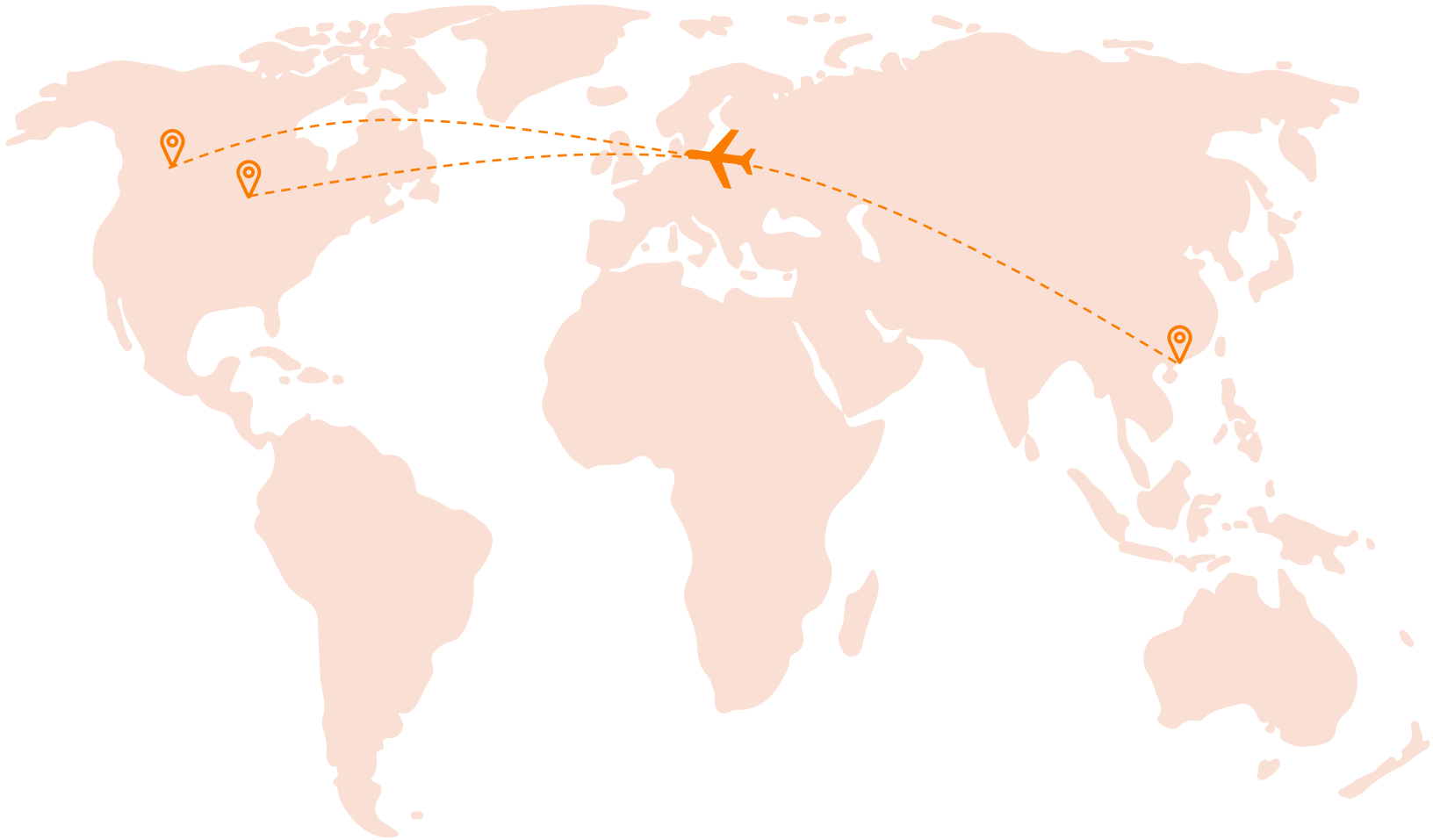

H⌂me Away from H⌂me:

Understanding Retention of Hong Kong Immigrants in Edmonton and Winnipeg

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Capstone Report

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GLOSSARY

Census metropolitan area (CMA) - is formed by one or more adjacent municipalities centred on a population centre. A CMA must have a total population of at least 100,000 of which 50,000 or more must live in the core (Statistics Canada, 2016b).

Economic immigrant – a person who has been selected for their ability to contribute to Canada's economy through their ability to meet labour market needs, to own and manage or to build a business, to make a substantial investment, to create their own employment or to meet specific provincial or territorial labour market needs (Statistics Canada, 2023c).

Equality - each individual or group of people is given the same resources and opportunities, regardless of their circumstances (United Way of the National Capital Area, 2021).

Equity - meeting communities where they are and allocating resources and opportunities as needed to create equal outcomes for all community members (United Way of the National Capital Area, 2021).

Immigrant – a person who comes from a foreign country to Canada as a landed immigrant or permanent resident and has been granted the right to live in Canada permanently by immigration authorities (Statistics Canada, 2021c).

Migrant – a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence, whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons (UN Immigration, n.d.).

Newcomer – broadly refers to anyone new to the place, regardless of their identity.

Recent immigrant - a person who obtained a landed immigrant or permanent resident status up to five years (Statistics Canada, 2017b).

Temporary resident – a holder of temporary resident permits, such as work and study permits.

Three largest metropolitan areas – Toronto, Montreal and Vancouver CMA.

Visible minorities – persons other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Caucasian in race or non-white in colour (Statistics Canada, 2021a).

ACKNOWLEDGMENT

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I want to express my appreciation to the 24 interviewees who participated in this research. Thank you for your time and willingness to share your thoughts and experiences. The research would not have been possible without your input.

Lastly, I want to dedicate this report to all Hongkongers who are away from their "Home Kong." It's always hard to start a new life in a foreign place, but hang in there—the best is yet to come! Regardless of your reasons for leaving Hong Kong, I wish every Hongkonger to find a place to call "home."

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

Canada welcomes many immigrants every year, but what has been done to retain them? This research aims to understand how planning plays a part in retaining immigrants so that both immigrants and Canada can thrive. This research focuses on Hong Kong immigrants in two second-tier Canadian cities, Edmonton and Winnipeg, to understand how immigrants decide to stay or leave a city. By linking the reasons for immigrants to stay or leave with the government's practices and policies, the findings will inform the role of planners in immigration retention. This research collected data through policy analysis and semi-structured interviews with immigrants, government officers and municipal planners.

The findings showed that immigrants valued affordability in terms of living costs, particularly housing, and the alignment of job opportunities that fit their profession and qualifications when considering where to stay. The municipal governments of Edmonton and Winnipeg played a role in understanding newcomers' needs by adopting different engagement approaches. Edmonton adopted a more bottom-up approach, allowing planners and government officers to hear more in-depth opinions for future policy formulation. Municipal planners and government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation showed an understanding of the hurdles immigrants faced. However, understanding is not enough. The key is to put policies into action, a task demanding lots of resources. The existing systemic barriers, such as a decentralized government structure, inadequate funding, and policy adjustments not integrated into workflow processes, hindered the execution of policies.

Planning is part of city building. The city needs infrastructure to provide services and create an environment that immigrants can call "home."

1.0 INTRODUCTION

Immigrants play an important role in replenishing the workforce in Canada. To achieve a more balanced distribution of the immigration population, discussions on immigration in second-tier cities are picking up steam. At the same time, in 2021, the federal government announced a dedicated express pathway for Hongkongers with higher education attainment to get permanent residence in Canada (Government of Canada, 2023a). The relaxation in immigration requirements attracts a new wave of Hongkongers immigrating to Canada, who are expected to be potential skilled workers in the workforce.

Edmonton and Winnipeg are popular destinations for immigrants. According to Census 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2023a), the percentage of immigrants in both cities was higher than the national average. Edmonton had an approximately 10% higher immigration retention rate (IRR) than Winnipeg in the past few years (Statistics Canada, 2024). From a planning perspective, I aim to find out the considerations immigrants in second-tier cities have when deciding to stay or leave. Focusing on Hong Kong immigrants in Edmonton and Winnipeg, I link their concerns and needs with the existing policies and practices in planning and newcomer/ immigration/ inclusion in the municipal governments. This research draws on the merits and shortcomings of the existing policies in retaining immigrants to inform the role of planners in immigration retention.

1.1 Significance of the Research

The majority of research on immigration retention has a mobility bias, studying why immigrants are leaving their first destinations. This research attempts to shift the focus to understanding reasons for people to stay. The findings contribute to a better understanding of how to make immigrants feel “home” in cities to increase immigration retention.

In 2021, almost one-quarter of the Canadian population were immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2021b). If the immigration trend continues, around one-third of the Canadian population will be immigrants by 2041 (Statistics Canada, 2022e). It is of paramount importance to consider and address the needs and priorities of immigrants when we plan our cities. In addition, a more evenly distributed immigration population in Canada would benefit the economy of second-tier Canadian cities and alleviate development pressures in the major cities to accommodate the rapid population growth (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, 2001).

This research attempts to understand what factors Hong Kong immigrants consider when they choose where to reside. Their considerations may also reflect the needs of other immigrant demographic groups with similar backgrounds and cultures. The research results provide insights for planners and policymakers to consider in future planning.

1.2 Linking Immigration Retention to Planning

Traditionally, planning refers to spatial and land-use planning. The definition of planning evolves over time and becomes broader and more diverse. Planning Institute of British Columbia (n.d.) defined planning as:

> *'Planning' means the planning of the scientific, aesthetic and orderly disposition of land, resources, facilities and services with a view to securing the physical, economic and social efficiency, health and well-being of urban and rural communities.*

Planning is a multidisciplinary concept that includes various areas of specialization. Planning best practices should be forward-thinking and comprehensive to balance long-term social, economic, and environmental elements (Planning Institute of

British Columbia, n.d.). Immigrants comprise almost one-quarter of the Canadian population and this figure is expected to rise (Statistics Canada, 2021b). Considering the changes immigrants bring provides the big picture and makes planning more comprehensive. Understanding how planning contributes to immigration retention is part of social and policy planning to achieve social efficiency.

1.3 Research Questions

The following research questions guided the research direction:

1. From a planning perspective, why is there a gap in immigration retention rates between Edmonton and Winnipeg?
2. Why do Hong Kong immigrants relocate from Winnipeg and Edmonton to other Canadian cities? How do transportation, social networks, job/ business opportunities, cost of living, quality of life, and their neighbourhoods influence their decision to stay or leave?
3. How can planners make cities more desirable for immigrants to call “home”?

1.4 Report Structure

This report consists of seven sections.

Section 1 Introduction

This section outlines the research purposes by discussing the significance of the research and identifying the research questions.

Section 2 Research Context

This section provides an overview of the case study of the research. It includes the demographics of Edmonton and Winnipeg, highlighting the changes in the immigrant population and immigration retention rate. It also introduces the major immigration pathways Hong Kong immigrants take in Edmonton and Winnipeg.

Section 3 Research Methods

This section describes the two research methods adopted in data collection, including policy analysis of relevant government documents and semi-structured interviews with municipal planners, government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, and Hong Kong immigrants.

Section 4 Literature Review

This section reviews key academic literature discussing immigration retention in second-tier Canadian cities, internal migration and the linkage between immigration and planning practices. Drawing on the findings of the literature, this section identifies the gap in the previous research, which informs the direction of this report.

Section 5 Findings

This section summarizes the data collection findings. It presents the key components of policy documents regarding newcomers and equity, diversity, and inclusion. It also highlights Hong Kong immigrants' major concerns when choosing their settlement.

Section 6 Analysis and Discussion

This section critically analyzes the findings by linking them with the literature review, comparing Edmonton and Winnipeg's policies, and connecting the responses of municipal planners, government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, and Hong Kong immigrants.

Section 7 Conclusion

This section summarizes the key findings and arguments of the research. It also reiterates the purpose of the research and suggests a way forward.

2.0 RESEARCH METHODS

This section explains the reasons for choosing to compare Edmonton and Winnipeg in this research. Subsequent paragraphs describe the research methods used in this case study. The first method is an analysis of government policies relating to planning and newcomers' settlement. The second method is to conduct semi-structured interviews with municipal planners, government officers and Hong Kong immigrants. The following sections provide more details of each method.

2.1 Selection Criteria and Rationale for Case Cities

The purpose of this research is to study immigration retention in medium-sized cities. Therefore, cities in the three largest census metropolitan areas (CMA) (i.e. Toronto, Vancouver and Montreal) were not chosen. I chose Edmonton and Winnipeg as the case study cities because they are similar in many ways. First, both are located in the Prairies, where the climate is characterized by extended and cold winters. Second, they had relatively higher population growth rates among the 25 largest Canadian cities from 2016 to 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2022a). Third, both cities have city charters (Province of Alberta, 2022; Province of Manitoba, 2023), giving them a certain level of autonomy in formulating policies compared to other cities.

Given their similarities, Edmonton and Winnipeg were chosen to reduce the non-planning-related (e.g., climate) or uncontrollable (e.g., government structure and population growth rate) variances affecting the research result. Their common ground allows a more valid and focused comparison of their policies and the reasons for Hong Kong immigrants to stay or leave.

2.2 Rationale for Focusing on Hong Kong Immigrants

I chose Hong Kong immigrants for two reasons. First, I have strong ties with Hong Kong. Researching Hong Kong immigrants would contribute to the Hong Kong communities to which I have a deep sense of belonging. Second, the federal

government announced a dedicated immigration pathway for Hongkongers in 2021 (Government of Canada, 2024a). The federal government opened the door for Hongkongers to immigrate to Canada. Many Hongkongers have started their immigration journey in Canada since then. This research attempts to find out what has been done or will be done in the planning field in response to the immigration policy.

2.3 Research Method - Policy Analysis

In this report, four sets of policy documents will be analyzed, including

- Edmonton newcomers policies
    - C529 – Immigration and Settlement Policy
    - The Resilient Immigrants: An Integrated Lived Experience and Policy Research Report
    - Belonging – Stories of the Dignity and Resilience of Immigrants
    - Dignity in Employment and Education – Creating Opportunities So Newcomers Can Thrive
    - The Art of Inclusion: Our Diversity & Inclusion Framework
- Edmonton planning documents
    - Edmonton City Plan
- Winnipeg newcomers policies
    - Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy
        - Phase 3 Implementation Priorities and Detailed Workplan (2023-2027)
        - Implementation Status Report (2023)
        - Stakeholder Engagement Summary
- Winnipeg planning documents
    - OurWinnipeg2045
    - Complete Communities 2.0

These government policies set directions for municipal governments. Analyzing these policies can provide a holistic view of how the City of Edmonton and the City of Winnipeg formulate policies and address the needs of immigrants in their governance.

The analysis started by looking through the table of contents and conducting keyword searches to identify relevant policies. By scanning through the tables of contents, I had a better understanding of the organization of the document, which helped me navigate the sections. After gaining a brief understanding of how the documents are structured, I started conducting keyword searches to identify relevant sections to my research. Keywords included “newcomers,” “immigrants,” “immigration,” “diversity,” “inclusion,” “equity,” “economic development,” “employment,” “job opportunities,” “engagement,” and other synonyms. The relevant policies were coded according to their themes. The coding framework is attached as Appendix I. Followed by comparing the coded data between the two municipal governments, the information provided by the government officials in the interviews, and the experience and concerns of newcomers.

2.4 Research Method - Semi-structured Interviews

Semi-structured interviews allow researchers to collect in-depth feedback about interviewees’ values and attitudes (Farthing, 2016). The use of open-ended questions provides flexibility for researchers to probe further questions based on the interviewees' responses (Warren, 2012). This method facilitates data collection by gathering details of interviewees’ experiences, feelings, and opinions. However, conducting semi-structured interviews is time-consuming and requires interviewer sophistication (Adams, 2015, p. 492). The sample size of semi-structured interviews is unlikely to produce precision of the variety. Since the research focuses on the depth of the data, semi-structured interviews are more suitable than other data collection methods.

This research consists of three groups of interviewees – municipal planners, government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, and Hong Kong immigrants. Each interview lasted for around 30 – 45 minutes. All of them were conducted virtually from late November 2023 to mid-January 2024, either on Zoom or Microsoft Teams. The interviews were audio recorded and transcribed via Zoom or Microsoft Teams. Three sets of coding frameworks were developed to code the interviews of Hong Kong immigrants, municipal planners and government officers separately. All the transcriptions were coded using inductive and deductive themes. The themes were developed based on the interview questions. The coding frameworks are attached in Appendix II, III and IV. Other than the relevant themes mentioned in the literature, I added additional themes and sub-codes according to the interviewees' responses. The interview data's themes were analyzed using policy analysis and findings from the literature review.

2.4.1 Recruitment Methods

I used various recruitment methods to reach out to potential interviewees.

For municipal planners, I looked at the websites of the City of Edmonton and the City of Winnipeg for their email addresses. I sent interview invitations to six community planners. They were responsible for different planning districts of the cities. Three of them agreed to participate.

For government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, I first scanned the City of Edmonton's directory and the newcomers' program website to obtain contact information. Unfortunately, the City of Winnipeg had no staff directory or contact information of officers or the department working on newcomers' services and policies. I also sent the interview invitation to the general inquiry email of Manitoba Immigration and the Office

of Alberta Settlement and Integration Program, which can be found on their website. Two municipal planners referred my contact information to other government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation.

For Hong Kong immigrants, I recruited interviewees through various channels. Firstly, I contacted different Hong Kong immigrants' social media channels, including Facebook, WhatsApp, Telegram, Discord, and Signal groups. I got consent from the social media coordinators of each group before posting the recruitment advertisement. The social media groups I contacted are listed in Appendix V. Secondly, I contacted community organizations or churches that serve Hong Kong immigrants or have Hong Kong immigrant members. They shared my recruitment advertisement and my contact information within their networks. The community organizations or churches I reached out to are listed in Appendix VI. Thirdly, snowball sampling was adopted. Interviewees shared my contact information with their friends who fulfilled the criteria.

2.4.2 Interviewees

I conducted 23 interviews (24 interviewees in total), comprising three municipal planners, three government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, seven Hong Kong immigrants currently living in Winnipeg, six Hong Kong immigrants who moved from Winnipeg to other Canadian cities, four Hong Kong immigrants currently living in Edmonton, and one HKI moved from Edmonton to another Canadian city.

Table 1 summarizes the interviews conducted with municipal planners, government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, and Hong Kong immigrants. The interview questions are attached as Appendix VII, VIII, IX, and X.

Table 1 Number of interviews with municipal planners, government officers and Hong Kong immigrants

Interviewees	Locations	Interviews Done
Municipal Planners	Edmonton	1
	Winnipeg	2
Government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation	Alberta/ Edmonton	1
	Manitoba/ Winnipeg	1
Hong Kong Immigrants	Currently in Edmonton	3
	Moved from Edmonton to Other Canadian Cities	1
	Currently in Winnipeg	7
	Moved from Winnipeg to Other Canadian Cities	6 (including 2 who are currently in Edmonton, but they are counted here)
	Total	23

All HKI interviewees were 18 or above and born in Hong Kong. They had to be able to speak Cantonese or English to participate. They all lived or were currently living in either Edmonton or Winnipeg. Since the research focuses on internal migration, all Hong Kong immigrant interviewees who relocated from Edmonton and Winnipeg stayed in Canada during the interview.

Tables 2 to 5 summarize the profiles of HKI interviewees. Most of the interviewees are recent immigrants who have been in Canada for less than five years. Only eight of them have been in Canada for more than five years. All the interviews with Hong Kong immigrants were conducted in Cantonese, the major dialect in Hong Kong.

2.5 Research Methods Limitations

There are two major limitations in research methods. First, only the contact information of municipal planners who work on development or rezoning applications was publicly available. There was no staff directory of both municipal governments. I was not able to access policy planners' contact information, and thus, no policy planners were involved in the research. The duties of the planners involved

in the interviews focused on reviewing development applications with minimal involvement in policy planning. They could speak of how the policies were executed but not the considerations during policy formulation. Second, due to the time constraint, I only managed to recruit 18 Hong Kong immigrants to participate in this research. The data could be more representative if it included more Hong Kong immigrants. However, other related research on Canadian immigration policy and Hong Kong immigrants in Canada also had similar sample sizes or sampling ratios[1].

Table 2 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who were currently living in Winnipeg during the time of interviews

		Year arriving Canada	Number of years in Canada	Number of years in Winnipeg	Winnipeg as their first destination?	If not, where?
Hong Kong immigrants currently in Winnipeg	HKI 1	2021	2.5 years	2.5 years	Yes	
	HKI 2	2018	5.5 years	1.5 years	No	Saskatchewan
	HKI 3	2021	2.5 years	2.5 years	Yes	
	HKI 4	2021	2 years	2 years	Yes	
	HKI 5	2022	1.5 years	1.5 years	Yes	
	HKI 6	2019	4 years	4 years	Yes	
	HKI 7	2021	2 years	2 years	Yes	

Table 3 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who were currently living in Edmonton during the time of interviews

		Year arriving Canada	Number of years in Canada	Number of years in Edmonton	Edmonton as their first destination?	If not, where?
Hong Kong immigrants currently in Edmonton	HKI 8	2007	16 years	16 years	Yes	
	HKI 9	2013	9 years	0.1 years	No	Toronto
	HKI 10	2023	1 year	1 year	Yes	
	HKI 11	2004	20 years	20 years	Yes	

[1] 140 newcomers were interviewed in the research of Welcoming Initiatives and Immigrant Attachment: The Case of Windsor (George et al., 2017). The immigrant population in Windsor was around 56,500 at that time. The sampling ratio was similar to this research. 20 Hong Kong immigrants were involved in the research of Leaving the Homeland Again for My Family's Future: Post-return Migration Among Hong Kong Canadians (Wong & Yan, 2023). The sample size was similar to this research.

Table 4 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who lived in Winnipeg but relocated to other Canadian cities

		Year arriving Canada	Number of years in Canada	Year arriving Winnipeg	Number of years in Winnipeg	Winnipeg as their first destination?	If not, where?	Relocated to	Year of relocation
Hong Kong immigrants moved from Winnipeg to other cities	HKI 12	2017	6.5 years	2017	4.5 years	Yes		Calgary	2022
	HKI 13	1974	49 years	1976	4 years	No	Toronto	Calgary	1980
	HKI 14	2021	2 years	2021	1.5 years	Yes		Toronto	2023
	HKI 15	2014	9 years	2014	7.5 years	Yes		Calgary	2023
	HKI 16	2021	2 years	2021	1 year	Yes		Edmonton	2022
	HKI 17	2017	6.5 years	2017	5 years	Yes		Edmonton	2022

Table 5 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who lived in Winnipeg but relocated to other Canadian cities

		Year arriving Canada	Number of years in Canada	Year arriving Edmonton	Number of years in Edmonton	Edmonton as their first destination?	If not, where?	Relocated to	Year of relocation
Hong Kong immigrants moved from Edmonton to other cities	HKI 18	2021	3 years	2021	2.5 years	Yes		Prince Albert	2023

3.0 RESEARCH CONTEXT

This case study examines the contexts of Edmonton and Winnipeg. They have been popular destinations in Canada for immigrants to settle. This section provides an overview of the demographics of Edmonton and Winnipeg by summarizing the census data and introducing the common immigration pathways that Hong Kong immigrants took to get their permanent residence.

3.1 Immigration Retention Rate (IRR)

The IRR by Statistics Canada represents the percentage of immigrant taxfilers continuing their residence in a geographical area within a given period (Statistics Canada, 2024). For retention rate in provinces or economic regions, only immigrants who landed there as their first destination will be accounted for in the calculation. Immigrants migrating from other provinces or economic regions are not counted. The following equation illustrates the calculation of IRR.

$$\text{IRR}\ (\%) = \frac{\#\ \text{of immigrants residence in taxation year}}{\#\ \text{of immigrants residence in the comparing taxation year}}\ \text{x}\ 100\%$$

Figure 1 shows the five-year IRR of Canada, Alberta, Manitoba, Edmonton, and Winnipeg from 2016 to 2021 (i.e. taxation year). The IRR of Alberta and Edmonton were consistently higher than that of Manitoba and Winnipeg. Edmonton shared a similar IRR with Canada, except for 2020. Manitoba and Winnipeg had a similar trend, and Manitoba had a slightly higher IRR. Alberta and Edmonton generally maintained their IRR from 2016 to 2019 at around 90% and 85%, respectively. In contrast, Manitoba and Winnipeg both recorded a decrease of 5% from 2016 to 2019. In 2021, Alberta, Edmonton, Manitoba and Winnipeg had a comeback, probably resuming from the lockdown during COVID-19. Overall, all areas had a decrease in IRR. However, the decrease in Alberta and Edmonton was less notable at around 1-2%, while that of Manitoba and Winnipeg was more notable at about 5%.

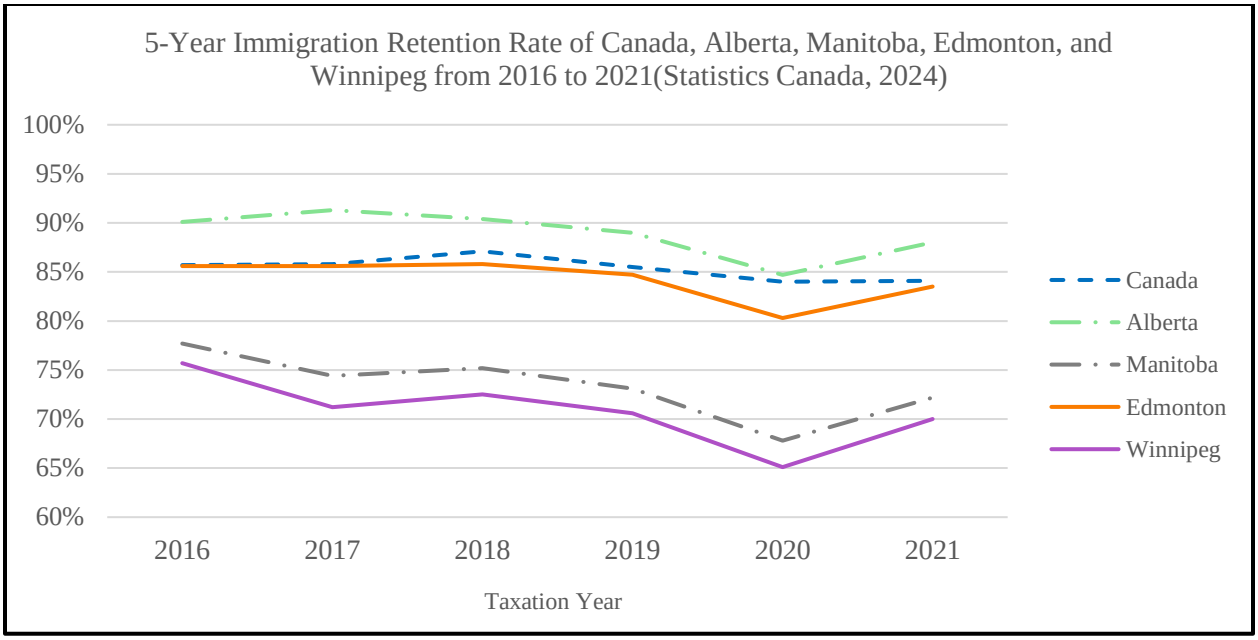

Figure 1 Five-year immigration retention rate of Canada, Manitoba, Alberta, Edmonton, and Winnipeg from 2016 to 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2024)

Edmonton had a consistently higher IRR than Winnipeg. Edmonton also did a better job in maintaining the IRR throughout the years.

3.2 Demographics of Edmonton and Winnipeg

Edmonton and Winnipeg are located in the Canadian Prairies, a region in Western Canada. Edmonton and Winnipeg are the capital cities of Alberta and Manitoba, respectively. According to the 2021 Census by Statistics Canada (2023a), the populations of the City of Edmonton and the City of Winnipeg are 1,010,899 and 749,607, respectively. From 2016 to 2021, Edmonton experienced a larger increase in population growth at 8.3%, whereas the growth in Winnipeg was 6.3%. The land area of Winnipeg (461.78 km^2) is around 60% of Edmonton's (765.61 km^2). The population in Edmonton is slightly younger, with an average age of 38.4, while Winnipeg was 40.3. Both were lower than the national average of 41.9. The population density of Edmonton (1,320.4 per km^2) was slightly lower than that of Winnipeg (1,623.3 per km^2). Edmonton was a larger city in terms of population and land area. Edmonton's average age was younger, which means a higher percentage of the

population will be or are in the workforce. The higher population growth in Edmonton also implies a larger potential for future growth. The lower population density of Edmonton reflects that each person enjoys a larger space on average, which may positively impact the quality of life. However, lower density also means the urban form is more sprawling and less accessible.

The median income of individuals in Edmonton and Winnipeg in 2020 was $44,000 and $39,600, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2023a), whereas the median income of individuals in Edmonton and Winnipeg in 2015 was $41,836 and $34,964, respectively (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Compared to their median income in 2015, income growth in Winnipeg was 13%, more than double that of Edmonton, at 5.17% (Statistics Canada, 2017a). Although Winnipeg had a higher percentage of income growth, the median income of individuals in Winnipeg was still lower than that of Edmonton.

According to the 2021 Census, more than 90% of immigrants chose to settle in CMA (Statistics Canada, 2022d). Edmonton and Winnipeg are the cores of their respective CMAs. The proportions of immigrants who are or have been landed as immigrants or permanent residents in Edmonton and Winnipeg were 32.5% and 27.3%, respectively, above the national average of 23% (Statistics Canada, 2023a). Moreover, Edmonton had a slightly more diverse composition of population. 42.8% of Edmontonians were visible minorities, while Winnipeg had 34.4% in 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2023a). The percentage of Chinese visible minorities (including Hongkongers) was 6% in Edmonton – almost double that of Winnipeg's Chinese population (Statistics Canada, 2023a). Edmonton also had a larger Hong Kong community. There were around 7,000 Hong Kong immigrants in Edmonton in 2021, more than six times that in Winnipeg at about 1,200 (Statistics Canada, 2023a). The larger Hong Kong community in Edmonton may attract more recent Hong Kong immigrants to choose Edmonton as their first destination.

3.3 Immigration Pathways

According to The Constitution Acts, 1867 to 1982 (Government of Canada, 2021), immigration is under the joint jurisdiction of the federal and provincial/territorial governments. Federal and provincial governments offer immigration pathways for migrants to get their permanent residence. This section introduces the popular immigration pathways for Hong Kong immigrants in Edmonton and Winnipeg.

3.3.1 Provincial Nominee Programs

Each province has its Provincial Nominee Programs (PNPs). The requirements of PNPs vary across provinces. People who intend to immigrate to Canada and fulfill the criteria can apply for PNPs. Once they get the provincial nomination, they get additional scores to apply for permanent residence through Express Entry (Government of Canada, 2023d). In such cases, the province nominates the migrants, and the federal government approves or rejects their permanent residence applications.

Alberta and Manitoba have their dedicated PNPs, the Alberta Advantage Immigration Program (AAIP) and the Manitoba Provincial Nominee Program (MPNP). The provinces process the applications and assign scores to each application. They draw candidates from the pool regularly according to the scores and send out Notification of Interest (Alberta) or Expression of Interest (Manitoba) letters for the applicants to apply for Express Entry.

Table 6 lists the requirements and eligibility for AAIP and MPNP. MPNP is known as one of the easiest and fastest pathways to become a permanent resident. As a result, Manitoba had the highest proportion of economic immigrants, at 90.2%, selected as provincial nominees among all Canadian provinces from 2016 to 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2021b). Compared to AAIP, there is no requirement for work

permits or jobs. Applicants just need six months of local work experience, compared to 12 months of local work experience. The percentage of economic immigrants in Alberta selected as provincial nominees was just 44.4% from 2016 to 2021(Statistics Canada, 2022b). The relaxed eligibility in MPNP explained the almost doubled percentage of economic immigrants who went through Manitoba's provincial nominees programs compared to Alberta.

Table 6 Requirements and eligibility to apply AAIP and MPNP (Government of Alberta, n.d.; Government of Manitoba, n.d.-b)

Requirements	AAIP	MPNP
Work Permit	Be a holder of a valid work permit	No requirement
Work experience	- Minimum of 12 months of full-time work experience in your current occupation in Alberta within the last 18 months; or - Minimum of 24 months of full-time work experience in your current occupation in Canada or abroad within the last 30 months or both – this work experience can be a combination of experience gained in Alberta, in Canada (outside Alberta) or abroad; or - Minimum of 6 months of full-time work experience in your current occupation in Alberta within the last 18 months for Post-Graduation Work Permit holders.	Minimum 6 months continuous period of employment in the past 5 years.
Eligible job/ job offer	- Continuous, paid work; - Your current occupations are under the National Occupational Classification (NOC) categories 0 to 5 (except the occupations that are under the list of ineligible occupations); - Additional scores for occupation in demand.	No requirement
Education	Minimum of high school education equivalent to Canadian standards	Additional scores for having previous education in Manitoba

Requirements	AAIP	MPNP
Language	Minimum level 4 or 5 of each English language skill on the Canadian Language Benchmark (CLB) test score	Minimum level 4 of each English language skill on the CLB test score
Connection	Additional scores for having family connections in Alberta	Additional scores for having a strong connection to Manitoba (i.e. ongoing employment in Manitoba, close friends/ family members

3.3.2 Hong Kong Pathway

In 2021, the federal government announced a new public policy to grant open work permits for Hong Kong residents who completed their post-secondary studies within ten years[2] at the time of application (Government of Canada, 2024a). The open work permit is valid for up to three years.

This policy opened a door for Hong Kong immigrants to gain and maintain their temporary resident status in Canada. Besides granting work permits, the federal government offers a dedicated pathway for Hong Kong immigrants to gain permanent residence. Hong Kong immigrants who fulfill the requirements of the streams, namely Stream A: In-Canada graduates and Stream B: Canadian work experience (Government of Canada, 2023b), can apply for permanent residence. Table 7 lists the requirements and eligibility of each stream. The dedicated pathway is effective from June 1, 2021, to August 31, 2026. From the policy launch to December 2023, 23,684 work permits were approved (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2024; Varela, 2024). Until the end of 2023, 4,241 and 2,503 Hong Kong immigrants became permanent residents through Streams A and B, respectively (Immigration, Refugees and Citizenship Canada, 2024; Varela, 2024).

[2] The education requirements for post-secondary studies were relaxes from within five years to within ten years in February 2023 (Government of Canada, 2024a).

Compared to other conventional pathways, Hong Kong Pathway has more relaxed requirements and a shorter processing time, which attracted and continues to attract Hongkongers to immigrate to Canada. It also provides a legal status for Hongkongers to work in Canada. Otherwise, migrants must get an employer sponsorship to get a work permit. Unlike PNPs, Hong Kong immigrants can choose to live in any province or territory in Canada except for Quebec[3] (Government of Canada, 2023c).

Table 7 Requirements and eligibility of Hong Kong pathways (Government of Canada, 2023c)

Requirements	Stream A	Stream B
Passport	Be a holder of a valid passport issued by - Hong Kong Special Administrative Region of the People's Republic of China; or - United Kingdom to a British National (Overseas) as a person born, naturalized or registered in Hong Kong	
Work experience	No requirement	Minimum 12 months full-time, or an equal amount of part-time hours (i.e. 1,560 hours) in the three years before application
Education	- have graduated from a post-secondary designated learning institution in Canada in the three years before application - with at least 50% of your program completed in Canada (either in person or online) - completed a post-secondary diploma or degree (from Canada or from abroad), as a prerequisite to this graduate or post-graduate program in the five years before you started your graduate or post-graduate program.	No requirement
Language	Minimum level 5 of each English/ French language skill on CLB or Niveaux de compétence linguistique canadiens (NCLC) test score	

[3] Quebec has a special agreement on immigration with the Government of Canada. The province has its own rules for choosing immigrants who will adapt well to living there (Government of Canada, 2024c).

4.0 LITERATURE REVIEW

In recent years, the academic sphere has shed some light on studying immigration in Canadian second-tier cities (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Hyndman et al., 2006; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023). Smaller urban centres attempted to recruit more immigrants to alleviate the labour shortage and enjoy the benefits brought by immigrants (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; George et al., 2017). Hong Kong immigrants, who mostly come to Canada as economic immigrants (Statistics Canada, 2022b), are potential skilled workers in the workforce desired by municipalities.

The literature review explores academic discussions on immigration in second-tier cities, immigration retention, and the relationship between planning and immigration. The discussion ties in with Hong Kong immigrants in Canada to evaluate the applicability of the frameworks mentioned above. First, the section will review the literature on immigration in second-tier cities, highlighting their challenges and opportunities in attracting new immigrants. It will then examine factors that influence immigrants' (im)mobility and governments' actions to retain immigrants. Finally, the review will highlight how urban planning has been done and could be done to address the needs of immigrants. Gaps in the literature will follow to infer how this research can further support this study area.

4.1 Immigration in Second-tier Cities

The Rise of Immigration to Second-tier Cities

There is a growing discussion about immigration to second-tier cities in Canada. Walton-Roberts (2005) suggested that the concentration of immigrants in major urban centres created negative effects, including the perceived incapability of larger urban centres to manage the rapid population growth with ethnolinguistic and racial diversity and the perceived need for skilled labours and population growth for second-tier cities. Immigrant geographical dispersal emerged to attract newcomers to settle in cities beyond the three largest metropolitan areas (Guo, 2013; Wulff et al.,

2008) other than Canada's three largest metropolitan areas (Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver). The dispersal of immigrants stimulates regional economic development in smaller urban centres and achieves a more balanced population distribution (Bourne & Rose, 2001).

Factors Attracting Immigrants to Second-tier Cities

Research has identified several factors that attract international immigrants to second-tier cities, including the availability of employment opportunities (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Hyndman et al., 2006; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023), presence of friends and family (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Hyndman et al., 2006; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023; Walton-Roberts, 2005), lifestyle (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Hyndman et al., 2006; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023), the relative affordability of housing (George et al., 2017; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023), settlement services available (George et al., 2017; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023), education (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023), and sense of safety (George et al., 2017).

Among the factors, the presence of friends and family is the most important influence for immigration decisions. Friends and family were important sources of information before arrival (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; Walton-Roberts, 2005). After arriving in the city, immigrants rely on friends, family, or even diasporic networks during the initial settlement (George et al., 2017; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023) for social support (Drolet & Teixeira, 2022) and job referral (Ngoundjou et al., 2021). The phenomenon also affirms that bigger urban centres with a larger immigrant share are more attractive to newcomers (Hyndman et al., 2006). The referral effect multiplies the number of immigrants. A similar referral pattern is observed in the HKI community, with over 80% settled in Toronto and Vancouver by 1996 (Kobayashi et al., 2011). However, research showed that the formation of immigrant clustering or ethnic enclaves is linked to adverse economic and social consequences, such as lower

salaries (Ngoundjou et al., 2021; Walton-Roberts, 2005) and limitations in acquiring official language skills (Walton-Roberts, 2005).

The Role of Non-government Organizations in Immigration to Second-tier Cities

Despite the governments of smaller urban centres attempting to attract more immigrants, they have fewer resources to provide a full range of settlement services for immigrants (Cleave et al., 2023; Kelly & Nguyen, 2023). Non-government organizations, such as universities, community groups, ethnic places of worship, and online communities, filled the gap by welcoming newcomers and providing settlement services to them. Settlement services include language classes (Kelly & Nguyen, 2023; Zhuang, 2020), extra-curricular programmes for children (Zhuang, 2020), and assistance in finding housing (Kelly & Nguyen, 2023). Other than that, universities also played a key role in welcoming immigrants. The Waterloo Region, home to two universities and one college, successfully brought diversity to the community through cultural exchange events and created a safe space for international students and immigrants (Walton-Roberts, 2011).

4.2 Immigration Retention

(Im)mobility of Immigrants

Most literature about immigration has a mobility bias (Schewel, 2020) to focus on the population who choose to move but not the reasons why other people stay. The “first law of migration” proposed that people tend to move from low- to high-income places (Ravenstein, 1885). The rational-choice models adopted a similar concept to use the cost-and-benefit analysis of economic terms to explain the drivers for migration decisions (Haug, 2008). The drivers include the probability of finding a job (Haug, 2008) and the maximization of household income (Stark, 1991). Yet, the models failed to explain choices made under non-economic terms, such as family and religion (Hechter & Kanazawa, 1997).

To better elucidate migration choices, Schewel (2020) combined Sen's capabilities framework (1999) with Carling's aspiration model (2002) to create the aspiration-capability framework (see Figure *2*) to illustrate four categories of (im)mobility – voluntary immobility, acquiescent immobility, mobility, and involuntary immobility. It provided two explanations for why people stayed – 1. the person lacks the capability to move, or 2. the person stays voluntarily. The former is more straightforward to understand. Economic (i.e. lack of financial capital) or social (i.e. lack of social capital) reasons are common capability constraints when considering migration. However, the latter provides a more thorough understanding of why people stay. Lewicka (2011) explained that residence length is crucial for developing "place-attachment," the emotional bonds people develop to particular physical and social environments. Longer residence length creates stronger ties to the place, resulting in less likelihood of moving (Fischer & Malmberg, 2001). The presence of local community-oriented institutions and the commitment to place are also vital retain factors that foster a greater probability of staying (Schewel, 2020).

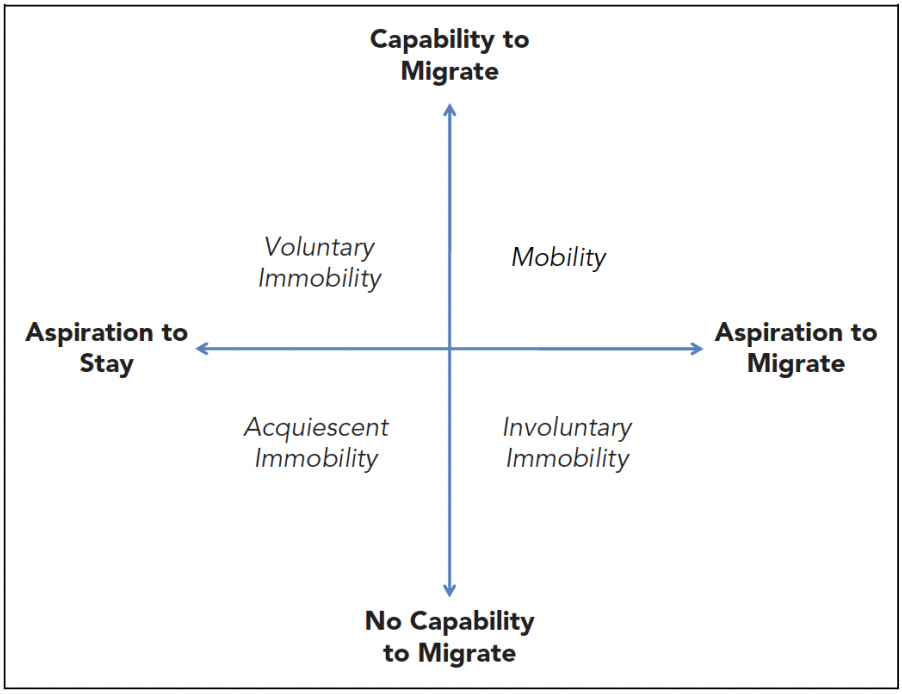

Figure 2 The aspiration-capability framework demonstrates the four categories of (im)mobility (Schewel, 2020, p. 335)

Internal Migration

Internal migration refers to individuals changing their place of residence within national borders (Kalemba et al., 2022). International migrants are more likely to move internally compared with native-born as they have previous experience in moving (Frey, 2018). Within the group of international immigrants, refugees had a higher chance to participate in secondary migration than economic immigrants, as refugees were given fewer choices for their first destination in Canada (Kaida et al., 2020a). In other words, immigrants who had fewer choices for their first destination are more likely to conduct internal migration within Canada.

From Attracting Immigrants to Retaining Them

Immigration attraction and retention are distinct from each other. Immigration attraction focuses on policies to position cities in "positive and favourable lights" (Cleave et al., 2023, p. 2), such as housing and employment. Retention emphasizes greater place attachment to drive the desire to stay (Cleave et al., 2023), such as health and well-being. The difference between attraction and retention also explains why friends and family, the most important factors in attracting immigrants, are not necessarily retaining them (Kelly & Nguyen, 2023). However, Kelly and Nguyen (2023) suggested that affordability of housing and employment opportunities were the primary reasons for immigrants to stay in the four non-metropolitan counties in Southern Ontario. Although the results deviated from the findings by Cleave et al. (2023), the result supported the importance of understanding the local context in formulating and carrying out immigration-related policies (Cleave et al., 2023). The policies should reflect the changing needs of the community.

Major Barriers Faced by Immigrants

Several research studies pointed out that the major barriers for immigrants are the lack of local work experience and the non-recognition of foreign credentials (Drolet & Teixeira, 2022; Guo, 2013). The barriers created a vicious cycle as they limited

immigrants' employment opportunities, which were directly related to their earnings. The impact impeded their access to affordable and adequate housing (Drolet & Teixeira, 2022), a key factor in attracting and retaining immigrants.

However, the earning disadvantage of foreign credentials is only held by visible minorities, including Chinese (Li, 2008). Even Hong Kong immigrants with Canadian education attainments experienced gaps in earnings and job positions compared to what they had in Hong Kong (Hilde, 2017). Moreover, the labour force participation rate of Hong Kong immigrants was low (Kobayashi & Preston, 2007). The low participation rate might correlate with the earning disadvantage phenomenon and the prevalence of “astronaut” families (i.e., one or more family members working in Hong Kong while other members, usually with kids, stay in Canada). Astronaut families relied on the earnings of their family members in Hong Kong. The earnings were usually more than what they could make in Canada. The source of income reduces the economic difficulties that immigrants may face. However, the separation from their families presented social challenges, which the research did not delve into.

Immigration-related Policies by Governments

Based on the immigration policies from 52 cities in Ontario, Canada, Cleave et al. (2023) summarized three categories of municipal immigration policies –1. individual-level, 2. place-based, and 3. community-focused policies. The first policy area is about creating the basic infrastructure (such as language training, jobs and employment, and employer training), which is commonly found in smaller urban centres to attract immigrants. The second policy area is related to changes in the urban environment and social infrastructure (such as education, health and well-being, and housing), which is more common in larger urban centres. The third policy area focuses on “building a welcoming community that newcomers were an active part of” (Cleave et al., 2023, p. 10) – smaller urban centres adopted branding and

marketing strategies to facilitate immigration attraction, while larger urban centres emphasized community building and welcoming community to build social connections and capacity, such as improving civic engagement, pairing established residents with newcomers, and increasing participation in recreational activities. The findings are supported by other research that shows smaller urban centres allocated more resources to welcoming initiatives to attract immigrants (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; George et al., 2017).

However, facilitating immigration services to achieve immigration retention requires contributions from all levels of government (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; George et al., 2017; Zhuang, 2020). Local immigration policies put forward by the municipal government were embedded with higher-level immigration policies by the provincial and federal governments (Buzdugan & Halli, 2009). Zhuang (2020) criticized the federal government for being more decentralized and continuing to delegate power to provincial and municipal governments on immigration services. Even though there are successful examples, like the federally funded local immigration partnership in Windsor to establish robust settlement services for newcomers (George et al., 2017), the inter-governmental collaboration to provide newcomers' services and carry out initiatives for immigration seems to diminish.

4.3 The Relationship between Immigration and Planning

Multicultural Planning

Addressing the diversity of communities and interests through planning was first proposed in "Advocacy and pluralism in planning" by Paul Davidoff (1965). During that time, Canada established relevant national regulations, such as the Charter of Rights and Freedoms and the Multiculturalism Act, to govern planning practices (Qadeer & Agrawal, 2011). Academic discussions on multicultural planning were diverse, including modes of planning, multicultural places of worship, ethnic malls, and neighbourhoods and housing policies (Qadeer & Agrawal, 2011; Zhuang, 2020)

However, there are discrepancies between academic advocacy for multicultural planning and planning practice (Qadeer & Agrawal, 2011). Urban planning has to address two sides of multiculturalism – the private domain of different beliefs and behaviours and the public domain that rules common values, norms, and everyday practices (Qadeer & Agrawal, 2011). However, the public domain may only often reflect the particular beliefs and behaviours of the majority. For example, development controls and design guidelines were used by planning authorities to protect the existing spatial identities of existing White residents in the Los Angeles suburban area (Ding & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2023). Planning regulations provided a legitimate legal framework to prevent "undesirable" neighbourhood designs or urban forms, such as mansionization (Ding & Loukaitou-Sideris, 2023), which deviate from the prevailing landscape. Yet, the planning decisions made according to the planning regulations may not be the best practice for multicultural planning.

The "Monster Houses[4]," constructed mainly by ethnic-Chinese immigrants in Richmond, British Columbia, demonstrated another challenge of multicultural planning. The "Monster Houses" design complied with planning standards; however, their appearances diverged from the tastes and values of other residents (Rose, 2001). The cultural differences created a dilemma for planning authorities – whether to look the other way on the continual "Monster Houses" construction or to set up new design controls to ensure the urban landscape in the neighbourhoods is "visually appealing" based on the predominant colonial standards. It is challenging to fulfill the demands of the two sides of multiculturalism through planning (Saitta, 2021).

[4] Monster houses describe large houses that were usually in square or rectangular box-shaped built on cleared lots that extended to the edges of the lot and were often in excess of 370 m^2 in area (Rose, 2001).

Planning for Immigration Settlement and Services

In Canada, the priorities and mandates of the three levels of government differ (Government of Canada, 2021). Immigration falls under the federal and provincial jurisdiction, while the municipal governments are responsible for land use planning and development. It complicates the connection between planning and immigration settlement and services. Moreover, municipal planning and immigration services departments do not work closely with each other in Canada and the United States (Harwood, 2022; Zhuang, 2020). Officers in each department lacked an understanding of the work of another department (Harwood, 2022). While immigration services officers were the primary channel to deliver messages from immigrants to the government systems, disconnecting planning from immigration services impeded immigrants from making an impact in the planning and decision-making processes (Zhuang, 2020). More cooperation between the two departments could foster better ways of planning to support immigrant integration. On the other hand, the planning authorities should also ensure multicultural planning initiatives are incorporated into planning standards and provide equal access to everyone, including immigrants, within the planning process (Poppe & Young, 2015). Harwood (2022, p. 422) criticized planners for often strategically act in a piecemeal fashion in the "back of the house," safely out of the public spotlight. The existing planning practice made planners struggle to value "equity" over "equality" in majority planning issues. Harwood (2022) and Zhuang (2020) advocated for a more engaging planning framework to enable governments to understand immigrants' settlement and include immigrants in the planning decision-making processes.

4.4 Research Gap

Most literature on immigration attraction and retention in second-tier cities stemmed from ethnic or migration studies perspectives. Even though some factors, such as housing affordability, are relevant to planning, they did not link up planning with immigration. Much planning research related to immigration focused on

multiculturalism to address diversity and promote inclusiveness through planning, except for Zhuang (2020), who provided an overview of the role of municipal planning in addressing the diverse demographics of immigrants within Canadian cities and Harwood (2022), who revealed a lack of understanding between immigration services officers and planners in the United States.

The following research aims to fill the gap in the existing literature in evaluating the role of planning in immigration retention in second-tier cities. Moreover, regarding research methods, Zhuang's research (2020) was a context analysis and literature review, while Harwood (2022) conducted interviews with immigration service officers and planners. They did not include immigrants' first-person point of view in their research. This research attempts to analyze how Hong Kong immigrants' experience and municipal policies in Edmonton and Winnipeg shape immigration retention through the lens of government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, planners, and immigrants.

4.5 Literature Review Conclusion

This literature review discussed immigration attraction and retention in second-tier cities and its relation to planning practices. The review first highlighted the increasing concerns about the importance and benefits of promoting immigration in second-tier cities. The section identified why second-tier cities are attractive to immigrants and how non-governmental organizations assisted in providing settlement services. Then, the discussion draws on the reasons for immigrants choosing to stay. This section illustrated the (im)mobility framework, the differences between immigration attraction and retention policies, major barriers faced by immigrants, and the role of different levels of government in addressing the issue. In the last section, the review provided an overview of multicultural planning and its possible application in the current planning framework. The literature review gives a clearer picture of the challenges and opportunities for immigration retention in

second-tier cities through planning. This literature review provides the theoretical basis for the research's data collection and analysis process.

5.0 FINDINGS

This section summarizes the findings from policy analysis and semi-structured interviews.

5.1 Policy Analysis

This research analyzes two types of municipal policy documents: land use planning and development documents and policies related to newcomers and immigration. All policies examined in this section were published by the City of Edmonton or the City of Winnipeg. The policies include formal policies adopted by the City Councils or policy frameworks that guide policy formulation or implementation. Common goals are found in the documents to guide their policy directions. The City of Edmonton adopted a more bottom-up approach in engaging with newcomers and set quantifiable targets in the City Plan. Both cities face difficulties in putting the policies into action.

5.1.1 Overview of the Policy Documents

Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy

The Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy of the City of Winnipeg was in effect on February 27, 2020 (City of Winnipeg, 2023d). It is a formal policy document that the Winnipeg City Council adopted. A strategy framework is attached to the policy as a road map to implement the five strategic priorities, including:

- A Welcoming City
- A City Without Racism
- Equitable & Accessible Services
- A Representative Workforce
- Active Implementation.

Under each strategic priority, the framework specifies the objectives and corresponding actions to achieve the objective.

Edmonton Newcomers, Immigration and Inclusion Policies

The City of Edmonton's Immigration and Settlement Policy C529 (City of Edmonton, 2007) was written in 2007. The policy is a one-and-a-half-page document that lists seven areas in which the City of Edmonton is committed to attracting and retaining immigrants. The seven areas include

- Economic Inclusion
- Intergovernmental Relations
- Service Access and Equity
- Planning and Coordination
- Communication
- Public Awareness and Education
- Community Building and Inclusion
- Immigrant Women.

In 2019, The City of Edmonton formed a committee to provide an annual report on the State of Immigration and Settlement in Edmonton (Edmonton City Council, 2021a) for five years to support the review of C529. Other than C529, two framework documents, The Art of Inclusion – Our Diversity & Inclusion Framework and the policy research report on the integrated lived experience of immigrants, guide the governing direction of the municipal government on newcomers policies and services.

Winnipeg Planning Documents

OurWinnipeg 2045 and Complete Communities 2.0 are the core planning documents that guide Winnipeg's land uses and developments. They were both adopted by the Winnipeg City Council on May 26, 2022 (City of Winnipeg, 2022a, 2022b). OurWinnipeg 2045 is the highest level planning document in which all

implementation tools and secondary plans must conform to OurWinnipeg 2045 (City of Winnipeg, 2022b). Complete Communities 2.0 is the city-wide secondary plan that creates a framework for Winnipeg's future physical growth (City of Winnipeg, 2022a).

Edmonton Planning Documents

Edmonton City Plan is the document that the City of Edmonton adopts to guide land use, growth patterns, and transportation and mobility system (City of Edmonton, n.d.). District Plans and the Zoning Bylaw assist in implementing the visions in the City Plan.

The Edmonton City Council approved the City Plan on December 7, 2020 (City of Edmonton, n.d.). The City Plan sets the strategic directions for Edmonton's growth. The core theme is supporting an expected population growth of one million. Most of the policies aim to ensure Edmonton has the capacity to accommodate a population of two million in the future.

5.1.2 Policy Goals and Objectives

All policy documents set their policy goals and objectives. Two common goals and objectives relevant to this research are promoting equity and inclusiveness and creating more job opportunities in all the documents reviewed. The following section describes the policy details in each area.

Promoting Equity and Inclusiveness

Equity and inclusiveness are recurring themes in all policy documents examined in this research. Promoting equity and inclusiveness is either the goal of the policy documents or some of the policy areas.

The Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy set goals to ensure that all newcomers "feel welcome, safe, equal and included, and at home in their

communities and city" (City of Winnipeg, 2023d). Although equity or inclusion is not directly mentioned in the document's strategic priorities, the priorities explain how equity and inclusiveness are achieved through creating more opportunities, improving access to services, and collaborating with different stakeholders.

Promoting equity and inclusiveness are not the major goals of the Winnipeg planning documents, but they are themes in different policy areas. The documents use "inclusive" to describe public places, neighbourhoods, community engagement, built and natural environments, communities, parks and active transportation without defining what inclusive or inclusion means. They provide a definition of equity as recognizing that not everyone starts off from the same position, and Winnipeg seeks to address the inequalities by helping individuals arrive at the same position as others (City of Winnipeg, 2022b, p. 46). They also apply the concept of "equity" to health and social aspects.

Winnipeg planning documents acknowledged that the population growth in Winnipeg in the past 20 years was mainly contributed by international immigration (City of Winnipeg, 2022a). They also recognize that future population growth will continue to be driven by international immigration, which is crucial to ensure Winnipeg's workforce can support the aging population. However, the term "newcomers" only appears twice in the policies under the Social Equity section. There is no mention of "immigrants" or "migrants" in any of the planning policies. Even though the plans are aware that there will be more immigrants in Winnipeg, no policies are dedicated to the foreseeable demographic change.

For the City of Edmonton, two of the seven policy areas of C529 mentioned equity in services access and inclusion in community building for newcomers (City of Edmonton, 2007). One of the framework documents adopted by the City of Edmonton, The Art of Inclusion – Our Diversity & Inclusion Framework, advocated the

adoption of Gender-Based Analysis Plus ("GBA+")[5] as a mandatory process across the city (City of Edmonton, 2019). The first annual report on the State of Immigration and Settlement in Edmonton and the City Plan also includes applying GBA+ as an equity lens in employment and public services (City of Edmonton, 2021).

Equity and inclusion are referenced throughout the document in the City Plan of Edmonton. The Big City Move of Inclusive and Compassionate aims to improve equity and eliminate racism (City of Edmonton, 2020, p. 26). Equity is brought up in affordable housing, employment, community building and transportation. In the City Plan, equity is defined as fair treatment, access, opportunity and advancement for everyone while at the same time striving to identify and eliminate barriers that have prevented the full participation of any group (City of Edmonton, 2020, p. 172). The definition of equity is confusing. The first part of the definition is the general understanding of equality, which means giving the same resources to each person. However, the second part of the definition states that the City would remove barriers for any groups to allow them to reach the same positions as others. The definition may impact planners and city staff in understanding the concept and influence future implementation.

The City Plan mentions "Newcomers" twice. They are included in policies guiding the direction to support and welcome newcomers to settle in Edmonton (City of Edmonton, 2020, p. 43) and the direction to reduce barriers to education and employment opportunities for newcomers (City of Edmonton, 2020, p. 64). The dedicated policies for newcomers show that the plan recognizes the need to address newcomers' concerns separately.

[5] GBA+ is a process that allows us to reflect on our own perspectives and biases, understand how perspectives and biases can impact our work, understand the experiences of groups and individuals who are marginalized, and identify how we can do our work in more inclusive ways (City of Edmonton, 2019, p. 21)

Creating More Job Opportunities

One of the major concerns expressed in public engagement and the core reason for immigrants to leave, according to the results of other research and the interviewees of this research, is the lack of job opportunities.

In response to the demand for job opportunities in Winnipeg, the strategic priority of the Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy "A Representative Workforce" is to create more employment opportunities for newcomers in public service and offer paid internships for newcomer youth (City of Winnipeg, 2023d, p. 4). However, their approach stems from providing more employment opportunities within the municipal government. No policy is related to creating more employment or economic development opportunities for newcomers outside government settings.

Other than that, Winnipeg planning documents address the creation of more job opportunities from another perspective. They incorporate considerations of *economic prosperity* and the protection and creation of employment lands (City of Winnipeg, 2022a, 2022b). They recognize that the City of Winnipeg should ensure that the city can accommodate economic growth in the future. They are also aware that Winnipeg will likely have a potential shortfall of vacant serviced industrial lands and a surplus of commercial lands. There are policies to make industrial and commercial lands available by designating areas for different types of employment lands. The policies aim to protect existing and future employment lands from encroachment or conversion to other land uses. Under the current policy direction, Winnipeg will have sufficient and suitable lands for future economic development, which create job opportunities. The prospect of economic growth and the availability of increased job opportunities serve as positive economic factors that attract and retain newcomers. Other than securing employment lands, policies of economic prosperity are also linked to poverty reduction. The policies would eliminate the system barriers to job opportunities or workforce participation for anyone through a community

development approach. City of Winnipeg has allocated funding to develop a barrier removal investment plan (City of Winnipeg, 2023c).

For the City of Edmonton, economic integration is a key policy area in the Immigration and Settlement Policy C529. It describes that the City of Edmonton promotes full integration of newcomers within Edmonton's economic mainstream (City of Edmonton, 2007, p. 1). More recent publications by the City of Edmonton also cover newcomers' concerns about job opportunities. The second annual report on the State of Immigration and Settlement focuses on employment and education (City of Edmonton, 2022). It builds on the experience shared by the newcomer collaborators to elaborate on the difficulties newcomers face in job seeking and the workplace. It also suggests what can be done by the government to promote a more inclusive workplace, encouraging anti-racism and legislating equity, diversity and inclusion policies to create opportunities for newcomers (City of Edmonton, 2022). In addition, the policy research report on the integrated lived experience of immigrants identifies that income and employment are the most pressing issues for newcomers (Gunn & Ortiz, 2021).

The City Plan of Edmonton also dedicates policies to economic development and employment creation. It sets the minimum number of jobs per hectare for different area designations to ensure more job opportunities proximate to transit-oriented developments (City of Edmonton, 2020). Since newcomers may not have access to vehicles, the allocation of jobs close to transit-oriented development increases the accessibility of newcomers to job opportunities. Besides setting targets, the City Plan also has policies to encourage business investment and reduce barriers to employment for newcomers. Similar to what is proposed in Winnipeg planning documents, the City of Edmonton also implements policies to protect employment lands to make sure land uses support future economic and population growth.

5.1.3 Policy Language

The policy language refers to the use of words and the level of detail of the written policy. It tells the breadth and depth of the policy in implementing the strategies or actions.

Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy, Winnipeg planning documents and Edmonton Newcomers, Immigration and Inclusion Policies adopted the same approach to have permissive policies in the higher level policy documents. At the same time, the policy documents are supplemented with supporting attachments, such as implementation plans, status reports, and strategy plans for specific policy areas (City of Winnipeg, 2022b, 2023d; Edmonton City Council, 2021a). The supporting attachments provide more detail of the actions, implementation progress, budgets, and indicators of success. They are also updated more frequently than the policy.

Those policies provide guidelines in the adoption process and allow flexibility in interpretation and adjustment based on different circumstances. The frequent updates of the supporting attachments provide more details on how and when the policies are implemented. This approach ensures governments have action plans to translate policies into actions while maintaining the flexibility necessary to accommodate future changes.

The City Plan of Edmonton is a mix of a higher-level policy document and an implementation plan. It sets out specific targets in some areas, such as attracting 50,000 more jobs through the innovation corridor, and 50% of trips are made by transit and active transportation (City of Edmonton, 2020, p. 23, 27). Meanwhile, it also comprises permissive policies using action words such as encourage, promote, enable, address, and design.

5.1.4 Policy Implementation

After formulating effective policies, the next step is to implement them. The success of implementation determines the policy outcomes.

Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy was in effect in 2020. After three years of implementation of the policy, seven current and ongoing activities commenced in the previous phases; 18 were new activities to be implemented in phase 3 of the implementation from 2023 to 2027 (City of Winnipeg, 2023b). Only eight activities were within the existing budget; most required additional resources. The workplan and budget plan are up till 2027 and 2028, respectively. The policy sets no timeframe to complete the strategic priorities in the policy. It is still uncertain whether there will be phase 4 of implementation until the publication of a status update in the first quarter of 2027 (City of Winnipeg, 2023a). Some new activities in phase 3 are to engage with different stakeholders and government departments to explore the possibilities of carrying out the activity, which means the results of the strategic priorities might be a report showing the feasibility of the activity but not the actual implementation.

Although OurWinnipeg 2045 recognizes that success can only be achieved through implementation, there is no clear implementation plan in OurWinnipeg 2045. It relies on other subsidiary plans, policies, programs, budgets and actions for active implementation (City of Winnipeg, 2022b, p. 36). Complete Communities 2.0, as a subsidiary plan of OurWinnipeg 2045, provides a brief implementation plan with actions, level of priority, leading departments, partner organizations, and by-law policy reference (City of Winnipeg, 2022a). It has no implementation timeframes or indicators of success as references for progress checking.

Since the adoption of C529 in 2007, Edmonton has had a rapid change in demography – population, percentage of visible minorities, and the percentage of

immigrants increased by 28%, 20% and 10% (Statistics Canada, 2016a, 2023a). There is a need to update the Edmonton Newcomers, Immigration and Inclusion Policies. The Community and Public Services Committee requested the City of Edmonton to form a committee to review the C529 according to the findings in the annual report on the State of Immigration and Settlement in Edmonton by November 2022 (Edmonton City Council, 2021b). Yet the due date to update C529 was revised to "to be determined" in November 2022 (Edmonton City Council, 2022). The updated version of C529 has not been updated by the end of 2023.

Although the City Plan of Edmonton does not specify the steps to achieve the targets, the targets are concrete in description, with a clear timeframe for completion and quantifiable indicators to measure success.

Policy implementation requires inter-departmental collaboration. All documents elucidate the importance of working with other government departments to achieve the goals. For policies that require collective efforts, the actions are often to review the existing process, explore the possibilities of implementation or develop supplementary action plans or strategies (City of Winnipeg, 2022a, 2023b; Edmonton City Council, 2021b). The additional steps to foster collaboration prolong the implementation and delay the policy outcomes. It also revealed that implementing policies is more complex when they need support from other departments, and the time needed for implementation will be longer.

5.1.5 Engagement Process

The public's participation in policy formulation facilitates smooth implementation. The format of engagement also affects the breadth and depth of feedback received.

During the development of the Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy, six stakeholder engagement activities were held in 2019 (City of Winnipeg,

2019). The City of Winnipeg compiled a stakeholder engagement summary to present what they heard from newcomers and newcomer service providers. The feedback was summarized into themes under the already established strategic priorities. Feedback received in the engagement was incorporated into the policy. For example, the City of Winnipeg explored the feasibility of developing a “welcome pass” for newcomers in response to their desire to access low-cost or free recreation facilities and programs (City of Winnipeg, 2019, 2023d). The engagement summary also links some feedback to other existing policies and programs, such as the Housing Policy and Community Incentive Grant Program. However, after conducting the engagement, the engagement summary did not describe any policies or activities added to the draft Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy. There is no information about how the feedback was considered when formulating the policy.

In preparation for the annual reports on the State of Immigration and Settlement in Edmonton, the City of Edmonton gathered first-hand information by collaborating with newcomers to outline their experience in Edmonton and the role of the municipal government in creating a more inclusive environment (City of Edmonton, 2021a). Both annual reports in 2021 and 2022 stemmed from the stories of newcomer collaborators. Riding on the concerns or challenges mentioned in the stories, the report links them with the gaps and barriers in the current system. Some examples of the concerns and challenges include the inaccessibility of childcare because of the high cost, the implicit biases in hiring and workplace practices, and difficulties in finding affordable housing (City of Edmonton, 2021a). The City of Edmonton conducted a significant community outreach during the reviewing process of C529 (City of Edmonton, 2021a). They had conversations with 181 community members and 58 City of Edmonton staff. Community members engaged were from ten different migrant communities. They represented the needs of diverse ages, genders, sexual identities, migration status, length of residence in Edmonton, and geographic distribution across the city.

5.2 Semi-structured Interviews

This section presents the data collected from semi-structured interviews with municipal planners, government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation, and Hong Kong immigrants.

5.2.1 Hong Kong Immigrants

The findings of the interviews of Hong Kong immigrants are organized into two parts. The first part presents considerations and reasons for Hong Kong immigrants to choose where to settle and where to stay. The second part highlights features that make a city desirable or undesirable and how they relate to Hong Kong immigrants' decision to stay or leave.

Considerations or Reasons to Come, Stay and Leave

The considerations or reasons for Hong Kong immigrants to come, stay and leave share some common ground but differ to some extent. I divide the considerations or reasons into eight core themes in this section. Table *8* summarizes the themes Hong Kong immigrants consider when choosing which city to settle in.

Table 8 Themes of consideration or reason for Hong Kong immigrants to come, stay and leave in a city

		Employment/ Business Opportunities			Friends or Family			Cost of Living (e.g. grocery, housing, taxes, car insurance, etc.)			Transportation (e.g. road conditions, road network, transit, etc.)			Hong Kong Community and Ethnocultural Space			Quality of Life			Education			Immigration Pathway		
		| C: Come | S: Stay | L: Leave |																							
		C	S	L	C	S	L	C	S	L	C	S	L	C	S	L	C	S	L	C	S	L	C	S	L
Hong Kong immigrants currently in Winnipeg	HKI 1		✓				✓							✓				✓					✓	✓	
	HKI 2	✓		✓				✓												✓	✓				
	HKI 3							✓															✓	✓	
	HKI 4			✓				✓												✓	✓				
	HKI 5			✓	✓															✓	✓				
	HKI 6			✓				✓										✓	✓				✓	✓	
	HKI 7			✓	✓													✓					✓	✓	
Hong Kong immigrants currently in Edmonton	HKI 8			✓	✓			✓										✓							
	HKI 9				✓			✓	✓					✓				✓							
	HKI 10	✓			✓			✓	✓																
	HKI 11				✓							✓		✓				✓							
Hong Kong immigrants moved from Winnipeg to other cities	HKI 12			✓				✓					✓	✓					✓				✓		
	HKI 13			✓						✓										✓					
	HKI 14				✓			✓					✓	✓											
	HKI 15			✓	✓			✓					✓					✓							
	HKI 16			✓	✓			✓					✓	✓									✓		
	HKI 17			✓									✓										✓		
Hong Kong immigrants moved from Edmonton to other cities	HKI 18			✓				✓						✓			✓								
	Total	2	1	12	9	0	1	12	2	1	0	1	5	4	0	0	1	7	2	4	3	0	7	4	0

Why did Hong Kong immigrants Come to Edmonton and Winnipeg?

Immigrating to the other side of the world from Hong Kong to Canada is a big decision to make. Many did thorough research to decide before coming to Canada. Edmonton and Winnipeg are the first destinations for the majority of the interviewees. The findings show that the presence of friends or family and the relatively lower living cost compared to the three largest metropolitan areas were the main drivers that attracted Hong Kong immigrants to settle in Edmonton and Winnipeg. Moreover, another determinant for Hong Kong immigrants to choose Winnipeg as their first destination is the express pathway to get permanent residence.

Eight out of 18 interviewees indicated that friends or family in Edmonton or Winnipeg were crucial determinants when they chose their first destination in Canada. HKI 5 and 14 mentioned that they thought about landing in other cities instead of Winnipeg as the Hong Kong Pathway did not restrict their destinations. However, they believed support from their friends or family members in Winnipeg could help them with the initial settlement. Their friends and family also shared their positive experiences as newcomers to Winnipeg, which reinforced their confidence in coming to Winnipeg.

For cost of living, housing affordability was their major consideration because the payment on housing, including rent or mortgage, was the largest portion of their expenses. Moreover, the cost of living is a relative concept that correlates with income. Therefore, opportunities in the job market were one of the considerations in deciding their settlement. However, many of them indicated that they were not very picky about job seeking during the first one to two years in Canada. As many of them had a work permit with less than three years of validity, their first priority was to fulfill the requirements to apply for permanent residence before the expiry date of their permits. HKI 7, 10, 16 and 18 mentioned that they knew it would be hard to work in their profession as a newcomer in Canada. They were prepared to work in a different

profession and would take any job offer to fulfill the requirements of work experience even though the job paid minimum wages. Another factor affecting the cost of living was the taxation system. Since Alberta has a lower tax rate (Government of Canada, 2024b), residents in Edmonton pay less taxes for the same value of goods and salaries. Some interviewees considered the taxation system in Alberta to be an advantage because it gave them a higher disposable income.

Besides the cost of living and the presence of friends and family, almost half of the interviewees who were currently living or lived in Winnipeg indicated that MPNP was their major reason for choosing Winnipeg as their first destination. As mentioned in Section 2.2.1, temporary residents in Manitoba can apply for MPNP, an express pathway to get their permanent residence. This easier and quicker immigration pathway also had a crucial influence on Hong Kong immigrants choosing to land in Winnipeg. One interviewee shared why he came to Winnipeg:

> *To be frank, I came to Winnipeg to get permanent residence only. I plan to move to another city once I get it.* (HKI 3)

Why do Hong Kong immigrants stay in Edmonton and Winnipeg?

Only a few of the respondents were able to speak about their reasons for staying because a couple of Hong Kong immigrants who were currently staying in Edmonton or Winnipeg also considered relocating to other Canadian cities or returning to Hong Kong in the future. The reasons to stay can be seen in two categories. The first category is circumstantially-bounded reasons, including the wait for approval for permanent residence applications and the completion of a study program. These reasons explain that their stays in Edmonton or Winnipeg are temporary, and they might leave after getting permanent residence or graduation. The second category is voluntary reasons, which are not bound by any event, such as quality of life and affordability.

Interviewees who stayed in Edmonton or Winnipeg for circumstantially-bounded reasons chose to stay in the two cities to achieve desirable outcomes but preferred to stay in other cities. They had to stay unless they gave up their permanent residence or study. Three of the Hong Kong immigrants in Winnipeg were current students. Completing their study programs was the major reason for them to stay. Four Hong Kong immigrants were waiting for approval of their applications for permanent residence under MPNP. One of them explained why she was staying:

> *I don't want to make a fuss during the wait for PR (permanent residence). I wish to get my PR first... Then, I can spend time arranging relocation to Calgary*. (HKI 6)

The reasons in the second category are more "voluntary." Interviewees expressed their enjoyment of staying in Edmonton and Winnipeg. HKI 1, 6, 8 and 9 talked about how they enjoy the spaces, either living areas or public spaces. HKI 11 has been in Edmonton for 20 years. He established a place attachment to Edmonton and had no incentive to move. Three interviewees elaborated on why they chose to stay in Edmonton:

> *I have a decent job in Edmonton. I enjoy my work... I have had salary increases and promotions throughout the years. The salary can cover my expenses. I have nothing to complain about*. (HKI 11)

> *I have more space here. I feel less stressed. I like the living environment here*. (HKI 1)

> *The houses in Edmonton are bigger than those in Vancouver. You pay less, but you get a bigger house. I have more space in Edmonton*. (HKI 9)

Why did Hong Kong immigrants leave, or why are Hong Kong immigrants considering leaving Edmonton and Winnipeg?

The presence of employment opportunities was the major consideration when Hong Kong immigrants chose to leave. Almost all interviewees expressed that employment opportunities are their first priority when choosing a long-term residence. Since employment is tied in with their income, it determines if they are able to make a living and fulfill their fundamental needs. Some interviewees moved to another city where they appeared to have more employment opportunities even when they had not secured a job yet. An interviewee talked about their experience in job hunting:

> *I looked at LinkedIn or Indeed for jobs in Toronto. There are a lot more openings than in Winnipeg.* (HKI 14)

Five interviewees moved from Edmonton or Winnipeg to other cities either because they or their partners got a better job offer in another city. Two interviewees expressed that looking for jobs in marketing or media-related fields in Winnipeg was extremely difficult. They guessed that these positions are more common in larger firms. The lack of sizable companies in Winnipeg was the reason for the hardship.

However, HKI 18 had a different experience. He was not able to find a job in his profession in Edmonton. However, he got a job offer in his profession in Prince Albert, a city in Saskatchewan with a population of less than 40,000 (Statistics Canada, 2023b). He did not want to leave Edmonton as he loved staying in Edmonton. His family, including his wife and daughter, would stay in Edmonton. In other words, taking the job offer meant he would have to be separated from his family. After careful consideration, he prioritized employment over his family and quality of life. He relocated to Prince Albert because of the higher salary and better benefits. He shared his struggles:

> *I like Edmonton a lot and would love to stay there. But the salary and benefits of the job in Prince Albert are irresistible. The cost of living in Canada is very high… I need to take this job to cover the daily expenses. I still have a mortgage to pay. The trade-offs are moving to Prince Albert and being separated from my family.* (HKI 18)

Almost all Hong Kong immigrants who left Winnipeg for other Canadian cities complained about the road conditions and congestion in Winnipeg. Although this is a common theme brought up by the interviewees, they expressed that poorly maintained roads or congestion were not major drivers for them to leave Winnipeg. However, the bad driving experience reinforced their desire to leave Winnipeg. They also realized how good it was to drive on smoother roads with better traffic flow after relocation. They shared their experience driving in Winnipeg:

> *The potholes were large enough to get your car stuck. I remember hearing multiple friends having flat tires in the Winter of 2022. It was very stressful to drive in Winnipeg.* (HKI 16)

> *Congestion in Winnipeg was terrible. I was driving on Perimeter (Hwy). Come on… it is a highway, but it took me an hour to drive to East St. Paul from Winnipeg. I can travel longer distances in Edmonton in less time because there is no congestion on highways.* (HKI 17)

<u>Desirable and Undesirable City Features</u>

Interviewees shared what they like and dislike about Edmonton and Winnipeg. Interviewees who moved to other Canadian cities also compared Edmonton and Winnipeg with the cities they were in. Although desirable city features improved their quality of life, their decisions to stay or leave went beyond what they considered desirable. Tables 9 and 10 listed the responses from Hong Kong immigrants on what they like most and dislike most about Edmonton and Winnipeg.

Table 9 Summary of desirable city features mentioned in interviews

Desirable City Features | E: Edmonton | W: Winnipeg | Other cities: O |			
	E	W	O
Good road network design	✓		✓
Friendly people	✓	✓	
A strong bond in the Hong Kong Community		✓	
Asian/ Chinese food or grocery options	✓		✓
Well-designed neighbourhoods	✓	✓	
More living and recreation spaces	✓	✓	
Less stressed	✓	✓	
Affordability	✓	✓	
Proximity to natural resources	✓		✓
Sunny weather	✓		✓

Table 10 Summary of undesirable city features mentioned in interviews

Undesirable | E: Edmonton | W: Winnipeg | Other cities: O |			
	E	W	O
Poor transit services or network	✓	✓	✓
Poor road condition		✓	
Congestion		✓	
Low government efficiency	✓	✓	✓
Poor perceived safety	✓	✓	✓
Shortage in medical and childcare services	✓	✓	
Poor school bus arrangement		✓	
Extreme climate	✓	✓	
Lack of job opportunities	✓	✓	

What is considered desirable/ undesirable in a city from Hong Kong immigrants' perspective?

Interviewees shared what they considered desirable or undesirable in a city. Those features include transportation, neighbourhoods, social networks, cost of living, quality of life and employment.

Transportation - Interviewees were generally unsatisfied with the transportation in Winnipeg. They had negative experiences in both driving and taking transit. In terms of driving, they complained about the frequent congestion on Pembina Hwy and Kenaston Blvd as well as the poorly maintained road condition. HKI 12 and 17 found driving in Calgary and Edmonton much more enjoyable than in Winnipeg because of the smoother traffic and better road conditions. In terms of

transit, it was common that the bus would come late in Winnipeg. Also, when visiting places outside downtown or the University of Manitoba, travelers often need to make at least one transfer. Yet while the unsatisfactory transit services or road network was common in Winnipeg, other Canadian cities also had similar issues. HKI 14 mentioned that even though the Toronto Transit Commission operates the subway in Toronto, which she expected to be more reliable than buses in Winnipeg, the subway would often be closed for maintenance.

Neighbourhoods - Most interviewees were satisfied with the neighbourhoods they were in. HKI 4 and 7 indicated that they could access necessities, like grocery stores or restaurants, within 10 minutes of walking, which they considered walkable. A few of them indicated that many residential areas in Canada were similar. Even though they liked the design of their current neighbourhoods, they did not worry that they could not find a similar neighbourhood in another city. The place attachment to a neighbourhood ranked low when deciding where to live.

HKI 1 was happy about the construction of a new school in her neighbourhood. However, she also expressed disappointment about the lack of public daycare services and the poor school bus arrangement. She believed that daycare is very important to newcomer families. Commonly, parents in a family have to work or study full-time during the day to fulfill the immigration requirements; childcare services allow them to work or study and make sure their children are taken care of. She shed light on the importance of daycare services:

> *If Canada wants more newcomers to join the workforce, please provide sufficient daycare services to allow parents to work outside. (HKI 1)*

She mentioned that the Government of Manitoba offered a subsidy on daycare in April 2023. Parents only pay $10 a day per child at licensed childcare facilities that

receive operating grants (Government of Manitoba, n.d.). However, she criticized the government for not solving the shortage in daycare. The reduced cost of daycare would lengthen the waiting list, and newcomer families would have to wait longer for the services. HKI 16 also mentioned that private daycare services were available in Winnipeg but cost more than $1,000 monthly. She said the cost of daycare was too high, and many newcomer families could not afford it.

> *The lack of daycare has been a long-lasting issue. The government should make sure there are enough daycare facilities and workers before the provision of subsidies. I believe the waiting list will go longer with the subsidy. The subsidy will surely worsen the shortage if the government does not supply more. The same logic applies to housing provision. The government continues to welcome newcomers, but there is not enough housing or transportation capacity. I don't understand why they do things in reverse order...* (HKI 1)

Five interviewees expressed the importance of Asian or Chinese grocery stores and restaurants. HKI 9 and 18 mentioned that they chose to settle in Edmonton but not Winnipeg because they could find T&T Supermarket, the largest Asian supermarket chain in Canada, in Edmonton. HKI 9 used T&T Supermarket as an indicator of the presence of the Chinese community.

Social networks - Eight out of thirteen interviewees who were currently or lived in Winnipeg mentioned friendly people as their favourite part of Winnipeg. They agreed that Winnipeggers were very welcoming and willing to help. They have not experienced any discrimination against themselves. As one interviewee said:

> *Even though I didn't speak fluent English, the waitress in the restaurant listened patiently. She tried her best to understand what I said.* (HKI 3)

Four out of six interviewees who moved from Winnipeg to other cities agreed that Hong Kong immigrants in Winnipeg had closer relationships. They brought up that most Hong Kong immigrants in Winnipeg lived in the neighbourhoods in South Winnipeg, such as South Pointe or Bridgwater. HKI 12 and 16 mentioned that there were more than five Hong Kong families within a driving distance of 5 minutes from where they live in Winnipeg. They enjoyed living near other Hong Kong families as they helped and supported each other. Frequent meetups and being able to speak Cantonese, their mother tongue, made them feel more connected in Winnipeg than in Calgary or Edmonton. However, maintaining their social network was not a major consideration when they decided to leave the city.

Cost of Living - As mentioned before, Edmonton and Winnipeg had a lower cost of living compared to other larger Canadian cities. In particular, the cost of housing, including rental or homeownership, was much lower than in other larger cities. HKI 12 talked about his view on Winnipeg's housing market:

> *Without any help from our parents, we managed to buy a single-detached house in Winnipeg because the housing price was affordable three years ago when we bought the house... The housing market is still affordable in Winnipeg compared to other bigger cities, but the price has gone up a lot.* (HKI 12)

The cost of living is often considered along with income. Some interviewees pointed out that even though housing in Winnipeg was more affordable, the salary of the same position in Winnipeg was generally lower than that of other larger urban centres. Levelling off the income level and housing affordability, the amount of money remaining for other expenses was similar.

Quality of life - Everyone can take a different point of view on quality of life. Interviewees in Edmonton or Calgary considered living close to national parks, such

as Jasper National Park and Banff National Park, as a value-added to their quality of life. Some indicated that spacious living areas and outdoor recreation spaces contributed to their quality of life. They had an improved quality of life when they compared their living areas or the recreational space in the neighbourhood with their experience in Hong Kong. The environment and the slower pace in Edmonton and Winnipeg also made them feel more relaxed and less stressed.

HKI 9,10 and 18 expressed that despite the cold weather, the sun was always out in Edmonton, which made them feel much better mentally. Although some interviewees considered very cold weather undesirable, they considered it a factor that could be overcome.

A few mentioned the perceived safety in Edmonton and Winnipeg as a concern, especially in the downtown area and in transit. They were not worried about their daily safety because they felt safer in suburban residential areas. They also recognized that perceived safety was a common issue in all Canadian cities. Relocating to another city would not improve it. Two interviewees have witnessed or experienced theft or robbery in downtown Winnipeg. The rest did not have first-hand experience but perceived downtown as more dangerous. HKI 7 mentioned that she did not dare to visit downtown because she was worried about her safety. HKI 6 had English language classes downtown when she just arrived in Winnipeg. However, she stopped taking the classes because she felt unsafe walking downtown.

Employment – The lack of job opportunities in Edmonton and Winnipeg was a recurring theme in the interviews. All interviewees moved to other cities from Edmonton and Winnipeg because they had better job offers or intended to look for more job opportunities. HKI 16, 17 and 18, who moved from Winnipeg or Edmonton to other Canadian cities, expressed a certain degree of unwillingness to relocate from the two cities. HKI 16 bought a house in 2022. Four months after her family

bought the house, her husband got a job offer in Edmonton. She mentioned that she just settled the hustle and bustle of moving from the apartment to their new house and started to feel at “home” in Winnipeg. She did not expect to move again. HKI 17 got a job offer in Winnipeg, but the company wanted her to relocate to Edmonton. After considering that her husband might have a better career prospect in the marketing profession in Edmonton, she decided to move to Edmonton. HKI 18 and his family enjoyed their life in Edmonton. However, HKI 18 got a job in his profession in Prince Albert. He weighed employment and income higher than other factors and relocated to Prince Albert.

After COVID-19, more jobs allow employees to work from home. HKI 9 moved from Vancouver to Edmonton and continued his employment. He mentioned that he would not move to Edmonton if his job did not allow him to work from home. He briefly looked at some job search websites and did not see jobs in Edmonton that offered comparable packages to his current job. He also shared that his wife struggled to find a job as she did not have Canadian qualifications.

Connections between desirable and undesirable features to their decision to stay or leave

Desirable and undesirable factors of a city and the reasons to stay or leave overlap to a certain extent. When deciding whether to stay or leave a city, immigrants weigh the priorities of different factors. Even though the number of desirable factors is more than that of undesirable factors, one major change, for example, a change in career development, would dictate their decisions to stay or leave.

The factors influencing their decision to stay or leave are categorized into three priority groups (see Figure 3). The first priority group includes employment and cost of living, which are key components to determine if they are able to make a living in Canada as newcomers. The second priority group consists of consideration on transportation and social networks. They affect how immigrants feel about their day-

to-day lives and may reinforce their desire to stay or leave. However, having wonderful or awful transportation and social networks would not be a strong enough reason for immigrants to stay or leave. The third priority group comprises considerations of their neighbourhoods and quality of life. Immigrants generally found these two factors only supplementary to their experience. They considered they could live in similar neighbourhoods and enjoy almost the same quality of life in different Canadian cities.

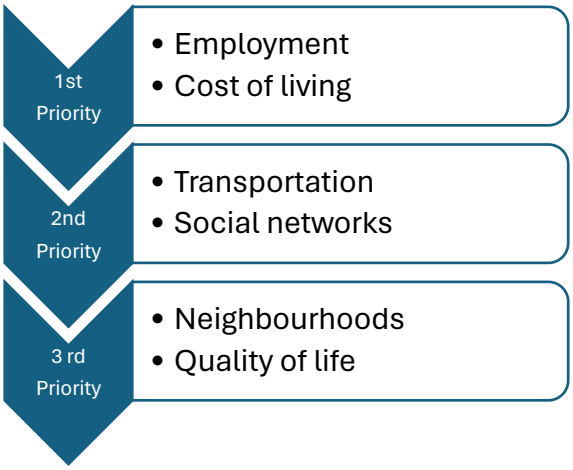

Figure 3 Three priority groups for Hong Kong immigrants to consider their settlement

Tables 11 to 14 show the sense of belonging of HKI interviewees to Edmonton and Winnipeg, as well as their current city if they relocated. Those who were staying in Edmonton and Winnipeg also expressed whether they had the desire to leave Edmonton or Winnipeg.

The result shows that having a higher score in the sense of belonging does not mean they would stay in that city. HKI 16, 17 and 18, who relocated involuntarily, had the lowest sense of belonging to their current city. Also, only two out of eight who moved from Edmonton or Winnipeg to a new city had a higher sense of belonging. The time staying in the city influences their sense of belonging. Some explained that living in a welcoming environment and connecting to the community made them feel they

were part of the city and at "home." When they were asked why they wanted to leave or have left, even though they had a high sense of belonging, a few interviewees from Winnipeg mentioned that they would consider returning to Winnipeg for retirement. They described Winnipeg as a comfortable place to live if you do not have to worry about jobs or income.

Table 11 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who were currently living in Winnipeg during the interviews

		Sense of belonging to Winnipeg (out of 10)	Desire to leave Winnipeg? If yes, which city?
Hong Kong immigrants currently in Winnipeg	HKI 1	7	Yes, Toronto
	HKI 2	8	Yes, Vancouver, Toronto & Calgary
	HKI 3	8	Yes, Toronto
	HKI 4	6	Not at the moment, but thought about relocating to Calgary, Edmonton, Guelph
	HKI 5	8 - 9	Unsure
	HKI 6	7	Yes, Calgary
	HKI 7	6	Unsure

Table 12 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who were currently living in Edmonton during the interviews

		Sense of belonging to Edmonton (out of 10)	Desire to leave Edmonton? If yes, which city?
Hong Kong immigrants currently in Edmonton	HKI 8	4	Yes, Vancouver
	HKI 9	5 - 6	No
	HKI 10	7	Unsure
	HKI 11	9	No

Table 13 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who lived in Winnipeg but relocated to other Canadian cities

		Sense of belonging to Winnipeg (out of 10)	Sense of belonging to the new city (out of 10)	Relocated to
Hong Kong immigrants moved from Winnipeg to other cities	HKI 12	4	8	Calgary
	HKI 13	3	10	Calgary
	HKI 14	8	6	Toronto
	HKI 15	8	7	Calgary
	HKI 16	5	2	Edmonton
	HKI 17	5	3 - 4	Edmonton

Table 14 Profile of Hong Kong immigrants who lived in Winnipeg but relocated to other Canadian cities

		Sense of Belonging to Edmonton (out of 10)	Sense of Belonging to the new city (out of 10)	Relocated to
Hong Kong immigrants moved from Edmonton to other cities	HKI 18	9	3-4	Prince Albert

5.2.2 Municipal Planners

The findings of the interviews of municipal planners are organized into three parts. The first part presents the existing approaches that the municipal governments have adopted. The second part highlights the gaps in addressing the needs of immigrants. The third part involves their recommendations to improve immigration retention through planning.

Planning Approaches in the Municipal Government

All three interviewees' core job duties were development planning. They were responsible for reviewing and recommending development or rezoning applications. They mentioned that the development planning process was convoluted, even for non-newcomers. It could be confusing for anyone to understand in what ways they could be involved and where to get relevant information about the development.

Newcomers may be involved in the process as developers, homeowners, or residents near a proposed development. Municipal planners in development planning would review the development application, answer any questions related to the application, and guide the applicants or residents on what they can do for the application.

Edmonton and Winnipeg had similar engagement approaches. The by-law requirements for engagement varied depending on the types of applications. For most planning applications, the minimum requirements for engagement were one or

more of the following: putting up signage on the development site, sending notices to the addresses of the immediate surroundings, or posting advertisements in local newspapers. There was no legal requirement for additional engagement, such as public meetings or online engagement platforms.

Two interviewees, from the City of Winnipeg and the City of Edmonton, respectively, stated that the planning system ensures everyone has equal access to information and equal opportunities to participate in engagements. The City of Edmonton planner mentioned that the city adopted a one-size-fits-all approach in implementation. The previous engagement activities were designed for the general public, including newcomers, but there were no specific measures to engage with newcomers. He said:

> *We send out notices to residents within, let's say, 60 metres of the rezoning site... so the notices go out to the residents, informing them that a rezoning has been applied for. That is the first point of engagement... And these residents could be new immigrants as well. So, new immigrants have the opportunity to engage with the planning process when they receive notice of rezoning*. (City of Edmonton Planner)

A City of Winnipeg planner shared his experience working with development applicants. He did not notice a big distinction between working with non-newcomers and newcomers. The difference largely depended on the applicant's understanding of the planning process. Applicants with less experience or residents with a limited understanding of the process might need more guidance. The differences were not based on their status or background but on their planning knowledge.

<u>Gaps in Addressing Newcomers' Needs</u>

All interviewees agreed that the current planning system in the municipal governments had gaps in addressing the needs of newcomers.

First, they talked about how newcomers' lack of understanding of the planning process deters them from participating. When newcomers are unaware of the impacts of planning, they are not motivated to participate and share their thoughts.

This brought up another gap in the existing engagement approaches. The existing approaches required stakeholders, including residents in the surrounding areas and people who were interested in the project, to take the initiative to participate in the engagement. The legal requirements to engage with the public focused on informing the public that a development will happen. For newcomers unfamiliar with their rights to participate and give feedback, the existing engagement approaches might not be able to listen to newcomers.

Besides engagement, most planning documents and notices in Winnipeg were in English and French only. Newcomers whose first language is not English or French might have difficulty understanding the content. The language barrier impacted the accessibility of newcomers for information about planning.

Recommendations to Improve Immigration Retention

When the interviewees were asked about what has been done in the municipal government to address the needs of immigrants, one of them talked about how the City of Winnipeg published the Writing Style Guide in 2019. The document specifies that all public-facing documents should use plain language, avoid jargon, and be written to a maximum grade 8 reading level (City of Winnipeg, 2019a). He agreed that using plain language would help newcomers to understand the planning process better. The other two interviewees referred to some policies in OurWinnipeg 2045 and the City Plan of Edmonton. They briefly introduced the policies that addressed the needs of immigrants in several sections of the documents. They expressed that the key idea was to create an inclusive environment or complete community for newcomers.

Based on their understanding of what has been done or was planned to be done within the existing planning system, they recommended what could be done further to improve immigration retention.

Two interviewees suggested recommendations for the provision of housing. They recognized that the need for housing was fundamental to newcomers. The the City of Edmonton planner mentioned the Affordable Housing Strategy developed by the municipal government. The role of the planning team was to support rezoning applications for affordable housing projects put forward by the Affordable Housing Strategy. The collaboration between multiple government departments has been successful. He believed it would be a good practice to continue, which would have a positive influence on newcomers' housing. Another City of Winnipeg planner highlighted a need for different housing types. He believed that ensuring a mixed variety of housing types available in the market to address immigrants' needs for multi-generation housing and housing with transit access was important.

A City of Winnipeg planner talked about how there has been a push to mandate the developers to conduct public engagement for development applications. But it was still on the discussion table. He believed that compulsory public engagement would be good because there would be one more channel to ensure voices could be heard. He said:

> *What I would want to do is I would want to hear that from the immigrants themselves, because I would only be speaking or I could come up with all kinds of theories, but I could be wrong.* (City of Winnipeg Planner)

He also added that public engagement should be held where the target groups of residents or stakeholders could be easily accessible. When picking a location for public meetings, planners should consider whether the locations are accessible and remove all the possible barriers that might discourage people from coming. He elaborated:

> *If we want to engage people, we got to meet them where they are. So going into neighbourhoods where people already tend to maybe concentrate themselves... and also make it easy within those neighbourhoods or places that have low barriers and are universally accessible*. (City of Winnipeg Planner)

However, since public engagement was not a mandate in development planning in the City of Winnipeg, he lacked the capacity to conduct public engagement in the way he suggested.

Besides what can be tailored for newcomers, a City of Winnipeg planner believed that the provision of basic amenities, such as grocery stores, places of worship and access to transit, on the neighbourhood or city-wide level could add value to newcomers' experience in Winnipeg. The basic amenities would form complete communities that increase their sense of belonging and improve immigration retention.

5.2.3 Government Officers Working on Newcomers' Services Coordination And Policy Formulation

Similar to the findings of the interviews of municipal planners, the findings of the interviews of government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation are threefold. The first part presents the existing approaches they adopted in engaging with newcomers and formulating policies. The second part highlights the gaps in addressing the needs of immigrants. The third part involves their recommendations to improve immigration retention through planning.

<u>Existing Approaches in the Municipal and Provincial Government</u>

The duties of the officers in the City of Edmonton were mainly to address a variety of issues related to social inclusion, to work with community organizations to provide

support and to build community capacity. One of the officers described himself as the “middleman.” The municipal government was not the agency that provided direct services for newcomers. Government officers worked with service providers and community organizations, including newcomers communities or ethnocultural communities, to navigate what services were needed and how services could be made available with support from the municipal government. The support could be in the form of funding or securing a community space. Public engagement was mostly for research purposes to formulate policies. Most of the time, they did not engage directly with newcomers but with representatives from ethnocultural community organizations.

Another interviewee who worked in the Province of Manitoba was responsible for assessing MPNP applications and risk mitigation, fraud detection, and compliance monitoring in the Integrity and Quality Assurance unit. She directly worked with MPNP applicants to make decisions on their nominations. She was aware that having a job could be a huge tie for newcomers to stay. She also added that if immigrants left Manitoba, they would send a survey to the person asking about their reasons for leaving. The primary reason for immigrants to leave was economic opportunities. Unlike other provinces, most immigrants in Manitoba got their permanent residence through the provincial nominee program. According to the interviewee, in 2022, over 64% of immigrants went through MPNP. The Province of Manitoba also partnered with post-secondary institutions to provide information to international students.

Gaps in Addressing Newcomers’ Needs

The officer of the Province of Manitoba mentioned that the federal government did not provide settlement support to temporary residents. Under the concurrent jurisdiction of the federal and provincial governments over immigration, the federal government determines the issuance of various visas and the number of temporary

residents in Canada. Provinces could negotiate with the federal government but have little control over the number of temporary residents. There might not be insufficient resources from the provincial governments to accommodate the needs of temporary residents if there was no settlement support from the federal government.

All interviewees agreed that the depreciation of foreign credentials and non-recognition of foreign working experience were major hurdles that prevented new newcomers from having equal opportunities in job seeking. However, governments usually had no jurisdiction to intervene in professional licensing systems. The licensing procedures and criteria were determined by professional organizations. The Province of Manitoba offered funding for immigrants towards assessment and training costs associated with registering in their professions to assist newcomers to be registered under the Canadian system. Another role the government could play is negotiating with organizations of different professions to update their licensing procedures by offering accelerated licensing for internationally trained talents. For example, the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Alberta offered a fast-track pathway for international physicians to be licensed in 2023. However, different levels of government, provincial or federal, are involved in the regulatory system of different professions (Government of Canada, 2023a), which makes the licensing process complex.

A City of Edmonton government officer discussed the difficulties in implementing the policies. He said:

> *I think it's a lot of great thoughts that are put on paper, but it doesn't always translate into action*. (City of Edmonton Government Officer)

Some challenges included building trust with community partners, balancing internal and external partners' goals and objectives, and navigating formal processes to grant money to community organizations.

Recommendations to Improve Immigration Retention

All interviewees highlighted the importance of affordable housing in immigration retention. The City of Edmonton officers mentioned the Affordable Housing Strategy and agreed that the municipal government should allocate more resources to encourage the development of affordable housing.

An officer from the City of Edmonton believed that the success of policies greatly depended on how the government conveyed the messages and conducted public education. He used the idea of 15-minute cities as an example:

> *I think it's a misunderstanding based on the lockdowns from the pandemic, where there's a lot of fear driving their opposition to 15-minute cities. And I really feel like if we were able to better convey what these are all about, I'd like to think that most people would be on board... But I think it goes back to the role of us as public servants to really try and educate and to demonstrate to people like those are very worthwhile concerns. It's all about increasing access to service, but that's much easier said than done.* (City of Edmonton Government Officer)

He suggested that improving communication between newcomers, community organizations, the general public, and the government could enhance efficiency in addressing their needs and have a positive influence on retaining immigrants.

To address the lack of funding from the federal government for temporary residents, a Province of Manitoba government officer said the Province of Manitoba government stepped in to fill the gap. In the fiscal year of 2023-24, the Settlement Branch reserved over $7 million of funding for services for temporary residents. She also suggested that the provinces should continue working closely with the federal government to discuss the future immigration plan in each province based on their healthcare and infrastructure capacity.

6.0 ANALYSIS AND DISCUSSION

This section connects the findings from policy analysis and semi-structured interviews to the academic discussion in the literature review.

6.1 Affordability – A Recurring Theme

Affordability, particularly housing affordability, is an advantage of second-tier cities. Edmonton and Winnipeg are comparably more affordable than other larger urban centres. Their affordability attracted Hong Kong immigrants, who ranked affordability high when considering landing and staying in which city. The findings resonate with the research results of George et al. (2017) and Kelly & Nguyen (2023) on Windsor and four other municipalities in Ontario.

Municipal planners or government officers were aware of the importance of affordable housing. Both municipal governments have policies in place (i.e., the Affordable Housing Strategy 2023-2026 by the City of Edmonton and the Affordable Housing Now Program by the City of Winnipeg) to address affordability. The challenge for Edmonton and Winnipeg is how to maintain the existing affordability and improve the provision of affordable housing. At the same time, the populations of Edmonton and Winnipeg are expected to continue growing in the foreseeable future, which means both cities need more infrastructure to accommodate the increase in population. Therefore, other than the provision of affordable housing, the housing supply has to catch up with the increase in housing demand. Otherwise, housing prices would likely go up because of shortages.

Affordability is a relative concept that correlates to cost of living and income. The median income of individuals in Edmonton and Winnipeg increased by 5% and 13% from 2016 to 2021 (Statistics Canada, 2017a, 2023a). The increase in median income implies a higher possibility of getting better pay and a brighter career prospect for a salary increase, which could attract and retain newcomers. However,

there is a correlation between income and housing prices. The higher median income of individuals may drive up the housing price. According to Statistics Canada (2022c), the housing price indexes of December 2021 with December 2016 as the base value are 103.3 and 133.3 for Edmonton and Winnipeg, respectively. The one-year percentage increase in Winnipeg's housing price from December 2020 to December 2021 has been 22.2%. The increase in Winnipeg's housing prices was much higher than in median income. If the rise in housing prices continues (for Winnipeg) or starts (for Edmonton) to surpass the increase in income, Edmonton and Winnipeg will lose their advantage of being affordable, which may affect the cities' attractiveness to newcomers.

6.2 Job Opportunities Are the Primary Determinant for Newcomers to Leave

When newcomers consider where to live, job opportunities are their primary consideration. More job opportunities mean newcomers have more options in the job-seeking process and possibly higher chances to be hired. Availability of job opportunities is also related to income, as having a job determines whether newcomers can make a living. The lack of job opportunities in Edmonton and Winnipeg has driven and will continue to drive newcomers to leave for more and better opportunities in another city. It resonates with the findings of Kelly & Nguyen (2023) that finding employment and securing income were newcomers' key needs.

The notion of a lack of job opportunities from the newcomers' perspective is twofold. First, the non-recognition of foreign credentials and experience reduced their chance of being selected for further consideration in the job-seeking process, which created a perception of a lack of job opportunities. Second, the types and industries of jobs in the two cities did not match their professions.

Many interviewees expressed that they had difficulty finding jobs matching their qualifications. The literature suggested that the non-recognition of foreign

credentials and the lack of local work experience created barriers for newcomers (Drolet & Teixeira, 2022; Guo, 2013). The newcomer policy documents of Winnipeg and Edmonton and government officers working on newcomers' services coordination and policy formulation recognized the barriers. Different levels of government have started to remove the barriers by partnering with employers (City of Edmonton, 2022) and organizations of different professions and developing a Diversity Hiring Program (City of Winnipeg, 2023b). Yet the plans' focus was mainly on professions' licensing procedures. Little resources were allocated in public education on the benefits of hiring newcomers or having newcomers in the workplace. In the long run, governments should put more emphasis on public education to encourage a more inclusive workplace and recognition of foreign credentials and experience. The combination effect of accelerating the professional licensing process and encouraging equitable opportunities in job-seeking would weaken the perception of a lack of job opportunities.

The economic structures of Winnipeg, Edmonton, and Hong Kong differ from each other. Aerospace and advanced manufacturing are the major industries in Winnipeg (Economic Development Winnipeg, n.d.); mining, quarrying, and oil and gas extraction are one of the largest sectors in Edmonton (City of Edmonton, 2021b); and financial services is one of the key industries in Hong Kong (Census and Statistics Department, HKSAR, 2023). Given the structural differences in their economies, different types of job opportunities are available in the cities. This increases the possibility of having unmatched job opportunities when Hong Kong immigrants move to the two cities.

Economic development, job opportunities, and planning are interrelated. Planning provides a foundation for suitable land and infrastructure for future economic development, which will create more job opportunities. The planning documents of the City of Edmonton and the City of Winnipeg have policies to protect

employment lands to ensure there are lands for future commercial or industrial developments. The policies demonstrate how land use planning could support economic development. Moreover, both cities expect population growth in the future, and corresponding economic development is required to accommodate the population growth. Existing development projects in Winnipeg, such as Naawi-Oodena and CentrePort Canada, are expected to create more job opportunities and attract more companies to start their businesses in Winnipeg. Planning plays an important role in making sure the development sites have the infrastructure to support the businesses, are accessible by different forms of transportation and allow a variety of businesses to set up. Planning is the backbone of economic development, which in turn provides more job opportunities.

Besides job opportunities, the literature pointed out that place-attachment also plays a role in retaining immigrants (Cleave et al., 2023). A few interviewees expressed their pleasure in staying in Edmonton and Winnipeg and rated a high sense of belonging to the two cities. However, given the place-attachment, they still considered leaving or have left Edmonton and Winnipeg. They agreed that place-attachment reinforced their desire to stay. However, their desire to have a better career path and high income to cover their cost of living surpassed their desire to stay. The findings support the correlation between residence length and place-attachment proposed by Fisher and Malmberg (2001) and Lewicka (2011). Interviewees who stayed in Edmonton for more than ten years tended to stay in Edmonton. The decision to leave or consider leaving Edmonton and Winnipeg happened in the earlier stage of their immigration journey. Considering newcomers' residence length gives a big picture to understand their priorities in deciding whether to stay or leave. Different policies and programs are needed to cater to their needs.

6.3 Increasing Newcomers' Participation in the Engagement Process

Public engagement is an integral part of the policy formulation process, not only because it is a mandate but also because it is a good practice. Public engagement allows the redistribution of power from the"powerholders" to the"have-nots" (Arnstein, 1969) to listen to the public and address their needs to ensure smooth implementation.

The City of Edmonton and the City of Winnipeg took different approaches to engaging with newcomers when formulating their newcomer policies.

The City of Edmonton has done a few studies to support the upcoming newcomer policy formulation process. The studies adopted a bottom-up approach to collaborate with newcomers. The City of Edmonton involved newcomers as collaborators, not just a contributor. Their voices were not just heard, but they were engaged in two-way communication throughout the process. The active participation allowed newcomers to have ownership and authority over the study. It resonates with the findings of Cleave et al. (2023) that creating a community-based policy could enhance social connection and capacity. Moreover, the City of Edmonton also acknowledged in their framework documents that immigration is under provincial or federal jurisdiction. However, the municipal government is also responsible for creating a more inclusive environment to help newcomers settle. The proactivity and the principles of the City of Edmonton to increase the engagement of newcomers to create a more inclusive environment may explain the higher immigration retention rate.

The City of Winnipeg also engaged with newcomers' opinions when formulating the Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy. The engagement was in the form of workshops or focus groups. Newcomers were asked about their opinions on the existing policy framework. Instead of encouraging newcomers to share their

experiences freely, this method confined their feedback to certain areas and required newcomers to categorize their thoughts to fit the existing framework. Compared with the engagement done by the City of Edmonton, the engagement methods in Winnipeg collected less in-depth feedback from newcomers. Winnipeg adopted a more top-down approach in its newcomer policy formulation. The less representation of the newcomer communities in the policy formulation process impeded the government from learning about newcomers' most pressing issues. For example, this research and other literature show that the prospect of economic development and job opportunities are major considerations when deciding where to live. However, the policy that addresses job opportunities in the Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy only provides resources on youth employment and training within the government setting. No policy in the document attempts to tackle the rooted problem of building capacity for other newcomers or creating a more inclusive workplace. This may result because immigration does not fall into municipal jurisdiction, and the municipal government has no mandate or corresponding resources to address the issues. Without addressing newcomers' key concerns, the relatively lower immigration retention rate in Winnipeg may continue.

6.4 Equality or Equity in Planning

The literature informs that the existing planning practice made planners struggle to value "equity" over "equality" in majority planning issues (Harwood, 2022). Although the planning documents of the City of Edmonton and the City of Winnipeg emphasize equity in planning, the municipal planners in both governments adopted the principles of equality in development planning. They treated each person, including newcomers, the same way as others regarding engagement or information dissemination. In practice, no additional consideration was made to tailor the needs of newcomers to remove their barriers. The discrepancy shows that the government did not properly implement the equity policies. The staff at the working level,

including planners who are responsible for development planning, did not apply equity principles to their daily work.

Both governments published their planning documents in recent years. It may take up to several years to adopt policies in their workflow. Any changes that alter the existing workflow may get resistance. Also, adopting equity measures could require lots of resources. Some examples of realizing equity in planning include more frequent outreach to Indigenous, newcomer and ethnocultural communities, long-term relationship building with equity-seeking groups, the presence of interpreters in public engagement events and the translation of planning documents into other languages.

Another point to note is that the equity definition in the City Plan of Edmonton deviates from the general understanding. The definition is a mix of the concepts of equity and equality. It could be confusing for city staff to refer to the definition in the City Plan to execute policies; there is an unclarity in the definition of offering fair treatment while removing barriers for any groups. This would hinder the understanding of the City Plan, not to mention the application of the definition in policies and their implementation. When equity is a big theme in the City Plan to address newcomers' needs, the government should make it clear and easy to understand to facilitate putting policies into action.

6.5 From Attraction to Retention – What Is Next?

The local context of Edmonton and Winnipeg has successfully attracted many international immigrants who have started their new lives there. The next step is to retain them.

Winnipeg enjoys the advantage of MPNP, which provides an easier pathway for immigrants to stay in Canada permanently. Kaida et al. (2020b) pointed out that

immigrants with no choice for their first destination are more likely to migrate internally within the country. MPNP sets a geographical constraint for immigrants. It works as a good measure to attract immigrants but does not contribute to retaining immigrants. As the province was aware that most newcomers left Manitoba for economic reasons, it is high time for the province to review the existing immigration programs, settlement services, and support for newcomers, as well as work on infrastructure and economic development planning.

From interviews with government officers and municipal planners, they agreed that the biggest challenge in providing newcomer services was implementing policies. However, implementing policies was also crucial to achieving actual outcomes. Both governments developed implementation plans for their policy documents. However, having implementation plans is not equivalent to implementing the policies and making an impact. It depends on the level of detail and the influence of the actions in the policy documents. Table 15 shows the elements included in the implementation plans. Implementation plans done by the City of Winnipeg are in greater detail, with more elements to track the implementation status. However, many of the implementation actions in Winnipeg's documents are to develop further policies or plans to achieve the goals set in the documents. For example, one of the actions in Complete Communities 2.0 is to develop a housing strategy to identify actions and programs to support affordable housing development (City of Winnipeg, 2022a). Although this action is clear, developing another strategy is a part of the long-term planning that only sets the stage for the provision of affordable housing in the future. The outcomes of this implementation action are still at the policy level and will not bring immediate changes to the provision of affordable housing. Complete Communities 2.0 is a 20-year plan that the actions to bring actual changes may come in the later implementation stages. However, when there are more policy layers, tracking whose responsibilities are to implement the policy becomes more complex. A good implementation plan should balance the long-term and short-term actions

that ensure newcomers and the general public can see and enjoy the changes brought by the implementation.

Table 15 Comparison of implementation plans of policy documents of Edmonton and Winnipeg

	Actions	Timeframe	Priorities	Budget	Responsible Department	Indicator of Success	Bylaw Policy Reference
OurWinnipeg 2045 & Complete Communities 2.0	✓		✓	✓			✓
Winnipeg Newcomer Welcome and Inclusion Policy	✓	✓			✓	✓	
Edmonton City Plan		✓		✓ (for a few items)		✓	
Edmonton Newcomers, Immigration and Inclusion Policy C529	No implementation plan						

Collaboration between different levels of government is also key to successful implementation (Derwing & Krahn, 2008; George et al., 2017; Zhuang, 2020). In the jurisdiction of different levels of government, they play different roles in policymaking and policy implementation. The federal government has the power to determine how many newcomers are coming to Canada every year. The federal, provincial and municipal governments provide infrastructure and service support to accommodate the population growth. It is crucial for the three levels of government to work closely to make sure the existing resources are able to support future growth. However, as per the government officer from the Province of Manitoba, the federal government did not provide settlement funding for temporary residents. They are new to Canada and are the most in need of settlement services, such as access to healthcare. The lack of funding from the federal government for temporary residents' needs increased the burden on provincial and municipal governments.

It remains a moral question whether governments have a responsibility to provide settlement services for temporary residents. The federal government

welcomed newcomers as temporary residents. The immigrantion programs, for example, provincial nominee programs and Hong Kong pathway, try to retain temporary residents to stay permanently. Therefore, if governments want to retain temporary residents, corresponding settlement services should be made available to them. Otherwise, the lack of resources to provide settlement services might deter temporary residents from staying.

Zhuang (2020) criticized the Canadian federal government for becoming more decentralized to shift the responsibility of providing immigration services to the provincial and municipal governments. The decentralization of power is also noticed in the provincial and municipal governments. As per government officers from the City of Edmonton and the Province of Manitoba, the government outsourced the provision of immigration services to service providers or community organizations. The role of the government was mainly to approve funding and subsidize services. The role of provincial and municipal governments becomes less proactive in engaging with newcomers and addressing their needs.

7.0 CONCLUSION

This research explored the reasons why Hong Kong immigrants choose to stay or leave their cities, policies that address immigrants' needs, and the practices and principles government officers and municipal planners adopted when working on development planning and newcomers' services.

Policy documents of Edmonton and Winnipeg addressed the needs of newcomers through the promotion of inclusiveness and equity and promoting job opportunities. Winnipeg created clearer policy implementation plans to bring changes through actions. Edmonton has a more coordinated way of applying the principle of equity through GBA+ to the governance framework. Yet the definition of equity was confusing in their planning document. Both governments valued newcomers' opinions, while Edmonton adopted a more bottom-up approach to

engaging with newcomers. However, the feedback received has not yet been formulated into the new newcomer policy, not to mention the policy implementation.

The literature and findings both revealed that the reasons that attract immigration differ from those that retain them. Reasons related to their income, including affordability and job opportunities, were their major consideration in deciding where to live. Other desirable factors, such as a welcoming environment and a strong bond with other Hong Kong immigrants, promoted their sense of belonging but were not their priorities when they considered staying or leaving. A stronger sense of belonging did create more struggles for immigrants to leave. Some of them described their leaving as “involuntary”- they would have stayed if they had a similar job offer in Edmonton or Winnipeg.

Municipal planners acknowledged the importance of considering newcomers in the planning process. However, equity, an emphasis in the planning document, was not applied in their planning practices due to resource restrictions and the existing workflow. They believed that more could be done by proactively engaging with newcomers in the planning process.

Government officers working on newcomers’ services coordination and policy formulation elaborated on the challenges in translating policy into action. The lack of funding and the complexity of fostering partnerships between governments and community organizations hindered policy implementation. They also highlighted the importance of fostering inter- and intra-governmental collaboration, including with the planning team, in providing infrastructure and affordable housing to support more immigrant populations.

This research builds a foundation for understanding immigrants’ needs and links them to existing policy and governance. Planning is part of the city building. It

creates spaces for us to live, work, walk, take a break, enjoy nature, interact with people, and so much more. What makes space interesting is its nature, which allows everyone to use it differently. The purpose of the research is not to generalize immigrants' concerns nor to create a universal principle for the government to adopt and improve immigration retention. Each immigrant is a unique person who had different lived experiences that shaped them who they are. This research advocates for a more equitable approach in planning to achieve immigration retention - proactive engagement to listen to newcomers' concerns, coordination between different levels of governments in supporting newcomers, inter-governmental collaboration within the government setting, and active implementation of equitable policies.

Edmonton and Winnipeg took the first step to have reports, policies, and plans to make newcomers feel at "home'. The next step is to make actual changes through active implementation and collaboration, accompanied by continuous policy review and community engagement.

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9.0 APPENDICES

Appendix I – Coding Framework for Policy Documents

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Policy goals/ objective	Equity	Equitable access of recreational services
		Apply Gender-Based Analysis Plus across the City
		Health equity
		Social equity
		Housing equity
		Employment equity
	Employment	A representative workforce
		Provide employment opportunities for newcomer youth in the public settings
		Economic inclusion
		Income & employment are the most pressing issues for newcomers
		Protection and creation of employment lands
		Poverty reduction by eliminating the system barriers to job opportunities or workforce participation for anyone
		Reduce barriers to education
		Set minimum jobs per hectare
		Link redevelopment of older industrial areas to attract investment and create more job opportunities
	Housing	Housing is the second most pressing issue for newcomers
	Inclusion	Lack of definition
		Applied in community building
	No goals/ objectives for newcomers/ migrants	
	Support the expected population growth	

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Policy Language	Permissive	
	only available in English	
Policy implementation	Budget	Clear annual budget plan
		Need extra funding
	Workplan	Create future timeline
		Use of quantifiable indicators of success
		Unsure about implementation beyond 2027
		No timeframe is set to complete all priorities
		Concrete targets
	Collaborate with other depts	
	Link to other policies	
	Policy update	The existing C529 is not up to date
		Develop annual reports
		Formed a committee to review C529
		The due date for the new draft policy is undetermined
Engagement process	Engagement activities	Focus groups
		Workshops
	Approaches	Summarize feedback under established strategic priorities
		No indication showing any newly added policies
		Collaborate with newcomers to develop annual reports
		Report structure stems from the experience of newcomers

Appendix II – Coding Framework for Semi-structured Interviews with Municipal Planners

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Job Duties	Review development applications	
	Review rezoning application	
Planning approaches	Collaborate with other depts	
	One size fits all approach	
	Translation of planning information	
Engagement Process	Development details to post on the site	
	Explain the planning process to developers/ applicants/ affected crowd	
Policies to Improve Immigration Retention	Housing	Set up affordable housing initiatives
		Request developments to include more family-oriented housing units (2-bedroom or more)
	Public participation	Allow the public to participate in shaping the city
	Apply inclusive and compassionate city move to review rezoning applications	
	Increase density	
	More flexible zoning	
Gaps in addressing immigrants' needs	Barriers	Insufficient human resources in the planning dept to conduct engagement
		The engagement method is not proactive enough
		System barriers preventing engagement
	Immigrants having insufficient education/ interest in the planning process	
	Planning info is only available in English	

Appendix III – Coding Framework for Semi-structured interviews with Government Officers Working on Newcomers' Services Coordination and Policy Formulation

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Job Duties	Review PNP applications	
	Build community capacity	
	Prepare council report for immigration related policies	
	Update immigration policies	
	Work with ethnocultural communities	
	Address a variety of different social issues related to social identity and social inclusion	
Engagement Process	Collaborate with community groups	
	Engage with community leagues to reflect interests within a district	
	Engage with newcomer communities for research purposes	
	Formal and informal partnerships with community stakeholders	
	Newcomer communities reach out to the gov for support	
	Communicate with other departments to support newcomers	
Policies to Improve Immigration Retention	Employment services	Business Immigration Program
		Foreign credential
		Job seeking assistance
		Work with employers to do job-matching
	Government coordination	Update immigration policies and guidelines
		Communicate with other departments to support newcomers
	Housing	Encourage multi-generational housing
		Set up affordable housing initiatives

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Policies to Improve Immigration Retention	Housing	Request developments to include more family-oriented housing units (2-bedroom or more)
Policies to Improve Immigration Retention	Transportation	Improve transit networks to increase accessibility
		Promoting 15-min city initiative to increase accessibility
	Community safety	
Gaps in addressing immigrants' needs	Barriers	Governments have no power over the professional licensing process
		Policies on paper did not translate into action
		Required a verification process before working with the communities or individuals
		System barriers preventing engagement
		Mismatch in goals of government and community organizations
	Funding	No federal funding for temp residents' settlement
		Immigrants are unaware of the presettlement services
Understanding of immigrants' needs	Desire to secure a cultural community space in the city	
	Job opportunities	
	Social network as a social safety net	

Appendix IV - Coding Framework for Semi-structured interviews with Hong Kong Immigrants

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Reasons to come	Immigration	Easier immigration pathway
	Social Network	Presence of friends or family
	Others	The presence of Chinese grocery store
		Study
Reasons to stay	Cost of living	More affordable housing
		More affordable in cost of living
	Job opportunities	Having a stable job
		Job opportunities in the agricultural sector
	Transportation	Less congestion
	Quality of life	Slower pace
		A good balance between affordability & and entertainment
	Others	No incentive to move
		The presence of Chinese grocery store
		Studying
		Waiting for the approval of permanent residency
Reasons to leave	Social network	Larger Hong Kong/ Chinese community in larger cities
		Better education system in other Canadian cities
		Close friends will leave/ have left for other Canadian cities
		Presence of immediate family members in other Canadian cities
	Job opportunities	Better job offers in another city
		Lack of job opportunities
		Unable to find jobs in their profession
	Neighbourhoods	More entertainment in other Canadian cities

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Reasons to leave	Neighbourhoods	More options in dining/ grocery in other Canadian cities
	Others	Desire to explore other Canadian cities
		Too cold
		Want to live closer to the natural environment
Desirable city features	Cost of Living	Lower tax rate
		More affordable housing
		More affordable in cost of living
	Job opportunities	Recognizing foreign professional certification
	Neighbourhood	Accessible to daily needs
		Good community design
		Larger housing units
		More space and less stressful
		Quiet neighbourhoods
		Optimal density
		Walkable to the grocery store
	Social Network	A cluster of HKIs in South Winnipeg
		Friendly people
		Presence of Hong Kong community
	Social services	Comprehensive education system
		Government officers showed a willingness to help
	Others	A welcoming environment for immigrants
		Cheap tertiary tuition
		Potential to develop
		Sunny weather even in winter times
Undesirable city features	Job opportunities	Fewer job options
		Glass ceiling in job-seeking process

Themes	Sub Codes/ Codes	Codes
Undesirable city features	Job opportunities	Long process to convert foreign credentials
		Not recognizing foreign credentials
	Neighbourhoods	Insufficient child facilities
		Poor perceived safety
		Poor streetscape in Chinatown
		Poorly maintained downtown
	Transportation	Poor perceived safety in transit
		Poor road conditions
		Poor road network design
		Poor transit network and services
	Social services	Poor school bus arrangement
		Shortage in daycare
	Others	Too cold
		Government/ public services inefficiency
Aspects to improve	Transportation	Provide a more comprehensive public transit network
		More accessible transit services
		Better road network design
	Social services	Improve school bus services
		Improve snow shovel services
		Enhance promotion of government services
		Ensure every new community has its own schools
		Provide more childcare services
		Provide more community services
		Provide more recreational facilities
		Add more resources to medical services
		Offer more newcomer programs

Themes	Sub Code/ Code	Codes
Aspects to improve	Job opportunities	Diversify job options
		Enhance business development
		Attract more business to start in Edmonton or Winnipeg
	Community safety	Improve perceived safety/ crime rate
		Revitalize downtown to improve impression
	Neighbourhoods	Proximity of residential areas to commercial areas
	Immigration process	Review immigration related documents to make them clearer to applicants
		Streamline PR application procedures
		Enhance government efficiency
		Translate policies to Traditional Chinese

Appendix V – List of Social Media Channels for Recruitment of Hong Kong Immigrants Interviewees

#	Location	Social Media	Channel Name
1	Winnipeg/ Manitoba	WhatsApp Group	MB WOMEN
2	Winnipeg	Signal Group	Winnipeg 生活互助谷
3	Winnipeg/ Manitoba	Telegram Group	Winnipeg & MB 港人互助 & 地產資訊
4	Edmonton	Telegram Group	Calgary/Edmonton 港人互助& 地產資訊
5	Winnipeg	Facebook Group	Winnipeg360 溫尼伯資訊討論區
6	Edmonton	Facebook Group	E城和里 - 連繫愛民頓香港人 Etown Unity - Connecting Edmonton-HongKongers
7	Edmonton	Facebook Group	愛民頓睇真D - 香港人講ED Edmonton HKers KongED
8	Vancouver	Discord Group	溫哥華街坊會 | Vancouver Kaifong Association

Appendix VI – List of Community Organizations And Churches for Recruitment Of Hong Kong Immigrants

#	Location	Organization/ Church Name
1	Winnipeg	溫城華人宣道會Winnipeg Chinese Alliance Church
2	Edmonton	恩福浸信會Evangel Baptist Church
3	Edmonton	埃頻道 Ai Channel
4	Edmonton	愛城華人宣道會Edmonton Chinese Alliance Church

Appendix VII – Interview Questions for Municipal Planners

1. Can you describe your experience in engaging immigrants in planning issues in different stages or levels of planning (i.e. neighbourhood, district or city level)?
    a. What are the similarities and differences to engage non-immigrants and immigrants?
    b. What are the similarities and differences in concerns of immigrants from different place of origin?
2. In your understanding, what plans or actions have been or will be taken in the planning documents to address the needs of immigrants?
    a. For answers on plans have been taken:
        i. In your observation, what are the initiatives or triggers to put immigrants' needs in the Development Plans/ the City Plan?
        ii. Are the plans and actions which have been taken place effective? Why or why not?
        iii. What are the lesson learnt for future plans/ actions?
    b. For answers on plans will be taken
        i. What are the expected outcomes of the plans?
        ii. What is the process to formulate the plans?
        iii. What is the process to prepare the implementation of the plans?
3. Do you see there is a gap in addressing immigrants' needs? What are the gaps?
    a. What are the consequences if the gaps are not filled?
    b. How can it be improved?
4. (for planners in Winnipeg) Edmonton has a higher immigration retention rate than Winnipeg. From a planning perspective, what can Winnipeg learn from Edmonton to improve the immigration retention rate?
    a. In your opinions, what are the major differentiation(s) in planning of Edmonton and Winnipeg that result in the difference in immigration retention rate?
    b. Under existing policies and Development Plans, do you think Winnipeg can improve immigration retention through planning? Why or why not?
5. (for planners in Edmonton) From a planning perspective, what should Edmonton avoid to maintain or improve the immigration retention rate?
    a. In your opinions, what are the major differentiation(s) in planning of Edmonton and Winnipeg that result in the difference in immigration retention rate?
    b. Under existing policies and Development Plans, do you think Edmonton can improve immigration retention through planning? Why or why not?

Appendix VIII – Interview Questions for Government Officers Working on Newcomers' Services Coordination and Policy Formulation

1. Can you describe your job duties in the Immigration and Multicultural Relations team?
    a. In what occasions do you meet with immigrants?
        i. Are they newcomers who just arrive Canada or Alberta/ Manitoba?
        ii. Are they immigrants who arrived Canada or Alberta/ Manitoba for several years?
    b. Other than meeting with immigrants, what else do you do to help them settle or facilitate their stay in Edmonton/ Alberta?
2. The Federal government announced dedicated immigration pathways for Hong Kong immigrants. How is the policy related to your day-to-day work?
    a. Did you meet any Hong Kong immigrants during your work? Can you describe their characteristics and concerns?
    b. The dedicated pathways were introduced in 2021. Do you observe a difference in the number of Hong Kong immigrants after the policy is introduced?
    c. (If yes for question 2b) How are the Hong Kong immigrants differ before and after the policy was introduced?
    d. In your observation, how do Hong Kong immigrants differ from immigrants from other places?
3. From your observation and experience working with immigrants, what are the main considerations for immigrants to choose which city to settle?
    a. In terms of social networks
    b. In terms of job/ business opportunities
    c. In terms of cost of living
    d. In terms of the neighbourhoods
4. The 5-year immigration retention rate from 2016 to 2020 for Alberta and Edmonton (i.e. 87.5% and 82.2%) are higher than that of Manitoba and Winnipeg (i.e. 73.7% and 72.0%). In your opinion, what are the merits or shortcomings of the immigration services in Alberta and Edmonton/ Manitoba and Winnipeg, resulting the differences in the retention rate?
5. Urban planning is the process of deciding how the design and development of a place are through control of land use and resource distribution. How do you see urban planning related to immigration services?
    a. Are there any gaps between current immigration services and planning developments?
    b. (If yes) How can the gaps be filled?
    c. What can urban planning help to improve immigration services?
    d. What can urban planning help to fulfill immigrants' needs?

Appendix IX – Interview Questions for Hong Kong Immigrants Currently in Edmonton or Winnipeg

1. Can you describe your stay in Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    a. How long have you lived here?
    b. Since which year?
    c. Is Edmonton/ Winnipeg your first stop to immigrate to Canada? If not, which city is the first stop?
    d. Have you left Edmonton/ Winnipeg during the stay? If yes, why?
    e. What do you like most about Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    f. What do you dislike most about Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
2. Why did you choose to settle in Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    a. In your understanding, are those features unique to Edmonton/ Winnipeg that no other Canadian cities have?
3. What are the major reasons for you to stay in Edmonton/ Winnipeg now?
    a. Other than that, how did social networks affect your decision?
    b. Other than that, how did job/ business opportunities affect your decision?
    c. Other than that, how did cost of living affect your decision?
    d. Other than that, how did your neighbourhood affect your decision?
4. Have you thought about relocating to other Canadian cities? Why or why not?
    a. What are the cities that you have thought about?
    b. What are the major differences between those cities and Edmonton/ Winnipeg that attract you the most?
5. Do you feel you are a part of Edmonton/ Winnipeg? Why or why not?
    a. What are the experience in Edmonton/ Winnipeg that make you feel welcomed as an immigrant in the city?
    b. What are the experience in Edmonton/ Winnipeg that make you feel rejected as an immigrant in the city?
    c. In a scale of 10, how you rate your sense of belonging to the city? Why?
    d. Do you call Edmonton/ Winnipeg ‘home’? Why or why not?
    e. What can be done by the government (federal, provincial or city) to improve your sense of belonging?
6. What can be improved in Edmonton/ Winnipeg to make it a more desirable city for immigrants to call ‘home’?
    a. In terms of immigration policies
    b. In terms of city development
    c. In terms of community development
    d. In terms of social support

Appendix X – Interview Questions for Hong Kong Immigrants Relocated from Edmonton or Winnipeg to Another Canadian City

1. Can you describe your stay in Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    a. How long have you lived in Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    b. Since which year?
    c. Is Edmonton/ Winnipeg your first stop to immigrate to Canada? If not, which city is the first stop?
    d. Have you left Edmonton/ Winnipeg during the stay? If yes, why?
    e. What do you like most about Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    f. What do you dislike most about Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
2. Why did you choose to settle in Edmonton/ Winnipeg?
    a. In your understanding, are those features unique to Edmonton/ Winnipeg that no other Canadian cities have?
3. What are the major reasons for you to leave in Edmonton/ Winnipeg now?
    a. Other than that, how did social networks affect your decision?
    b. Other than that, how did job/ business opportunities affect your decision?
    c. Other than that, how did cost of living affect your decision?
    d. Other than that, how did your neighbourhood affect your decision?
4. Can you describe your stay after relocating to other Canadian cities?
    a. Which city(ies) have you relocated to?
    b. How long have you lived in other Canadian cities?
    c. Since which year?
    d. What do you like most in the city(ies) that you have lived in?
    e. What do you dislike most in in the city(ies) that you have lived in?
5. Can you compare your stay in Edmonton/ Winnipeg to other Canadian cities?
    a. In terms of transportation
    b. In terms of immigration policies/ services
    c. In terms of neighbourhoods
    d. In terms of housing choices
    e. In terms of job/ business opportunities
6. Have you thought about to relocate again to other Canadian cities? Why or why not?
    a. What are the cities that you have thought about?
7. Do you feel you are a part of the city that you reside in? Why or why not?
    a. Can you compare your experience in the city with that in Edmonton/ Winnipeg that make you feel welcomed as an immigrant in the city?
    b. Can you compare your experience in the city with that in Edmonton/ Winnipeg that make you feel rejected as an immigrant in the city?
    c. In a scale of 10, how you rate your sense of belonging to the city? Why?
    d. Do you call the city that you reside in ‘home’? Why or why not?
    e. What can be done by the government (federal, provincial or city) to improve your sense of belonging?

8. What can be improved in Edmonton/ Winnipeg to make it a more desirable city for immigrants to call ‘home’?
    a. In terms of immigration policies
    b. In terms of city development
    c. In terms of community development
    d. In terms of social support