In other words, a larger number of immigrants end up leaving the province and moving to another province or outside the country than do immigrants to most other provinces.

Some of this secondary migration is due to factors beyond the province's control. For example, some immigrants may have family members elsewhere in the country that they wish to rejoin. But other factors are within the province's control: employment, medical insurance coverage, the education system's ability to meet increased demand, the spouse's integration, and public attitudes toward immigration.

Employment

The major factor in whether immigrants stay in the province or not is the state of the province's economy, which has traditionally offered fewer job opportunities than did other provinces.⁶⁷

There is a misconception that newcomers leave the province (1) at the first opportunity and (2) to rejoin their ethnocultural community in another province. But this is not the case. Most newcomers who leave do so as a last resort and to find employment. Most newcomers greatly value the level of personal safety offered in the province. They also frequently express the opinion that they feel welcome in the province. Contrary to popular opinion, the weather is a very minor factor in retention.

The fact that immigrants (as well as native-born people) leave mostly in order to find work is paradoxical given that the major complaint of employers in the province is the lack of workers. So, on the one hand, immigrants are leaving the province to look for work and, on the other, employers are crying out for workers. What explains this paradox? Is it that:

- Similar jobs offer better salaries and benefits in other provinces?
- Immigrants find the cost of living more expensive in Newfoundland and Labrador than in other provinces, especially related to food, transportation, childcare and taxation?
- Memorial University, the College of the North Atlantic and the private colleges are not preparing students for the work that is available in the province such that, when they graduate, students are not qualified for the positions on offer in the province?
- The labour market is not working properly in that those people looking for work are not being matched with the job vacancies, and vice-versa?

At present, there is insufficient research to demonstrate if any of the above reason or combination of reasons — or any other reason — adequately explains the low retention rate of immigrants in the province.

Permanent and temporary residents face barriers to employment that native-born job seekers are not subject to:

- Some employers may be reluctant to hire them because they are unsure of how the immigration process works and whether the candidates meet all the necessary administrative conditions to work in Canada. Others may be unsure about the candidate's language skills.
- Some employers may find it is too difficult, time-consuming or complicated to recruit internationally or to go through the process of transforming a temporary foreign worker or an international student into a permanent resident. Or it is too risky to do so because, once a permanent resident, an employee is free to move to another employer.
- Some employers may feel uncomfortable working with people from different cultures or feel that they wouldn't fit into the workplace or wouldn't be accepted by clients.
- Their academic credentials may not be recognized by local employers. (For example, does a welding certificate acquired in the Middle East qualify a person to practice in Canada?) This is doubly true for refugees, whose academic qualifications might be impossible to prove due to the destruction of records or the unwillingness of authorities in their home countries to provide them.
- Immigrants may not understand the cultural subtleties around such things as job résumés and job interviews. In some cultures, for example, it may be considered rude to promote one's accomplishments, making an applicant less competitive compared to local job seekers.
- Immigrants may not understand the often-subtle signals that advertise a job vacancy. Not all job vacancies are widely advertised; many depend on word-of-mouth among a relatively closed community. In the absence of a knowledgeable local connection, the immigrant would not even be aware of the vacancy.

In order to increase the chances of immigrants obtaining employment — and therefore of remaining in the province — several organizations provide assistance with job-readiness training, such as help with résumés and interviews, internships, foreign credential recognition and preparation for licensure (for the regulated professions):

- The AXIS program at the Association for New Canadians provides pre-employment training to immigrant job seekers, consisting of assistance with job seeking, résumé writing, interviewing, internships, foreign credentials recognition and other services.⁶⁸
- The St. John's Board of Trade operates the Connector Program that creates opportunities for job

seekers to meet with employers. The organization arranges for informal meetings between interested parties and, if the first employer doesn't have any current opportunities, he or she arranges a subsequent meeting with a colleague who may have an opportunity. A similar program in Halifax states that on average, a job seeker will find a job within four such meetings.⁶⁹

- Memorial University's professional schools (Engineering, Business Administration, Medicine, Education) and several other faculties incorporate Co-op programs and internships in their curricula. These programs seek out temporary employment for students (usually for the period of a semester) during which the student works for the employer; most such placements are remunerated. These opportunities are essentially semester-long interview processes; if the employer feels that the student adds value to the firm, the student may end up being offered a permanent job after graduation. Programs such as these are particularly valuable to international students by allowing them to accumulate Canadian work experience that counts toward their application for permanent residence.⁷⁰
- Memorial University also offers entrepreneurship training for those students — including international students — who wish to create their own employment opportunity. The university operates an incubator for high-tech projects, a Centre for Entrepreneurship and a Centre for Social Enterprise.⁷¹
- The Atlantic Canada Study and Stay™ Program provides international students in or entering their final year of study with the employment, entrepreneurship and immigration support, essential skills and resources they need to transition from "student" to "professional". The program is funded by the federal and provincial governments and is delivered by International Education NL.⁷²

One important factor is to have the immigrant's academic and work experience recognized formally before arriving in the country. Canada has made great strides in the past decade in comparing foreign academic credentials with their presumptive equivalents in this country. There are now formal processes where potential immigrants may submit their credentials and have them assessed in light of Canadian standards. This does not guarantee that the newcomers will automatically step into jobs for which they are qualified, but it does communicate to potential employers that the candidates meet the requirements for the particular discipline or trade.

Prospective international students expect support from their educational institutions to secure employment after graduation, particularly in the form of assistance to establish professional connections in Canada. To fulfill this expectation, mentorship and networking opportunities to build professional connections are crucial.⁷³

Five out of six international graduates leave Newfoundland and Labrador shortly after graduation, for the most part because of the lack of employment opportunities in the province. In order to increase their retention, efforts should be directed toward encouraging them to begin their employment search long before graduation. Co-op placements and internships are mostly available only at the undergraduate level; master's and PhD students often do not have access to these pre-employment programs. As Memorial University increases its recruitment of master's and PhD students, it may need to provide more opportunities to connect students at these levels with employers while they are still studying.

If Newfoundland and Labrador is serious in attracting and retaining immigrants, it will need to do more to (1) create employment opportunities for them, (2) improve the job matching process, (3) prepare immigrants for the Canadian labour market and (4) recognize their academic credentials and, where lacking, offer pathways to upgrade their qualifications.

Medical Care Insurance

Permanent Residents

Permanent residents are eligible to enroll in Newfoundland and Labrador's Medical Care Program (MCP). This program covers doctors' fees and hospitalization costs.⁷⁴

The main complaint expressed by permanent residents regarding MCP is of occasional delays in enrolling into the program; without their MCP card, they cannot obtain services from most health care providers or hospitals. The delay is most often caused by a delay in receiving the Permanent Residence card, which is not issued upon arrival in Canada but takes a few weeks to process.

Despite being covered by MCP, some high-needs refugees may have specific problems with the health care system. As previously discussed, refugees are accepted into the country for humanitarian reasons, without regard to their competency in either of Canada's two official languages. As a result, many if not most refugees arrive in the province without a sufficient knowledge of either official language.

This language barrier has been known to cause difficulties in getting care: an appointment with a refugee can take twice as long as the average appointment, for the same remuneration to the doctor; health histories are more difficult to obtain and diagnoses may be more difficult as a result. And sometimes the language barrier can only be addressed by a child or a member of the same ethnic community acting as translator, which may create confidentiality problems. Professional telephone interpretation is available in many languages; however, the General Practitioner must be authorized to use this service by the Medical Care Board, an additional administrative task that some GPs may not be prepared to assume.⁷⁵

International Students

The availability of affordable health care is a major factor — and sometimes a major barrier — in transitioning international students, who are temporary residents, into permanent residents.

International students are only eligible to enroll in MCP if their study permit is for at least a full year. This is not generally a problem since study permits are usually for a year or more. But complications can arise when the study permit and the period of MCP coverage get out of sync, which may leave the student without health insurance. Take the case of a student whose MCP coverage lasts for the duration of her study permit but who requires an additional semester to complete her degree — a not unusual situation. She would then not be eligible for an extension of health coverage since the added semester is less than MCP's minimum coverage period of a year.

Students in this situation may purchase medical insurance on a semester basis. Guard Me is the most popular provider of this kind of insurance in the province since it does not require pre-coverage by MCP, which many other competitors insist upon. It offers coverage similar to MCP's but unlike MCP, does not cover pre-existing conditions, which may be a problem for some students.

Problems also arise upon graduation, when most study permits expire. Ideally, graduates will be offered full-time jobs in their fields of study of at least a full year's duration, making them eligible for MCP coverage. They would then have the leisure to apply for permanent residence under the Express Entry program, the Provincial Nominee Program or the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program, all the while being covered by MCP.

But the ideal situation doesn't always come about. Sometimes, a graduate will be offered only a seasonal or

a part-time position that doesn't meet the conditions for MCP coverage. (Again, this is not an unusual situation; think of all the native-born graduates who have worked part-time as waiters or retail assistants or as seasonal tree planters before landing a permanent job – all the while being covered by MCP.) Without a year-long work permit and a current full-time job offer, former students become ineligible for coverage under MCP.

Most graduates will not risk the chance of becoming injured, sick or pregnant once their MCP coverage expires and thereby facing large medical bills in addition to their student debt. If medical care coverage is tied to employment and if employment is more readily available in another province, then the graduate will be enticed to move in order not simply to work, but also to be covered by that province's medical care plan. And it is not just the student that is at risk. Those with spouses or children would be risking even more. A graduate might be willing to work part-time or seasonally to remain in the province, but not if that form of employment precludes them from being covered by public health insurance.

Another group that is at risk are international students who wish to become self-employed entrepreneurs. Some of these are graduates at the master's or PhD level who are highly qualified in their disciplines. They would be assets to the province as the economy restructures into new areas such as information technology, biotechnology, materials science, etc., and as the labour force transitions from "résumé" to "business plan". The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has recognized their potential contributions to the economy by creating the International Graduate Entrepreneur category under the Provincial Nominee Program. These students are not looking for an employer; in fact, working for someone else would sidetrack them from their goal of starting their own firm. However, once they graduate (and their MCP period expires), they become ineligible for MCP coverage.

One work-around is for the graduate entrepreneur to incorporate a business and hire herself as an employee. The company could then issue her an offer of full-time employment. However, this requires finding partners: under Provincial law, at least 25% of a company's directors must be Canadian citizens or permanent residents.⁷⁶ This means that the person with the entrepreneurial vision must dilute her ownership of the business from 100% to at most 75%, a condition that many a budding entrepreneur may find objectionable.

If an important part of the province's strategy is to transition temporary residents into permanent residents, better coordination will need to take place with the Medical Care Program.

K-12 Education

Schools play an essential role in helping to integrate immigrant children and families into the host society. They are among the first state institutions that come into contact with immigrants and likely the institution with the most frequent contact with families. Their ability to expand in order to absorb more immigrants is an important factor in making newcomers feel welcome in their new homes.

There are two school boards in Newfoundland and Labrador, both with a province-wide mandate. The **Newfoundland and Labrador English School District (NLESD)** serves about 65,000 students in about 250 schools while the **Conseil Scolaire Francophone Provincial (CSFP)** serves about 400 students in six schools.

Both school boards recognize the benefits of having diversity in their schools and welcome international students from every culture and at every educational level. Fellow students learn about other cultures in a more immediate and intimate way than by simply taking a course in World Geography. And over the

long term, the school system can help change attitudes to make the province more welcoming to newcomers.

Immigrant students who are eligible to attend the Francophone school system mostly end up in the English school system; in 2019, only about two percent of the CSFP's student body consisted of immigrants, none of whom were refugees. Currently, all refugee children are sent by the ANC to the English school system, where the ANC manages the Settlement Worker in the Schools (SWIS) program. This is an after-school program that helps immigrant children who are studying English-as-a-Second Language or who require assistance completing homework. The program is delivered in a number of schools throughout the school year. The program also allows non-immigrant school children the opportunity to interact with their immigrant peers in a social setting.

Sharing Our Cultures/À la découverte de nos cultures is another after-school program that aims to help integrate immigrant children into society and increase awareness about cultural diversity in the schools. The program operates in both school boards and organizes cultural and recreational activities that bring immigrant and native-born students together. Since 1999, over 35,000 school children in Newfoundland and Labrador have participated in the program. The program is organized by a not-for-profit organization funded by both the federal and provincial governments.

The NLESD takes in children and youth from Kindergarten to Grade 12. Children are assessed upon entry into the system and those aged Kindergarten to Grade 6 are placed directly in the classroom while those in Grades 7-12 may be placed in the LEARN program (LEarn Academic Readiness for Newcomers) until their English-language skills are sufficient for them to integrate full-time in the regular classroom.⁷⁷

Under the LEARN program, students participate in the regular classroom for courses that do not absolutely require advanced language skills (physical education, music, art, etc.) and otherwise leave their classmates to undertake intensive study in English-as-a-Second Language (ESL). The LEARN program is now available in four junior high schools and three high schools, all in the St. John's Metropolitan Area. At present, there are ten ESL teachers carrying a case load of about 450 students; 45 students per teacher is considered a heavy case load. The ESL courses cease during the summer vacation.

While the program has been highly successful since its inception a few years ago, it is in need of a major review and increased investment. For one thing, the number of international students is rising faster than the number of ESL teachers; in the 2019-20 academic year, there were 70 more international students than in the previous year, but no additional ESL teachers or speech language pathologists were hired to meet the increased demand for services.

Unfortunately for resource allocation purposes, immigrants tend to arrive at all times of the year — not just at the beginning of a semester — and in unanticipated numbers. This poses difficulties to the NLESD, as teachers may need to take on additional students mid-year and might even need to be relocated to a different school, depending upon where the refugee families are housed in relation to school catchment areas.

In the 2019-20 academic year, there were about 250 refugee children in the English school system. Some of these children are fleeing a war zone and may have been traumatized. This creates a need for more educational psychologists.

It is estimated that overall, taking account of all children in the school district (immigrant and native-born),

a quarter of students have diagnosed exceptionalities that require the teacher's attention. Of these, 15% require a targeted approach (e.g., to treat ADHD) and 5% require intensive care (e.g., a severely autistic child or a traumatized refugee). Only a handful of teachers have taken professional development in trauma-informed learning.

The province of New Brunswick has dealt with the issue of exceptionalities by creating an integrated service model of forty teams that operate year-round throughout the province, composed of psychologists, speech-language pathologists, social workers, medical practitioners, etc., who all work with teachers and administrators in a child-focused approach. This level of cooperation is not yet in place in Newfoundland and Labrador, where specialists operate in silos and where services are not available during the summer.

The Spouse's Integration

Employers seek to recruit economic immigrants and temporary workers to fill vacant positions, and these workers are often accompanied by spouses and dependents. When approving the primary applicant, the Government of Canada selects for linguistic ability in either French or English. An employer would do the same for a temporary worker. This is to ensure that newcomers are able to communicate effectively with their employer, co-workers, clients and/or suppliers. They may require some upgrading in job-specific language skills, but the assumption is that they have a basic level of competency. This helps to reduce the costs of settling these immigrants, since they have less need for language training. Their children will also be accepted into the K-12 school system, where they will learn English or French.

While the primary applicant may have the necessary linguistic ability and a job, and while the children will learn English or French in school, the spouse may not have sufficient language capability and may then feel uncomfortable leaving the house and integrating into the community. Often, the newcomer family is without an extended family, making the spouse even more isolated and overwhelmed when the principal applicant is at work and the children are at school. Should this situation persist, it enhances the chances that the family will seek to join its ethnocultural community elsewhere in the country.

Spouses who are permanent residents are eligible to receive free language training paid for by the Government of Canada. This is not the case, however, with the spouses of temporary foreign workers or the spouses of post-secondary education students who, as temporary residents, are not eligible for this subsidized service. This is a disincentive for the spouses to learn English and increases the chances that the family will move to another province once the primary applicant's work contract or study permit expires. To address this situation, several provincial governments – including the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador – provide funding for language training in order to encourage the family to stay and to apply for permanent residence. Improved language skills also enhance the spouse's ability to access the labour market. In Newfoundland and Labrador, language training for temporary residents is provided by the ANC.

If there are pre-school children in the family, it is likely the spouse of the primary applicant who is responsible for looking after them. In order to facilitate their participation in language classes and other settlement services, the ANC provides a daycare centre to look after the children while the spouse is in class and also provides free transportation to and from the language school.

One idea to help integrate the spouse into the community might be to bring back the "welcome wagon". This program, popular during the time of the Baby Boom, provided an opportunity for local stay-at-home moms to meet face-to-face with the newly arrived stay-at-home moms. The host moms provided the newcomers with a basket of products that were donated by local suppliers. Of course, the program

would need to be revised for modern realities and modern families (e.g., to not be as gendered and to meet outside the home).

Spouses are ignored at our peril, as there is overwhelming anecdotal evidence about their role in determining whether or not the family will remain in its new home or whether it will leave.

Public Attitudes

Another major factor in integrating and retaining immigrants is public attitudes towards immigration. The retention of immigrants is the responsibility of the entire society, and not only of governments and immigrant settlement organizations. If newcomers do not feel at home in their new community, they are more likely to move away at the first opportunity.

A survey undertaken by Environics Research in February 2018 showed that 63% of Canadians believe that immigration levels are about right (in Atlantic Canada, the level was even higher, at 71%), and 80% think that immigrants have a positive economic impact. These results extend a 30-year trend toward greater acceptance of immigrants⁷⁸ and reflects a host community that is welcoming of immigrants.

A similar survey by Corporate Research Associates in 2018 had a similar result: in Newfoundland and Labrador, 38% of people surveyed were satisfied with the current level of immigration and 34% were in favour of a higher level of immigration, for a total of 72%.⁷⁹ (More on this in the section of “Advocacy” on page 82.)

However, the Environics survey found that Canadians continue to hold concerns about the integration of immigrants into Canadian society, with 50% of respondents agreeing with the statement that “there are too many immigrants coming into this country who are not adopting Canadian values.” This result, however, was down 1% from six months earlier and was the lowest level recorded since the question was first included on surveys in 1993. Just over 40 per cent of respondents disagreed with the statement.

There are ways of measuring how welcoming a society is to outsiders. One such inclusion index is the Alberta Urban Municipalities Association’s Measuring Inclusion Tool (MIT)⁸⁰ that measures inclusion along a five-point scale:

1. “We do not recognize that there is a problem.”
2. “We know there is a problem, we are taking tentative steps, but we are not sure how to proceed.”
3. “We have acknowledged the importance of diversity and are taking formal steps to promote inclusion.”
4. “We are committed to eliminating all forms of discrimination through systematic change.”
5. “Inclusion is normal and part of our culture.”

A similar inclusion index is the Development Continuum,⁸¹ a diagnostic tool that has been developed and validated to evaluate the stage of intercultural competence in a business or other type of organization and that has actually been extensively applied in Newfoundland and Labrador. There are five stages in the continuum:

1. *Denial* is a mindset that reflects a more limited capability for understanding and appropriately responding to cultural differences in values, beliefs, perceptions, emotional responses, and behaviours. A Denial orientation is characteristic of individuals who have limited experience with

other cultural groups and therefore tend to operate with broad stereotypes and generalizations about the cultural “other.” Those at Denial may also maintain a distance from other cultural groups and express little interest in learning about the cultural values and practices of diverse communities.

2. *Polarization* is a mindset that views cultural differences from an “us versus them” perspective. Cultural differences are often seen as divisive and threatening to one’s own way of doing things. When Polarization is the predominant attitude, diversity typically feels “uncomfortable.”
3. *Minimization* is the developmental stage where people value what they find in common between themselves and those from other cultural backgrounds; however, there is little prominence placed on cultural differences. They may also assume that similarities are more important than differences. They generally fail to recognize subtle differences that impact how a person’s behaviours could be interpreted. When something then inevitably happens to create a conflictual situation, they may ascribe the problem to a personality defect instead of seeing it as a culturally different behaviour. They miss the cues that are apparent to those further along the spectrum and may even disagree when cultural aspects are suggested. When Minimization is the predominant attitude, diversity often feels “not heard.”
4. An *Acceptance* orientation is curious to learn how a cultural pattern of behaviour makes sense within different cultural communities. While curious, individuals with an Acceptance mindset are not fully able to appropriately adapt to cultural difference. While a person within Acceptance embraces a deeper understanding of cultural differences, this can lead to the individual struggling with reconciling behaviour in another cultural group that the person considers unethical or immoral from his or her own cultural viewpoint. When Acceptance is present, diversity feels “understood.”
5. An *Adaptation* orientation consists of both shifting one’s cultural perspective and changing one’s behaviour in authentic and culturally appropriate ways. Adaptation enables deep cultural bridging across diverse communities using an increased repertoire of cultural frameworks and practices in navigating cultural commonalities and differences. When an Adaptation mindset is present in the community, diversity feels “valued and involved.”

Extensive testing at Memorial University and in the provincial government has shown that, on average, these institutions score at a level of “Low Minimization.”⁸² Given that universities are usually more progressive than their host societies, it is very likely that Newfoundland and Labrador in general scores even lower on the intercultural continuum. This may explain the timidity about immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador, which is reflected in the low immigration levels set by the provincial government and its limited efforts to recruit immigrants from outside Western Europe.

A low score on the Development Continuum is evidence of a need for more diversity training at the level of organizations and communities.

Summary

Ideally, immigrants will integrate fully into their new society. This means that they will see it as their new home and decide to stay for the long term.

However, despite the investment of a great deal of time, effort and money to attract immigrants, there is no guarantee that they will remain in the province over the long term. While it is difficult to measure the retention rate of immigrants, one thing is clear: Newfoundland and Labrador does a relatively poorer job than other provinces of retaining those immigrants that it has attracted.

The primary reason is the lack of employment opportunities in the province. This is ironic given the number of unfilled vacancies in the economy. Why is it that immigrants – as well as native-born Newfoundlanders and Labradorians – have to leave the province to find work when there are apparently many job vacancies going unfilled in the province?

International students who wish to transition to permanent resident status may be ineligible for enrolment in the province's Medical Care Program if they cannot find year-round full-time employment after graduation. They may be forced to move to another province where full-time employment opportunities are more plentiful in order to be eligible for free medical coverage. Graduates who wish to start their own enterprise (and who are not looking for year-round, full-time work with an employer) are not eligible for MCP coverage while they remain temporary residents. This may act as a deterrent to entrepreneurship in the province.

The education system is already straining under the (so far limited) influx of immigrant children. If the number of immigrants was to increase in the next few years, additional resources will need to be invested in the school system: more ESL teachers, speech language pathologists and psychologists; improvements to the LEARN program; and the creation of integrated service teams to deal with exceptionalities.

Another reason for the province's relatively low retention rate of immigrants may be the spouse's feeling of isolation. Some spouses of newcomers may have difficulty operating day-to-day in the English language and may want to move to a community elsewhere in Canada where there are more people who speak the same language.

Public attitudes, at both the local and provincial levels, play an important role in all facets of immigration. If the general public does not support immigration, its elected politicians are also unlikely to do so. This means that, at the provincial level, politicians will set low targets of immigrants and will not provide sufficient funding to the municipal level to encourage settlement. At the local level, a hostile attitude toward newcomers will discourage the latter from settling there or at the very least, from remaining over the long term. Among other things, this points to the need for more diversity training within organizations and communities.

⁶⁴ Dr. Michael Hann, Department of Sociology, Western University, presentation at Memorial University of Newfoundland in January 2020.

⁶⁵ <https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/t1/tbl1/en/tv.action?pid=4310001701&pickMembers%5B0%5D=2.2&pickMembers%5B1%5D=3.2&pickMembers%5B2%5D=4.1&pickMembers%5B3%5D=5.1&pickMembers%5B4%5D=6.1&pickMembers%5B5%5D=7.1>

⁶⁶ <https://www.canada.ca/en/immigration-refugees-citizenship/corporate/reports-statistics/research/interprovincial-mobility-retention-inflow-landings-2008-2013.html>

⁶⁷ This is no different for native-born Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, many of whom have had to move away to obtain work.

⁶⁸ <https://www.axiscareers.net/home>

⁶⁹ <https://connectornl.ca>

⁷⁰ <https://www.mun.ca/coop/>

⁷¹ <https://www.mce.mun.ca/>; <https://www.genesiscentre.ca/>; <https://www.mun.ca/socialenterprise/>

⁷² <https://atlanticcanadastudyandstay.com/atlantic-canada-study-and-staytm-newfoundland-and-labrador>

⁷³ <https://cbie.ca/wp-content/uploads/2018/06/Intl-students-post-graduation-RiB-8-EN-1.pdf>

⁷⁴ Many permanent residents – as well as many native-born Newfoundlanders and Labradorians – supplement MCP coverage with private health insurance that covers such costs as prescription drugs, vision care, dental care and travel insurance. Such coverage is often subsidized by the employer.

⁷⁵ Author interviews in 2019.

⁷⁶ <https://www.assembly.nl.ca/legislation/sr/statutes/c36.htm#172>

⁷⁷ The NLESD also works with International Education Newfoundland and Labrador to place home-stay students beginning in Grade 7. These students are not eligible for settlement services funded by the Government of Canada.

⁷⁸ https://www.environicsinstitute.org/docs/default-source/project-documents/focus-canada-winter-2018---immigration-and-minority-groups/focus-canada-winter-2018-survey-on-immigration-and-minority-groups---final-report.pdf?sfvrsn=ede94c5f_2

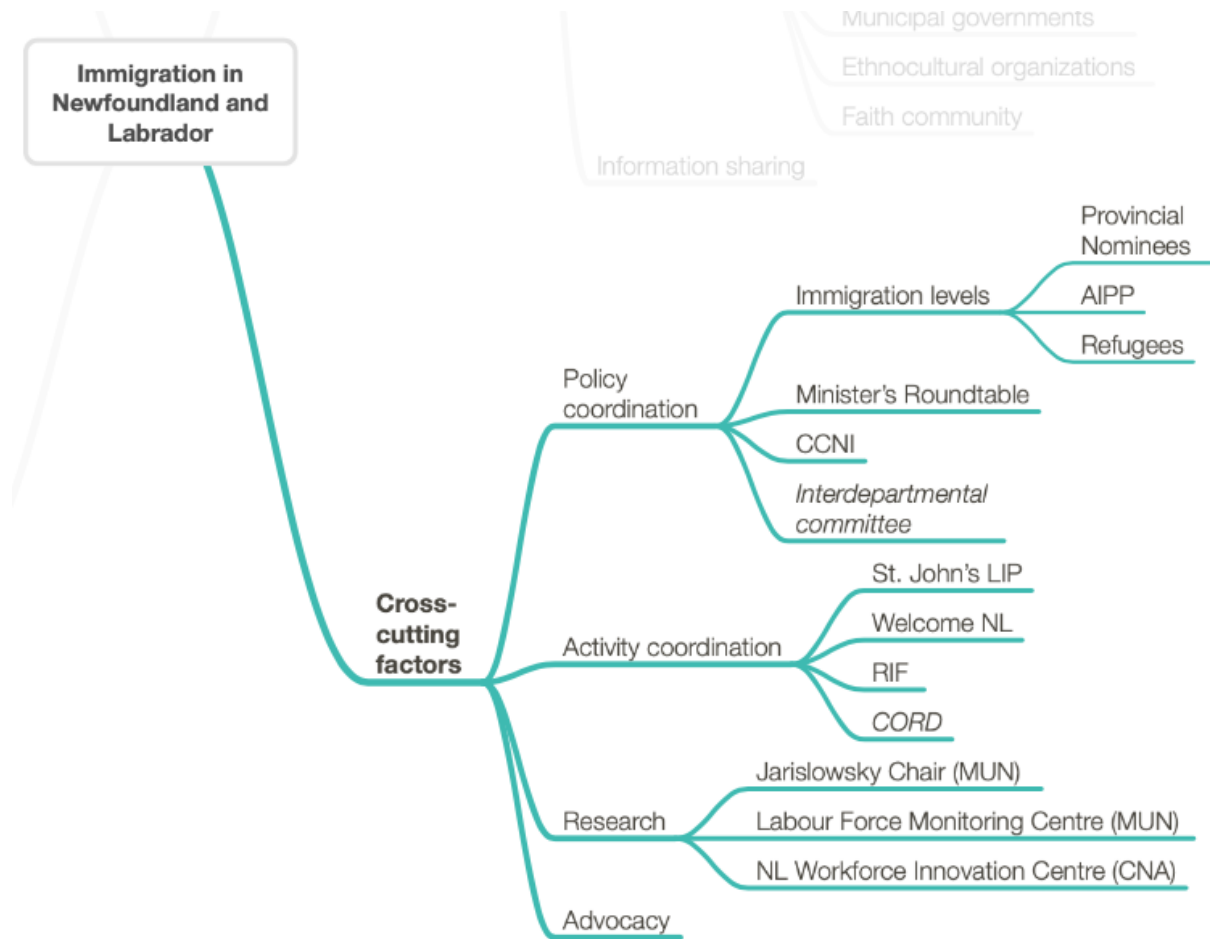
⁷⁹ <https://ppforum.ca/articles/analysis-as-opposition-to-immigration-grows-elsewhere-atlantic-canadians-support-is-strong-and-rising/>

⁸⁰ [https://auma.ca/sites/default/files/Advocacy/Programs Initiatives/WIC/measuring_inclusion_tool - electronic user 0.pdf](https://auma.ca/sites/default/files/Advocacy/Programs%20Initiatives/WIC/measuring_inclusion_tool_-_electronic_user_0.pdf)

⁸¹ <https://idiinventory.com/publications/the-intercultural-development-continuum-idc/>

⁸² Internationalization Office, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Chapter Seven: Cross-Cutting Factors



There are some activities or themes that cut across the three main aspects of immigration (recruitment, settlement and resettlement, and integration and retention) or that have an impact on all three. These have to do with how different levels of government and other organizations coordinate their decision-making processes and activities, how evidence is gathered to support these decision-making processes, and the molding of public opinion.

Policy Coordination

The immigration system in Canada — as it is in all developed economies — is complicated and involves numerous organizations, including different levels of government, settlement agencies, ethnocultural organizations, religious congregations, employers, schools, colleges and universities, and other organizations. With so many different agents actively at work in recruiting immigrants, helping them to settle and ensuring their integration into society, it is imperative that the system be as well governed as possible. There is already some level of policy coordination in the province, however, it could be greatly improved.

“Policy” consists of the decisions that an organization makes concerning its objectives and how it will achieve these objectives. The various stakeholders all make policy decisions that have the potential to

enhance or detract from each other's. Coordinating policies with each other ensures that everyone's efforts build on and support each other's instead of working at cross-purposes.

There already exists a great deal of coordination between the Government of Canada and the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. While retaining the overall responsibility for immigration into Canada, the federal government provides some discretion to the province to determine its volume of immigration based on the needs of its labour market and its communities' capacity to integrate the newcomers. The provincial government can directly influence the number of permanent residents settling in its jurisdiction through three programs: the Provincial Nominee Program, the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program and the refugee allocation process.

The provincial government also works closely with Canadian embassies and consulates around the world to facilitate the entry of immigrants into the province.

The same level of coordination does not seem to exist between the federal government and the provincial government when it comes to temporary workers. This is partly due to the fact that, at the federal level, temporary and permanent workers are regulated by different departments (Service Canada and Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, respectively), and that there does not seem to exist as close a working relationship between the provincial government and Service Canada as there is with IRCC. Given the importance of temporary workers in the province's immigration strategy, this weakness should be addressed.

Within the province, the following coordinating mechanisms are in place:

- The **Minister's Roundtable on Immigration** meets once a year to convene the major stakeholders in immigration, from all three levels of government, business and civil society. The purpose of this event is to communicate government's activities in immigration (new programs, funding, etc.) and to consult with stakeholders regarding their needs.
- The **Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration (CCNI)** is a group of senior officials representing departments and agencies involved with immigration at all three levels of government, along with the province's two immigrant settlement agencies, the Association for New Canadians and the Fédération des Francophones de Terre-Neuve et du Labrador. It meets every 6-8 weeks to exchange information and to help coordinate the activities of the partners. While invited, Service Canada has not joined this group.
- *The Way Forward on Immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador* (2017) proposed the creation of an **inter-ministerial committee on immigration** comprised of director-level representation from various provincial government departments. This committee apparently met quarterly and it is assumed that it addressed tactical and operational issues within government. In 2020, in order to better address the impacts of the pandemic, it was expanded to include federal and municipal representation, as well as community and private sector members; this ad hoc working group, which meets on a biweekly basis, is referred to as Newcomers to Canada (Newfoundland and Labrador).

These efforts at coordination, while useful and commendable, seem inadequate to fully address the integration of immigration into the province's demographic or labour market strategies, in particular the larger strategic issues. The management of an economy requires knowledge not only of the size of its

labour force, but also of its composition (years of experience, skills, occupations, etc.), not just today but in the future. One can estimate the overall size of the labour force using demographics, but understanding its composition requires much more in-depth and ongoing research.

This is all the more so when an economy is in transition, as is the case with that of Newfoundland and Labrador. Three of the province's largest economic contributors – the fishery, forestry and mining – continue to rely on export markets but are producing with less labour and more capital. Tourism is also dependent upon export markets that are becoming more sophisticated and demanding. New start-ups – in information and communications technology, the life sciences, materials science, robotics, etc. – all recognize from the very beginning the need to seek buyers outside the province and even the country. These economic sectors all depend on international knowledge flows and on global markets for economies of scale. This requires a workforce that is better educated and better connected to global markets.

In 2002, the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador had created the **Strategic Partnership Initiative**, which had brought together senior officials of the provincial government, employers' groups and organized labour. The mandate of this high-level committee was to anticipate the labour market needs of the province (both supply and demand) and to identify barriers to an effective labour market. Despite its value and its successes, this initiative came to an end in 2014. The provincial government should consider recreating a similar committee charged with anticipating labour market needs and coordinating strategies for meeting these needs. And it should add Memorial University of Newfoundland and the Community Sector Council as equal partners.

Another important consideration in policy coordination is that the voices of immigrants should be incorporated into any planning process. While the Association for New Canadians can represent the views of refugees at governmental events, it is also important to consider the views of other types of newcomers who many not be clients of the ANC (e.g., economic immigrants, temporary residents who wish to become permanent, and international students).

Activity Coordination

Related to how institutions coordinate their policy decisions is how they coordinate their activities on the ground. This requires “umbrella” organizations that bring together other organizations in order to share resources among the various participants, allowing them to achieve more together than they could independently.

As discussed earlier, municipal governments can play a crucial role by helping to coordinate the services that newcomers look for when settling into their new homes: housing, transportation, recreation, culture, etc. These services are provided by a number of different agencies and organizations. Partnerships among them are key to the retention and successful integration of newcomers. Because these partnerships are such an essential part of Canada's immigration strategy, the Government of Canada finances this type of coordination through its program of Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs).

The province's sole LIP, the **St. John's Local Immigration Partnership**, is co-chaired by the City of St. John's and the Association for New Canadians and aims to convene any and all organizations that are involved in the settlement and retention of newcomers, whether permanent or temporary residents. It is governed by a partnership council made up of a broad base of community stakeholders. Its mandate is to help determine priority areas in the City's Strategic Plan and to oversee the progress of the plan. The LIP created and maintains the My St. John's Map⁸³ that shows where various services and facilities are

located in the city (and which is also useful to native-born residents – another example of how helping immigrants helps everyone else).

The St. John's LIP was established in 2015 and has had some success in bringing together the various groups and organizations that deal with newcomers. It has been an effective vehicle for sharing information but has not yet evolved into an action-oriented coalition. Compared with other LIPs in Canada, it has been relatively passive so far.⁸⁴

As well, because it is a program of the City of St. John's, the scope of the LIP is limited to the administrative boundaries of the city. This has the effect of excluding ten other municipalities that make up the metropolitan area and that include 47% of the area's population.⁸⁵ In general, housing in these suburban communities is more affordable than in St. John's itself and many newcomers settle there. While some of these larger suburban areas are served by public transit, most are not.⁸⁶

Many of the St. John's LIP's activities will spill over into these suburban areas (for example, newcomers from outside the city will not be prevented from participating in activities organized by the St. John's LIP), but the absence of municipal participation from outside the city of St. John's proper will hamper the ability of authorities to coordinate their efforts on a regional level to better serve newcomers.

Federal funding for LIPs is limited to the larger communities in Canada, however, there is nothing to prevent any community from setting up its own version of a Local Immigration Partnership. In Newfoundland and Labrador, it might be more effective and efficient to set up a LIP at the level of the "functional region" as conceptualized by Memorial University's Harris Centre.⁸⁷ The largest community in a functional region could establish a standing committee that brings together all the organizations and agencies in the region that provide services to newcomers in order that they may better coordinate their efforts: the provincial school board, the regional health care board, the local chamber of commerce, etc.

Welcome NL is a program of Municipalities Newfoundland and Labrador, the association that represents the interests of municipal councils. The program is meant to help prepare communities to receive immigrants by informing the latter of the services available in their communities and by shaping public attitudes in favour of immigration. Among other activities, it delivers training in cultural diversity to municipal councils.

On the Francophone side, the **Réseau d'Immigration Francophone (RIF)** operates like a LIP, but at the provincial level. It coordinates the activities of all organizations that are involved in settling and integrating Francophone immigrants anywhere in the province.

Prior to its demise in 2019, the **Committee on Realizing Diversity (CORD)** played a role in convening immigration stakeholders at a provincial level. CORD was associated with RIAC, which closed its doors in 2019 (page 60). CORD was a non-governmental umbrella organization committed to better integrating newcomers with long-time residents of the province. It sought to act as a clearinghouse for the collection and dissemination of information and looked for ways to address specific issues on topics such as education, health, employment, etc. It undertook outreach to build relationships, increase cultural sensitivity, and offer networking opportunities by organizing one or two events every year that brought together representatives of business, civil society and government. At the time of its closing, it had not been active for several years.

Information Sharing

Moving to another country requires the acquisition and processing of a huge amount of information and this information resides in a multitude of places. Immigrant settlement organizations can help employers provide this information efficiently to their employees and their families, and can provide similar information to refugees. Universities can do the same with their students, faculty and staff – and their families. This helps the newcomers settle more easily into their new communities.

However, there are gaps in the system. While the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program is designed such that an employer must obtain a settlement plan from an immigrant settlement agency for each employee hired, this is not the case for immigrants in the Express Entry stream or the Provincial Nominee Program, nor for employees brought in under the Temporary Foreign Worker Program. In many cases, if the employer is not knowledgeable about the immigration process, employees may be left to their own devices or to the kindness of strangers to become settled. It would be useful if all newcomers to the country were directed toward immigration settlement agencies when they first arrive, but this is not always the case.

Information that individuals provide to governments and other organizations is protected by law. For example, the fact that a person has applied for permanent residence is kept confidential within the agency that processes the application. The legislation that protects the confidentiality of this information (known as ATIPP, for Access To Information and Protection of Privacy acts) can sometimes be a barrier to the successful settlement and integration of newcomers. This legislation often restricts the transfer of information from one service provider to another. This can be problematic in immigration, where so many different service providers would prefer to offer a continuity of service to the same individual or family.

Problems may arise when an individual or family could avail of the services provided by an organization, but that organization is not informed of their need. This may hamper the individual's or family's ability to integrate quickly into the community, even resulting in them leaving out of frustration. It may also be harmful to the individual; for example, an employer may abuse temporary foreign workers who are not aware of their rights under the prevailing labour standards legislation and whose very existence is unknown to the agency that inspects workplaces.

Any effort that facilitates settlement increases the chances that newcomers will stay in their new home. At the very least, all newcomers should be made aware of the immigrant settlement organizations in the province and encouraged to avail of their services. And governments should improve information sharing between institutions, by reviewing what can be shared and what needs to remain confidential.

Research

Good public policy is based on high-quality, evidence-based, and policy-relevant research.

In the recent past, the Provincial Government has issued two major analyses of the province's labour market needs. The first, *Outlook 2020* in 2011, was an in-depth attempt to estimate the labour market needs of the year 2020; it was based on extensive interviews with employers in the province and on anticipated mega-projects. The second, *Labour Market Outlook 2025*, issued in 2015, estimated labour market needs based on anticipated macro-economic indicators (e.g., GDP, household income, labour force participation, etc.), assumptions about major projects, the types of employment anticipated in

these projects and population projections. It did not survey local employers directly and, as a result, was not as authoritative as the first. Both reports were issued after long delays.

In 2019, the Provincial Government issued *The Way Forward on Workforce Development*, a document that outlined a five-year strategy for the province's labour market. Its estimates of the future labour supply and demand seem to be based on the data (or at least the methodology) from the 2015 report. *The Way Forward* outlines 36 recommendations (five of which specifically mention immigration), however in many cases, these are aspirational and don't provide details as to how they will be achieved. This is the document that estimated there would be 62,000 job vacancies over the next ten years, as discussed in Chapter Four.

The infrequent nature of these analyses and their delayed publication make it difficult for businesses, educational institutions and other sectors of society to adequately plan for the future; these organizations need to plan at least five years ahead of time in order to allocate the necessary resources if major changes are required. And this knowledge gap has a direct impact on the setting of immigration levels and on estimating the number of temporary workers that will be needed to meet the fluctuating demands of the economy.

In 2017, the Provincial Government created the **Newfoundland and Labrador Workforce Innovation Centre**, based at the College of the North Atlantic. Its goal is to support the research, testing, and sharing of ideas and models of innovation in workforce development that will positively impact employability, entrepreneurship, and attachment to the workforce. The centre finances applied research projects that address specific needs in the labour market, such as the workforce needs of particular industrial sectors or the needs of specific members of the labour force, such as women, older workers, Indigenous youth or immigrants. The centre is also focused on disseminating the results of its research projects to the public.⁸⁸

While discrete applied research projects are indeed valuable, there remains the need for constant monitoring of the province's labour market in order to be better able to plan for the future. Therefore, in addition to the "micro" studies that are funded by the Workforce Innovation Centre, it is also necessary to focus on the "macro" developments of the labour market. The institution best positioned to undertake this task is Memorial University of Newfoundland:

- The Department of Economics' **Centre for Applied Research in Economics (CARE)** already produces the monthly *Labour Market Observer* that is based on Statistics Canada's Labour Force Survey as well as on research conducted by national and international agencies and think tanks.
- The university is home to the **Jarislowsky Chair in Cultural and Economic Change**, one of whose main mandates is to study immigration and labour market issues in the province.
- The university is home to a **Statistics Canada Research Data Centre** that provides unrivaled access to that agency's extensive databases to academic researchers.
- Immigration has become a popular research topic within the university and there are researchers throughout the institution who study immigration, usually from the settlement and integration perspectives.
- Memorial University researchers keep up to date with the latest statistical methods and survey techniques that allow them to undertake sophisticated analyses of data.

- The university has developed two sophisticated econometric models that could be used to better predict labour market needs in the future. The Harris Centre’s **RAnLab** (short for “Regional Analytics Laboratory”) uses geographic information systems to examine population and labour market data in the province. It has been used by the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency and the City of St. John’s to perform detailed analyses on current and future labour market needs, and has gained international attention. Another platform developed by the Department of Economics – the **Royalty and Income Model** – measures, at a granular level, the labour needs of construction projects, among other projects.⁸⁹
- Memorial University has extensive expertise in being able to communicate the results of complex research to the public. And it is able to do so in a timely fashion.

While establishing a centre at Memorial University would require financial resources (for administration, stipends for graduate students, subscriptions to data sources, longitudinal surveys, and related costs), its value in helping to address labour market challenges would far surpass these costs.

Advocacy

As this document clearly shows, immigration is complex and reflects social values. As such, for many questions, there is often not a clear answer, leaving much room for probabilities, doubts and uncertainties. This is fertile ground for rumours and “fake news” that seek to demonize outsiders and bring immigration (and Canada’s immigration system) into disrepute. A recent study by Strategic Dialogue, a British-based think-tank, showed that Canadians have a big presence on far-right social media, where anti-immigrant and anti-Muslim attitudes (as well as misogynistic and white supremacist attitudes) are promoted.⁹⁰ And an interview on CBC Radio’s *Sunday Edition* related the history of the Ku Klux Klan in Canada in the period between the World Wars and its reverberations even until today.⁹¹

While minuscule, groups such as these have an outsized influence on immigration policy, creating fear and uncertainty in society and putting decision makers on the defensive. In a liberal democracy, governments are a reflection of the general population and, in the absence of clear public support for immigration, decision-makers are likely to remain cautious. If citizens are ambivalent about immigration, so too will be their government. If government is to send a message of welcome to immigrants, this message must be a true expression of the public’s sentiment.

As discussed earlier (page 72), 28% of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians feel that there is too much immigration and a further 38% are satisfied with the current (very low) level of immigration. This means that two-thirds of the population have expressed the opinion that they do not want to see an increase in the number of immigrants. It is therefore not surprising that the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador sets the levels of Provincial Nominees, Atlantic Immigration Pilot candidates and refugees at such a low level and that the province only seeks to attract half a percent of Canada’s annual immigration quota.

However, in the absence of immigrants, the province’s economy, its social well-being (including the sustainability of its social security and health care programs) and its national influence will diminish. Swayed by the arguments appearing on far-right social media, this may be a price that some in the population are prepared to pay in order to keep immigrants out of Newfoundland and Labrador.

But this is a price that many other people may find too high, especially if the far-right claims can be shown to be spurious. There is therefore an essential role for opinion leaders and community groups to dispel myths and address untruths. Newfoundlanders and Labradorians will determine the level of immigration that they deem optimal, but they should do so in full knowledge of the true facts and evidence. (Hence, among other things, the importance of reputable research.)

The organizations that are mentioned in Chapter Five (the immigrant settlement agencies, et al.) are at the forefront of issues dealing with immigration. As such, they are well positioned to address myths and misconceptions related to immigration and must take an active role in combatting “fake news”. (Another organization, the Anti-Racism Coalition of Newfoundland and Labrador – a loose coalition of individuals that monitor public expressions of racism – is also engaged in this process.) There is also an important role for opinion leaders in the traditional media and on social media to ensure that the public is made aware of the relevant facts.

However, the Provincial Government can not leave it to organizations or opinion leaders to address the myths, misconceptions and deliberate falsehoods related to immigration. The government must take an active role in explaining the demographic situation and the labour market situation to the public so that citizens can make informed decisions about the future of their province.

It must also use all the tools at its disposal to ensure that newcomers have a voice in society and that they have ample opportunities to learn about the society, culture and traditions of the province.

The growth of the population (and consequently its workforce) will not happen overnight and will continue into the foreseeable future. As such, the above activities should not be abandoned when the governing party changes.

Summary

As this document has outlined, immigration is a complicated and complex activity. Among other things, it involves a large number of institutions, at all three levels of government, in business and in civil society. Each of these institutions engages in its own policy development process, that is, each makes decisions about its objectives and how it will reach these objectives. If immigration is to function optimally, the policy decisions of individual institutions need to be harmonized, coordinated and synchronized.

The activities of the federal and provincial governments are well coordinated as regards permanent residents and international students. It is less clear if the activities regarding temporary workers are as well coordinated.

Within the province, the Minister’s Roundtable on Immigration annually convenes the main stakeholders in government, business and civil society, and officials on the Coordinating Committee on Newcomer Integration meet regularly to compare notes. *The Way Forward on Immigration in Newfoundland and Labrador* created an interministerial committee to coordinate the internal efforts of the Provincial Government; it was recently expanded to include federal and municipal representation as well as participation by business and community groups. It is likely that this committee deals with issues at the tactical or operational level.

There remains a need for a high-level committee to address broad strategic issues in the labour market and to ensure the labour market works as seamlessly as possible. The former Strategic Partnership Initiative

that was in existence from 2002 to 2014 performed this role and a similar committee should be reinstated, in order to bring together government, business, labour and academia.

Better coordination is required to settle immigrants in the Northeast Avalon region. The St. John's Local Immigration Partnership does not extend to the region's dozen other municipalities and it is not as active as other LIPs in Canada.

There are a wide variety of settlement services provided by a myriad of organizations. It would be useful in many cases for these institutions to be able to share more information about their clients. However, privacy legislation limits the sharing of information, in some cases hampering the newcomer's ability to access necessary services. It would also be very useful to access such information for research and policy making.

Policy decisions should be guided by the appropriate research findings. There is a great deal of research being done at the international and national levels that would be of use in this province, however, there remain many more questions directly related to this province that could benefit from more research and monitoring. More investment should be made to the Workforce Innovation Centre and government should consider funding a centre to consolidate the various immigration-related activities at Memorial University of Newfoundland.

The public needs to be made more aware of the crucial importance of immigration if the province is to remain sustainable over the long term. As long as politicians believe there is a lack of support for immigration, they will not make it the top priority that it needs to become. It will be important to cultivate opinion leaders in the media and on social media to promote immigration as well as to address any misconceptions about it.

The Provincial Government should adopt population growth as one of its main priorities and should undertake a campaign to inform the public about the province's demographic challenges. It should commission public opinion surveys to measure the public's attitude toward immigration and should undertake these over the long term to discern any trends. And it should increase funding to those institutions whose mandate includes the transmission of culture: the school system, the arts and heritage organizations.

⁸³ <https://mynewstjohns.ca>

⁸⁴ Author's interviews with key informants.

⁸⁵ <https://www12.statcan.gc.ca/census-recensement/2016/dp-pd/prof/search-recherche/lst/results-re-sultats.cfm?Lang=E&TABID=1&G=1&Geo1=&Code1=&Geo2=&Code2=&GEOCODE=10&type=0>

⁸⁶ *Transportation for Life, Work And Play: The Movement of People to, from and within Atlantic Canada* http://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/reports/APTF_2015_Final_Report.pdf, p. 26.

⁸⁷ <http://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/reports/research/2011/DefiningRegionsEDCWeb.pdf>

⁸⁸ <http://www.nlwic.ca>

⁸⁹ Despite their obvious value, neither platform has so far been consulted by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador to predict the labour market needs of the province.

⁹⁰ <https://www.theglobeandmail.com/canada/article-canadians-are-big-players-on-far-right-social-media-british-think/>

⁹¹ <https://www.cbc.ca/radio/sunday/the-sunday-magazine-for-november-22-2020-1.5807350>

Chapter Eight: Recommendations for Increasing the Population Through Immigration

Increasing the population of the province will not be an easy task. It will not be as simple as opening the doors and inviting people to come in. In the first instance, the current population of the province must be convinced that increasing the population and the workforce is a necessity. Then, the full resources of the province must be mobilized to work toward this goal: governments, businesses, civil society, faith communities, etc. Institutions and organizations that cater to immigrants must be provided with the resources they need to expand in order to meet the needs of a greater number of clients. Individuals and communities must work to retain and integrate the newcomers who do settle in the province.

It will not be sufficient to simply do more of what is currently being done, to simply tweak the system. What is required is a more aggressive and a more ambitious approach to increasing the population. The prevailing mindset must change from managing decline to managing growth.

This chapter itemizes specific actions that are required to increase immigration in order to meet the demographic and labour market challenges facing the province.

Decide that growing the population through immigration is a priority in order to ensure the long-term sustainability of the province

No major change effort will succeed without leadership from the top. If the province is to increase its population to any significant extent over the next several decades, the provincial government will need to exercise the full scope of its leadership: to offer a new vision for the province, to convince citizens of the necessity for change, to provide specific directions to achieve the vision, to coordinate the efforts of a myriad of organizations, to fund expansions and innovations, to monitor progress, to reward success and to maintain the enthusiasm of thousands of change agents over an extended period.

To the extent that it is necessary and feasible, this priority should be enshrined in legislation and regulations. And those government departments and agencies that are involved with recruiting, settling and integrating immigrants should be properly resourced in order that they may achieve their ambitious objectives.

Government should ensure that an “immigrations lens” is applied to all of its decisions. Issues referred to Cabinet already include different “lenses”: financial, environmental, gender and rural, among others. Cabinet papers should also include a section that specifically relates to how the proposed policy change would impact newcomers to the province (if at all); this would ensure that public servants give some thought to this aspect in their recommendations to Ministers.

If the provincial government is successful in its recruitment efforts, it will need to hire additional Immigration Officers at the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism to reduce the time required to process applications. It will also be useful to ensure that some of these new hires have expertise in business in order to review proposals under the entrepreneurship categories.

Government should implement a “Local Immigration Partnership” approach that covers the entire province. That is, all stakeholders with a provincial mandate should coordinate their activities within a structure led by the Office of Immigration and Multiculturalism.

Government needs to make sure the public service reflects the composition of the population by hiring more immigrants. In addition to having immigrants in policy positions within government, immigrants should also see themselves reflected in front-line government workers, such as in health care, law enforcement, education, etc.

Because of the long-term nature of this social change process, it will be essential that the process be supported by the majority of the population so that the effort is not abandoned if the party in power changes.

Inform the population of the province of the demographic challenges and of the need for immigration

The need to increase the number of immigrants to Newfoundland and Labrador is occurring at a time when immigration itself is under attack in a number of countries, including in liberal democracies. Many citizens may be swayed by the arguments of the far-right that immigrants bring crime and alien cultural values, and are a drain on public resources. The provincial government must exercise its moral leadership in addressing these and other concerns, many (if not most) of which are baseless.

In this regard, it will be useful for government to undertake a campaign to inform the public about the province’s demographic and labour market challenges. In the past, government has undertaken successful public information campaigns related to tobacco use, domestic violence and recycling, so it would not be out of the ordinary to inform the public about this important public policy issue.

It will also be useful to emphasize the province’s humanitarian responsibilities. It may be easier for citizens to accept the need for more immigrants to work in the export-oriented industries or to provide services to citizens (in health care, education, retail, etc.), since without these newcomers, the economy will decline. But government should also remind citizens that they have a responsibility to assist those in need due to wars and civil unrest; this is a message that should resonate with Newfoundlanders and Labradorians, who have a long tradition of helping people in need. (And it should be remembered that refugees accepted for humanitarian reasons will eventually find their ways into the labour market.)

It will be essential to evaluate the success of this campaign by undertaking periodic public opinion surveys to measure the public’s attitude toward immigration and to seek to unearth any issues that need to be further addressed. Government should also encourage more discussion and debate about immigration in the public sphere, perhaps by providing funding to organizations such as Memorial University’s Harris Centre to organize public forums and by having political leaders appearing on current events programs.

But such broad influence campaigns will not be sufficient. It will also be essential to reach into smaller groups regarding the necessity for increased immigration. As such, government should increase funding to those groups that deliver diversity training to businesses, organizations and communities.

Determine the appropriate number of economic immigrants required every year to sustain the workforce

The quota of economic immigrants negotiated between the federal and provincial governments (Provincial Nominees and Atlantic Immigration Pilot Project) is currently set very low by the provincial government. As a result, Newfoundland and Labrador accepts just one-half of one percent of all immigrants to Canada on an annual basis while its share of the national population is three times that amount. At this rate, it will not be possible to maintain the province's workforce at its current level, never mind growing the population. It is therefore imperative for the province to increase the number of economic immigrants it attracts every year.

From a labour market perspective, the number of immigrants should be determined based on the province's current and anticipated labour demand. Establishing the appropriate number of immigrants to invite into the province will depend on several factors:

- The number of current and anticipated job vacancies, and the skills and expertise required to fill them.
- The number of native-born residents entering the labour market from the secondary and post-secondary educational systems.
- The number of native-born residents entering the labour market from non-traditional sources, such as women in the trades, indigenous persons, school drop-outs and persons with disabilities.
- The number of temporary residents (workers and students) already in the province who may be enticed to transition to permanent residence.
- The capacity of educational institutions to integrate international students.

In order to better understand the realities of the labour market, it might be useful to reinstitute a high-level committee chaired by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador that brings together government, business, labour, the social sector and post-secondary education to identify issues of labour demand and labour supply. This committee's mandate would be to:

- Identify current and future skills requirements for the various economic sectors.
- Identify current and anticipated job vacancies.
- Identify any barriers to employment.
- Identify investment opportunities related to entrepreneurship and business succession.
- Provide advice to Government on appropriate Provincial Nominee Program streams.

Identifying current and future skills requirements for the various economic sectors is a complex exercise that requires high-level statistical skills in conducting surveys and in analyzing databases. Memorial University is the only institution in the province that possesses these skills and, just as importantly, that keeps up to date on the latest research in economics, statistics, survey methodology and related fields. As such, it is best positioned to monitor the province's labour market and to undertake the type of sophisticated analyses required to address knowledge gaps. Memorial's Department of Economics already issues a monthly *Labour Market Observer* and hosts the office of the Jarislowsky Chair in Cultural and Economic Transformation that specializes in labour markets. As well, it has access to and the expertise required to query the two econometric models developed by the University (the Harris Centre's RAnLab and the Department of Economics' Royalty and Income Model). Government and the university should consider creating a centre within the Department of Economics dedicated to monitoring and studying the province's

labour markets. This centre could become a major contributor to the high-level committee mentioned above if it was provided with the necessary resources. The results of any research undertaken by the centre would be communicated to the public in a timely fashion, allowing employers sufficient time to make any necessary changes.

In addition to conducting research, Memorial University should make sure to include this research into the curricula of courses in as many academic disciplines as possible and expand public engagement related to immigration. The latter could include continuing education such as that offered by the Gardiner Centre, including courses on valuing cultural diversity in the workplace, on how to recruit immigrants in source countries, selling into foreign markets, etc.

Another important consideration in policy coordination is that the voices of immigrants should be incorporated into any planning process. While the Association for New Canadians can represent the views of refugees at governmental events, it is also important to consider the views of other types of newcomers who may not be as adequately represented by the ANC (e.g., economic immigrants, temporary residents who wish to become permanent, and international students).

Create opportunities for cultural exchanges

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are rightfully proud of their culture and wish to preserve it for future generations. This means that newcomers need to be exposed to this culture so that they, in turn, can come to appreciate it as well. Some important elements of the culture can be transmitted through the school system: traditional songs and stories, social studies, sports, hobbies, holidays, etc. Other elements of culture can best be transmitted through museums and historic sites: traditional clothing, technologies, funeral rites, fishing practices, historic events, etc. And still other elements can be transmitted through folk festivals, historic reenactments and interpretation centres. Libraries also play a role, not just in making reading material available, but in serving as a welcoming place for the community to gather.

These are all activities that have traditionally been funded by government but that will require additional investment if they are to address what are normally unwritten cultural cues. In a homogeneous culture, such as that of Newfoundland and Labrador where over 90% of residents trace their origins to the British Isles, many cultural cues are unwritten and are learned around the kitchen table or in informal gatherings of friends. Newcomers will not have had the advantage of such learning opportunities and will therefore need to learn the culture from more formal means. This means that schools, museums, historic sites, folk festivals, etc., need to play a more active role in transmitting the culture to newcomers. And it means that the educational curriculum should set aside more time for social studies that focus on the province's history, culture, geography, etc.

These institutions are also excellent venues for newcomers to showcase their cultures to the people born and raised in Newfoundland and Labrador. By gaining an appreciation of other cultures, the latter will be exposed to traditions, ways of living and of understanding the world, and new ideas that they may find appealing and useful.

The fear of "the other" is mostly the result of ignorance: it is the people who are the least exposed to immigrants who seem to fear them the most. Therefore, one of the best ways to increase acceptance of immigration is to provide opportunities for immigrants and the native-born to interact where both are equals. Two effective ways of doing this are through recreation and the arts.

Sports is a great equalizer, where talent is recognized and appreciated, no matter the country of origin or the colour of the player's skin. (In fact, the colour of the uniform seems to matter more than the colour of the player's skin.) Children's sports in particular offer an opportunity for parents to get to know each other on the sidelines. Other recreational activities, such as chess, crafts, yoga, etc., provide opportunities for people to get to know each other as individuals instead of as cultural stereotypes.

The arts are another powerful forum for bringing people together, and where talent and creativity matter above all else. Musicians can learn from each other's musical culture, chefs can learn from each other's culinary traditions, fashion designers can learn from each other traditional style of dress, etc. The fusion between different styles and traditions has the potential to create new styles and traditions, and new value.

Government has a long tradition of funding recreation and the arts, and should consider increasing its investment in order to better integrate newcomers and to have them remain in their new home for the long term.

Create a critical mass of immigrants as a means to raise the retention rate.

Newfoundland and Labrador has one of the lowest retention rates of immigrants of any Canadian province. The reasons for this are not well understood, but evidence points to the lack of employment opportunities in the province as the primary factor. However, it is also possible that some immigrants crave the presence of others from their own country of origin or that they miss certain tangible aspects of their culture (e.g., foodstuffs, cosmetics, clothing) because it is not economically viable to import them for a small population.

If the latter assumptions are correct, then it would help to increase the retention rate by focusing recruitment efforts in a limited number of countries of origin in order to increase the number of immigrants from these countries. The best way to test this assumption would be to survey recent immigrants and recently departed immigrants to determine whether, in fact, the presence of more people from their home countries would make them (or have made them) more likely to remain in the province.

If the "cohort effect" (that is, people from the same country of origin supporting each other in informal ways) does indeed come into play, the first order of business is to select the countries in which to focus efforts. The province would need to develop the criteria by which source countries will be selected (e.g., propensity to emigrate, quality of their educational system, entrepreneurial spirit, ease and affordability of recruiting, number of peers already in the province, etc.). It would be essential to involve representatives from business and post-secondary institutions in the province as well as recent immigrants to validate the criteria and to help select the target countries.

Once the target countries have been selected, the provincial government should work with the Canadian embassies and consulates in those countries, as well as with others who may be of assistance. Working with agencies of record in these countries, it should then develop an advertising campaign promoting the benefits of settling in Newfoundland and Labrador. It should coordinate these recruitment activities with those of Memorial University to benefit from that institution's expertise in international recruitment.

Government should follow Memorial University's lead; the university's successful recruitment efforts are focused on regions of the globe where young people are more likely to emigrate. The university's Office of Student Recruitment attends recruitment fairs in Sub-Saharan Africa, the Middle East, the Asian Sub-Con-

tinent and South America. The university's Yaffle database (an online research connecting tool) identifies academic experts in many disciplines who serve as magnets for attracting graduate students who wish to study under one of these experts.^{xcii}

Once in the country, international students could be mobilized to help recruit friends and relatives back in their home country to come and study in the province (perhaps by offering them a discount on their tuition for every student they recruit?).

The government could encourage other immigrants already in the province to submit testimonials and the names and contact information of family, friends and colleagues who are considering emigrating from their country of origin. An invitation to consider settling in Newfoundland and Labrador could then be sent to these people. Many immigrants who settled in the province might appreciate the opportunity to have their friends and relatives join them here in the province.

Work Global, the only immigration consulting firm based in the province, has a list of about 8,000 people who have expressed interest in moving to Canada, and is willing to share this list with government. (The firm also has agents in 35 countries that could be mobilized for a targeted recruitment effort.) Government should avail of these resources in its recruitment efforts.

Enhance the likelihood that newcomers will remain in the province by streamlining the settlement process

The Express Entry system, the Provincial Nominee Program and the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Program have all helped to streamline the process of recruiting immigrants from abroad and of transitioning temporary workers into permanent residence. However, more needs to be done to coordinate the multitude of organizations and agencies that are involved with helping to settle newcomers.

Transitioning temporary residents already in the province into permanent residence should in theory be easier than recruiting immigrants in foreign countries. And it should be that much easier now that temporary residents are allowed to apply for permanent residence without having to leave Canada. The PNP and the AIPP make it easier for employers of temporary workers and for international students to make that transition. However, there likely remain many temporary residents and their employers who are not aware of these programs. In order to address this gap, it would be useful to establish a closer working relationship between Service Canada and the provincial government so that the latter is better informed as to the number of temporary residents in the province and their general location.

All temporary foreign workers are subject to approval by Service Canada. It would be useful if, during the application process, the temporary workers received information about how to transition to permanent residence. At the same time, they should be provided with information about their rights under the province's labour standards legislation, including their right to lodge a complaint against an abusive employer without fear of being removed from the country (if in possession of an employer-specific work permit). As the number of temporary foreign workers increases, especially in low-wage and vulnerable occupations, it will be necessary to increase the number of provincial labour standards inspectors.

It would be more efficient for Service Canada to provide the workers' contact information to the provincial government directly, as well as to immigrant settlement agencies. It would also be useful if there were a

more seamless transfer of information among agencies that help settle newcomers. However, the provisions of Access to Information and Personal Privacy legislation generally prohibit this information transfer. One possible solution would be for Service Canada to ask its clients if they were agreeable to having their contact information shared with trusted partners, such as the provincial government and immigrant settlement agencies.

It would also be helpful to better coordinate the on-the-ground activities of the myriad of organizations and agencies that provide settlement services directly to newcomers: housing, medical, financial, schools, etc. This level of coordination is available within the boundaries of the city of St. John's through the Local Immigration Partnership (LIP), but should be extended to the entire census metropolitan area.

One of the benefits of expanding the St. John's LIP to the entire metropolitan area would be to improve public transit to better connect affordable housing (that is often situated outside the core urban area) with places of employment (that may be downtown, in remote commercial plazas or other places that require transportation).

In order to build up the province's capacity to attract and settle immigrants, governments and academia should encourage employers to become more informed about the immigration process as well as the process for hiring temporary employees and transitioning them to permanent residence. It will also be useful to increase in the number of certified immigration consultants based in the province to assist employers wishing to hire immigrants, and to promote their use within the business community.

Ensure that newcomers are made to feel welcome at the community and neighbourhood levels

Municipal governments play a crucial role in helping to settle and to integrate newcomers. As such, they should be encouraged to adopt an "immigration lens" in their decision-making processes. One way of doing so would be to establish their own version of a Local Immigration Partnership, that is, a standing committee that brings together all the organizations and agencies that provide services to citizens in order that these may coordinate their efforts. They should also take steps to actively welcome newcomers in the cultural and recreational activities that they organize or manage.

The boundaries of these LIPs should be those of the province's "functional regions" as conceptualized by Memorial University's Harris Centre.^{xciii} This means that neighbouring communities would need to work together to help settle and integrate the newcomers to their region.

Municipalities (as well as the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation) should take steps to avoid the ghettoization of immigrants in specific neighbourhoods and seek to integrate them with the local population.

Municipalities own and manage cultural and leisure assets that are essential in making newcomers feel part of the community. Libraries, parks, swimming pools, walking trails, festivals and other attractions provide a venue for newcomers to meet local residents and to form long-lasting bonds.

It may be useful for a social enterprise to coordinate volunteers to offer a "welcome wagon" that greets newly arrived residents to the community or neighbourhood. This social enterprise could be at the local level but would likely be more efficient at the provincial level, in order to create a critical mass of sponsors,

expertise and volunteers.

Enhance the likelihood that newcomers will remain in the province by improving the efficiency of the labour market

The labour market of Newfoundland and Labrador does not seem to be “clearing” properly. An efficient labour market would make it easy for job seekers to fill job vacancies, but this process does not seem to be working as efficiently as it could in this province. Many people (both native-born and immigrants) leave the province to find work at the same time that employers in the province are complaining about the lack of qualified workers.

As stated earlier in this chapter, a high-level committee of government, business, labour, not-for-profit and post-secondary would have as one of its main priorities the identification of barriers that hamper the efficiency of the labour market. Two specific barriers related to immigration are the recognition of foreign academic credentials and work experience, and pre-employment training.

Canada has made great strides in recognizing foreign academic credentials. The Canadian Information Centre for International Credentials, a unit of the Council of Ministers of Education of Canada, has developed an extensive database of foreign credentials along with their Canadian equivalents. The CICIC is able to evaluate both academic qualifications as well as job experience.

For their parts, provinces have developed pathways that allow immigrants who do not meet the Canadian qualifications to upgrade them. They will suggest courses in the trades or professions as well as work-integrated learning opportunities, such as internships and co-op programs. In Newfoundland and Labrador, the ANC’s AXIS Program is the main agency that counsels immigrants whose qualifications do not yet meet Canadian standards.

The AXIS Program also provides pre-employment training to permanent residents who require assistance in such areas as résumé writing, interview preparation and job-specific language training. Clients include refugees as well as the spouses of primary applicants in the economic streams and of international students.

As the number of immigrants increases, the need for foreign credentials recognition and for pre-employment training will increase, and so it will be important to provide additional resources to the AXIS Program as well as to the government agencies that provide these services.

Co-op placements and internships are mostly available only at the undergraduate level; master’s and PhD students often do not have access to these pre-employment programs. As Memorial University increases its recruitment efforts at the master’s and PhD levels, it may need to provide more opportunities to connect students at these levels with employers while they are still studying.

If Newfoundland and Labrador is serious in attracting and retaining immigrants, it will need to do more to (1) create employment opportunities for them, (2) improve the job matching process, (3) prepare immigrants for the Canadian labour market and (4) recognize their academic credentials and, where lacking, offer pathways to upgrade their qualifications.

Maximize the potential of immigrants in the economy

Immigrants as a group have a higher propensity to start up their own enterprises than the native-born population. As the number of immigrants to the province increases, it will be important to expand entrepreneurship programs at MUN and CNA. These programs will be open to everyone (not simply to immigrants), but the fact that immigrants might be more interested in starting their own enterprises means that the programs must celebrate cultural diversity.

Not every immigrant will want to become an entrepreneur; many will seek employment in established firms. In these positions, they may serve as a conduit to consumer or business markets back in their countries of origin. It may therefore be worthwhile for government to create a fund for immigrant-led enterprises and for enterprises that hire immigrants so that they may explore export opportunities in the immigrants' countries of origin.

Ensure the K-12 education system is properly resourced

As the number of immigrants increases, the number of children who don't speak English is likely to increase. It will therefore be important to review the LEarning Academic Readiness for Newcomers (LEARN) program at the Newfoundland and Labrador English School District to ensure that it is properly resourced to meet the demands of an increased immigrant population, including having a sufficient number of English-as-a-Second Language teachers.

The number of children who speak French will also increase. It will therefore be important to ensure that Francophone immigrant parents are referred to the Conseil Scolaire Francophone Provincial upon arrival in the province.

Some refugee children may have been traumatized by war or civil disturbance in their countries of origin and may require additional assistance to prepare them for school. As such, it would be useful to create an integrated service model (similar to New Brunswick's) to deal with students with exceptionalities, composed of psychologists, speech-language pathologists, social workers, medical practitioners, etc., who all work with teachers and administrators in a child-focused approach. (This structure would also help other students with exceptionalities, such as autism, dyslexia and physical disabilities.)

It would also be useful to encourage more teachers to undertake professional development in trauma-informed learning.

Remove the barriers that prevent permanent and temporary residents from accessing the province's health care system

The health care system of Newfoundland and Labrador is complicated. Many native-born residents have difficulty navigating it, never mind immigrants who may be used to a completely different kind of system. The ANC already provides a "concierge service" for high-needs refugees who may have spent their entire lives in camps with a bare-bones medical system; someone familiar with the province's health care system accompanies refugees to medical appointments, etc. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador should consider providing additional funding to the ANC to expand this service to cover all their clients.

A similar concierge service already exist for Indigenous and Francophone citizens. The latter benefit from

this service because of contractual arrangements with the French Territory of St-Pierre et Miquelon, who obtain medical services in French from Eastern Health. Since these are available to the citizens of France living in the Territory, they are also available to Francophone residents of Newfoundland and Labrador. (Such a concierge service should be extended to all citizen.)

Many immigrants will not have the language capacity to deal adequately with physicians, dentists and other medical practitioners. This will be especially true of refugees, where no one in the family may be able to speak either English or French when they first enter the country. It will be important to make it easier for medical practitioners to access the translation assistance they may require to assist immigrants who are not competent in English.

International students are covered by the province's Medical Care Program while they are studying, but this coverage ends when they graduate. The Memorial University Fact Book does not specifically identify how many international students graduated in 2019, but it does state that there were 3,500 international students at Memorial that year, a little more than half at the undergraduate level (normally four-year programs) and a little less than half at the graduate level (one- or two-year programs). From this, one can deduce that the number of international students who graduated in 2019 was about a thousand. Given the potential of these highly educated people to the economy and society of the province, it may be worthwhile to extend MCP coverage to all international students who graduate and remain in the province, regardless of the type of work permit (and not only to those with offers of full-time employment) and those on an entrepreneurial path.

Maximize the post-secondary education system as a gateway into Newfoundland and Labrador

Given its proven role as a major gateway for newcomers to the province, efforts should continue to increase the number of international students at Memorial University of Newfoundland, at all of its campuses. And efforts should continue to increase the number of international students at the College of the North Atlantic – and to direct them to rural campuses as much as possible.

There is anecdotal evidence that Memorial's ability to attract international students is in large part due to its value in an international education context, that is, its low cost in relation to the quality of its educational programs. Since Newfoundland and Labrador is not as well known as other Canadian provinces, the provincial government should continue to subsidize tuition fees to both MUN and the CNA as a means differentiating the province from its Canadian competitors.

But simply attracting students to MUN or the CNA does not guarantee that they will remain after graduation – or even that they won't transfer to another Canadian institution after a year or two in Newfoundland and Labrador. It will be important to provide pre-arrival information about the opportunities to work while studying and to stay in Canada after graduation. And while in the province, it will be important to help facilitate friendships with Canadians and provide Canadian work experience with employers based in the province.

And finally, it will be important to continue efforts by MUN and CNA to secure employment for students after graduation, particularly by assisting them to establish professional connections while studying. One way to do this is by offering mentorship and networking opportunities to build professional connections. And students should be strongly encouraged to begin their job search efforts long before graduation.

xcii <https://mun.yaffle.ca>

xciii <https://www.mun.ca/harriscentre/reports/fer/>