8-2-2022 10:00 AM

The Places We'll Go: Rural Migration in Canada

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Master of Arts degree in Sociology

Abstract

As Canada increases immigration rates, there is a greater need for geographic dispersion to counteract issues of population aging and economic disparities. Historically, Canada's main Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) have experienced the greatest gains in terms of immigrant recruitment and retention. The problem, however, is that this leaves rural regions falling behind in terms of both population increases and overall development. As such, understanding the characteristics of both rural movers and residents is of utmost importance, especially in regard to potential policy initiatives aimed at ensuring newcomers to Canada are evenly distributed across the country. This study adds to the growing body of literature looking at the urban-rural divide by investigating the characteristics of rural migrants, an important component of which are secondary migrants, who lived in urban Canada in 2015 but, as of 2016, have moved into rural locations through the use of the 2016 Canadian Census, as well as those of residences within these locations in both 1991 and 2016 through the use of the Census for each year. Overall, individuals making rural migratory and residential decisions are often married, with children, and of non-visible and non-immigrant status, thereby necessitating updated initiatives as a means of drawing in a more diverse newcomer population to rural destinations.

Keywords: Rural, Urban, Immigrants, Canada, Migration

Summary for Lay Audience

In "The Places We'll Go: Rural Migration in Canada," we are interested in understanding what factors encourage new arrivals to Canada, as well as the existing Canadian population, to live in more rural settings. By examining factors such as marriage, children, language proficiency, education, income, province of residence, and immigrant/visible minority status, we are able to define what characteristics may positively predict the likelihood that an individual will live in a smaller community. Overall, individuals who are married, have children, and are of neither immigrant nor visible minority status tend to opt for these more rural locations. This finding suggests that current immigration policies within Canada need to be adjusted in order to encourage a more extensive pool of new arrivals to move to locations outside of large cities across the country.

Table of Contents

INTRODUCTION

Immigration rates in Canada have been influenced across time by policy development and implementation, settlement services, and other initiatives with the aim of pulling foreign populations into the country. Although a great deal of research exists in the realm of main Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) (i.e., Toronto, Vancouver, and Montreal), there is substantially less investigation of the outcomes for rural and mid-sized communities in Canada. My research aims to add to this knowledge gap by looking at the factors influencing the migration of individuals, whether foreign- or native-born, into rural regions across Canada. Although there is an evident need for newcomers within the small to mid-sized communities across the country, there is an apparent lack in terms of actual arriving bodies, whether initial or secondary in nature. The question drawn here is, what are the driving forces behind the initial decision to migrate to a location and what leads individuals to either stay or move elsewhere after their arrival? As urban areas comprise less than 1% of Canada's total land area (Statistics Canada, 2009), yet house more than 80% of the population (Statista, 2021a), it becomes increasingly important to look at the factors influencing settlement decisions to determine how these may aid in future ventures toward equal geographical dispersion.

In addressing these concerns, one question that must be answered is, "what is rural?" The short answer is that the definition of rural depends on the full extent of the question you are asking (du Plessis & Clemenson, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2015). In other words, rural can mean many different things to many different people. However, for the purposes of this study, "rural" captures towns or municipalities that have less than 10,000 people and are located outside of larger urban centres, making these non-CMA or Census Agglomeration (CA) areas (du Plessis & Clemenson,

2001; Statistics Canada, 2015).[1] It is worth noting, however, that rural areas can also be influenced by their proximity to larger urban centres, also referred to as Metropolitan Influenced Zones (MIZ)[2], wherein anywhere from less than 5% to more than 30% of the population residing in these locations commutes to a CMA or CA for employment purposes (Statistics Canada, 2015). Thus, a community's proximity to larger urban centres has a direct impact on the extent of rurality experienced within that community.

In my thesis, I first lay out the issues that drive the need for rural settlement, such as population aging and the dispersion of economic development, before entering a larger discussion on who moves to rural Canada and what has changed over time in the two chapters to follow. Here, I consider things such as the trend toward urbanization, demographic composition, and deteriorating socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants, as well as an overall discussion of rural migration trends over the years. To test for predicting factors in settlement decisions, I estimate logistic regression models in each chapter, with an additional pooled cross-sectional model in chapter two. I then conclude with a discussion of my contributions to this field of study, as well as a discussion of what remains to be discovered, and offer insights as to what other countries across the world have done to encourage rural residency.

Population Aging

Population aging, as defined by McDaniel and Rozanova (2011), is "the process whereby an entire population grows older" (p. 511). This occurrence affects countries across the globe. However, for the purposes of this study, I am interested in discussing the impact of this

[1] A CMA is defined as having a population of 100,000 or more, while a CA has a population ranging from 10,000 to 99,999 (du Plessis & Clemenson, 2001).

[2] The influence of these zones on the percent of the population commuting to work is as follows: rural and small town (RST) such as the Northern territories, no MIZ (0%), weak MIZ (more than 0% but less than 5%), moderate (5% to 29%), and strong (upwards of 30%) (Statistics Canada, 2015).

phenomenon within Canada. As fertility rates decline due to fewer young people having children (Carter et al., 2008; Christensen et al., 2009; Foot, 2008; LaPierre & Hughes, 2009; Northcott, 1994), the baby boom population entering retirement (Sethi, 2015), and older generations living longer (Dandy & Bollman, 2008; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011), the overall age composition of the country tends to be heavily comprised by older adults. This becomes problematic for a variety of reasons. For one, without the creation of new generations, various gaps begin to form, the most noticeable of which occurs in population declines which, in turn, leads to social and economic concerns (Taylor & Payer, 2017). If these trends continue, it is estimated that, by 2026, Canada will begin to rely entirely on immigrant arrivals for population growth and renewal (Aydemir & Robinson, 2006; Beshiri & He, 2009; Carter et al., 2008; Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Dion et al., 2015; Fougère et al., 2004; Statistics Canada, 2003 as cited in Bollman et al., 2007; Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). Another issue is that, without these new, future workers, the labour market may face increased strains as more people retire without bodies to fill these openings (Bélanger et al., 2016; Bissonette et al., 2016; Christensen et al., 2009; McDaniel et al., 2015; Mérette & Navaux, 2019; Taylor & Payer, 2017). This, in turn, puts pressure on the social welfare state that must now support these individuals who are exiting the workforce (Christensen et al., 2009; Mérette & Navaux, 2019).

More importantly for this area of research, however, is what disparities in population aging mean in regard to geographic dispersion (Northcott, 1988; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; Moore & Rosenberg, 1997). Take, for instance, that in 2017, approximately 14% of individuals aged 15 to 29, who comprise only 19% of the country's overall population, lived in locations other than urban centres throughout Canada (Statistics Canada, 2019). These numbers are even more exaggerated in the provinces housing the three main CMAs, Ontario, British Columbia, and

Quebec, wherein only 9%, 10%, and 16% of the younger population are found to reside outside of large cities, respectively, which is suggestive of a highly uneven age distribution across the country (Statistics Canada, 2019). This, in conjunction with a substantially higher senior population present in more heavily rural locations across Canada, especially in locations such as the Atlantic provinces (Kembhavi, 2012), creates a rather troublesome picture of Canada's population dispersion.

Further, as the population ages, their odds of migration between countries, provinces, or even cities decrease as individuals become more settled or, rather, begin to age in place (Channer et al., 2020; Halseth & Morris, 2019; McCracken et al., 2005). Thus, older individuals residing in urban areas are likely to remain in place. Yet, when they do move, it is often a one directional move from urban to rural. This, in turn, increases strains on the areas they move into, as they are likely to be doing so as a means of settling down permanently for retirement (Dandy & Bollman, 2008), making them less likely to afford financial benefits to the local economy. On the other hand, individuals who age within rural locations face a new onslaught of challenges that differ from those seen in urban landscapes (Hodge, 2008; Keating, 1991; Keating, 2008; Keating et al., 2011; Kulig & Williams, 2011; Taylor & Payer, 2017), especially when considering that older Canadian adults disproportionately reside in rural areas (Channer et al., 2020; Dandy & Bollman, 2008; OECD, 2006). In particular, the decision to remain in a rural setting as an individual approaches retirement and beyond is made more troubling by the fact that it is much more difficult to obtain aid in their transition into their elderly years due to a lack of younger generations present in these locations (McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; OECD, 2006). However, due to the importance of this component in discussing the impact of an aging population within the realm of rural settlement,

this warrants further investigation. As such, this concept will be expanded on further in Chapter 1 below.

Overall, with population aging affecting not only Canada, but developed countries worldwide (McAreavey, 2019), it becomes more crucial to understand the impact of this phenomena. One method of combatting this issue, especially within rural regions, is an uptake in in-migration, wherein a substantial number of young, working-age individuals opt for smaller locations, whether through inter-provincial migration, or through the arrival of newcomers from external sources. By offsetting the pressures placed on both the economy and social structure by an increasingly senior population with younger generations, we may begin to see an evening out of not only economic disparities, but also population density nationwide. The first step in such a process, however, is encouraging new arrivals to settle in destinations that are not commonly opted for, especially given the traditional pull of urban spaces (Bonikowska et al., 2017).

Economic Development

In line with the above discussion on geographic dispersion, one of the key components driving the push for higher rates of rural migration is the need for equal economic development. That is, as Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) continue to reap the benefits of incoming arrivals on a regular basis (Bonikowska et al., 2017), both in terms of population and economic growth and development, smaller and mid-sized communities have, generally, faced greater challenges in both these areas (Bollman et al., 2007; Carter et al., 2008; Dufty-Jones, 2014; Feng & Shibuya, 1995; McDonald & Worswick, 2012; Moore & Rosenberg, 1995; Reimer, 2007). As a majority of newcomers gravitate toward the main CMAs of Canada (i.e., Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver) due to perceptions of economic and social opportunities (Bonikowska et al., 2017), these same cities begin to feel the strain that comes with supporting more people than what can realistically

be maintained (Beshiri & He, 2009; Carter et al., 2008; Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Moore & Rosenberg, 1995). Often, migrants, both external and internal, opt for these locations due to their status as economic hotspots, as well as being areas that afford immigrants the ability to access co-ethnic groups (Fong & Hou, 2009; Fong & Shibuya, 1995; Hou, 2007; Kritz et al., 2013; McDonald, 2004; McDonald & Worswick, 2012; Moore & Rosenberg, 1995; Zavodny, 1999), and settlement services (Ashton et al., 2016; Chadwick & Collins, 2015; George, 2002; Roberts, 2020; Zuberi et al., 2018), which tend to be more readily available in larger cities (Wang & Truelove, 2003; Zuberi et al., 2018).

However, this decision creates a disparity, wherein smaller communities receive fewer people and, in turn, have greater difficulties in maintaining and expanding their economies (Akbari, 2011; Beshiri & He, 2009; Carter et al., 2008; Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Moore & Rosenberg, 1995; Sethi, 2015). In particular, some of the overarching benefits afforded by a more equal dispersion of immigrants across regions go beyond improved economic outcomes by encouraging the proper use of services existing in these smaller locations, as well as reducing the costs resulting from the continuous development of urban spaces (Carter et al., 2008). In this way, newcomers act as an important source of innovation, wherein they allow the communities in which they settle to develop and expand (Downie, 2010). Thus, without the arrival of new bodies into the labour force, many small communities are left to deal with the impact of limited economies as a result of an inadequate supply of working-aged people to fill important gaps (Akbari, 2011; Dufty-Jones, 2014). Overall, this lack of new arrivals is not only leading to economic disadvantages, but a combination of out-migration, population aging, and lower educational attainment, average labour productivity, and levels of public service, which also result in a weaker overall performance

in rural regions (OECD, 2006; Sethi, 2015). Thus, there is a pressing need for the movement of bodies that results in a more even geographic dispersion across the country (Sethi, 2015).

This goal is not far out of reach, however, with increasing advancements in things such as transportation and infrastructure (OECD, 2006; Patel et al., 2019). With ease of commuting and reduced business costs, the influence of metropolitan areas expands its reaches into additional areas, thereby making it more plausible to encourage individuals to settle and remain in rural regions (OECD, 2006; Patel et al., 2019). Through this, new arrivals can maintain the appeal of city life, such as employment opportunities and amenities, while reaping the benefits of rural living, such as improved quality of life and environment, and encouraging economic growth by participating within the region (OECD, 2006). Thus, the dispersion of immigrants across the country through a more aggressive approach to immigration policy initiatives can not only balance out the national demographic composition, but also aid in correcting population decline and economic disparities, while increasing diversity in all regions (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Krahn et al., 2005; Sethi, 2015; Walton-Roberts, 2006).

Immigration Policy

An important factor to consider in discussions of geographic dispersion and overall location choices is the impact of immigration policy. Throughout history, the Canadian government has taken steps in order to bolster the country's overall standing, with a large portion of such initiatives revolving around immigration. Between 1872 and 1934, the goal of immigration was simple: bring in high quality newcomers (George, 2002; Goutor, 2007). This, however, generated a narrow scope of acceptable arrivals. In the period spanning 1946 through 1974, a number of immigration-based policies and programs came in to play, which ultimately expanded the admission scope to allow a larger pool of newcomers to enter the country, although this was

still not fully inclusive (Hawkins, 1988; Vineberg, 2012). Thus, the earlier policy changes witnessed in the country focussed heavily on specific subsets of immigrants, which ultimately worked to generate a limited pool of desirable intakes.[3] The greatest changes in this regard occurred post-1970 straight through to the 2000s. These include, but are not limited to, family reunification programs, immigration incentives, and a generally more inclusive mindset amongst Canadian citizens (Trebilcock, 2019). For the purposes of my thesis, the most important of these changes was a push toward integration outside of the main CMAs of the country (Ferrer et al., 2014). To this end, there are a number of programs and pilot projects with directives aimed toward more expansive immigration that are worth noting.

In particular, the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) aims to bring in newcomers with the skills, education, and work experience necessary to fill gaps in the economies of communities nationwide (Government of Canada, 2019). Here, each province or territory is able to select immigrants based on set streams that target certain groups through a series of immigration programs and, therefore, have their own set of requirements (Government of Canada, 2019). Typically, individuals eligible through this program are those seeking entry into the country as students, those with a background in business, and skilled or semi-skilled workers (Government of Canada, 2019). While this program is successful in its goals, as many as 80% of those admitted through these streams still land and settle in CMAs (CANADIM, 2021; OECD, 2019). Comparatively, the Municipal Nominee Program (MNP), although still in its planning phase as of August 2021, aims to expand the benefits of immigration beyond the borders of the densely populated urban sectors to be more inclusive of smaller regions (CANADIM, 2021; Government of Canada, 2020). The overarching goal of this program is to ensure that individuals brought in

[3] See George, 2002; Gouter, 2007; Hawkins, 1988; and Vineberg, 2012 for some earlier examples of the slowly expanding scope of immigration policies in Canada.

through these streams will remain in the initial landing location long-term (CANADIM, 2021; Government of Canada, 2020). Overall, through both programs, jurisdictions across Canada are given the authority to seek out newcomers as a means of filling labour market gaps within their specified regions (CANADIM, 2021).

Similarly, the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) and the Réseaux en immigration francophone (RIFs) programs aim to encourage a collaborative approach to immigration integration by working alongside service providers and mainstream organizations to improve coordination and ensure communities are receiving the full benefits of immigration (P2P Canada, 2014). While the RIFs focuses more heavily on provincial networks and primarily deal with Francophone minority communities, the LIPs is concerned with improving immigration outcomes at a local level for individuals from all backgrounds (P2P Canada, 2014). Nonetheless, both programs stress the importance of promoting welcoming communities and outlining the strategies in place to ensure that all new arrivals are fully and successfully integrated (P2P Canada, 2014).

Nonetheless, some locations in Canada are at a greater disadvantage than others when it comes to successfully acquiring and maintaining newcomers. More explicitly, regions situated in the Atlantic provinces, as well as those in Northern and remote locales, tend to need a more extensive immigration plan in order to successfully bolster their communities. This is where the Rural and Northern Immigration Pilot (RNIP) and the Atlantic Immigration Pilot Project (AIPP) come in. Both initiatives create pathways for skilled foreign workers to work and live in smaller communities in the Northern and Eastern provinces of Canada (Government of Canada, 2021a, 2021b). As well, the AIPP looks to also be inclusive of temporary residents already living in these locations, who may wish to remain in place once their training or education is complete, given the right opportunity (Government of Canada, 2021a). Through these, communities are able to not

only fill gaps within the labour market, but also encourage long-term settlement as a means of offsetting the effects of population aging experienced here.

Beyond the scope of nominee programs, partnership programs, and pilot projects are additional measures working toward the same goal: recruitment and retention in rural Canada. One such initiative is Ontario's Community Immigrant Retention in Rural Ontario program (CIRRO), which looks to define and understand the factors at play within each unique community that must be considered in order to develop features that will attract and retain newcomers (P2P Canada, 2011). By recognizing each community as its own entity with specific needs, jurisdictions are given the opportunity to define the goals of the location at hand and, as a result, bring to life the appropriate resources necessary for successful attraction and retention (i.e., settlement services, and employment, educational, and residential opportunities) (P2P Canada, 2011). Further, the Rural Employment Initiative (REI) connects prospect newcomers with employment and residential opportunities in rural communities and, by doing so, generates a more scoping range of economic prosperity (NCP, 2020). Overall, each of the programs discussed here share the same end goal: geographic dispersion of Canada's newcomer population. Yet, it is worth noting that these are only a handful of the policy initiatives at work to make Canada a more inclusive, competitive, diverse, and prosperous country.

Theoretical Perspective

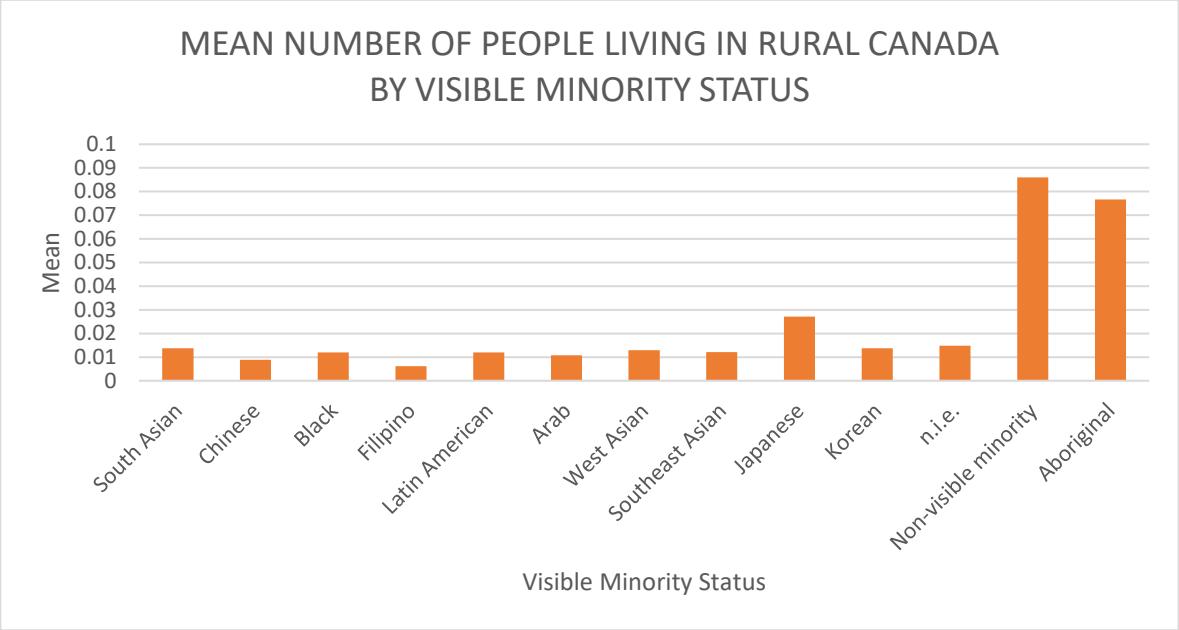
To situate this research within the vast field of theoretical sociology, I draw upon Everett Lee's (1966) theory of migration. Here, migratory decisions occur as a result of a series of push and pull factors, which can be divided into four categories: area of origin (i.e., motivating factors driving people out of their source regions), area of destination (i.e., factors which act as attractions for potential migrants), intervening obstacles (i.e., distance, transportation, cost, ethnic

barriers/discrimination), and personal factors (i.e., perceptions of the factors that are pushing and pulling, age, sex, race, education) (Lee, 1966). Overall, migratory decisions are influenced by the occurrence of these various factors within the locations they are either living in or moving to, which ultimately work to either hold and attract people in, or repel them away (Lee, 1966). The appeal of each factor, however, depends on the individualized desire of the person partaking in the move. What attracts one person may have the opposite effect on another (Lee, 1966). Within the context of urban-rural moves, the various reasons an individual chooses one location over another comes down to a series of influential factors. In other words, the appeal of urban living can often be associated with the ease of access to various features and affordances that are not present within a more rural setting. Yet, as Lee (1966) argues, the appeal of one location above another is contextual. Knowledge of the origin does not equate to the perceived benefit of the desired destination and, often, an individual's idea of what a given location will afford them is seldom exact (Lee, 1966). Further, to situate this idea within the realm of immigrants and non-immigrants, it is also worthwhile to acknowledge that what pulls a native-born individual into a location may not have the same effect on someone who is foreign-born. Rather, both populations have their own desires and requirements that ultimately impact their opinion of the benefits a certain location will afford them over another. Thus, it is worth investigating the factors that lead individuals to either start or restart their lives in Canada in rural locations.

With both population aging and economic dispersion, as well as immigration policy in Canada and the theoretical perspective driving this study in mind, the remainder of my thesis will explore two important research questions: 1) Who moves to rural Canada? and, 2) What has changed over time? Although there is a well-established body of literature that explores the various reasons individuals tend to be drawn to urban centres rather than their smaller counterparts (Caron-

Malenfant et al., 2007; Hellstrom, 2019; OECD, 2006; Patel et al., 2019; Sethi, 2015), the pool of research looking at rural migration is more limited (see Yoshida & Ramos, 2012 for an example). Thus, to frame these questions and their importance within the realm of rural migration in Canada, the following figures outline the demographic composition of individuals settling within these destinations.

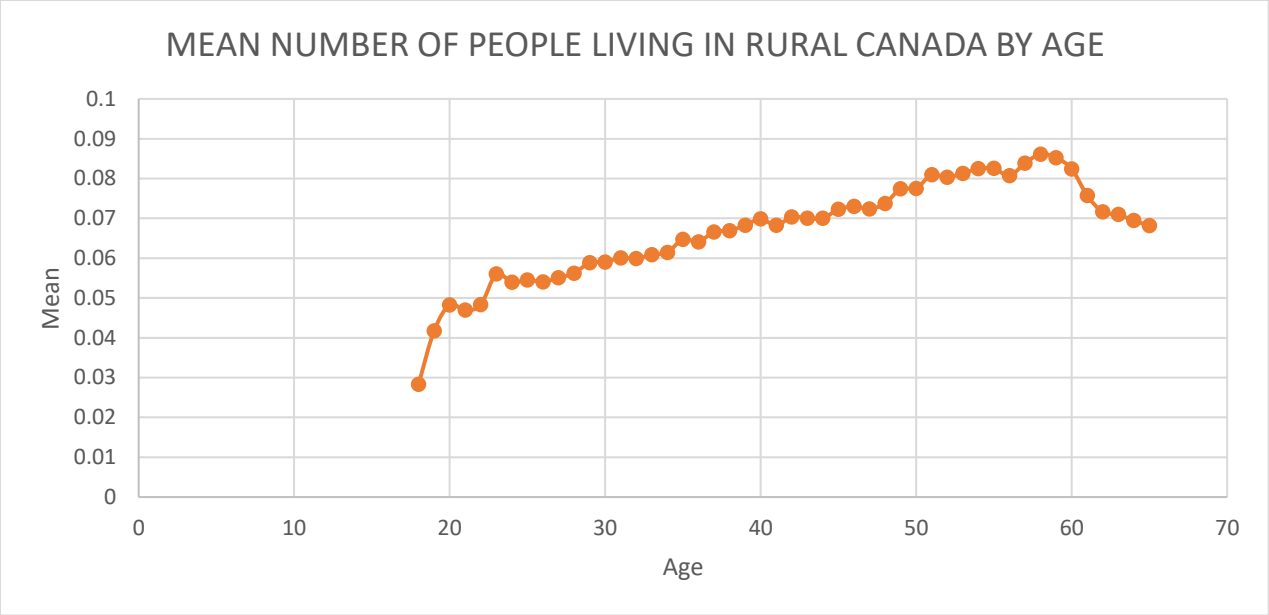
Figure 1: Mean number of people moving to rural Canada by visible minority status



Source: 2016 Canadian Census

Figure 1 shows the mean number of individuals living in rural locations in 2016 based on their visible minority status. Here, we can see that the majority of individuals residing here are non-visible minorities, followed by those identifying as Aboriginal. While all other minority statuses are substantially less likely to opt for rural residency, the least likely are those in the Filipino group. Thus, a substantial gap in terms of rural residency occurs within the realm of those identifying as visible minorities.

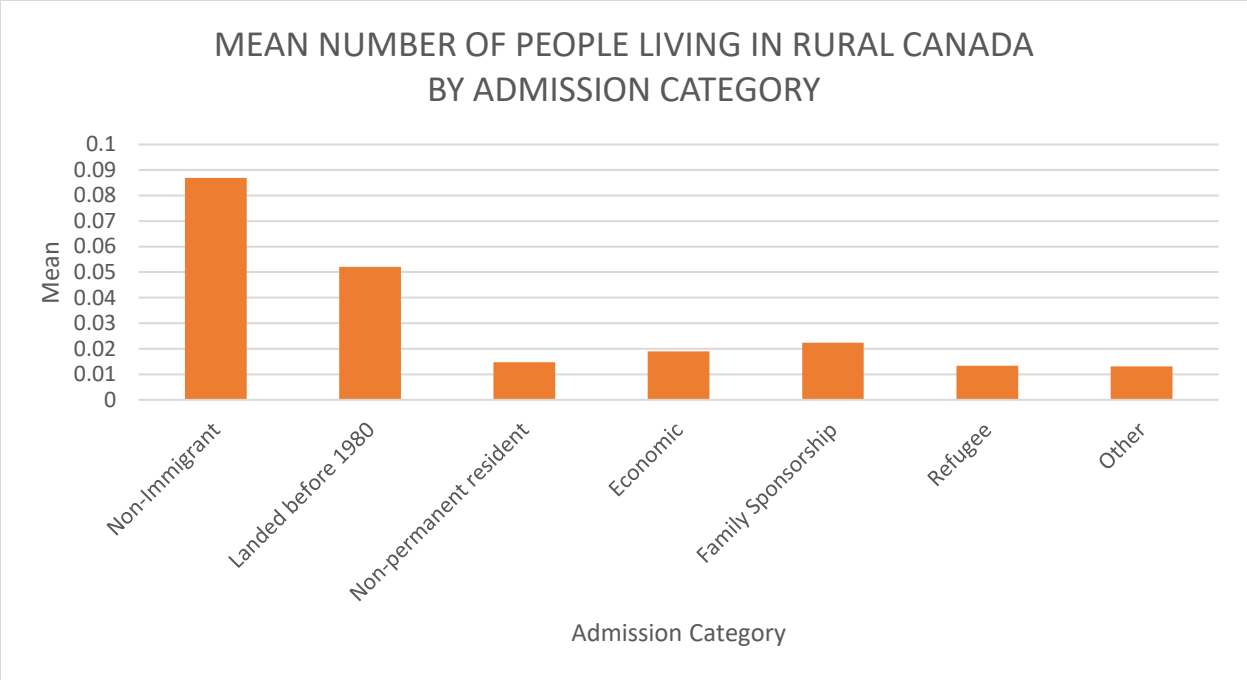
Figure 2: Mean number of people moving to rural Canada by age



Source: 2016 Canadian Census

Figure 2 looks at the mean number of people living in rural destinations in 2016 based on their age. Seen here is a, for the most part, gradual increase in propensities until about the age of 58, at which point there is a steep drop off. Interestingly, although showing increases overall, there are slight declines across all age groups. Nonetheless, the peak age in terms of rural residents appears to be those around the age of 58. This aligns with the above discussion regarding the higher age of those opting for rural settlement. As such, a large gap occurs within the younger age group, which is a key demographic worth targeting in future initiatives.

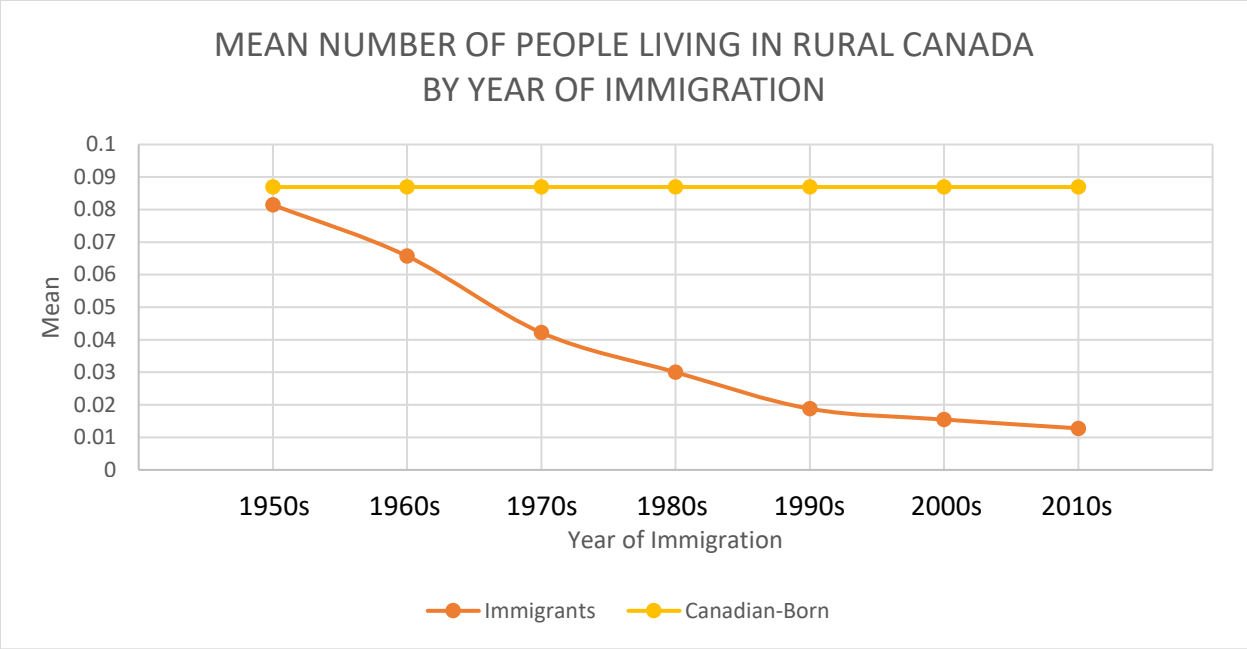
Figure 3: Mean number of people moving to rural Canada by admission category



Source: 2016 Canadian Census

Figure 3 indicates the mean number of individuals living in rural Canada in 2016 based on their admission category. The group with the greatest occurrence of rural living is those identifying as non-immigrants, while the second highest is those who landed before 1980. All other groups appear to have substantially lower numbers residing in rural areas, with the smallest group being those within the "other" category, followed by refugees and non-permanent residents. Similar to the findings for visible minorities in Figure 1, this suggests a gap in the number of immigrants choosing to settle in rural destinations, which is worth noting as we delve into chapter 1.

Figure 4: Mean number of people moving to rural Canada by year of immigration



Source: 2016 Canadian Census

Finally, Figure 4 looks at the mean number of people living in rural Canada in 2016 by their year of immigration, portrayed in decades beginning in the 1950s through to the 2010s. Included here is a stagnant line for the Canadian-born population, who act as the baseline odds for rural living. What becomes evident through this graph is the gradual decline in rural living propensities with each successive decade. This suggests that earlier immigrant arrivals tend to be more open to rural settlement than their newer arrival counterparts. This brings forth questions of why this might be occurring.

To delve into each of the questions outlined above in greater detail, the two chapters to follow will look at each individually. Through this, discussions mentioned above, as well as additional components worth consideration, will be developed further in order to outline why where people move matters within the context of Canadian immigration policy and research. The overarching goal of this research is to provide insights regarding potential missed opportunities as well as future directions for policy decisions regarding the geographic dispersion of newcomers to Canada.

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CHAPTER 1:

WHO MOVES TO RURAL CANADA?

Abstract

As Canada increases immigration rates, there is a greater need for geographic dispersion to counteract issues of population aging and economic disparities. Historically, Canada's main Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) have experienced the greatest gains in terms of new arrivals. The problem, however, is that this leaves rural regions falling behind in terms of both population increases and overall development. As such, understanding the characteristics of rural movers is of utmost importance, especially in regard to potential policy initiatives aimed at ensuring newcomers to Canada are evenly distributed across the country. This study adds to the growing body of literature looking at the urban-rural divide by investigating the characteristics of individuals who engage in rural migration, including secondary migrants, by looking at those who lived in urban Canada in 2015 but, as of 2016, have moved into rural locations through the use of the 2016 Canadian Census. Overall, individuals making migratory decisions are often married, with children, and of non-visible and non-immigrant status, thereby necessitating updated initiatives as a means of drawing in a more diverse newcomer population to rural destinations.

Key Words: Rural, Urban, Immigrants, Canada, Migration

Introduction

To account for the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic, as of 2021, Canada aims to receive more than 400,000 immigrants each year (Government of Canada, 2021). Of these individuals, between 19% and 30%, especially as of late, have opted for less traditional settlement destinations, including small and mid-sized communities (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008; Dufty-Jones, 2014; Hoggart & Mendoza, 1999; Lichter, 2012; Patel et al., 2019). This could be due, partially, to improved transportation and infrastructure, in addition to the quality of life afforded in these smaller regions (OECD, 2006), which allow individuals to benefit from both worlds by encouraging urban employment while still being able to enjoy a rural lifestyle (Bollman, 2000; Dandy & Bollman, 2008). Additionally, unprecedented occurrences, such as that of the COVID-19 pandemic, may act as a push factor in later studies, leading individuals to opt for smaller spaces as a means of avoiding outbreak hotspots (Ranscombe, 2020; Sharifi & Khavarian-Garmsir, 2020). This, in turn, would work to alter population distribution patterns and overall location choices of migrants in Canada. However, even with this being said, rural regions have historically faced increased instances of out-migration and population aging, as well as lower levels of both skills and labour productivity, which then reduce the ability of these areas to provide effective services, build infrastructure, and develop businesses (Halseth & Morris, 2019; OECD, 2006). As such, it becomes increasingly important to develop systems through which to both recruit and retain newcomers, both foreign and native-born, within these areas.

A substantial body of existing literature looks at the urban-rural divide (Caron-Malenfant et al., 2007; Hellstrom, 2019; OECD, 2006; Patel et al., 2019; Sethi, 2015). Largely, this research explores the reasons individuals may choose to live in urban spaces rather than their smaller counterparts. As a result, a common theme amongst these findings is that rural locations are feeling

the impact of low attraction and retention rates. Yet, the pool of literature that explores the characteristics of rural movers are more limited (see Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). As such, my research adds to the growing body of literature that looks at the need for rural migration by exploring the factors influencing individuals to make the decision to move into these areas after previously opting for urban settlement.

To gain a better understanding of who moves to rural Canada, in the sections to follow, I first outline key issues driving the need for geographic dispersion, such as overurbanization (Sovani, 1964; Timberlake, 2019), demographic composition, and the deteriorating socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants. Next, I discuss my findings from logistic regression models, using data from the 2016 Canadian Census, which estimates the odds ratios of various influencing factors, such as visible minority status, age, admission category, and year of immigration, among other addition controls (i.e., generational status, marital status, number of children, province of residence, language, and education). In order to define which factors were worth considering, I pull from Everett Lee's (1966) theory of migration, which states that migratory decisions occur as the result of considerations of the push and pull factors within either the destination or the origin that ultimately attract individuals in or repeal them away. In other words, the factors chosen are assumed to hold significance for individuals engaging in residential decisions, as they tend to have the most substantial impact on final destinations. Importantly, however, what can be defined as a pull factor is likely to vary between the native- and foreign-born populations due to differences in both background and overall desires. Nonetheless, through examining influential factors, I offer a picture of individuals who made the decision to migrate out of urban locations in favour of rural settlement between 2015 and 2016. To conclude, I discuss the implications of these findings, as well as how this may benefit future research.

Background

In discussing the need for rural migration, it is first necessary to outline the various factors leading to the push for geographic dispersion. In what follows, I delve into the themes of overurbanization, demographic composition, and deteriorating socioeconomic outcomes. Through this, one can gain a clearer picture of not only the impact of limited rural migration, but the various reasons why a greater focus on alternate settlement patterns is necessary within the Canadian context. As a result of the trend toward urban settlement, many smaller cities across the country face challenges, such as population aging and infrastructure mismatch (Dandy & Bollman, 2008; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; OECD, 2006), while their larger counterparts deal with competitive job and housing markets and an ever-increasing population overload (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Garcea, 2009; Sethi, 2015). To correct for these issues, there is an increasing need for equal dispersion across Canada, as will be discussed in greater detail below.

Overurbanization[4]

Spanning the last 50 years, migrants have generally opted for settlement within urban locations, with approximately 91% of immigrants residing in Census Metropolitan Areas (CMAs) in 2016 alone (Patel et al., 2019). This is 28% higher than the native-born population, who comprise only 63% of urban residents during the same period (Patel et al., 2019). In terms of rural movers, often these individuals are comprised by those who are married, female, and are generally 35 years of age or older (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). Yet, evidence suggests that even this group eventually leaves rural locations in favour of larger centres over time (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). One of the major issues with this consistent migration into main CMAs and urban centres, however, is overurbanization (Sovani, 1964), which can result in overcrowding, increased housing

[4] As defined by Sovani, N. V. (1964). The Analysis of "Over-Urbanization." *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *12*(2), 113-122.

costs, and higher levels of competition for both employment opportunities and resources (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Garcea, 2009; Sethi, 2015).

One method of working toward resolving this issue is the development of various programs by the Canadian government, at both the federal and provincial levels, that aim to encourage alternate settlement patterns in order to create a more even dispersion across the country (Patel et al., 2019; Sethi, 2015). Some of these include Ontario's Community Immigrant Retention in Rural Ontario program (CIRRO) (Ontario, 2019; Patel et al., 2019), the Rural Employment Initiative (REI) (Newcomer Centre of Peel, n.d.; Patel et al., 2019), the Local Immigration Partnerships (LIPs) and the Réseaux en immigration francophone (RIFs) (P2P Canada, 2014), the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) (Government of Canada, 2020; Patel et al., 2019), and the Municipal Nominee Program (MNP) which, although still in the planning phase as of August 2021, is well on its way to fruition (CANADIM, 2021). Through these, the goal is to entice newcomers to settle in less traditional destinations, thereby allowing the economy and community to develop and thrive. The overarching idea of such ventures is to avoid the creation of super cities and overurbanization that results from the extensive number of immigrants settling in CMAs.

The problem, however, lies in the fact that the majority of these programs tend to focus on individuals entering under either the skilled worker or economic immigrant admission category (Government of Canada, 2020; Newcomer Centre of Peel, n.d.; Ontario, 2019; Patel et al., 2019; Sethi, 2015). While this has allowed for the largest subset of immigrant arrivals to rural locations to fall into the business class category (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012), which may ultimately encourage innovation and economic expansion for these communities, it also lacks inclusivity of those entering as refugees, semi-skilled, or unskilled workers. Further, many refugees who do initially settle in rural areas tend to leave in favour of urban landscapes within the first few years post-

arrival (Hellstrom, 2019). These secondary, outward moves lead to strains on the economy of larger urban centres and further run the risk of resulting in overurbanization. A significant push factor for this subset of newcomers is a perceived lack in terms of appropriate employment opportunities within the community, which leads them to venture elsewhere in search of prospects in other markets (Beshiri & Bollman, 2001; Hellstrom, 2019; Moore & Rosenberg, 1997). However, it has been suggested in previous research that the longer an individual remains in a location, usually exceeding the two-year mark, the more likely they are to remain in place rather than moving elsewhere (Donato et al., 2007; Fonesca, 2008; Hellstrom, 2019; Hugo, 2008; Krahn et al., 2005). As such, there is a greater need to focus on the initial years post-migration in order to ensure successful dispersion and economic equality while reducing the rise in super cities. Through ventures such as the various programs mentioned previously, this goal may well be more achievable due their ability to afford alternate pathways into the country with a targeted approach toward rural and small-town community settlement. The challenge, however, revolves around making these initiatives more inclusive of the various admission streams individuals arrive under to ensure that all new arrivals have equal opportunities for successful settlement and integration.

Demographic Composition

Although rural locations do experience population growths, the extent of this growth is not nearly as high as it is for urban centres, nor does it occur equally across all provinces (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008; Caron-Malenfant et al., 2007). As a result, the overall share of the population residing in rural Canada is on a continual decline (Bollman & Clemenson, 2008). Two of the main challenges exacerbating this trend are population aging and exodus, especially when compared to large- and intermediate-sized cities (McAreavey, 2019; OECD, 2006). That is, these locations in Canada and other countries involved in the Organisation for Economic Co-operation and

Development (OECD) have rural regions comprised of populations that are much older than averages in other locations, such as Toronto or Vancouver (Dandy & Bollman, 2008). This occurs as a result of not only younger generations migrating out (Audus & McDonald, 2004; McAreavey, 2019; Rothwell et al., 2002; Tremblay, 2001), but older generations, such as the retiring baby boom population (Sethi, 2015), choosing to age in place (Channer et al., 2020; Halseth & Morris, 2019; Taylor & Payer, 2017).

This division of ages results in a human infrastructure mismatch, wherein the older populations are unable to receive the proper care and support afforded by the presence of younger generations (i.e., direct relatives or old age workers) (McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; OECD, 2006). What makes this more troublesome is that individuals 65 years and older, generally, will not move to urban Canada (Dandy & Bollman, 2008), especially as they become more settled in their lifestyle (Dandy & Bollman, 2008; McCracken et al., 2005). Although this may aid in improving the overall dispersion of individuals across regions, it adds to the larger issue of older populations residing heavily in rural locations, which is in direct conflict with a lack of younger adults either already available or willing to move to offer their support (Dandy & Bollman, 2008; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; OECD, 2006). This problem is more evident in Atlantic Canada which, regardless of higher overall migration rates into rural locations compared to Canada's three top provinces (i.e., between 23% and 25% of arrivals compared to only 3% in Ontario, British Columbia, and Quebec; Yoshida & Ramos, 2012), tends to have the oldest populations in the country (Hellstrom, 2019; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011). Comparatively, the territories are shown to have the youngest (McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011). This is especially true of Northern rural regions who, as a result of an increased Aboriginal presence, have generally had shares of older adults comprising only 10% of the overall population due to their higher birth rates (Dandy &

Bollman, 2008). Nonetheless, with the growing trend toward longer life expectancy and declining fertility rates amongst all Canadians, this group is likely to fall into the throws of population aging over time (Dandy & Bollman, 2008). Further, the exodus of younger populations is extended by the failure of the local economies to generate meaningful employment and offer useful services that would work to encourage these individuals to remain in place (Halseth & Morris, 2019; OECD, 2006).

Moreover, beyond the realm of just Canada, previous research also suggests that rural areas are often lacking in experience with immigration itself (Kandel & Cromartie, 2004; McAreavey, 2012; McAreavey, 2019). In other words, due to the limited arrival of newcomers to less densely populated areas, many are ill-equipped or unable to properly work toward the successful integration of these individuals. This not only creates challenges for immigrants, but also the greater community, which must now learn to properly respond to this increased diversity in order to fully benefit from these new arrivals (McAreavey, 2019; Phillimore, 2015). Not only this, but earlier works also suggest that more than half of the immigrants that do arrive in these smaller communities tend to be of European descent, while those from other regions of the world often leave rural areas (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). The result of this is the generation of a relatively low intake of visible minorities and, in turn, a less diverse population.

Deteriorating Socioeconomic Outcomes

The overall trend toward urban settlement is further surprising given that, as of more than 30 years ago, the socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants entering Canada's larger cities have been continuously deteriorating (Crossman, 2013; Haan, 2008; Picot, 2008; Picot & Lu, 2017). For instance, the 2006 Census indicates that 34.1% of newcomers fall into the low-income category as compared to only 9.7% of Canadians (Crossman, 2013). Further, most immigrants who enter into

poverty often do so within their first year in the country (Picot, 2008; Picot & Hou, 2003; Picot et al., 2008), at between 35% and 45%, which are often followed by long-term poverty at a rate of approximately 20% (Picot, 2008; Picot et al., 2008; Picot & Lu, 2017). Part of these deteriorating outcomes may be explained by factors associated with the increased diversity of source countries, including but not limited to, language, cultural background (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Frenette & Morissette, 2003; Picot, 2008), educational attainments (Ferrer Riddell, 2003; Picot & Lu, 2017; Reitz, 2001), work experience (Green & Worswick, 2002; Picot, 2008; Schaafsma & Sweetman, 2001), and overall discrimination (Aydemir & Skuterud, 2004; Frenette & Morissette, 2003). Additionally, gender may also play a role in the economic outcomes of immigrants entering the labour market. That is, research shows that, in the 1980s, males account for more than 40% of the decline witnessed in entry-level earnings (Heisz et al., 2002; Picot, 2008). By 2012, however, roughly 14% of females experienced chronic low-income compared to only 11% of men, with this trend only slightly decreasing with extended time in the country (Picot & Lu, 2017). Thus, overall, the outcomes of immigrants to Canada appear to be on a downward trajectory, rather than improving over time (see Picot & Lu, 2017).

The overall goal, then, is to move individuals out of the areas in which they are not doing well and into locations that would benefit the most from new arrivals. This requires a willingness on the end of immigrants themselves to settle in destinations that are often less sought after. In some instances, although these locations are not directly within large urban centres, they are within close proximity, thereby making it plausible to seek employment opportunities in more densely populated spaces while still affording residents the benefits of reduced costs of living and increased space in which to grow (Bijker & Haarsten, 2009; Partridge et al., 2010; Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). Yet, previous research suggests that, over time, many recent immigrants to rural Canada tend to

move (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012), thereby increasing the population and economic disparities experienced across the country. Thus, there is a growing need to place a heavier focus on the lifestyle aspects of rural areas (Bijker & Haartsen, 2009; Partridge et al., 2010), as well as working toward improving the features, affordances, and overall supports available to make these locations more appealing to individuals from various walks of life (Partridge et al., 2010).

Overall, as outlined above, some of the main issues resulting from consistent migration into CMAs are overurbanization, which results in overcrowding, increased housing costs, and higher levels of competition within job markets, as well as unequal demographic compositions, which occur as a result of aging populations, exodus, human infrastructure mismatches, and a lack of ethnocultural diversity in rural areas, and deteriorating socioeconomic outcomes of immigrants, or rather, higher instances of poverty among immigrants in large cities. This, in turn, necessitates a re-evaluation of population distributions, wherein the movement of individuals into smaller communities may work to offset some of the concerns listed above. As such, in the remainder of this chapter, I explore the factors that play a role in migratory decisions in order to gain a better understanding of the individuals most likely to opt for, at minimum, secondary rural settlement. Ultimately, the goal is to define a more direct approach to immigrant recruitment into Canada's rural locations.

Hypotheses

As suggested earlier, in relation to Lee's (1966) theory of migration, visible minority status, age, generational status, admission category, and year of immigration are likely to be essential components in migratory decisions, especially given the importance of these individualized characteristics on residential outcomes, as outlined above. Thus, with the goals of my research, as well as the proceeding literature review in mind, I have developed the following hypotheses:

1) Due to the evidenced lack of visible minority immigrants residing in rural regions, I predict that *non-visible minorities are most likely to move to rural Canada*.
2) Due to the extensive amount of previous research indicating the heavy influence of older adults in rural regions, I predict that, *as age increases, so too does the tendency to migrate into rural areas.*
3) Due to the finding in the literature that extended time in the country lessens the probability that an individual moves, I predict that *first and second-generation immigrants will be less likely than their third-generation counterparts to move to rural areas.*
4) Due to limitations within Canadian immigration policies, as well as the tendency of arrivals from all categories to opt for urban destinations, I predict that *non-immigrants will be more likely than immigrants from any admission category to move to rural Canada*.
5) Due to the tendency of individuals to remain in place after the two-year mark, as outlined in the proceeding literature review, I predict that *the longer an individual has been in the host country, the less likely they will be to move into rural settings*.

In the following section, I first describe the data and sampling methods used before outlining the results of my regression models. In the discussion and conclusion, I address the implications of my findings, both in terms of the hypotheses driving this research as well as possible policy implications.

Data and Methods

Data

This study uses the 2016 Canadian Census, accessed from a Statistics Canada Research Data Center (RDC). The decision to access the confidential version of the Census, rather than using the public use files available online, allows for a more in-depth analysis of the chosen

characteristics at a more representative level, as well as a wider range of factors from which to work.

Sample

In terms of sampling, I am interested in individuals who migrated into rural Canada, of which an important segment is secondary migrants, who lived in urban settings a year prior to the Census (i.e., 2015), but, at the time of collection (i.e., 2016), now reside in rural communities. This is done to allow me to choose factors that may work to influence an individual's decision to migrate out of urban areas in favour of smaller locations. As such, I do not look at individuals already residing in rural areas, as the main focus of this study is to understand who moves away from densely populated urban destinations to live instead in rural Canada. A greater discussion of current versus previous rural residents occurs in the results section of Chapter 2. Further, because I want to look at only individuals who move separately from the main household, I restrict the sample to those aged 18 to 65, who are neither retired nor in school. The decision to enforce these restrictions allows for a clearer understanding of individuals who are of working age, who move for reasons that are not related to permanent, non-labour related settlement or for educational purposes, but rather done for either employment or overall lifestyle reasons. Additionally, to test the effect of children within the household, and to account for temporal differences given the 1-year gap in settlement locations, I further restrict my sample to individuals with children above the age of 1. It is also important to note that, to avoid overrepresentation within my sample, I limit my data to include only one household maintainer. After removing these cases, my final sample size includes a weighted count of 8,865,940 observations.

Measures

Rural Movers. The dependent variable for my analysis is the binary indicator for whether an individual within the sample lived in an urban setting one year ago (i.e., 2015), but now lives in a rural setting (i.e., in 2016), where one equals yes and zero equals no. To construct this binary, I employ both the "Population Center Indicator" and the "Census Metropolitan Area," or CMA, variables indicated in the 2016 Census. More specifically, I use the CMA variable that indicates a person's CMA of residence one year prior (i.e., 2015). First, I created a variable indicating whether an individual lived in an urban or rural space using the population center indicator, where one equals rural, and all other categories are assumed urban. Next, I used the CMA variable, which, during coding, was limited to areas not defined as "rural,"[5] to identify urban centres of residence in the year prior to define a new variable for those who lived in an urban setting in 2015 who now, using the "Rural" variable, live in rural settings.[6] For ease of interpretation, individuals who moved to rural Canada are referred to as "movers," while those who remained in urban Canada are referred to as "stayers" herein. Importantly, for the purposes of this study, "rural" is understood through the definition provided by Statistics Canada, wherein any city or town with a population of 10,000 or less is classified as a rural location (du Plessis & Clemenson, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2015).

Visible Minority Status. The first focal independent variable of interest is the categorical indicator for visible minority status, where non-visible minority is the reference. This variable is broken into 11 categories: South Asian, Chinese, Black, Filipino, Latin American, West Asian and Arab, Other Asian (Southeast Asian and Japanese), Korean, Other, Aboriginal, and non-visible minority. For ease of interpretation, and to eliminate the risk of small cell counts, West Asians and Arabs are combined, as well as Southeast Asians and Japanese. For the purposes of a logistic

[5] In the Census codebook, CMAs 1 through 995 were indicative of areas more easily classified as urban, while those above 995 were listed as "rural" and, therefore, excluded when outlining the coding for this new variable.
[6] It is important to note that Atlantic regions, due to lessened experiences of urbanization, may have instances where "CMA" precludes "rural" areas within and, as such, this may impact the results seen in these areas.

regression, this is further coded into a series of dummy variables, where one equals the group of interest and zero equals all other groups.

Age. The second focal independent variable of interest is the continuous indicator for an individual's age, ranging from 18 to 65 years old. As discussed earlier, these restrictions allow for a sample of individuals who move separately from the main household, as well as for purposes beyond permanent settlement (i.e., retirement) and education. Included here is also the indicator for age squared, which captures nonlinearity between age and the dependent variable for rural movers.

Generational Status. The third focal independent variable is the categorical indicator for an individual's generational status, where third generation is the reference. Here, I include three categories: first (foreign-born), second (at least one parent is foreign-born), and third generation (both parents are native-born). This is coded into a series of dummy variables, where one equals the group of interest and zero equals all others.

Admission Category. The fourth focal independent variable is the categorical indicator for admission category, where non-immigrant is the reference. This is divided into 7 categories: landed before 1980, non-permanent resident, economic immigrants, family sponsorship, refugees, non-immigrant, and other. For ease of interpretation, the two economic admission categories (i.e., principal and secondary) are combined into a single economic category. These are further coded into a series of dummy variables, where one equals the admission category of interest and zero equals all others.

Year of Immigration. The fifth and final focal independent is the continuous indicator for a respondent's year of immigration. However, for ease of interpretation, and for use in the logistic regression, these are broken into 7 decade grouped categories: 1950s, 1960s, 1970s, 1980s, 1990s,

2000s, and 2010s. 2000s is the reference. Importantly, due to collinearity issues, arrivals before 1980 are excluded from the regression, as this category is covered within the focal independent of admission category. As such, only the groups ranging from 1980s through 2010s are coded into a series of dummy variables, where one equals the decade of interest and zero equals all others.

Controls. Other independent variables included here are marital status, number of children, province of residence one year ago, language, and education. These controls were selected on the basis of their potential influence on residential decisions, as factors such as being married or single, having children or not, where an individual lived previously, one's knowledge of official languages, and their educational background have been shown to play an important role in migratory behaviours (see McAreavey, 2019; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; Yoshida & Ramos, 2012 for some examples). Marital status, for ease of interpretation, is divided into three categories: single, married, and previously married (i.e., separated, divorced, or widowed), where single is the reference. Number of children is a continuous indicator for the number of children present in the household. To account for small cells, households with four or more children are combined into a single "4+" category. Province of residence one year ago is the categorical indicator for the location of residence of the respondents one year before the Census (i.e., 2015), where Ontario is the reference. Here, the territories are dropped due to their small sample sizes, as these may have a more exaggerated impact if they remain within the sample. Language is a categorical indicator for whether an individual knows English, French, both English and French, or neither English nor French, where English is the reference. Finally, education is the categorical indicator for whether an individual has no education, high school, trades, apprenticeship, college (one, two, or three years), below a bachelor's degree, a bachelor's degree, above a bachelor's degree, a Medical Doctorate (MD), a Masters, or a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD), where no education is the reference.

For ease of interpretation, the college qualifications are condensed into a singular college category. All control variables are coded into a series of dummy variables.

Analytical Approach

In terms of my analytical approach, I use a multivariate logistic regression model, run using Stata 16, to look at the 2016 Canadian Census. For ease of interpretation, all results are presented looking at odds ratios to display the likelihood of individuals moving from urban to rural landscapes within the last year based on the variables listed above. The decision to use a series of models in my regression allows for a better understanding of the influence of the five main independent variables on my dependent variable for rural movement. Here, the varying impacts of the overall probabilities of rural migration based on the addition of new variables creates a clear picture of the factors playing a key role in migratory decisions. The equation for this model is indicated below, wherein the binary outcome variable of rural or urban settlement is denoted as 'RU.' The independent variables are denoted as follows: Visible Minority Status (*VM*), Age (*A*), Generational Status (*GS*), Admission Category (*AC*), Year of Immigration (*YI*), Marital Status (*MS*), Number of Children (*NC*), Province of Residence One Year Ago (*PR*), Language (*L*), and Education (*E*).

$$logit\,(RU) = \alpha + \beta_1 VM + \beta_2 A + \beta_3 GS + \beta_4 AC + \beta_5 YI + \beta_6 MS + \beta_6 NC + \beta_6 PR + \beta_7 L + \beta_8 E + e$$

This equation estimates the likelihood of an individual moving to a rural location in 2016 after having lived in an urban setting one year prior (i.e., 2015), compared to remaining in an urban location based on a vector of covariates for both immigrants and non-immigrants in 2016. In the results and discussion sections to follow, I outline the resulting odds ratios of the logistic regressions and address hypotheses one through five.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

To establish a clear picture of the population in question, it is first important to outline the descriptive statistics of the chosen sample. Table 1 below provides a detailed overview of both the total sample population, as well as a breakdown of the sample by rural movers versus urban stayers, as taken from the 2016 Canadian Census.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics of Rural Movers versus Urban Stayers in the 2016 Canadian Census, listed as percentages (%).

	Rural Movers	Urban Stayers	Overall
Location			
Urban	-	-	82.1
Rural	-	-	17.9
Rural Movement (from Urban)			
No	-	-	92.8
Yes	-	-	7.2
Visible Minority Status			
South Asian	0.8	4.7	4.4
Chinese	0.5	4.4	4.2
Black	0.5	3.2	3.0
Filipino	0.1	1.8	1.7
Latin American	0.2	1.3	1.3
West Asian/Arab	0.3	2.1	1.9
Other Asian (SE Asian/Japanese)	0.2	1.1	1.0
Korean	0.1	0.5	0.5
Other	0.1	0.4	0.3
Non-Visible Minority (ref.)	92.5	76.1	77.3
Aboriginal	4.7	4.4	4.4
Age			
18 to 19	0.1	0.1	0.1
20 to 29	7.6	10.1	9.9
30 to 39	19.6	22.5	22.2
40 to 49	26.1	26.2	26.3
50 to 59	37.4	32.4	32.7
60 to 65	9.2	8.7	8.8
Generational Status			
First	8.3	25.5	24.3
Second	13.0	14.4	14.3
Third (ref.)	78.7	60.1	61.4
Admission Category			
Non-Immigrant (ref.)	92.0	74.9	76.1
Landed before 1980	2.7	3.8	3.8
Non-permanent Resident	0.2	1.0	0.9
Economic	2.7	11.0	10.4
Family Sponsorship	1.7	5.6	5.3
Refugee	0.7	3.5	3.3
Other	0.0	0.2	0.2

Year of Immigration			
Non-Immigrant/Non-Permanent	92.3	75.8	77.0
Resident	0.3	0.3	0.3
1950s	1.0	1.1	1.1
1960s	1.4	2.5	2.4
1970s	1.5	3.8	3.7
1980s	1.6	6.4	6.0
1990s	1.4	7.0	6.6
2000s (ref.)	0.5	3.1	2.9
2010s			
Marital Status			
Single (ref.)	28.5	34.6	34.2
Married	53.6	45.6	46.1
Previously Married	17.9	19.8	19.7
Number of Children			
0	48.4	50.3	50.1
1	20.3	20.5	20.5
2	21.7	20.7	20.8
3	7.0	6.4	6.5
4+	2.6	2.1	2.1
Province of Residence			
Newfoundland and Labrador	1.8 (1.7)	1.4 (1.5)	1.5 (1.5)
Prince Edward Island	1.0 (1.0)	0.3 (0.3)	0.4 (0.4)
Nova Scotia	6.4 (6.3)	2.4 (2.4)	2.7 (2.7)
New Brunswick	6.4 (6.3)	1.9 (1.8)	2.2 (2.2)
Quebec	24.0 (24.0)	24.1 (24.1)	24.1 (24.1)
Ontario (ref.)	35.3 (35.4)	37.6 (37.6)	37.4 (37.4)
Manitoba	2.8 (2.9)	3.5 (3.5)	3.5 (3.5)
Saskatchewan	2.5 (2.5)	3.2 (3.2)	3.1 (3.1)
Alberta	8.0 (8.3)	12.4 (12.5)	12.1 (12.2)
British Columbia	11.8 (11.6)	13.2 (13.1)	13.0 (12.9)
Language			
English (ref.)	72.6	74.8	74.7
French	27.1	23.1	23.4
Both	0.2	1.1	1.0
Neither	0.1	1.0	0.9
Education			
None (ref.)	11.3	11.2	11.2
High school	23.2	22.7	22.7
Trades	8.2	6.4	6.5
Apprenticeship	9.6	5.6	5.9
College	25.6	22.4	22.6
Less than Bachelors	2.4	2.8	2.8
Bachelors	13.3	19.1	18.7
More than Bachelors	1.3	1.8	1.8
MD	0.9	0.8	0.8
Masters	3.5	6.1	5.9
PhD	0.7	1.1	1.1
N	*637,245*	*8,228,695*	*8,865,940*

Source: 2016 Canadian Census.

Note: For province of residence, percentages in parentheses indicate the population within each province 1-year prior (i.e., in 2015).

Looking first at the third column, which outlines the results for the total sample, we can see that the majority of the sample lives in urban Canada, at a massive 82%, leaving only 18% of the population spread out across rural Canada in 2016. Further, of the selected population, only 7% migrated out of urban centres in favour of rural landscapes. In terms of visible minority status, most respondents, at 77%, identify as non-visible minorities, with the next highest proportion falling into the South Asian and Aboriginal categories, at approximately 4% each. The remaining eight minority statuses compose anywhere from less than 1% to 4% of the sample. Looking at age, approximately 33% of the sample is aged 50 to 59, followed by 26% at 40 to 49 and 22% at 30 to 39, while the remaining three age groups comprise only 19% combined, suggesting the population is heavily weighted at the higher end of the age spectrum. Meanwhile, a substantial 61% are third generation, followed by first generation at approximately 24% and second generation at only 14%. When further considering immigration status, individuals identifying as non-immigrants make up a substantial 76% of the total population, with the second highest classification at about 10% for economic immigrants. All other categories (i.e., those who landed before 1980, non-permanent residents, family sponsored immigrants, refugees, and other) cover the remaining 14%. Similarly, year of immigration responses show that, identical to admission category, 77% of the sample are either non-immigrant or non-permanent residents. Beyond these two classifications, the majority of immigrants to Canada within this sample arrived in the 2000s, at approximately 7% of the sample, followed by the 1990s at 6%, while the remaining 10% span the 1950s through 1980s and 2010s.

Moreover, 46% of the sample are married, while half of the respondents have no children and 41% have either one or two. In terms of province of residence, Ontario is the most densely

populated, at about 37% in both 2015 and 2016, followed by Quebec, at 24% in both years. These are followed by Alberta and British Columbia, who both see between 12% and 13% of the total sample in both 2015 and 2016. Approximately three quarters of respondents know English, while 24% know French and the remaining nearly 2% either know both or neither language. Finally, most of the sample have a high school education, at 23%, followed closely by those with a college diploma, to a decimal place difference. The third highest educational attainment occurs for those with a bachelor's degree, at 19%.

Noteworthy, however, is that the main interest of this study is the characteristics that define individuals who opt for rural migration. To gain a more in-depth look at the characteristics of rural movers, the first two columns in Table 1 offer a comparison of both movers and stayers within the defined population. For the most part, much of the breakdown aligns with the findings for the total population, with slight variations. For instance, the majority of both movers and stayers identify as non-visible minorities, at 93% and 76%, respectively. The remaining 7% of movers and 24% of stayers are of visible minority statuses, occurring most often as Aboriginals for movers (5%) and South Asians for stayers (5%). Further, both groups see the majority of ages within the 50 to 59 range, at 37% and 32%, respectively, with the largest proportion of individuals falling within the higher end of the age spectrum. Regarding generational status, both groups are substantially third generation, at 79% and 60%, respectively. However, while stayers have a 26% first generation population, this is only 8% for movers.

When looking at immigration specific factors, admission category indicates that most respondents, at 92% of movers and 75% of stayers, are non-immigrant. While economic immigrants comprise 11% of the stayer population, this is not as pronounced for movers, who see very low proportions of all other categories. Additionally, most of the sample in both groups are

non-immigrants or non-permanent residents, at 92% of movers and 76% of stayers, with movers seeing the next highest occurrence in the 1990s (2%) and stayers in the 2000s (7%). The final component of Table 2, which looks at the percentages for marital status, children, province of residence, language, and education, align with the previous discussion for Table 1. Most individuals in both groups are married (54% and 46%), have no children (48% and 50%), live in Ontario (35% and 38%) or Quebec (24% each), speak English (73% and 75%), and have a high school (23% each) or college diploma (26% and 24%).

Logistic Regressions

To further these findings, the following section outlines the results of a multivariate logistic regression, presented as odds ratios. This is done to understand the magnitude to which my five focal independent variables influence the dependent indicator for those moving from urban to rural Canada. Table 2 shows the results of all five models, listed in successive columns for ease of interpretation.

Table 3: Odds ratios of individuals moving to rural Canada in the logit model for the 2016 Census sample.

	Model 1	Model 2	Model 3	Model 4	Model 5
Location (omitted: Remained in Urban Canada)					
Moved to Rural Canada	0.07***	0.04***	0.02***	0.03***	0.03***
Visible Minority Status (omitted: Non-Visible Minority)					
South Asian	0.15***	0.15***	0.24***	0.26***	0.27***
Chinese	0.12***	0.12***	0.18***	0.19***	0.19***
Black	0.14***	0.14***	0.21***	0.23***	0.23***
Filipino	0.07***	0.07***	0.12***	0.13***	0.13***
Latin American	0.15***	0.15***	0.24***	0.29***	0.30***
West Asian/Arab	0.13***	0.13***	0.22***	0.26***	0.28***
Other Asian (SE Asian/Japanese)	0.19***	0.19***	0.28***	0.33***	0.32***
Korean	0.17***	0.17***	0.27***	0.30***	0.31***
Other	0.16***	0.16***	0.25***	0.26***	0.25***
Aboriginal	0.96***	0.97***	0.91***	0.90***	0.90***
Age	-	1.03***	1.02***	1.03***	1.03***
Age^2		1.00***	1.00***	1.00***	1.00***
Generational Status (omitted: Third Generation)					
First	-	-	1.51***	1.04	1.04
Second	-	-	1.92***	1.33***	1.33***

Admission Category (omitted: Non-Immigrant)					
Landed before 1980	-	-	-	0.90***	0.91***
Non-permanent Resident	-	-	-	0.52***	0.51***
Economic	-	-	-	0.60***	0.53***
Family Sponsorship	-	-	-	0.69***	0.58***
Refugee	-	-	-	0.38***	0.31***
Other	-	-	-	0.47***	0.44***
Year of Immigration (omitted: 2000s)					
1980s	-	-	-	-	1.56***
1990s	-	-	-	-	1.11***
2010s	-	-	-	-	0.94**
Marital Status (omitted: Single)					
Married	1.68***	1.56***	1.60***	1.60***	1.61***
Previously Married	1.13***	1.03***	1.04***	1.05***	1.05***
Number of Children	1.06***	1.07***	1.07***	1.07***	1.07***
Province of Residence (1 year ago) (omitted: Ontario)					
Newfoundland and Labrador	0.95***	0.95***	0.85***	0.85***	0.85***
Prince Edward Island	2.37***	2.38***	2.16***	2.16***	2.16***
Nova Scotia	2.29***	2.30***	2.10***	2.09***	2.10***
New Brunswick	2.71***	2.73***	2.55***	2.54***	2.54***
Quebec	0.80***	0.80***	0.79***	0.79***	0.79***
Manitoba	0.73***	0.73***	0.71***	0.71***	0.71***
Saskatchewan	0.66***	0.67***	0.62***	0.62***	0.62***
Alberta	0.63***	0.63***	0.61***	0.61***	0.61***
British Columbia	0.96***	0.96***	0.95***	0.94***	0.94***
Language (omitted: English)					
French	1.28***	1.27***	1.17***	1.17***	1.17***
Both	0.28***	0.28***	0.37***	0.40***	0.40***
Neither	0.40***	0.39***	0.50***	0.56***	0.59***
Education (omitted: None)					
High school	0.97***	0.98**	0.98***	0.98***	0.98***
Trades	1.17***	1.19***	1.19***	1.19***	1.19***
Apprenticeship	1.50***	1.53***	1.52***	1.52***	1.52***
College	1.02***	1.04***	1.04***	1.04***	1.04***
Less than Bachelors	0.95***	0.95***	0.98*	0.98	0.99
Bachelors	0.71***	0.73***	0.74***	0.74***	0.74***
More than Bachelors	0.67***	0.68***	0.73***	0.73***	0.74***
MD	1.15***	1.15***	1.22***	1.22***	1.23***
Masters	0.60***	0.61***	0.64***	0.65***	0.65***
PhD	0.64***	0.64***	0.72***	0.73***	0.74***
Log likelihood	-2146993.1	-2145417.4	-2137027.2	-2135399.4	-2134870
Pseudo R^2	0.0631	0.0638	0.0674	0.0681	0.0684
AIC	.4843567	.484003	.4821122	.4817504	.4816338
BIC	-3.10e+07	-3.10e+0.7	-3.10e+07	-3.10e+07	-3.10e+07
N			*8,865,940*		

Source: 2016 Canadian Census

Note: Statistical significance indicated by *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001. Model 1 looks at visible minority status, Model 2 adds age and age-squared, Model 3 adds generational status, Model 4 adds admission category, and Model 5 adds year of immigration. All models include control variables.

While each model adds a new main independent variable (i.e., Model 1 includes visible minority status, Model 2 adds age and age-squared, Model 3 adds generational status, Model 4 adds admission category, and Model 5 adds year of immigration), all models are inclusive of additional control variables (i.e., marital status, number of children, province of residence one year ago, language, and education). This is done to allow a clear sense of the impact of various factors on the main dependent variable indicating an individual's odds of moving from urban to rural Canada between the years 2015 and 2016.

Model 1, which includes only the first focal independent variable, visible minority status, indicates that individuals in the sample population are 93% less likely to move to rural Canada compared to remaining in urban areas. Looking at visible minority status itself, all groups have lower likelihoods of moving to rural Canada than their non-visible minority counterparts. While this difference is only 4% less likely for individuals identifying as Aboriginal, it is much more exaggerated for individuals in the Filipino group, at 93% less likely. For the remaining groups, this ranges from 81% to 88% less likely. The control variables suggest that, compared to the single reference group, individuals who are married are 68% more likely to move to rural Canada, while those who are separated are only 13% more likely. Further, with each additional child, individuals are 6% more likely to opt for rural settings. Regarding province of residence one year ago, the East coast sees positive likelihoods for rural migration that are much higher when compared to Ontario, at 2.37 times (or 137%) greater odds in Prince Edward Island, 2.29 times (or 129%) greater in Nova Scotia, and 2.71 times (or 171%) greater in New Brunswick, while all other provinces experience negative odds ratios. That is, British Columbia and Newfoundland are only 4% and 5%

less likely, respectively, while Quebec, Manitoba, Saskatchewan, and Alberta range between 20% and 37% less likely. Turning to language, those who speak French are 28% more likely to move to rural Canada than their English-speaking counterparts, while those who know both or neither language are less likely, at 72% and 60%, respectively. Finally, in terms of educational attainment, individuals with backgrounds in trades and apprenticeships, as well as those with college diplomas and medical degrees have higher odds of moving to rural Canada than those without any education (17% for trades, 50% for apprenticeships, 2% for college, and 15% for medical doctorates). The remaining educational categories (i.e., high school, less than bachelors, bachelors, more than bachelors, masters, and Doctor of Philosophy) all see lower likelihoods, ranging from 3% to 40%. The pseudo R^2 for this model is 0.0631, indicating that the results shown here are relatively weak predictors of rural migration.

Model 2 includes all components explored in Model 1 but adds age and age squared. For the most part, the results indicated here are near identical to those in Model 1, to the exception of a lower significance for those with a high school education, as well as the results for movers versus stayers. In other words, whereas in Model 1 the population was 93% less likely to move to rural Canada, this is now 96% less likely in Model 2. Another noteworthy change is that individuals who were previously married are now only 3% more likely to migrate out of urban Canada compared to individuals who are single. In terms of age, with each additional year, individuals in the sample are 3% more likely to move into rural Canada, whereas age squared indicates that the relationship between rural movement and age is nearly linear. The pseudo R^2 for this model is 0.0638, suggesting that the addition of age helps to explain more of the variations in migration propensities.

Comparatively, Model 3, which adds generational status, shows slight differences from the first two models. While nearly all characteristics maintain high statistical significance, individuals with less than a bachelor's degree now only hold significance at the p-value of less than 0.05. Additionally, the findings regarding visible minority status change by nearly 10% for almost all groups, meaning minority statuses that were once in the 80% less likely range now fall into the range of 70% less likely to opt for rural Canada. Moreover, when looking at the odds ratio for those who move to rural Canada, Model 3 now shows that individuals in the sample are 98% less likely with the addition of generational characteristics. In terms of the indicator for generational status, both first- and second-generation immigrants are more likely to move to rural Canada compared to third generation immigrants, at 51% and 92% higher odds. Part of this may be due to the background of the cohorts themselves, wherein earlier generations are more inclined toward less densely populated locations when compared to the third-generation cohort, who may be drawn toward more crowded urban landscapes. The pseudo R^2 for this model is 0.0674, which suggests that generational status is a key component to consider when looking at the characteristics of rural movers.

When adding admission category in Model 4, however, the influence of generational status becomes less pronounced. In particular, for first-generation immigrants, although showing a 4% higher likelihood of rural migration than their third-generation counterparts, this no longer holds statistical significance. For second-generation immigrants, the likelihood of moving to rural locations is now only 33% higher. Further, while in Model 3 individuals with less than a bachelor's degree still held some statistical significance, this group becomes insignificant in Model 4. Regarding the likelihood of the overall population migrating to rural Canada, this decreases slightly, to 97% less likely. All other previously included characteristics remain relatively stable.

Turning to the new addition of admission category, all categories are less likely to move to rural Canada than the non-immigrant reference group. While this is only somewhat true for those who landed before 1980, at 10% less likely, it is far more pronounced for those admitted as refugees (62%) and other immigrants (53%), as well as those who are non-permanent residents (48%), economic immigrants (40%), and family sponsored (31%). The pseudo R^2 for this model is 0.0681, indicating that, similar to generational status, admission category is an important determinant in location choices.

The final model, Model 5, includes all characteristics with the addition of year of immigration.[7] Overall, the findings shown here are not dissimilar to those in previous models. As seen in Model 4, being of first-generation immigrant status is not statistically significant, nor is holding less than a bachelor's degree. Additionally, the odds ratio for individuals moving to rural Canada compared to remaining in urban Canada maintains a static 97%. Regarding the inclusion of year of immigration, only three categories are included in the regression. As such, the results for Model 5 indicate that all three of the included immigration decades are statistically significant. Compared to the 2000s reference group, those arriving in both the 1980s and 1990s have a higher likelihood of rural migration, at 56% and 11%, respectively. Conversely, those arriving in the 2010s are 6% less likely to make this move when compared to the 2000s reference group. The pseudo R^2 for this model is 0.0684. Although still indicative of an improvement in the ability to predict rural movement, this is a minimal jump. Thus, year of immigration does work to explain some differences in location choices, but the role it plays is minimal when compared to other factors.

Discussion and Conclusion

[7] When generating the dummy variable for year of immigration, the native-born group was not included in the coding in order to ensure this was only reflective of immigrants.

In general, immigrants are more likely to opt for urban settlement over rural. Part of the reason for this may be linked to the presence of already existing ethnic communities in larger cities, which comes with a sense of security, companionship, and diminished fears of discrimination and hardship for many newcomers (Fong & Shibuya, 1995; Kritz et al., 2013; McDonald, 2004; Voia et al., 2017; Zavodny, 1999). This trend is also more evident when comparing visible minorities to their non-visible minority counterparts who, as seen in Table 1, comprise nearly 93% of rural movers within this variable. As such, hypothesis 1 is supported by the findings in both the descriptive statistics and logistic regressions. Further, both marriage and children lead to higher propensities for rural migration when compared to being single and childless, as well as living in locations that are, for the most part, heavily rural overall (i.e., the Maritime provinces). In terms of age, while the findings for the descriptive results indicate a drop in the number of older individuals living in rural Canada, the regression (Table 2) suggests that each additional year leads to individuals within the sample being 3% more likely to move to rural Canada. This may be due, in part, to the desire of aging adults in Canada to settle down in locations that are comprised of quieter and tighter knit communities as they reach the age of retirement. As such, there is partial support for hypothesis 2.

Similarly, regarding hypothesis 3, which states that first- and second-generation immigrants will be less likely to migrate into rural areas, there are some surprising findings. That is, in Table 1, the descriptive findings indicated that the sample was heavily comprised by third-generation immigrants. However, the logistic regression results (Table 2) suggest that, when compared to their third-generation counterparts, both first- and second-generation immigrants had higher likelihoods of migrating into rural Canada, to the exception that the findings for first-generation immigrants were not statistically significant. As such, hypothesis 3 was not supported

in these findings. This could be due, in part, to an underrepresentation of first- and second-generation immigrants in the descriptive tables who may have lived in rural settings initially and, therefore, were not counted within the sample of those who moved. For hypothesis 4, which asserts that non-immigrants will be more likely to opt for rural settlement than immigrants admitted under all other admission categories, the results offer support in both the descriptive statistics as well as the regression in Table 2. The next most likely group was those admitted before 1980 who were only 10% less likely when compared to non-immigrants, which is minimal when considering that all other admission categories saw negative propensities upwards of 31%.

Finally, in terms of time spent in the country, the results of both the descriptive statistics and the logistic regressions did not offer support for hypothesis 5. Individuals whose year of immigration occurred in the 1980s and 1990s had higher likelihoods than those who arrived in the 2000s. Further, those arriving in the 2010s have lower odds of rural migration than even individuals in the 2000s. It can be argued, then, that older generations of migrants are more likely to opt for rural settlement than their newer counterparts. This could be due to the environment of the origin from which they are arriving, which may lead to a stronger pull toward more densely populated urban centres. Alternatively, it could be linked to the period during which these older generations arrived in the country, wherein cities were not as developed as currently and, therefore, rural options were more numerous, making them more accustomed to the lifestyle and, in turn, more likely to migrate into it. Further, there is also the potential impact of immigration policy which, throughout these time periods, adapted and evolved to target specific subsets of arrivals. This, in turn, generated an environment that encouraged newcomers to settle into more heavily populated locations in order to acquire more employment opportunities.

Overall, these results suggest a few trends that are worth mentioning, especially within the context of potential policy implications. For instance, the finding that individuals who are married and with children are more likely to choose rural settlement than those who are single and childless, in addition to the factor of age, suggests a potentially important stream for rural migration. That is, individuals with young families or, perhaps, those who are still of working age, who may have more freedom in settlement decisions due to their children becoming old enough to move separately from the main household. As well, while current initiatives aimed at skilled workers can be directed more heavily toward rural areas, another potential stream indicated here is individuals with medical degrees who may be inclined to move to less densely populated locations as a means of beginning a practice where such a service may be required.

Moreover, the suggestion that visible minority and immigrant groups are less likely to opt for rural settlement points to a lack within the communities that act as a barrier to their successful integration. These could occur within areas such as settlement services (Roberts, 2020; Sethi, 2013; Wang & Truelove, 2003; Zuberi et al., 2018) or even within the atmosphere of the community itself (Crowley et al., 2015; Hugo & Morén-Alégret, 2008; Jentsch & Simard, 2009; Phillimore, 2015), which may be less inclined to welcome outsiders in. As such, policy initiatives should work toward ensuring a broader range of inclusive services, as well as preparatory aid for the communities themselves as a means of making them better able to welcome and support these new arrivals (Bollman et al., 2007; Carter et al., 2008; McDonald & Worswick, 2012; Moore & Rosenberg, 1995; Reimer, 2007). Not only this, but, using Lee Everett's (1966) theory of migration as a framework, these communities may well benefit from a more directed approach toward immigration that works to locate and advertise pull factors unique to their individualized settings as a means of attracting newcomers in. For instance, Maple Leaf Canada, operating in Brandon,

Manitoba, offers potential newcomers the ability to not only obtain employment, but also to upgrade both their own language and skills, as well as the language of those entering the country with them as a means of gaining human capital which, in turn, makes them better suited to benefit the economy in which they are participating (T. Abada, personal communication, August 2, 2022). Thus, through initiatives such as these, smaller communities have the potential to increase the stream of arrivals, while also affording their economies benefits over the long-term.

Nonetheless, there exists several limitations to this study. For one, the decision to use the 2016 Canadian Census which, at the time of writing, is 5 years old, creates concerns for the relevancy of the findings in 2021. However, as this is the most recent Census currently available, this study occurred under the assumption that the findings are generalizable over time. Future studies, therefore, should benefit from the upcoming release of the 2021 Canadian Census, which would allow for a timelier investigation of these factors. Additionally, although this study assumed that all individuals, to some extent, may have the desire to live in rural settings but ultimately decide not to due to a variety of individualized characteristics, there still exists the reality that many current residents of Canada do not wish to live in these destinations either (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). As such, it is hard to encourage new arrivals to live in a location that is not deemed desirable by the already existing masses.

As well, it is not entirely realistic to assume that, once an individual arrives at a certain location, they will remain in place. Often, people make secondary moves based on various individual push and pull factors, whether related to employment, education, overall well-being, or even family and friends (Akbari, 2005, 2008; Beshiri & He, 2009). However, in saying this, it is also important to note that the factors that pull an individual into a location will differ depending on if they are an immigrant or someone who was born in the country. This is especially evident in

terms of educational background, employment opportunities, and the existence of co-ethnic ties within the communities in question, as often immigrants do not receive the same level of recognition for their education and experience (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Guo, 2009; Li, 2001; Robichaud et al., 2022), nor do smaller locations have the same level of ethnic diversity evident in urban landscapes (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). Thus, given that this trend could shift one way or another, future studies may find that the propensities toward rural living arrangements may either increase or decrease dependent on a series of both individual and environmental factors. One key factor worth considering in studies using the 2021 Canadian Census is the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic on migratory patterns. Here, we may well see a shift in the direction of rural movement as people attempt to situate themselves away from main hotspot areas which, more often than not, occur in large metropolitan areas (Ranscombe, 2020; Sharifi & Khavarian-Garmsir, 2020).

Given the extent of the impact of factors such as population aging, youth exodus, faltering fertility, and the resulting economic declines, rural locations, without the inclusion of migration uncertainty, are already struggling to maintain their resilience (Fonseca, 2008; McAreavey, 2019; Sánchez-Zamora et al., 2014). Thus, it is not only necessary to increase the number of individuals arriving in these locations, but also to expand the levels of understanding and preparedness within these communities to be better able to properly welcome them in, thereby setting them up for successful integration and, ideally, retention.

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CHAPTER 2:

WHAT HAS CHANGED OVER TIME?

Abstract

An increasingly key consideration in Canadian immigration policy is rural settlement patterns. As Canada's largest census metropolitan areas (CMAs) continue to see increases in overall population, smaller and mid-sized communities face greater challenges in attracting and retaining newcomers as a means of economic and population improvements. As such, it is becoming increasingly important to look at the characteristics of individuals who opt for rural settlement in order to improve the outcomes of future attraction initiatives. While a substantial body of literature looks at the movement of immigrants and native-born Canadians across the country, far fewer look at the characteristics that positively predict rural settlement. This study helps to close the knowledge gap by investigating these characteristics and how they change over a 25-year period, using two identical logistic regression models and a pooled cross-sectional model based on the 1991 and 2016 Canadian Census. Overall, age, lower levels of education and income, as well as non-immigrant and non-visible minority statuses lead to higher propensities for rural living. However, the general trend is a move away from rural settlement in favour of larger cities.

Key words: Rural, Urban, Immigrants, Canada, Settlement

Introduction

Rural Canada has been undergoing significant changes, and is becoming increasingly diverse and connected (Reimer, 2002). Approximately 20% of Canadians live in rural and small communities, with 2016 seeing less than one-fifth of the population within these areas (Gillis, 2019). Nonetheless, some argue whether rural, as a definition of location, truly exists anymore as it, alongside urban communities, has been transformed and changed by waves of technological, transport, and every day, way of life improvements (Corbett, 2014; Friedman, 2005). However, looking through the lens of works by scholars such as Foucault (2010) and Florida (2005), the differentiation between urban and rural is an important component of hierarchy. In other words, by grouping individuals based on their location, it acts as a defining power for differences and inequalities (Florida, 2005; Foucault, 2010). As a result of this differentiation, rural locations may use "folk ideologies" to not only define themselves (Corbett, 2014), but also to encourage tourism and intrigue (Kelly, 2013). Thus, the very nature of rural itself is highly complex (Brann-Barrett, 2015).

Although there is a pool of existing research that explicitly explores who lives in rural Canada, this is often limited in terms of both quantity and timeliness (see Bryant & Joseph, 2001; Dufty-Jones, 2014; Gillis, 2019; Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). Likely, settlement trends have, to some extent, changed, especially in the wake of the COVID-19 pandemic. As such, my study helps to close this knowledge gap by looking at the characteristics of individuals residing in rural Canada in both 1991 and 2016. By looking at each year side-by-side, I will illustrate how individual characteristics may have changed over time. Additionally, as immigration increasingly becomes a key source of population and economic growth, I explore how the propensities of immigrants to

live in rural spaces have transformed over 25 years. Overall, the findings of the following study paint a fairly drastic picture of the extent to which residential preferences change over time.

In what follows, I outline important background factors influencing rural residency, including demographic and socioeconomic characteristics, before discussing the findings of two logistic regression models, as well as a pooled cross-sectional model. To conclude, I outline my main findings, potential limitations to and policy implications of this study, as well as what future research might look like.

Background

To situate this study within the realm of migration literature surrounding rural residency, there are a number of key factors worth considering.[8] Among these are both demographic and socioeconomic characteristics that work to either encourage or discourage individuals from living within less densely populated communities. In the following section, I outline components such as age, background (i.e., visible minority and immigrant status), location, education, income, and employment as a means of defining potentially significant influencing factors in residential decisions, as these are most often seen to play key roles in many life events. These residential decisions, overall, not only act as an important push for economic vitality, but also work to address gaps within the labour market, afford regions comparative advantages, and encourage a circulation of skills, capital, and networks nationwide (Pendakur & Young, 2013). Thus, as rural migrants act as a "demographic life-line" (McAreavey, 2019; Lichter et al., 2016), the characteristics specific to this subset of the population are particularly important within the context of potential policy implications and overall immigration initiatives.

[8] These factors were chosen based on the influence of both Everett Lee's (1966) theory of migration, as outlined in the main introduction (p. 10), which suggests that moves/residency are based on a number of individualized factors, as well as discussions with the supervisory committee as to what components would play the biggest role in residential decisions.

Demographic Factors

Background

In terms of the influence of one's background, or rather their visible minority or immigrant status, on residential decisions, it is important to note that the most significant driving factor in this regard is not necessarily city size (Pendakur & Young, 2013). Rather, residential choices tend to be more heavily influenced by the diversity of the existing population, or the proportion of individuals residing in these locations that are of immigrant or visible minority status (Dufty-Jones, 2014; Hugo & Morén-Alegret, 2008; Lichter, 2012; Pendakur & Young, 2013). As such, it becomes necessary to encourage a more significant push in rural areas, wherein individuals from all classifications of immigrant status are attracted into small towns and cities across Canada (Kaida et al., 2020). Yet, historically, the majority of Canada sees more than 20% of the population comprised by immigrants (Statista, 2021b), while locations like Nova Scotia only see around 5% of the total population, with approximately 5% in urban areas compared to only 3% in rural (Lambert, 2005), with this trend seeing minimal changes as of recently. In fact, just over one in twenty rural residents identify as being of immigrant status, as compared to one in four urban residents (Gillis, 2019). Rural areas are also shown to be much more likely to have large proportions of the community comprised by Indigenous individuals than immigrant settlers (Gillis, 2019). Additionally, as compared to the native-born population, immigrants are less likely to engage in inter-regional moves (Haan, 2008), making them less likely to opt for secondary or even tertiary moves into rural locations after settling elsewhere initially (Kaida et al., 2020). One exception to this is those entering under the refugee admission classification who, although originally opting for rural settlement after arrival, tend to leave in favour of larger locations within a few years (Hellstrom, 2019; Kaida et al., 2020).

Similarly, as of 1996, approximately 2.2 million, or 44% of Canadians were visible minorities (Beshiri & Alfred, 2002). Of these, only 4% lived in rural regions (Beshiri & Alfred, 2002). A partial explanation for this is the fact that visible minorities have traditionally fared worse in these areas than their non-visible minority counterparts (Beshiri & Alfred, 2002). What may be driving this is experiences of discrimination within small communities (Lai & Huffey, 2009; Voia et al., 2017), which have traditionally been constructed as "white spaces" (Dufty-Jones, 2014). While some immigrants may ignore or dismiss these issues because of the perceived benefits these communities afford, such as increased employment and educational opportunities (Matthews, 2006; Moghaddam et al., 2002; Patel et al., 2019; Ruggiero & Taylor, 1997; Taylor et al., 2000), others may be deterred from long-term settlement within these locations as a result (Lai & Huffey, 2009; Voia et al., 2017).

Age

Another important factor in determining who lives in rural spaces is age, or rather the distribution of age within certain locations. When looking at the average age across the country, the national average age for urban dwellers is 40, compared to 43 for those in rural areas (Gillis, 2019). What this indicates is a population more heavily influenced by a significant number of older adults residing within these rural locations when compared to not only more urban landscapes, but Canada overall (Gillis, 2019). This trend is especially true in locations such as Nova Scotia, where the share of individuals below 15 is lowest, but the share of those above 65 is the highest (Lambert, 2005; Statistics Canada, 2019), or Newfoundland and Labrador, where the average age is 44 years old, as compared to 40.6 for Canada overall (Statistics Canada, 2019). The exception to this is Nunavut, where the population is not only younger, but continually growing (Gillis, 2019; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; Statistics Canada, 2022a). The overall trend in the majority of rural

regions, however, is toward a continually aging population that is further impacted by the exodus of younger individuals (Gillis, 2019; Hanlon & Skinner, 2021), as will be discussed in greater detail below. This, in turn, transforms rural communities across the country (Gillis, 2019; Hanlon & Skinner, 2021).

Part of this transformation comes as a result of rural areas experiencing an influx of newly retired and middle-class families (McAreavey, 2019; Stockdale & MacLeod, 2013). These individuals gravitate toward rural regions not only as a means of escaping densely populated areas, but also due to the allure of lower costs of living and the various amenities afforded in these destinations (McAreavey, 2019; Glasgow & Brown, 2012; Stockdale & MacLeod, 2013). In addition to this subset of individuals moving in, there are also those who choose to age-in-place who add to the growing number of older adults residing within these areas (Channer et al., 2020; Pendakur & Young, 2013; Northcott & Petruik, 2013). These trends, overall, work to push the average age of individuals residing in rural locations upward and, as a result, contribute to the uneven distribution of working age individuals across the country which, in turn, increases experiences of population and economic disparities.

Socioeconomic Factors

Education

In terms of education, universities tend to act as a pull factor for potential migrants (Pendakur & Young, 2013). However, the effects of this are often less pronounced for small- and medium-sized communities, especially when compared to their larger urban counterparts (Ericksek & McKinney, 2006; O'Hagan & Rutland, 2008; Pendakur & Young, 2013; Zarfia et al., 2019). This is especially true for Northern and rural locations across Canada (Zarifa et al., 2018, 2019), as access to higher education tends to be more limited, particularly for individuals of lower

socioeconomic status (Hillier et al., 2021; Zarifa et al., 2018). As a result of not only this, but also the potential impact of more highly educated populations exiting the region, these smaller areas tend to have fewer highly educated individuals (Zarifa et al., 2019), with residents being 50% less likely to hold a university degree when compared to urban centres (Gillis, 2019). Exacerbating this trend is the notion that the concept of education within rural locations can, at times, be misunderstood or misrepresented (Brann-Barrett, 2015; Corbett, 2014). That is, a running belief is that locations without access to higher education only exist in the realm of developing countries, rather than occurring in the, for the most part, highly developed landscape of North America (Corbett, 2014). This fails to acknowledge, however, the various manners in which rural may be defined, wherein locations not only in Canada but throughout the world can be far more remote and less developed than others. In this way, rural education becomes the "other" to urban education (Ching & Creed, 1997; Corbett, 2006, 2014; Donehower et al., 2007; Theobald, 1997), wherein it is comparatively more isolated and uncultured than the sophisticated urban landscape (Berry, 1977; Ching & Creed, 1997; Corbett, 2006, 2014; Donehower et al., 2007; Theobald, 1997). Thus, urban environments become the "quintessential" realm of the educated (Corbett, 2014: 7).

Another way of understanding the educational inequalities experienced across regions is that rural education is sometimes viewed as less reliable or of lesser quality than that of an urban setting (Corbett, 2014; Zarfia et al., 2019). This neglects to acknowledge, however, that outcomes in school often have less to do with the education itself, and more to do with external factors not considered (Corbett, 2014; Sullivan et al., 2018). For instance, Alberta tends to have the most highly financed education system in Canada, yet, because of countless opportunities for young adults to achieve high-income, low-skill work, many will opt to skip post-secondary education in favour of beginning a career in areas such as the oil industry (Corbett, 2014). In this way, the

decision not to pursue higher education has less to do with the education itself and more to do with the various career opportunities afforded within this location that do not necessitate the accumulation of knowledge. Further, differences in educational outcomes between rural and urban areas often vary across the country (Corbett, 2014; Webber, 2003; Zarifa et al., 2018, 2019). In 2001, for example, 13% of the 20-plus Nova Scotian population did not attend school beyond grade 8, as compared to 10% in Canada overall, while, in terms of university education, 16% of Nova Scotians sought out post-secondary education, compared to 24% of Canadians (Lambert, 2005).

Similarly, rural areas tend to face more frequent occurrences of brain drain as the highly educated populations within these locations leave in favour of urban landscapes (Krasulja et al., 2016; see also Cervantes & Guellec, 2002; Rapoport & Docquier, 2006). This aligns with a relatively long history of individuals with higher levels of education being linked to greater instances of mobility, whether short- or long-distance in nature (Champion et al., 1998; Islam & Choudhury, 1990; Pendakur & Young, 2013; White & Haan, 2021). While this is beneficial for the communities in which these highly educated individuals land, it leaves a limited number of people with higher levels of education living in rural settings which, in turn, has detrimental effects on both the economy and the population of these areas overall (Ellerman, 2006; Gillis, 2019; Krasulja et al., 2016). Further, young individuals may feel the need to follow this trend in order to gain meaningful employment that aligns with their educational attainments that they are unable to find in their current living situation (Gillis, 2019; Krasulja et al., 2016). Part of this pull comes from not only greater educational and employment opportunities, but also the allure of arts, culture, and an overall improved tolerance for diversity that is believed to exist more openly in urban locations (Florida, 2003a; Florida et al., 2008; Pendakur & Young, 2013). What this does is create

a cycle of brain drain that has long-lasting effects on the communities affected and, ultimately, limits the number of highly educated individuals living in rural areas.

Income

Moreover, definitions of rural often differ even in terms of income. In other words, as the experience of rural fluctuates across provinces, in terms of both economics and socials, it follows that earnings disparities would also be dependent on location (Ahmed, 2019; Beckstead & Brown, 2005; Singh, 2002, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2015b). Often, "rural" can be condensed into two versions: one is that is better off, less sparse, and more accessible (i.e., rural Ontario); versus the other, which has fewer people and is much more isolated (i.e., the Prairies) (Gillis, 2019; Pateman, 2011; Singh, 2002). The idea here is that the first version of rural would, generally, be situated in a better position than their more isolated counterparts in terms of their economic standing (Ahmed, 2019). The overall trend, however, especially in regard to the rural-urban divide, is that incomes in rural areas, regardless of location, are lower than those in their urban counterparts (Ahmed, 2019; Singh, 2002, 2004; Statistics Canada, 2015b). For instance, in 2015, the average worker in Canada made $836 per week (Statistics Canada, 2015b). Breaking this down by geographical location, individuals in rural areas made between $680 and $760 per week, while those in urban centres made approximately $900 per week (Statistics Canada, 2015b). This is a substantial difference, especially in regard to long-term earnings.

Yet, when factoring in the impact of costs of living, it becomes increasingly evident that, especially in larger urban centres, higher wages are necessary as a means of offsetting the high prices individuals must pay to not only reside here, but also to acquire basic daily needs (i.e., commuting, groceries) (Canada for Newbies, 2022; Government of Canada, 2020c; Odeyemi, 2022). Vancouver and Toronto, without accounting for rent, cost individuals over $1,000 per

month just in living expenses, while Halifax, Kingston, Edmonton, Regina, and St. Johns are all just below $2,000, inclusive of rent (Odeyemi, 2022). Thus, the varying extent to which incomes fluctuate based on location can be linked to the overall costs of living experienced.

Nonetheless, previous research argues that the areas that generally hold above average incomes will have both urban and rural areas that experience above average living expenses (Ahmed, 2019; Singh, 2002, 2004). Further, income disparities have been shown to decline over time, if for no reason other than the incidence of low income in urban areas increasing, thereby situating rural areas in a position to show lowered low-income rates in relation (Singh, 2002, 2004). This, however, does not negate from the fact that many individuals with the funds to live in either urban or rural areas will more often opt for the former, due to the various lifestyle and convenience aspects indicated in prior sections (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012).

Employment

Also important is employment. Similar to previous discussions on education and income, employment experiences tend to fluctuate dependent on the geography an individual is situated within, with the greatest disparities occurring in Atlantic Canada (Gillis, 2019). In places like Nova Scotia, although employment rates change with each census year, the general trend points toward lower labour market participation and employment rates in rural areas as compared to their urban counterparts (Gillis, 2019; Lambert, 2005). It stands to reason, then, that the unemployment rates experienced in these locations tend to be much higher (Gillis, 2019; Lambert, 2005), with men, on average, showing higher rates than women, at 7% and 5.7%, respectively (Gillis, 2019). Other scholars, however, argue that rural areas, when compared to more heavily populated urban centres, tend to be better off in terms of not only unemployment, but also crime rates (Pateman, 2011). Nonetheless, rural areas are often worse off in other respects. For example, although the costs of

living might be lower for those moving into rural locations from urban areas, these same luxuries are less attainable for those actually working within these regions (Pateman, 2011). As a response, some individuals may opt to work outside of the area in which they live as a means of generating a larger income, which can become costly in terms of not only monetary value, but also travel time and carbon emissions (Pateman, 2011). Nonetheless, the larger cities are often more adept to match workers, both immigrant and non-immigrant, to jobs based on their skill levels and education attainments, which affords individuals able and willing to move a greater return on their investments (Andersson et al., 2007; Helsley & Strange, 1990; Marshall, 1890; Statistics Canada, 2015b).

Thus, while rural areas tend to be better off in some regards, there are still many limitations which tend to push potential residents toward urban spaces rather than these smaller locations. In response to these concerns, an overarching potential solution to issues of education, income, and employment is immigration, which would work to bring individuals with various skills, assets, and goals into rural communities. For instance, as pointed out by Beshiri and Alfred (2002), established immigrants in rural Canada tend to have higher levels of education, higher employment rates, higher incomes, and greater propensities for alternate industries of employment (i.e., professional services) than their Canadian-born counterparts. Their newer counterparts, however, tend to show lower propensities in all aspects (see Beshiri & Alfred, 2002), which begs the question of what has changed over time. Not only this, but there also remains a more important question of whether immigrants will be attracted to rural areas, given that the majority of the existing Canadian population is not (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012).

Overall, the demographic factors, such as background (i.e., visible minority and immigrant status), age, and location, as well as socioeconomic factors, such as education, income, and

employment, that tend to play key roles in the residential decisions of individuals, both immigrant and non-immigrant, are important to consider in discussing the makeup of rural residents in Canada. Using these factors as directives, in the remainder of this chapter, I outline the characteristics defining rural residents. To understand how these may have changed in recent history, I look at both 1991 and 2016 to gain a sense of the extent to which the appeal of rural living has altered alongside changing immigration policies. Through this, the goal is to gain a better understanding of the individuals most frequently opting for rural residency, the gaps that need to be addressed, and how this may impact overall retention rates.

Hypotheses

Taking the previous literature, the influence of Lee Everett's (1966) theory of migration, and overall goals of the study into account, there are five main hypotheses leading this research in an attempt to answer the questions: "How do the characteristics of Canadian residents opting for rural settlement change over time?" and "How have immigrants' rural settlement propensities changed in recent history?"

1) Middle-aged and senior individuals will be more likely to live in rural spaces in 1991 than in 2016, however propensities will be higher overall across the entire 25-year span.
2) Individuals who are of immigrant status will have lower propensities for rural settlement as compared to urban in both years, but this trend will be more evident in 1991 than in 2016.
3) Individuals who identify as a visible minority will have lower propensities for rural settlement as compared to urban in both years, but this trend will be more evident in 1991 than in 2016.

4) Individuals with higher levels of education will be even less likely to live in rural locations in 2016 than they were in 1991.
5) Higher income will result in individuals being less likely to opt for rural settlement, with this trend becoming more evident in 2016 as compared to 1991.

Keeping these in mind, the following section outlines the data and methods of the analysis, followed by a discussion of the results of two identical logistic regressions, run for each year of interest, as well as those from the pooled cross-sectional model, before outlining policy implications.

Data and Methods

Data

This study uses both the 1991 and 2016 Canadian Censuses, accessed from a Statistics Canada Research Data Center (RDC). Rather than employing the public use files for my analysis, I decided that, in order to ensure a more representative and encompassing overview of my chosen population, the confidential versions of these Census years would be of greater significance. Further, this decision allows for not only a wider array of factors from which to draw, but also a more in-depth analysis overall.

Sample

In terms of sampling, I am interested in the composition of rural versus urban residents, of both immigrant and non-immigrant status, in 1991 compared to 2016. By looking at the structure of these locations 25 years apart, the hope is to gain a better understanding of how residential decisions may have changed over time and what may have impacted them.[9] Because I am

[9] It is important to note here that the idea behind residential "decisions" are only a conscious act for individuals who either moved out of rural areas or did not leave them because they had the option to do so. This decision does not necessarily apply for individuals who were born in these areas and did not think to move or stay because they do not have the means to do so.

interested in the key demographic of individuals who move independently, I restrict my sample to those aged 20 to 70 years old. This is done to ensure that I am looking at only individuals old enough to move on their own accord, but not at the point of transitioning into a more retirement-based living situation.[10] Additionally, to avoid overrepresentation or inflated outcomes, I further restrict the sample to include only one household maintainer. After imposing these restrictions, my final, weighted sample sizes for 1991 and 2016 are 8,806,275 and 11,889,860, respectively, for a combined total of 20,696,135 observations in the pooled cross-sectional model.

Measures

Location. The dependent variable for my analysis is the binary indicator for whether an individual lives in rural or urban Canada, where urban is the reference. To construct this binary, I employ population centre indicator variables present in both 1991 and 2016. For the purposes of this study, "rural" is understood through the definition provided by Statistics Canada, wherein any city or town with a population of 10,000 or less is classified rural (du Plessis & Clemenson, 2001; Statistics Canada, 2015a).

Age. The first focal independent variable of interest is the continuous indicator for an individual's age, ranging from 20 to 70 years old. As discussed previously, this restriction is set to allow for a more focused analysis of individuals who move independently, who are not yet at the point of transitioning into retirement-based living situations. Also included here is the indicator for age^2, which captures nonlinearity between age and the dependent variable for settlement location.

[10] Due to a shifting economy, the age of retirement tends to fall around 65 in more recent years (Statistics Canada, 2022b), with some being unable to retire at this point due to limited pension plans/savings. Thus, individuals are included up to the age of 70.

Immigrant Status. The second focal independent variable is the categorical indicator for an individual's immigrant status, where non-immigrant is the reference. This is broken into three categories: non-immigrant, immigrant, and non-permanent resident. For the regression models, these are coded into a series of dummy variables, where one equals the immigrant status of interest and zero equals all others.

Visible Minority Status. The third focal independent variable is the categorical indicator for an individual's visible minority status, where non-visible minority is the reference. This is divided into 12 categories: Black, South Asian, Chinese, Korean, Japanese, Southeast Asian, Filipino, Aboriginal, West Asian and Arab, Latin American, Multiple Visible Minorities, and Non-Visible Minority. To ensure these groups matched across datasets, West Asian and Arab were combined into one "West Asian and Arab" group in both years. These are further coded into a series of dummy variables where one equals the visible minority status of interest and zero equals all others. Importantly, although those who identify as Aboriginal are differentiated from those identifying as visible minorities as per Statistics Canada (2021) guidelines, due to coding within the Census, these operate within the same classification within this paper.

Education. The fourth focal independent variable is the categorical indicator for an individual's highest level of education, where high school is the reference. This is broken into 10 categories: no education, high school, trades/apprenticeship, college, less than a Bachelor's degree, a Bachelor's degree, more than a Bachelor's degree, a Master's degree, a Medical Doctorate (MD), or a Doctor of Philosophy (PhD). To ensure alignment across dataset years, all college-based credentials are combined into one "college" category, while individuals in the trades or apprenticeship category are combined into one "trades/apprenticeship" designation. These are

further coded in a series of dummy variables, where one equals the educational attainment of interest and zero equals all others.

Income. The fifth focal independent variable is the continuous indicator for an individual's logged income. The decision to include this variable in its logged form allows me to account for any potential outliers within the data and get a more nuanced comparison of income across the two Census years. Additionally, to ensure comparability across census years, income in 1991 was adjusted to the dollar value of 2015 before attaining its logged form.

Year. The sixth and final focal independent variable is the binary indicator for the year of interest, 1991 and 2016, where 1991 is the reference. Although not present in the individual regressions by Census year, this becomes an important indicator in the pooled cross-sectional model where the two years are combined. As such, these are further coded into a set of dummy variables, where one equals of the year of interest and zero equals the other.

Controls. Other independent variables included in my analysis are sex, marital status, presence of children, industry of employment, language, province of residence, and years since immigration. These controls were selected on the basis of their potential influence on residential decisions, as factors such as being male or female, married or single, having children or not, which industry an individual is employed in, one's knowledge of official languages, which province they reside in, and their position in terms of being a more recent or more established immigrant have been shown to play an important role in residential choices (see McAreavey, 2019; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; Yoshida & Ramos, 2012 for some examples). Sex is a binary indicator for whether an individual is male or female, where male is the reference. The categorical indicator for marital status, for ease of interpretation, is broken into three categories: married, never married, and previously married (i.e., separated, divorced, or widowed), where married is the reference.

Presence of children is a binary indicator which, for ease of interpretation, is constructed to include two categories: no children or one or more, where one or more is the reference. Industry of employment is the categorical indicator for the industry in which an individual is employed during their Census year, where did not work is the reference. This is broken into 21 categories: no work; agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting; mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction; utilities; construction; manufacturing; wholesale trade; retail trade; transportation and warehousing; information and cultural industries; finance and insurance; real estate, rental, and leasing; professional, scientific, and technical services; management (of companies and enterprises); administrative, support, waste management, and remediation services; educational services; health care and social assistance; arts, entertainment, and recreation; accommodation and food services; other services; and public administration. Importantly, to ensure alignment across Census years, this category was broken down and reconstructed for 1991 to match those found in 2016. Language is a categorical indicator for whether an individual knows English, French, both English and French, or neither English nor French, where English is the reference. Province of residence is included as a categorical indicator for the province an individual resides in, where Ontario is the reference. Here, areas such as Nunavut, the Yukon, and the Northwest Territories are combined into one "Northern" category to account for small cell counts while still maintaining their inclusion in the analysis. Finally, years since immigration is a categorical indicator for the number of years that have passed since an individual arrived in the country. This is divided into three categories: less than 10 years, 10 to 19 years, and more than 20 years, where more than 20 years is the reference. For the regressions, all control variables are coded into a series of dummy variables.

Analytical Approach

For my analytical approach, I use two identical multivariate logistic regressions as well as a pooled cross-sectional model, run using Stata 16, to look at both the 1991 and 2016 Censuses. I first look at each Census year separately before combining them to generate my interaction model. This second model allows for a more concrete visualization of how propensities for rural settlement have changed over time for the immigrant population in Canada. For ease of interpretation, all results are presented as odds ratios to display the likelihood of an individual living in rural Canada as compared to urban Canada based on the variables indicated above.

The equations for these models are indicated below, wherein the binary outcome variable of rural or urban settlement is denoted as 'RU_{91}' for 1991 and 'RU_{16}' for 2016. The independent variables are denoted as follows: Age (*A*), Immigrant Status (*IM*), Visible Minority Status (*VM*), Education (*E*), Income (*I*), Year (*Y*), Sex (*S*), Marital Status (*M*), Presence of Children (*C*), Industry of Employment (*IE*), Language (*L*), Province of Residence (*PR*), and Years Since Immigration (*YI*).

$$logit\,(RU_{91}) = \alpha + \beta_1 A_{91} + \beta_2 IM_{91} + \beta_3 VM_{91} + \beta_4 E_{91} + \beta_5 I_{91} + \beta_6 Y_{91} + \beta_6 S_{91}$$
$$+ \beta_7 M_{91} + \beta_8 C_{91} + \beta_9 IE_{91} + \beta_{10} L_{91} + \beta_6 PR_{91} + \beta_{11} YI_{91} + e$$
$$logit\,(RU_{16}) = \alpha + \beta_1 A_{16} + \beta_2 IM_{16} + \beta_3 VM_{16} + \beta_4 E_{16} + \beta_5 I_{16} + \beta_6 Y_{16} + \beta_6 S_{16}$$
$$+ \beta_7 M_{16} + \beta_8 C_{16} + \beta_9 IE_{16} + \beta_{10} L_{16} + \beta_6 PR_{16} + \beta_{11} YI_{16} + e$$

These equations estimate the likelihood of living in rural locations compared to urban based on a vector of covariates for immigrants and non-immigrants in 1991 and 2016 as shown in equations 1 and 2 above. To see how these patterns have changed across time, in the results and discussion sections, I look at the odds ratios occurring in both years. Through this, hypotheses one through five will be effectively tested. Further, to gain a more concrete understanding of how rural living propensities have changed over the 25-year period, my pooled cross-sectional model interacts immigrant status and year, where 1991 is the reference.

Results

Descriptive Statistics

Before discussing the results of my models, it is first important to outline the descriptive statistics of the sample in question for each Census year. Table 1 below provides a detailed overview of each sample population, in both their totality as well as separated across rural versus urban landscapes, as taken from the 1991 and 2016 Censuses, respectively. While the majority of the variables indicated here are presented as percentages, indicators for age, age^2, and logged income are displayed at their mean.

Table 1: Descriptive Statistics for the population of each Census by location.

	1991			**2016**		
	Rural	***Urban***	***Overall***	***Rural***	***Urban***	***Overall***
Location						
Urban (ref.)	-	-	78.6	-	-	81.9
Rural	-	-	21.4	-	-	18.1
Age (mean)	44.8	43.3	43.6	50.5	47.1	47.8
Age^2 (mean)	2172.33	2051.5	2077.4	2708.1	2396.8	2453.3
Immigrant Status						
Non-Immigrant (ref.)	90.5	76.6	79.6	93.3	70.8	74.9
Immigrant	9.4	22.5	19.7	6.5	27.5	23.7
Non-Permanent Resident	0.1	0.9	0.7	0.2	1.7	1.4
Visible Minority Status						
Not a visible minority (ref.)	98.6	90.4	92.2	90.0	74.3	77.2
Black	0.4	2.2	1.8	0.3	3.7	3.1
South Asian	0.3	1.8	1.5	0.4	5.0	4.2
Chinese	0.2	2.3	1.9	0.3	5.0	4.2
Korean	0.0	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.6	0.5
Japanese	0.1	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.2	0.2
Southeast Asian	0.0	0.5	0.4	0.1	0.9	0.7
Filipino	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.2	2.0	1.7
Aboriginal	0.0	0.0	0.0	8.3	3.8	4.6
West Asian and Arab	0.2	1.2	1.0	0.2	2.4	2.0
Latin American	0.1	0.5	0.4	0.1	1.5	1.2
Multiple Visible Minorities	0.0	0.1	0.1	0.0	0.5	0.4
Education						
None	44.8	32.4	35.1	17.2	10.6	11.8
High school (ref.)	16.9	20.5	19.8	24.0	22.7	22.9
Trades/Apprenticeship	18.4	14.4	15.3	18.7	10.9	12.3
College	9.9	13.3	12.6	22.3	21.6	21.8
Less than Bachelors	1.6	2.3	2.2	2.7	3.1	3.0
Bachelors	5.2	10.3	9.2	10.3	20.0	18.2

More than Bachelors	1.0	1.8	1.6	1.1	2.0	1.9
Masters	0.5	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.9	0.8
Medical Doctorate (MD)	1.4	3.3	2.8	2.7	6.9	6.2
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)	0.3	0.8	0.7	0.4	1.2	1.1
Income (logged mean)	11.0	11.0	11.0	11.1	11.1	11.1
Industry of Employment						
No work (ref.)	15.6	16.3	16.1	19.6	17.8	18.1
Agriculture/Forestry/Fishing/Hunting	14.5	1.2	4.1	8.1	0.7	2.0
Mining/Quarrying/Oil/Gas	2.3	1.7	1.8	2.7	1.4	1.7
Utilities	2.8	3.2	3.1	1.0	0.8	0.8
Construction	11.5	7.2	8.1	10.0	6.3	6.9
Manufacturing	4.6	4.9	4.9	8.8	8.1	8.2
Wholesale Trade	3.8	4.8	4.6	2.8	3.5	3.4
Retail Trade	7.4	8.9	8.6	6.1	7.4	7.2
Transportation/Warehousing	7.3	6.5	6.7	4.8	4.6	4.7
Information/Cultural	1.9	3.6	3.2	0.9	2.3	2.1
Finance/Insurance	1.3	3.3	2.9	1.8	4.1	3.7
Real Estate/Rental/Leasing	0.8	1.6	1.5	1.1	1.7	1.6
Professional/Scientific/Technical	2.2	5.5	4.8	3.7	7.3	6.7
Management	0.1	0.3	0.3	0.1	0.2	0.1
Admin/Support/Waste/Remediation	0.2	0.2	0.2	2.8	3.6	3.4
Educational Services	4.7	5.8	5.6	4.7	6.1	5.9
Health Care/Social Assistance	3.7	6.5	5.9	7.7	9.2	8.9
Arts/Entertainment/Recreation	0.9	1.0	1.0	1.3	1.4	1.4
Accommodation/Food Services	4.4	5.3	5.1	2.4	4.0	3.7
Other Services	3.0	4.3	4.0	3.7	3.5	3.5
Public Administration	6.7	7.7	7.5	6.0	6.0	6.0
Sex						
Male (ref.)	82.5	69.7	72.5	66.8	59.7	61.0
Female	17.5	30.3	27.5	33.2	40.3	39.0
Marital Status						
Married (ref.)	70.4	56.0	59.1	51.6	44.7	46.0
Never Married	13.5	22.3	20.4	27.4	33.3	32.2
Previously Married	16.1	21.7	20.5	21.0	22.0	21.8
Presence of Children						
None	50.6	59.2	58.0	34.5	23.0	25.1
One or more (ref.)	49.4	40.8	42.0	65.5	77.0	74.9
First Official Language						
English (ref.)	70.5	72.1	71.7	70.1	74.4	73.6
French	29.1	26.1	26.8	29.6	23.2	24.4
English and French	0.2	0.9	0.7	0.2	1.2	1.1
Neither English nor French	0.2	1.0	0.8	0.1	1.2	1.0
Province						
Newfoundland and Labrador	3.6	1.3	1.8	3.4	1.1	1.5
Prince Edward Island	1.1	0.2	0.4	1.2	0.2	0.4
Nova Scotia	6.5	2.3	3.2	6.3	2.0	2.8
New Brunswick	5.8	1.6	2.5	6.1	1.4	2.2
Quebec	25.3	27.1	26.7	26.3	24.8	25.1
Ontario (ref.)	28.5	38.4	36.3	27.0	38.6	36.5

Saskatchewan	4.4	3.7	3.9	4.6	3.2	3.5
Manitoba	5.4	2.9	3.4	5.2	2.6	3.0
Alberta	7.8	9.7	9.3	9.3	11.8	11.4
British Columbia	10.8	12.7	12.3	9.8	14.0	13.2
Northern	0.7	0.2	0.3	0.7	0.2	0.3
Years Since Immigration						
Less than 10 years	0.8	4.5	3.7	0.8	6.4	5.3
10-19 years	1.7	5.6	4.8	0.9	6.6	5.6
More than 20 years (ref.)	97.5	89.9	91.5	98.3	87.0	89.1
N		*8,806,275*			*11,889,860*	

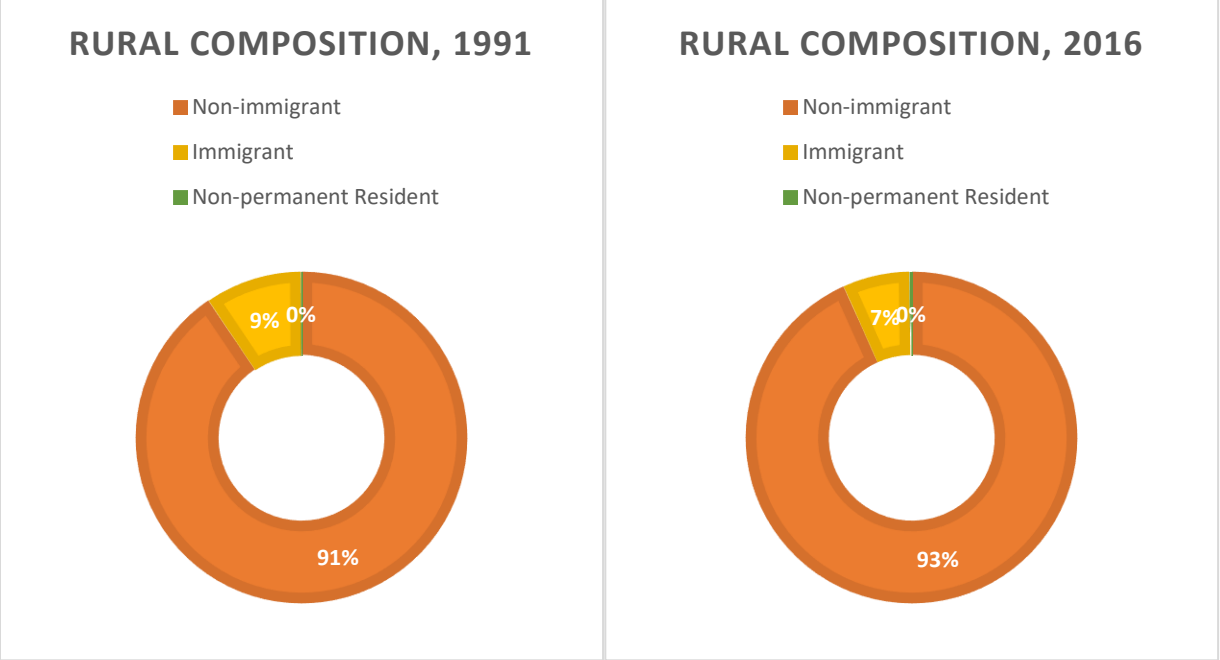
Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Censuses.
Note: The majority of the descriptive results above are listed as percentages to the exclusion of age, age^2, and logged income, which are presented as means.

Overall, the composition of rural versus urban residents in both years is stark across the entire population. In 1991, approximately 21% of the sample lived in rural locations, as compared to 79% in urban. This becomes more exaggerated in 2016, with only 18% of the entire population opting for rural settlement while the remaining nearly 82% chose to live in urban spaces.

In terms of demographic factors, in both years the mean age in rural areas is higher than that seen in both urban settings and the population overall, at approximately 45 in 1991 and 51 in 2016. When looking at the composition of immigrants and visible minorities, both years indicate that upwards of 90% of the sample living in rural settings are non-immigrant and non-visible minority, thereby leaving less than 10% comprised by immigrants, non-permanent residents, and visible minorities in any of the 12 included categories. Not only this, but the overall sample in both years is also heavily comprised by non-immigrants and non-visible minorities. In 1991, nearly 80% of the population are non-immigrants, with approximately 92% identifying as non-visible minorities. Comparatively, in 2016, about 75% of the population is non-immigrant, while 77% are non-visible minorities. Part of this transition could be explained by not only more inclusive policy updates over time, but also the extent to which rural communities were viewed as "white spaces" in 1991 versus 2016 (Dufty-Jones, 2014). Noteworthy, however, is that although the difference is

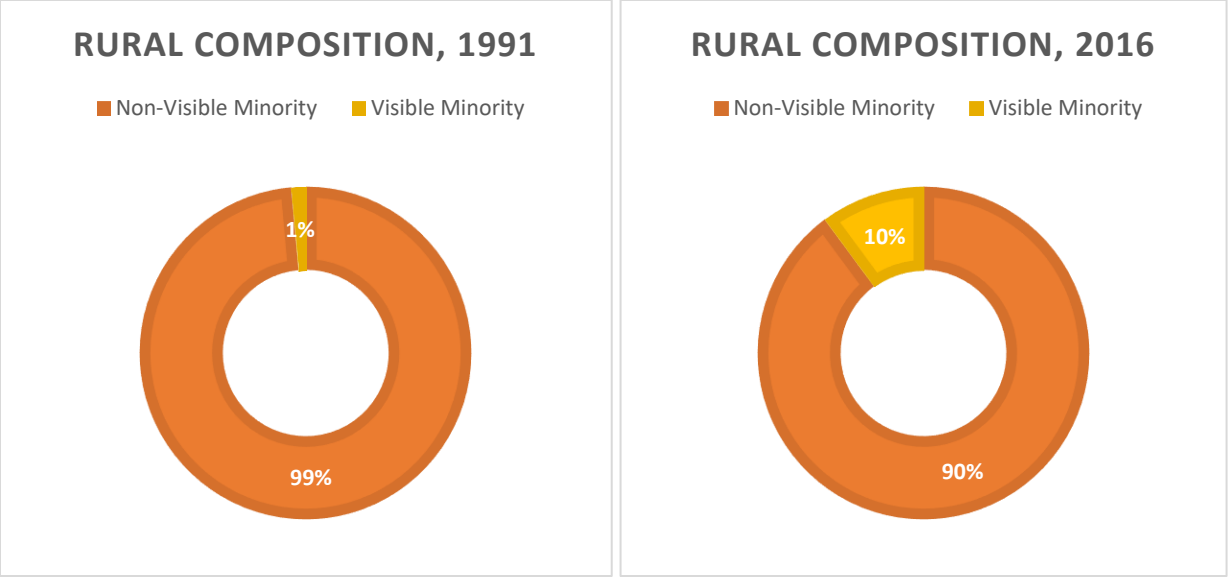
still substantial, as compared to 1991, visible minorities have gone from representing 1 in every 10 individuals to 1 in every 4. In order to visualize the diversity of the population in rural Canada in both years, Figures 1 and 2 below display these compositions by immigrant and visible minority status, respectively.

Figure 1: Composition of rural Canada by immigrant status, 1991 versus 2016



Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Census

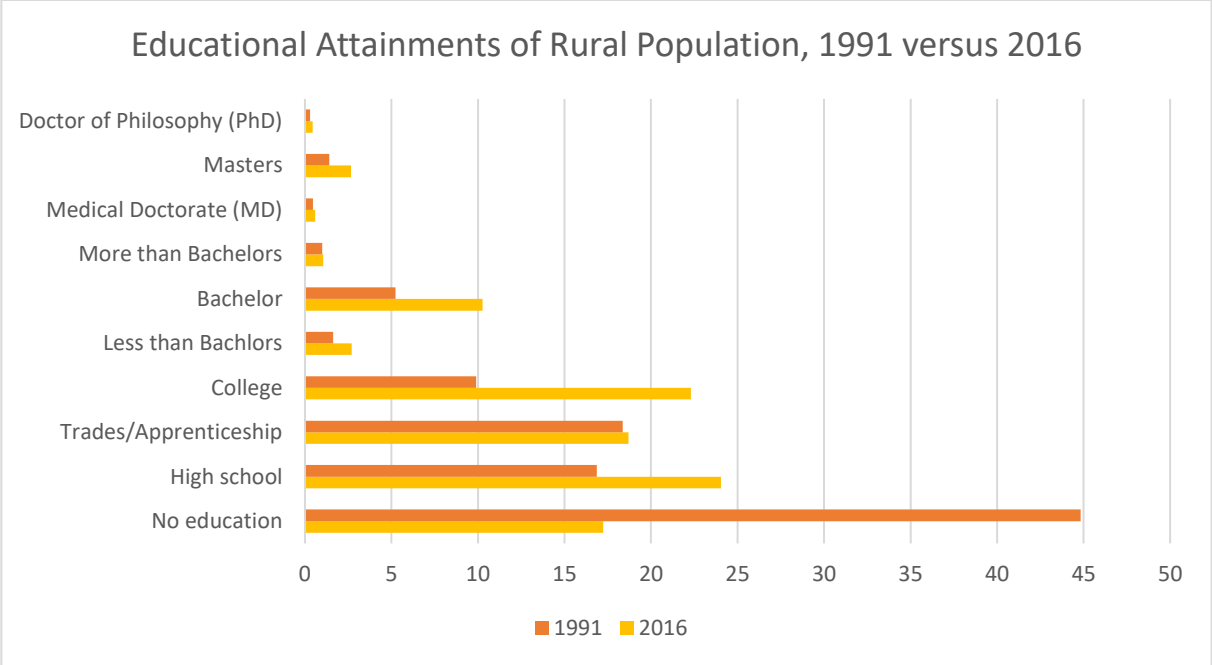
Figure 2: Composition of rural Canada by visible minority status, 1991 versus 2016



Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Census

Turning now to socioeconomic factors, Figure 3 below affords an overview of the findings regarding the influence of educational attainment of rural settlement propensities in both years. Here, we can see that, in 1991, the majority of individuals in rural areas have no education, at nearly 45% of the sample, whereas in 2016, this is only 17%. After 25 years have passed, we begin to see that those with at least a high school education now comprise the majority of the sample residing in rural spaces, at 24%, followed closely by those with college-level credentials at 22%. Similar to the findings in 1991, however, 2016 also sees individuals with education in trades and apprenticeship programs comprising more than 18% of rural residents.

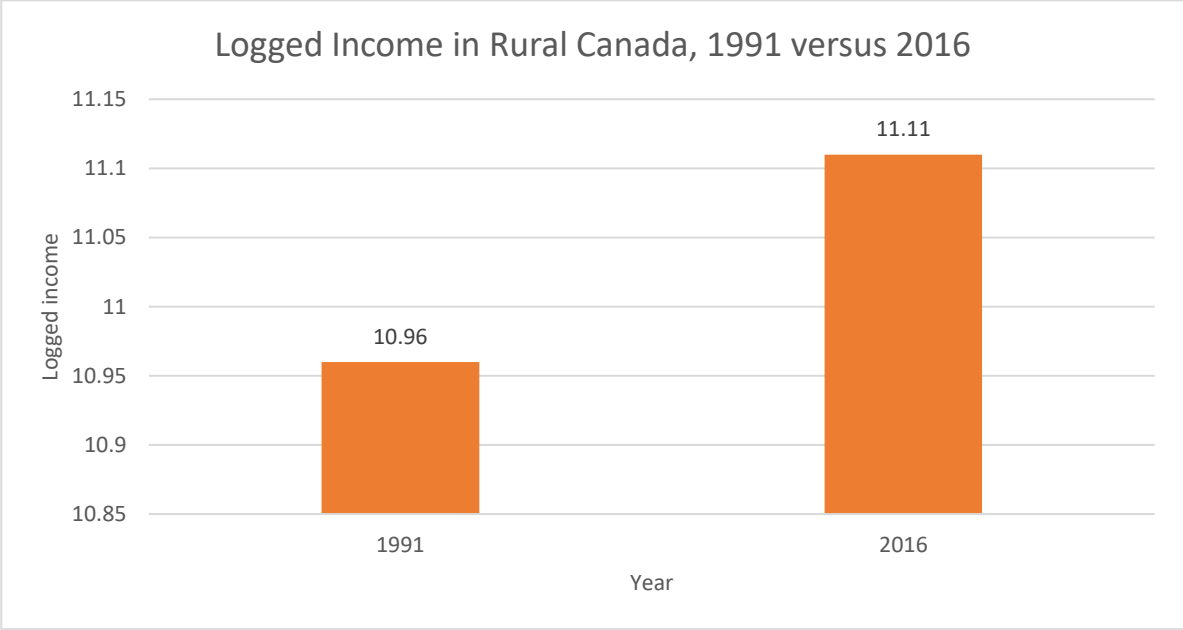
Figure 3: Educational Attainments of the Rural Population in Canada, 1991 versus 2016



Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Census

Regarding income, the logged income for individuals in rural Canada in 1991 comes in at approximately 11.0 units, as compared to 11.1 in 2016, thereby suggesting an overall increase in earned income for rural residents across the 25-year gap. Figure 4 displays this change.

Figure 4: Logged Income of Individuals in Rural Canada, 1991 versus 2016



Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Census

Moreover, industry of employment offers some insight into the composition of careers in rural Canada. In both 1991 and 2016, the majority of respondents in the selected sample indicated being unemployed in the year prior to the census, at approximately 16% and 20%, respectively. In terms of secondary areas of employment, however, 1991 saw approximately 15% of residents engaged in agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting industries, followed by about 12% in construction. For 2016, construction assumed the second highest industry of employment, at 10%, followed by manufacturing at approximately 9%.

The final component of Table 1 looks at the controls for sex, marital status, children, language, province of residence, and years since immigration. The majority of the sample, whether in rural or urban spaces is male, at nearly 73% in 1991 and 61% in 2016, and married, at 59% and 46%, respectively. These numbers are even more exaggerated when looking specifically at rural areas, wherein males comprise approximately 83% of the population in 1991 and 67% in 2016, while those who are married come in at 70% and 52%, respectively. Further, the results indicating whether an individual had no children or one or more children present within their household suggest that, compared to 1991, far more people have at least one child regardless of location. For instance, whereas 51% of individuals in rural Canada did not have children in 1991, 66% did in 2016. When looking at knowledge of first official languages, the majority of individuals across both years and both spaces spoke English, comprising upwards of 70% of the sample. This was followed by individuals who speak French, which ranges from 20% to 30%. Very few individuals knew either both languages or neither. When looking at the population by province of residence, we can see some interesting trends emerge. For one, across both years, Ontario sees the largest share of residents who reside in rural spaces, at nearly 29% in 1991 and 27% in 2016. This is followed by Quebec, at 25% and 26%, respectively, and British Columbia, at 11% and 10%,

respectively. Interestingly, however, the Northern regions see less than 1% of the population residing in rural spaces in both years. Finally, the results for years since immigration indicate that, in both years, more than 95% of the sample residing in rural Canada had immigrated to the country more than 20 years ago. This remains pronounced even in urban settings, at around 90% in 1991 and 87% in 2016, as well as within the population overall, at 92% and 89%, respectively.

Logistic Regressions

To further these findings, the following section outlines the results of two identical multivariate logistic regressions, run for each Census year of interest and presented as odds ratios for ease of interpretation. This is done to understand the magnitude to which my six focal independent variables influence the dependent indicator for those living in rural Canada versus urban Canada. Table 2 shows the results of both models, listed in successive columns by Census year. The third column, indicating the results of the pooled cross-sectional model, will be discussed in the section to follow.

Table 2: Odds ratios for living in rural Canada in the logistic regression model for the 1991 and 2016 Census samples, with pooled cross-sectional interaction.

	1991	**2016**	**Pooled**
Location (omitted: Urban)			
Rural	0.21***	0.08***	0.10***
Year (omitted: 1991)			
2016	-	-	1.35***
Age	1.06***	1.05***	1.05***
Age^2	1.00***	1.00***	1.00***
Immigrant Status (omitted: Non-Immigrant)			
Immigrant	0.55***	0.51***	0.58***
Non-Permanent Resident	0.31***	0.39***	0.34***
Visible Minority Status (omitted: Non-Visible Minority)			
Black	0.35***	0.17***	0.23***
South Asian	0.36***	0.18***	0.22***
Chinese	0.26***	0.14***	0.17***
Korean	0.41***	0.29***	0.30***
Japanese	0.35***	0.35***	0.35***
Southeast Asian	0.20***	0.13***	0.15***
Filipino	0.31***	0.17***	0.19***

Aboriginal	0.38***	1.85***	1.81***
West Asian and Arab	0.31***	0.15***	0.20***
Latin American	0.25***	0.20***	0.21***
Multiple Visible Minorities	0.50***	0.17***	0.23***
Education (omitted: high school)			
None	1.39***	1.39***	1.38***
Trades/Apprenticeship	1.33***	1.39***	1.37***
College	1.01***	1.00	1.01***
Less than Bachelors	0.94***	1.00	0.98***
Bachelors	0.72***	0.65***	0.67***
More than Bachelors	0.74***	0.67***	0.70***
Masters	0.80***	0.94***	0.87***
Medical Doctorate (MD)	0.60***	0.53***	0.55***
Doctor of Philosophy (PhD)	0.53***	0.51***	0.52***
Income (logged)	0.94***	0.97***	0.95***
Industry of Employment (omitted: No work)			
Agriculture/Forestry/Fishing/Hunting	10.53***	11.51***	11.30***
Mining/Quarrying/Oil/Gas	1.29***	1.99***	1.65***
Utilities	0.98***	1.46***	1.16***
Construction	1.47***	1.55***	1.54***
Manufacturing	0.93***	1.29***	1.15***
Wholesale Trade	0.84***	0.93***	0.91***
Retail Trade	0.92***	0.95***	0.96***
Transportation/Warehousing	1.05***	1.19***	1.15***
Information/Cultural	0.58***	0.54***	0.58***
Finance/Insurance	0.55***	0.66***	0.61***
Real Estate/Rental/Leasing	0.62***	0.81***	0.73***
Professional/Scientific/Technical	0.59***	0.83***	0.73***
Management	0.61***	0.55***	0.62***
Admin/Support/Waste/Remediation	0.97	0.96***	0.92***
Educational Services	1.19***	1.16***	1.20***
Health Care/Social Assistance	0.84***	1.11***	1.02***
Arts/Entertainment/Recreation	1.15***	1.09***	1.11***
Accommodation/Food Services	0.98***	0.92***	0.99***
Other Services	0.85***	1.22***	1.05***
Public Administration	0.88***	1.06***	0.99***
Sex (omitted: Male)			
Female	0.61***	0.94***	0.86***
Marital Status (omitted: Married)			
Never Married	0.59***	0.66***	0.61***
Previously Married	0.73***	0.71***	0.70***
Presence of Children (omitted: One or more)			
None	0.80***	1.31***	1.25***
First Official Language (omitted: English)			
French	1.20***	1.34***	1.29***
English and French	0.41***	0.51***	0.46***
Neither English nor French	0.50***	0.40***	0.47***
Province (omitted: Ontario)			

Newfoundland and Labrador	2.50***	2.67***	2.65***
Prince Edward Island	4.65***	5.19***	5.00***
Nova Scotia	3.13***	3.35***	3.28***
New Brunswick	3.56***	4.22***	3.94***
Quebec	0.94***	0.97***	0.97***
Saskatchewan	1.22***	1.45***	1.35***
Manitoba	1.42***	1.74***	1.60***
Alberta	0.83***	0.87***	0.85***
British Columbia	1.04***	0.93***	0.98***
Northern	5.28***	2.82***	3.72***
Years Since Immigration (omitted: More than 20 years)			
Less than 10 years	0.58***	0.71***	0.67***
10-19 years	0.88***	0.74***	0.85***
Interaction			
Immigrant * 2016	-	-	0.81***
Log likelihood	-3915969	-4708247.5	-8653573.5
Pseudo R^2	0.1444	0.1640	0.1537
AIC	0.889432	0.7920211	0.8362786
BIC	-2.39e+07	-4.15e+07	-6.85e+07
N	*8,806,275*	*11,889,860*	*20,696,135*

Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Censuses.
Note: Statistical significance indicated by *p < 0.05, **p < 0.01, ***p < 0.001. The pooled cross-sectional model adds an indicator for year, as well as an interaction for immigrant status and year.

In addition to the main independent variables for year, age, age^2, immigrant status, visible minority status, education, and income, all three regressions include controls for industry of employment, sex, marital status, presence of children, language, province, and years since immigration. Further, to the exception of employment in the administrative, support, waste management, and remedial support industry in 1991, as well as educational attainments of college diplomas and below a bachelor's degree in 2016, all results are statistically significant.

Overall, the samples from both years have lower likelihoods for rural living when compared to urban settlement. While this is 79% less likely in 1991, 2016 sees a 13% decrease in likelihood, at 92%. In terms of age, both years show a positive association with rural settlement and increased age, with 1991 indicating that, with each successive year an individual ages, they have a 6% higher likelihood for rural living. In 2016, this drops only slightly, to 5%. Additionally, age squared indicates that the relationship between rural living and age is nearly linear in both

years. When looking at immigrant status, when compared to the reference group for non-immigrants, immigrants in both years have lower likelihoods for rural settlement, at 45% in 1991 and 49% in 2016. For non-permanent residents, these propensities are even lower, at 69% and 61%, respectively. Similarly, as compared to non-visible minorities, nearly all other groups show lower likelihoods for rural living, ranging anywhere from 50% less likely to nearly 90% across both years. In 1991, Southeast Asians have the lowest likelihood, at 80%, followed by Latin Americans at 75%, whereas, in 2016, this changes to Southeast Asians at 87% less likely, followed by Chinese at 86%. A difference does occur, however, in terms of the Aboriginal group in 2016, wherein the propensities for rural settlement are at a positive 85%.

Turning now to the first of the socioeconomic indicators, education shows relatively unsurprising results. In both years, individuals with no education are 39% more likely to live in rural spaces when compared to the reference category of high school educated individuals. Similarly, those with trades and apprenticeship training are 33% and 39% more likely to opt for rural living, respectively, while individuals with a college diploma are 1% more likely in 1991. In 2016, however, the results for both college and less than a bachelor's degree are not significant. All other educational attainments show negative propensities that, for the most part, increase with each successively higher ranking, ranging anywhere from 6% for those with less than a bachelor's degree in 1991 and a Masters degree in 2016, to 47% and 49% for those with a PhD in 2016, respectively. Similarly, logged income indicates that, in both 1991 and 2016, as income increases, the tendency to live in rural settings decreases, at 6% and 3%, respectively. Further, industry of employment, although having fairly similar results, does show some slight differences across years. In both 1991 and 2016, individuals engaged in the agriculture, forestry, fishing, and hunting industry have extremely high positive propensities for rural living when compared to the reference

group of individuals who do not work, at 10.53 times greater odds (or 953%) in 1991 and 11.51 times greater odds (or 1051%) in 2016. Additionally, while 1991 sees the second most common industry being construction, at 47% higher odds for rural settlement, this is replaced by mining, quarrying, and oil and gas industries in 2016, at 99%. In terms of the lowest propensities for rural living, individuals employed in the finance and insurance industry are 45% less likely in 1991, as are those in management positions in 2016. Also noteworthy is that, while some industries (i.e., utilities, manufacturing, health care and social assistance, other services, and public administration) had lower likelihoods for rural settlement in 1991, these become positive in 2016.

Finally, the remainder of Table 2 looks at the control variables. For sex, females in both years have lower propensities for rural settlement than the male reference group. While this is 39% in 1991, this decreases to only 6% in 2016. Regarding marital status, as compared to the reference group for married individuals, those who were never married are 41% and 34% less likely to live in rural spaces, while those who were previously married are 27% and 29% less likely, respectively. On the other hand, while having no children showed a negative propensity for rural settlement at 20% in 1991, this increases to 31% higher odds as of 2016. When looking at first official language, compared to the reference group of English speakers, both years show higher likelihoods for rural living when individuals speak French, at 20% in 1991 and 34% in 2016. Those who either speak both languages or neither, however, have lower odds, ranging from 50% to 60%. Moreover, the indicator for province of residence affords some interesting results. In particular, as compared to the reference category for Ontario, both years show positive propensities for rural settlement in the Atlantic provinces, the Prairies, and the Northern territories. For the Atlantic provinces, both 1991 and 2016 show likelihoods upwards of 100%, with the Northern territories having the highest odds in 1991 at 5.28 times greater (or 428%), while this falls to Prince Edward

Island in 2016, at 5.19 times greater (or 419%). This is followed by Prince Edward Island in 1991, at 4.65 greater odds (or 365%), and New Brunswick in 2016, at 4.22 times greater odds (or 322%). Conversely, Quebec and Alberta have lower propensities for rural living in both years, at 6% and 17% in 1991 and 3% and 13% in 2016, respectively. Also noteworthy is that, although British Columbia shows a positive likelihood for rural settlement (4%) in 1991, this decreases to 7% less likely as of 2016. Part of this could be explained by differing levels of urbanization across provinces. The last factor, years since immigration, indicates that, when compared to those who arrived more than 20 years ago, more recent immigrants have lower likelihoods for rural settlement. For those arriving between 10 and 19 years ago, this is 12% less likely in 1991 and 26% less likely in 2016, while those arriving less than 10 years ago are 42% and 29% less likely, respectively.

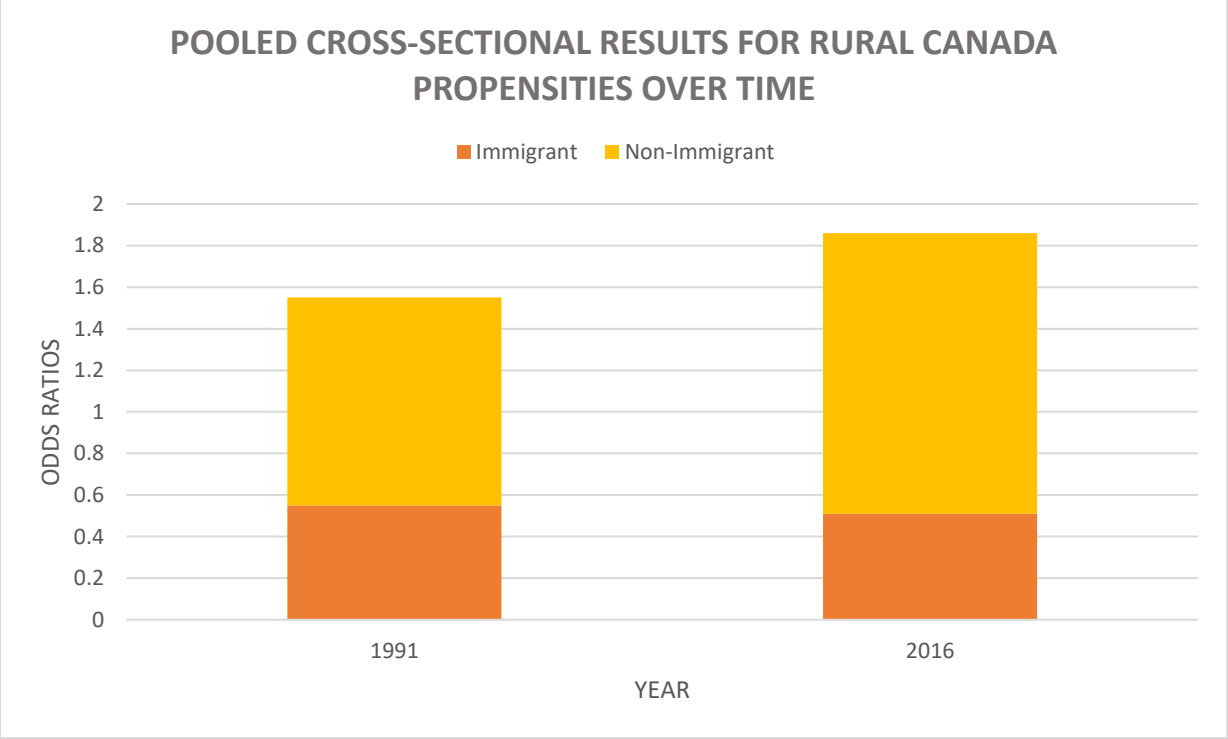
Pooled Cross-Sectional Model

As seen above, propensities to live in rural Canada have declined since 1991. To understand the extent of these changes over time, the final column in Table 2 above displays the results of the pooled cross-sectional model. Here, the logistic regression includes a variable for year, while the final row includes an interaction term for immigrant status and year, where immigrants in 2016 are compared to their 1991 counterparts. All results are a direct comparison of the variable of interest in 2016 to the reference group in 1991. For the most part, many of the results indicated in this model reflect what was seen in each year individually. One slight exception to this is that all results now hold statistical significance. For this reason, I draw only on the findings for the new inclusions of year and the interaction term for immigrants in 2016.

In terms of the overall population, individuals are now 90% less likely to live in rural spaces. However, when looking at the indicator for year, it is suggested that, as compared to 1991,

propensities for rural living have increased by 35%. This is an interesting finding, given the overall lower odds of rural settlement across the population. To get a better sense of the extent to which rural settlement propensities have changed, especially for the immigrant population within Canada, the final component of this table interacts immigrant status with year, where immigrants in 1991 is the reference. Whereas in the first two models, it was found that immigrants were 45% and 49% less likely than the Canadian-born to live in rural locations in 1991 and 2016, respectively, the results of the interaction term indicate that this gap has increased by an additional 19%. In this way, it becomes clear that, within the 25-year span, immigrant propensities for rural living have declined significantly. To visualize this interaction, Figure 5 below affords a graphical representation of this change over time.

Figure 5: Pooled Cross-Sectional Model



Source: 1991 and 2016 Canadian Census

Discussion and Conclusion

In general, both immigrants and visible minorities have lower propensities for rural settlement, regardless of how much time has passed. This is seen in Table 1, wherein the majority of the population residing in rural areas in both 1991 and 2016 identify as neither immigrant nor visible minority status, at upwards of 90%. The results in Table 2 further this finding, in that immigrants have upwards of 40% lower odds of rural living than non-immigrants, at 45% in 1991 and 49% in 2016, and all visible minority groups have, at minimum, 50% lower odds when compared to the non-visible minority group. As such, hypotheses 2 and 3 are partially supported in the results. Although the descriptive findings, in terms of both Table 1 and Figures 1 and 2, offer a clear picture of lower propensities for rural living in 1991 as compared to 2016, the logistic results offer an opposing view, wherein immigrants, for example, have lower odds for rural living in 2016 than they did in 1991. As mentioned previously, this may be linked to overall attitudes toward immigrants in smaller spaces, especially those who fall into visible minority classifications which, in turn, increases the already limited pool of co-ethnic ties that may aid in encouraging individuals to reside in rural settings.

Regarding hypothesis 1, which argues that middle-aged and older adults will have higher propensities for rural settlement, with this trend being more evident in 1991 versus 2016, has partial support in the descriptive results in Table 1. More specifically, these findings indicate that the mean age of rural residents in 1991 falls at about 45 years old. As of 2016, this has increased to nearly 51. The logistic results, however, offer additional support, indicating that, in both years, a one-year increase in age improves the odds of rural living, at a rate of 6% in 1991 and 5% in 2016. As seen suggested in the existing pool of literature, the upward trend in average ages in these locations could be linked to the effects of population aging that are being experienced across the country (McAreavey, 2019). Further, both Table 1 and Table 2 suggest that individuals with higher

levels of education are less likely to live in rural areas when compared to their lower educated counterparts. However, while hypothesis 4 posits that individuals with higher education will be less likely to live in rural spaces in 2016 as compared to 1991, the findings in Table 2 suggest otherwise, although the difference is minor (2 percentage points). This could be explained, in part, by the overall trend toward increased levels of education being attained by Canadian residents in more recent years. Thus, the lack of highly educated individuals residing in rural regions in 1991 could be equated to the overall limited number of people achieving these higher levels, as suggested in Table 1. When looking at income, it can be noted that, although the descriptive results are not indicative of significant gaps between rural and urban earnings in either year, a one-unit increase does tend to decrease rural propensities within the logistic regressions. In 1991, this occurs at a rate of 6%, which decreases slightly to 3% as of 2016. Thus, there is only partial support for hypothesis 5 in these findings. That is, although individuals with higher incomes are less likely to live in rural spaces, it is not the case that this is more often true for those in 2016 as compared to 1991. Rather, the 3% difference in propensities is higher for those in 1991. This could be due to factors such as increased access to transportation over time (Patel et al., 2019), which would allow individuals to attain higher paying jobs without having to relocate.

In addition to the outcomes for each of the five hypotheses, there are two other findings within my results that are worth mentioning. For one, individuals in 2016, as compared to 1991, tend to show lower propensities for rural settlement overall, to a few exceptions. First, non-immigrants comprise just under 3% more of the rural population in 2016 than they did in 1991, while immigrants saw a decline of just under 3% across the 25-year span, as indicated in Table 1. Second, the final column in Table 2 suggests that age is more influential for rural living in 2016 than in 1991, as are lower educational attainments (i.e., no education, trades and apprenticeships,

and college), and residence in Eastern and Northern provinces. Additionally, the Eastern provinces of Canada showed higher propensities for rural living than places like Ontario, Quebec, and British Columbia, with these trends increasing over time. Although the descriptive results are less indicative of this trend, the logistic results tend to find extremely high propensities for rural settlement when compared to urban in locations such as Newfoundland and Labrador, Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and New Brunswick, as well as the "Northern" category, which is inclusive of the Yukon, Nunavut, and the Northwest Territories. For this latter finding, however, it is important to note that, while the Eastern provinces have lower levels of urbanization, the Northern territories are even less likely to have definable "urban" centres, meaning that it is possible to consider most of this landscape "rural." Nonetheless, these trends do appear to increase over time.

Overall, the findings of this study offer insight into an important trend in Canadian immigration policy. That is, the fact that immigrants and visible minorities are less likely to live in rural areas, both across time and overall, leads to questions about the success of current policy initiatives. Traditionally, one of the main focuses of Canada's various immigration policies is to bring high human capital immigrants into the country (Challinor, 2011; Government of Canada, 2020b; Patel et al., 2019; Picot et al., 2015). The aim of such initiatives is to improve the overall standing and competitive edge of the country, in terms of both economics and demographics (Challinor, 2011). However, given that the results of this study have shown that individuals with higher levels of education and earnings, as well as those engaged in industries within the labour force that require these higher levels of skill and experience are not living in rural settings, this creates a problematic gap, especially in the context of recruitment and retention. This finding is furthered in the pooled cross-sectional model, which shows that, as of 2016, immigrants are an

additional 19% less likely to live in rural areas than in 1991. Thus, by focusing solely on high human capital immigrants, a significant portion of the country's landscape is overlooked by potential newcomers, while the pool of individuals eligible to enter under such criteria and may be more willing to locate into smaller regions is limited. Future initiatives should, therefore, look to develop a more inclusive definition of desirable immigrants (i.e., those with various educational backgrounds and those with skillsets suited to sectors that are growing in rural regions rather than the traditional focus on high human capital immigrants) in order to improve the outcomes of regions beyond the main census metropolitan areas (CMAs) of the country.

Nonetheless, there are limitations to this study. For one, although the aim of this research was to take a comprehensive look at how the characteristics of individuals living in rural Canada have changed across a 25-year gap, the decision to use data from the 2016 Canadian Census brings into question the timeliness of these findings. However, because this study began prior to the release of the 2021 Canadian Census, the assumption was that these findings would be generalizable over time given that this was, at the time, the most recently available Census. Future studies, therefore, are likely to benefit from the ability to engage in a timelier investigation. This is especially important, given the impact that the COVID-19 pandemic has likely had on migratory patterns. In a future study, this will be of key interest in defining the influence of global emergencies on settlement decisions of not only newcomers, but the existing population as well (see Krase et al., 2021; Ranscombe, 2020; Sharifi & Khavarian-Garmsir, 2020). A similar issue is that, due to the design of this study, there are no data points between 1991 and 2016 included in the analysis and, as such, we cannot speak to whether the trends witnessed here are consistent over time, or if this gap acts as an anomaly. As such, future research should look to include more points within this span in order to more accurately depict the extent of these potential trends.

Further, an important barrier to the applicability of this study is the classification of Aboriginal within the visible minority indicator. As visible minority and Aboriginal identifying individuals fall into separate classifications, as per the Statistics Canada guidelines (Statistics Canada, 2021b), this may have skewed the impact of these factors. In other words, the degree to which individuals of particular visible minority groups have shifted their settlement patterns may be due more so to the inclusion of the Aboriginal indicator within that category, rather than a result of other members of these groups opting for rural settlement more frequently. As such, future studies involving the inclusion of visible minority status and Aboriginal identity should look to define these categories separately to gain more intuitive results. Additionally, an assumption underlining this research was that the push and pull of various factors would be equal between immigrants and non-immigrants.[11] The reality, however, is that many aspects that might not act as barriers to the native-born population in moving to rural locations – such as education, experience, and even language – may have the opposite effect on immigrants who traditionally face greater instances of credential devaluation and language-based obstacles (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009; Robichaud et al., 2022), as well as a more limited pool of co-ethnic ties within smaller regions (Yoshida & Ramos, 2012). Finally, this study operated under the assumption that the factors being considered, such as earnings, educational attainment considerations, industry classifications, and immigrant and visible minority groupings, had not changed between the two time periods of interest. Nonetheless, although some recoding did occur in order to improve the overall linkage of the data across years, the factors considered in this study were, for the most part, the same in both years. Where differences occurred, however, careful consideration was given to ensure that the findings were relevant and representative.

[11] As per Everett's (1966) theory of migration, which asserts that individualized factors will attract or repel individuals into or out of a certain location.

Given that urban Canada makes up approximately 1% of the country's total landmass (Statistics Canada, 2009), but is home to a massive 80% of the population (Statista, 2021a), it is becoming increasingly important to set into motion initiatives that encourage individuals to settle in less traditional destinations as a means of offsetting the impact of overurbanization[12]. One such example is the three Northern territories, which alone comprise a substantial two-fifths, or 39.1%, of the total landmass of Canada, yet are only home to approximately 0.3% of the population (Statistics Canada, 2022). Breaking this down by immigrant status, while 2021 saw upwards of 200,000 immigrants arriving across all provinces and territories, the majority (48%) landed in Ontario, while a little over 0.2% were located in the Northern territories of the Yukon, the Northwest Territories, and Nunavut (Statista, 2021c). Thus, as immigrants and visible minorities increasingly enter the country, with newly arrived immigrants comprising upwards of 70% of the population growth witnessed each year in Canada (Statistics Canada, 2021a), the question of why relatively few people reside in smaller locations across the country comes to mind. This could be due to issues of acceptance within rural areas, which are traditionally white (Crowley et al., 2015; Dufty-Jones, 2014; Phillimore, 2015), a lack of necessary resources (Roberts, 2020; Sethi, 2013; Zuberi et al., 2018), or a number of internal and external factors not yet considered. One potential area of interest is the influence of settlement preferences that may have developed within the country of origin, wherein individuals entering the country may look to settle in locations that remind them of their original home. Additionally, differences between housing availability in rural and urban landscapes, wherein the rental market is much less pronounced in smaller communities,

[12] As defined by Sovani, N. V. (1964). The Analysis of "Over-Urbanization." *Economic Development and Cultural Change*, *12*(2), 113-122. Overurbanization tends to result in higher costs of living, overcrowding, and increased competition for jobs and resources (see Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Garcea, 2009; Sethi, 2015).

as well as the impact of the presence of co-ethnic ties within these areas are also worth considering when looking at potential factors influencing residential decisions.

Nonetheless, this issue of limited rural settlement brings to the forefront the need for more inclusivity in the way of immigration policies aimed at alternate settlement patterns. The main factor in this regard is to broaden the currently limited scope of individuals considered for entry into the country. As illustrated in the findings of this study, the traditional pull of those with higher levels of skill and education does not necessarily meet all of the current needs of the country. Rather, by focusing policy initiatives solely on high human capital immigrants, rural regions tend to face greater challenges in acquiring newcomers due to the perception of fewer opportunities present within these locations, thereby hindering their economic and demographic growth. Although the payoffs of expanding the reach of immigrant admission initiatives beyond the realm of human capital investments to be more inclusive of those entering under alternate admission categories (i.e., family, GARs, PSRs, refugees) and with different skill sets (i.e., skilled and semi-skilled workers, entrepreneurs) may not hold immediate results, rural regions may well begin to feel the full extent of the benefits afforded by a healthy stream of new arrivals over time due to a higher number of individuals opting for settlement within these areas. One potential area that may work to aid in this venture is the up-and-coming Municipal Nominee Program (MNP), which will allow local communities to actively participate in the selection of permanent immigrants that directly address various needs and gaps present in these areas (Government of Canada, 2020a). Not only this, but rural communities may also benefit from understanding and defining their unique pull factors, which would then allow them to take a more aggressive and targeted approach to recruitment. One such example is expanding upon already existing settlement services within these locations in order to afford individuals more in-depth directives in terms of housing, employment,

and networks. Another is to expand upon the trades and apprenticeship opportunities present in these areas to allow newcomers to rebuild human capital through training programs. Through initiatives such as this, the issues brought on by restrictive selection measures, such as the limited number of newcomers not only arriving, but remaining within rural locations, may begin to wane, thereby allowing a more even dispersion across regions.

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CONCLUSION

Through my thesis, I aimed to address two key questions: 1) who lives in rural Canada? and 2) how has this changed over time? In delving into answering these questions, my results aid in closing the knowledge gap that exists within the realm of rural dynamics by suggesting a significant lack in the way of diversity within these spaces. In particular, both chapters pointed to not only the limited influence of immigrants and visible minorities within rural landscapes, but also the extent to which individuals, whether foreign- or native-born, with higher levels of education, skills, and experience tend to be missing. Not only this, but they also suggested that newer immigrants, especially when compared to their more established counterparts, were significantly less likely to reside in rural settings. What this points to is not only a larger issue of inclusivity, both in terms of policy initiatives as well as the receiving communities themselves (see Dufty-Jones, 2014), but also the reality of increased urbanization over time (Patel et al., 2019), which affords individuals greater opportunities for urban living while simultaneously decreasing the scope of rurality across the country.

Overall, the traditional aim for high human capital immigrants (see Challinor, 2011; Government of Canada, 2020a; Patel et al., 2019; Picot et al., 2015) appears to be working directly against the desire to disperse individuals across the country, as many of these newcomers will not opt for rural settlement when given the choice. This is especially problematic when considering that geographical dispersion works to level out issues of population aging (McAreavey, 2019; McDaniel & Rozanova, 2011; Moore & Rosenberg, 1997; Northcott, 1988), overurbanization (Di Biase & Bauder, 2005; Garcea, 2009; Sethi, 2015; Sovani, 1964), and economic disparities (Akbari, 2011; Dufty-Jones, 2014; McDonald & Worswick, 2012; Sethi, 2015). Thus, as Canada’s

population becomes increasingly influenced by the arrival of immigrants (Government of Canada, 2022), it is of utmost importance to understand how to better allocate resources in order to encourage these alternate settlement destinations.

Immigration Policies in Canada

To better situate this, it is important to look at the policies that have developed in response to the need for geographic dispersion across the country. This, in turn, could work to explain overall settlement patterns. In particular, the 1990s saw an uptake in not only family reunification programs and immigration incentives, but also an overall increasingly inclusive mindset when it comes to immigration and immigrants (Trebilcock, 2019). Between 2010 and 2015 alone, Canada was among the countries with the highest levels of net immigration, at 6.9 per 1000 population in 2010 (Trebilcock, 2019). Further, in 2016, the overall percentage of foreign born reached 21.9%, with 60% being classified as economic immigrants (Trebilcock, 2019).

What we can see in contemporary literature regarding immigration policies is an increasingly non-restrictive and non-discriminatory practice seeking to expand the flow of migrants through a widening scope in regard to source countries that works directly against those in place amongst other developed countries, in addition to an increasingly accepting population (Trebilcock, 2019). Moreover, an increase in available settlement services (George, 2002; Vineberg, 2012; Ashton et al., 2016), the development of sponsorship programs (Government of Canada, 2019), and the ever-useful pilot projects spawning in various location across the country offer more opportunities and location options than ever before (Government of Canada, 2020b; Government of Canada, 2021a). Yet, even with all these initiatives in place, rural areas across the country still struggle to bring in newcomers.

To this end, communities would benefit from defining their individualized, unique pull factors which would, in turn, encourage new arrivals through the affordance of something solid that would provide a reason to stay. Part of this requires a more aggressive approach to already existing policy initiatives, such as the Provincial Nominee Program (PNP) and Municipal Nominee Program (MNP), which would allow smaller locations to expand their reach as well as their potential. The findings for industries in Chapter 2 point to a potentially important stream in this regard. In particular, individuals who are able to engage in trades and apprenticeships would benefit from not only a more directed policy approach, but also the opportunity to rebuild their human capital through training programs, thereby making them more beneficial to the economies in which they are participating. As such, there is an evident need to align immigration policy to these potential pull factors that are already existing within smaller communities as a means of appealing to a more diverse group of arrivals.

Global Initiatives

Further, another area for consideration is what other countries are doing to encourage alternate settlement patterns, as these may afford the Canadian government some otherwise unconsidered directives. Compared to other Group of 7 (G7) countries (Government of Canada, 2021b), Canada's rural population has grown the fastest, at a rate of 0.4% between 2016 and 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2022). This is even more impressive when you consider that, during the same timeframe, the G7 average declined approximately 6.05 percentage points, from 25.41% in 1991 to 19.36% in 2016 (The Global Economy, 2022; The World Bank, 2022). However, even with these growth rates, Canada is the fourth lowest in terms of the share of the population actually residing in these areas after Japan (8.2%), the United Kingdom (16.1%), and the United States (17.3%), at 17.8% (Statistics Canada, 2022). Comparatively, Italy sees a substantial 29% of its

population living in rural areas, followed by Germany at 22.5%, and France at 19% (Statistics Canada, 2022). This brings forward the question of what these countries are doing to encourage these higher numbers.

Part of the trends witnessed in places like Italy, Germany, and France could be explained by the allowance of more open movement across international borders from more rural locations, such as that seen between the Schengen Area countries of France, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Spain (Fromentin & Pistre, 2021). This affords individuals the opportunity to travel freely in order to obtain employment opportunities (Fromentin & Pistre, 2021). Within the context of France, the acceptance of immigrants from various countries and regions,[13] under various guises, as well as the overall affordability and lifestyle of rural landscapes, works to encourage a more substantial stream of newcomers into these areas (Fromentin & Pistre, 2021; OECD, 2014). As a result, in 2015, approximately 714,000 immigrants lived in rural France, comprising 4.3% of the total rural population (Fromentin & Pistre, 2021).

Similarly, Germany is home to more than 6 million third country nationals and receives the greatest intake of asylum applicants in all of Europe (Thym, 2021), at more than 1.3 million between 2015 and 2017 alone (Hertner, 2021; Rietig & Müller, 2016). Part of this trend could stem from how rural is defined, wherein, while 54% of the population lives in villages, around 90% of the German landscape is classified as rural (Caritas Germany, 2015). Also noteworthy is that, of these countless applications, the majority were refugees from war torn countries (Hertner, 2021). The urban German population, in response to their own history of migration, portrayed themselves as an open and accepting environment, coming together to welcome the new arrivals from various origins (Hertner, 2021). As a result of these inclusive policies and generally positive mindsets, the

[13] The majority of these newcomers are from Southern, Western, and Northern Europe, as well as from North Africa (see Fromentin & Pistre, 2021 for more detail).

overall proportion of the population comprised by foreign-born individuals is upward of 16% (Thym, 2021). However, this is not without limitations. An article by Alison Smale (2015) reported that, in response to an upsurge in the number of arrivals to smaller communities in Germany, the already existing population began to push back out of both fear of the unknown and an inability to make room for such masses. Thus, although Germany brings in a vast number of immigrants, there still exists greater issues of appropriate space and resources that limit the ability of these new arrivals to integrate into smaller communities, thereby necessitating the push toward urban spaces (Heider et al., 2020).

What this suggests is that, of the G7 countries, those with the most inclusive immigration policies tend to have the greatest success in bringing in newcomers of various origins across the country. Part of this comes as a response to fewer limitations being placed upon which types of immigrants are being accepted in the country. In other words, in both France and Germany, less focus is placed on high human capital intakes, which allows these countries to accept a larger array of individuals. Yet, even these higher levels of immigration do not necessarily equate to equal levels of dispersion if the communities themselves are not open to receiving them, as seen in the case of both Canada and Germany. Thus, there is a need for different tactics in order to become more inclusive not only in policy limitations, but also in the regions themselves. However, in discussing rurality across nations, it is important to note that, as mentioned previously, the extent to which rural is experienced or understood is not necessarily equal worldwide, nor is the ease at which an individual is able to gain the status of permanent resident. As such, the comparison of these various countries and their "rural" locales may be impacted by differences in not only immigration policies and systems, but also the locations themselves.

Future Studies

As mentioned in both of the proceeding chapters, the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic is likely to play an important role in migratory outcomes as of 2019. One component of this can be linked to the desire to move out of areas that act as hotspots for infection in favour of smaller spaces that offer more security (Ranscombe, 2020; Sharifi & Khavarian-Garmsir, 2020). However, given that, at the time of writing, the most readily available Census data was limited to 2016, this is something that could not be estimated in either chapter. With the recent release of the 2021 Canadian Census, this is a topic worth investigating. Statistics Canada (2022), for instance, released a study in February of 2022 looking at how rural Canada has changed since the 2016 Canadian Census. The findings here indicate that the rural population in Canada reached 6.6 million as of 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2022). However, given that population growth does not occur at the same pace across the country, the share of individuals living in rural spaces actually decreased from 18.7% in 2016 to 17.8% in 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2022).

Part of this can be explained by issues raised throughout my thesis, wherein although Canada has considerable success with immigration, many of these individuals are moving into urban spaces. This, in turn, leads to a much more substantive growth being witnessed in these areas when compared to their rural counterparts, thereby diminishing the impact of these occurrences (Statistics Canada, 2022). This study, however, does not frame itself entirely in the realm of the pandemic, nor even in terms of immigration. As such, my future studies will add to this discussion by delving into how immigration trends have changed over time based on a variety of factors, especially within the context of a significantly shifted society in the wake of the pandemic. Will we see more individuals opting for less densely populated areas as a means of avoiding the spread? Or, has the impact of limited immigrant arrivals led to further geographic disparities across the country? Further, has the pandemic resulted in shifting public opinions regarding the arrival of

"outsiders," thereby hindering immigration initiatives? This is an area not yet touched on and one that is of considerable interest within the context of rural migration research.

Additionally, although my thesis did not touch on these topics, it may be worthwhile within future studies to place a greater focus on the potential impact that recruiting Temporary Foreign Workers (TFWs) and international students as permanent residents might have on rural areas. Not only this, but housing availability in rural areas, wherein renting is far less evident and, therefore, more limited (MacIntosh, 2022), may work directly against the desire to draw individuals into these locations. This is also true of the limited existence of co-ethnic networks, which ultimately act as a key pull for immigrants when deciding on where to settle down permanently (Dufty-Jones, 2014; Hugo & Morén-Alegret, 2008; Lichter, 2012; Pendakur & Young, 2013). Finally, one of my future studies will take a more in-depth look at the factors that are unique to rural Canada that may act as significant pull factors in the recruitment of new arrivals. Through this, the goal is to define a more direct approach within policy regarding the recruitment and retention of both immigrants and native-born Canadians within rural regions across Canada.

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LINDSAY FINLAY

PROFESSIONAL PROFILE

With a background in English, Communications and Public Relations, and Sociology, I have developed skills in writing, editing, and research. Through my professional journey, I have gained strong interpersonal skills, as well as the ability to effectively and clearly communicate with others. I am due to gain an MA in Sociology in 2022, and currently hold a BA in English Language and Literature and a Certificate in Public Relations and Corporate Communications.

CORE SKILLS & ACHIEVEMENTS

- Writing, Editing, and Research Experience
- Microsoft Word, Excel, and PowerPoint
- Stata 16
- Strong communication and interpersonal skills
- Comfort in face-paced, ever-changing environments
- Keen attention to detail

EDUCATION

- **MA Sociology, Western University (Expected 2022): 2020 – Present**
  Research topic: Immigrant Recruitment to and Retention in Rural Canada
  Supervisor: Dr. Michael Haan
  GPA: 3.72

- **Post-Graduate Certificate, Public Relations and Corporate Communications, Fanshawe College: 2018**
  President's Honour Roll Recipient
  GPA: 4.12

- **BA English Language and Literature, Western University: 2013 – 2017**
  4-year Honours Specialization
  GPA: 2.96

RESEARCH, SCHOLARLY/CREATIVE ACTIVITY

- **Academic Publications (includes forthcoming)**

  Chuatico, G., Haan, M., & Finlay, L. (2022). Forms of Capital in the Economic Integration of Immigrants in Canada. *Journal of International Migration and Integration*. https://doi.org/10.1007/s12134-022-00965-y

- **Articles Under Review**

  Haan, M., Chuatico, G., Finlay, L., & Cheng, W. Household Formation and Homeownership Probabilities of Immigrants in Canada and the United States, 2006-2016. (under review).

  Haan, M., Cheng, W., & Finlay, L. Determinants of the Living Arrangements of Aging Baby Boomers in Canada. *Canadian Journal on Aging.* (under review).

- **Articles in Preparation**

  Finlay, L. The Places We'll Go: Who Moves to Rural Canada? (working title).

  Finlay, L. The Places We'll Go: How Have Rural Settlers Changed Over Time? (working title).

  Haan, M., Yoshida, Y., Finlay, L., & Wiebe, M. Settlement Service Usage Among Immigrants to Canada.

  Draghici, E., Finlay, L., & Haan, M. Life After Layoff: The Post-Layoff Behaviours of Recently Displaced Workers.

- **Government Research Reports**

  Haan, M., & Finlay, L. (2022). *Immigrant Hospital Utilization in Peel Region.*

  Haan, M., & Finlay, L. (2022). *Immigrant Hospital Utilization in Durham Region*.

  Haan, M., & Finlay, L. (2022). *Healthcare Utilization of Immigrants in Durham Region.*

  Haan, M., & Finlay, L. (2021). *Immigrant Recruitment and Retention in Halton Region.*

  Haan, M., & Finlay, L. (2021). *Immigrant Recruitment and Retention in Durham Region.*

- **Conferences**

  Finlay, L. (2022, March 4). *The Places We'll Go: Who Moves to Rural Canada?* [Conference session]. SGSA 14th Annual Sociology Graduate Student Conference, Western University, London, ON, Canada.

CAREER SUMMARY

Sept 2020 – Present	**Western University** **Graduate Fellowship**

Outline
Undertaking academic editing, writing, and research on future/in-progress publications to ensure they are clear and concise as possible while meeting the requirements of the desired journal.

Key Responsibilities
- Locate submission guidelines to ensure articles match the requirements (citations, formatting)
- Edit for clarity and word choice, making sure that all aspects flow together
- Conduct research to find previous literature on specific topics in order to support the claims of the article, as well as to defend the necessity of the research
- Complete assignments within a deadline-based system to ensure publications get out in a timely manner
- Write aspects of or full articles

Sept 2021 – Present **Western University**
Graduate Teaching Assistant

Outline
As part of the MA program, students are placed with professors in various Social Science departments in order to aid in any necessary tasks, such as grading and student inquiries.

Key Responsibilities
- Conduct emails in a professional manner in order to answer student questions
- Keep up with marking
- Hold office hours to aid students with any questions or concerns about course material
- Maintain communication with professors to ensure deadlines are being met, tasks are being followed, and any interactions are handled appropriately

Sept 2020 – April 2021 **Western University**
Graduate Student Assistant

Outline
As part of the MA program, students are placed with professors in various Social Science departments in order to aid in any necessary tasks, such as preparations for upcoming events.

Key Responsibilities
- Conduct emails in a professional manner in order to connect with individuals involved in events
- Edit descriptions as necessary for clarity, ensuring to send any changes to the author for confirmation
- Create documents to keep key information in a condensed location
- Maintain communication with professors to ensure deadlines are being met, tasks are being followed, and any interactions are handled appropriately

Feb 2020 – August 2020 **Western University**
Undergraduate Student – Research

Outline

Undertaking academic editing, writing, and research on future/in-progress publications to ensure they are clear and concise as possible while meeting the requirements of the desired journal.

Key Responsibilities

- Locate submission guidelines to ensure articles match the requirements (citations, formatting)
- Edit for clarity and word choice, making sure that all aspects flow together
- Conduct research to find previous literature on specific topics in order to support the claims of the article, as well as to defend the necessity of the research
- Complete assignments within a deadline-based system to ensure publications get out in a timely manner
- Write aspects of or full articles

Dec 2017 – Nov 2020 **The Waltzing Weasel**
Manager
Other roles:
2012-2014: Hostess
2014-2018: Server
2016-2019: Bartender

Outline

Ensure employees are following protocols and engaging in proper teamwork and workplace conduct. Act as a second pair of hands for team members, helping in all aspects of the restaurant to guarantee fast and effective service.

Key Responsibilities

- Ensure proper food and beverage handling and manners by employees
- Offer support to team members so service can be conducted in a fast and efficient manner
- Handle scheduling changes and keep in contact with staff about important memos and policy updates
- Input daily information such as sales numbers and staffing hours
- Engage with customers to ensure quality and happiness, correcting mistakes for highest levels of customer satisfaction

June 2018 – August 2018 **Western University**
Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry
Communications Intern

Outline

Through a placement for the Public Relations and Corporate Communications certification, I spent a summer working alongside the Communications team at Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry.

Key Responsibilities

- Conducting interviews with doctors and important teams in the various departments of the school
- Transcribing interviews in order to more easily access them for write ups
- Writing articles for upcoming newsletters

- Preparing for events by drafting seating charts, announcements, etc.
- Corresponding with individuals through email
- Website updates as necessary, including replacing banners, editing awards information, and other minor changes

Sept 2013 – April 2014 **Western University**
Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry
Human Resources Student Assistant

Outline
During my first year of university I worked as a Human Resources student assistant at the Schulich School of Medicine & Dentistry where I dealt with paperwork and other clerical duties as designated by my supervisor.

Key Responsibilities
- Filing and handling important confidential documents