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# **Economic transition in the Canadian north: Is migrant-induced, neo-endogenous development playing a role?**

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## **Abstract**

Economic transition is necessary to prolong the lifespan of formerly resource-dependent places. This article seeks to discover if migrant-induced, neo-endogenous development is contributing to this process in Dawson City, Yukon Territory, Canada. This once mine-dependent municipality emerged during the Klondike Gold Rush, but has since transitioned into a multi-functional space that capitalizes on its cultural assets. Using survey and interview data, we discover that migrants, particularly southern counterurbanites, have contributed to Dawson's evolution. Their injection of externally accumulated capital has enhanced the community's identity, mobilized local labour, and built local factor capacities. Our findings confirm that migrant-induced, neo-endogenous development is contributing to economic transition in this formerly resource-dependent region. Our results have implications for other isolated spaces, hoping to establish new economic identities.

Keywords: in-migrants; neo-endogenous development; counterurbanites; Dawson City

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## **1.0 Introduction**

Staple resources, historically, were the economic backbone of many settlements in northern Canada. The exploitation of minerals, in particular, generated a system of frontier communities whose functionality and form were dictated by external stakeholders (Sandloss & Keeling, 2012). Although an estimated 115 northern communities remain dependent on mining (Rhéaume & Caron-Vuotari, 2013), many are now obsolete, having succumbed to fluctuations in production and disinvestment (Bradbury & St-Martin, 1983). Some, however, have successfully transitioned to a new economic base (Mitchell & O'Neill, 2017), and it is this process of change that we focus on here.

In this article, we uncover the role of in-migrant-induced, neo-endogenous development in economic transition. Coined by Ray (1999a), this development approach sees extra-local factors used to achieve endogenous development goals. Our specific intent, therefore, is to determine if the injection of in-migrants' externally accumulated capital has enhanced territorial identity, mobilized local labour, and, built local cultural, social, and economic, capital. In doing so, we respond to Mitchell and Madden's (2014) call to "more fully understand the relationship between demographic and economic change that is unfolding in rural territories of the developed world" (p. 147).

We focus on Dawson City (or simply 'Dawson'), an isolated place of 1,375 residents (Statistics Canada, 2017) located in northwestern Yukon Territory, Canada (see Figure 1). A product of the Klondike Gold Rush (1896–1899), the town now boasts a "mixture of First Nation's heritage and gold rush history, blended with an active gold mining and tourism industry, as well as a thriving arts scene" (Klondike Visitors Association, 2017, p. 1). Given that Dawson's early history is well-documented (e.g. Berton, 1972; Coates & Morrison, 2005; Lotz, 2012), our goal is to assess what role in-migrants have played in Dawson's more recent transition. Before embarking on this discussion, we provide a brief explanation of neo-endogenous development, and its precursors, to set the stage for our analyses.

Figure 1. Location of Dawson City.



Source: Barry Levely.

## 2.0 Setting the Stage

Neo-endogenous development (Ray, 2006) is one of at least three approaches used to stimulate economic transition. It overcomes the inherent weaknesses of earlier forms, while capitalizing on their strengths. Hence, it is a hybrid approach that combines aspects of both exogenous and endogenous development to potentially prolong the lifespan of formally resource-dependent spaces. Thus, to understand the nuances of neo-endogenous development, necessitates that one steps back and considers the fundamental characteristics that differentiate this development type from its predecessors.

### 2.1 Early Development Approaches

Scholars use a wide variety of criteria to distinguish intervention approaches (e.g. Bosworth & Atterton, 2012; Gkartziros & Scott, 2014). As we demonstrate in Table 1, however, the three dominant development types—exogenous, endogenous and neo-endogenous—should first, and foremost, be differentiated by three stakeholder groups (Mitchell & O’Neill, 2016a): *drivers*, who identify the development path(s); *implementers*, who carry out the local development action; and, *enablers*, who facilitate action implementation by providing access to capital—financial, economic, cultural, and social (Bourdieu, 1986).<sup>1</sup> Each of these public, civic, or private sector groups originates in the transitioning territory, or beyond (Ray, 2001), and it is these varied spatial settings that gives rise to at least three different development approaches.


We envision these along a continuum that reflects varying degrees of local hegemony. Exogenous development is a top-down approach that is driven, implemented, and enabled by external stakeholders and, hence, provides the least amount of local control and influence. It dominated in both Canada (Savoie, 2003) and Europe (Lowe, Murdock & Ward, 1995) under a Keynesian economic regime and, with a traditional focus on exploiting resource-based comparative advantage, was inherently space, rather than place, based (Markey, Halseth & Manson, 2012; Mitchell & O’Neill, 2016a; Sullivan, Ryser & Halseth, 2014).<sup>2</sup> Although potentially generating local jobs, exogenous development is exclusionary, rendering local residents as “mere pawns in a national development game” (Mitchell & Madden, 2014, p. 145). This characteristic of dependency, among others—its distortion of local economies and destruction of local cultures and environments (Lowe, Ray, Ward, Wood & Woodward, 1998)—encouraged municipalities in an emerging neo-liberal regime to consider an alternative development approach (Young, 2008).

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<sup>1</sup>Following Bourdieu (1986), *economic* capital is “that which is immediately and directly convertible into money;” *cultural* capital “is convertible under certain conditions into economic capital and may be institutionalized in the form of educational qualifications;” and, *social capital* is “made up of social obligations (‘connections’), which is convertible, in certain conditions, into economic capital” (p. 47).

<sup>2</sup> This advantage arises in territories that “have the greatest cost or efficiency advantage over others, or for which they have the least disadvantage” (Gregory, Johnston, Pratt, Watts & Whatmore, 2009, p. 105).

Table 1: *The Development Continuum*

	<b>Driver</b>	<b>Implementer</b>	<b>Enabler</b>	<b>Local Hegemony</b>
	Origins			
Exogenous	External	External	External	
Neo-endogenous	Internal	Internal/External	External	
Endogenous	Internal	Internal	Internal	

Endogenous development sits at the opposite end of the development continuum, affording the greatest degree of local hegemony. It is a participative approach, which seeks to transition communities from within, along what Ray (2006) describes as a “bottom-up trajectory” (p. 278). Typically, it builds on competitive, rather than comparative, advantage (Markey, Halseth & Manson, 2006) and, in doing so, engenders a process of “spatial bricolage” (Korsgaard, Müller & Tanvig, 2015, p. 19), where entrepreneurs rely only on local resources to drive development<sup>3</sup>. Its goal is to create place-based territorial identities—or repertoires (Ray, 1999a)—, mobilize local labour, and, build local factor capacities (Mitchell & Madden, 2014; Picchi, 1994). The consequence, in theory, should be a resilient place, with the personal and collective capacity “to respond to and influence change, to sustain and renew the community, and to develop new trajectories for the communities’ future” (Magis, 2010, p. 402). In practice, however, this scenario may prove difficult to achieve.

Various factors contribute to endogenous development failure. The exclusionary nature of capacity building (Shucksmith, 2000), an insufficiency of local capital (Ray, 2006), and a lack of entrepreneurial behavior (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012) are among the conditions that may hinder success. Furthermore, a state of peripherality, which plagues many resource-dependent spaces (Mitchell & O’Neill, 2016b), almost guarantees high transaction costs (North & Smallborn, 2000), and low “indigenous demand” (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012, p. 260). Hence, endogenous development, in its purest form, is merely a “heuristic device” or “ideal type” (Ray 2006, p. 281) whose weaknesses, Ray (2001) suggests, necessitate adoption of an alternative development strategy.

## 2.2 *Neo-endogenous Development*

Neo-endogenous development is a reflexive (Ray, 1999b) approach that is locally driven but enabled—and often implemented—by stakeholders with external origins. As Ray (2001, p. 4) describes, it is “endogenous-based development in which extra-local factors are recognized and regarded as essential but which retains belief in the potential of local areas to shape their future”. This potential is enabled by capital factors that are accumulated extra-locally by one of two groups: ex-situ stakeholders (Ray, 2006), who operate through “multi-scalar and multi-

<sup>3</sup> This advantage is one that depends “on the inherent assets and actions . . . of a particular place to attract and retain capital and workers” (Markey *et al.*, 2012, p. 63).

sectoral governance arrangements” (Gkartzios & Scott, 2014, p. 244), or, in-situ migrants, who bring externally-accumulated capital to their new place of residence (Bosworth & Atterton, 2012). The result is less local hegemony and, hence, justification for placement in the middle of our development continuum<sup>4</sup>.

The term neo-endogenous appears infrequently in the Canadian literature (e.g. Mitchell & Madden, 2014; Mitchell & O’Neill, 2017), although it is becoming an increasingly prevalent discourse amongst European scholars (e.g. Bosworth & Atterton, 2012; Donovan & Gkartzios, 2014; Petrick, 2013; Shucksmith, 2010). Although the term has yet to be widely recognized in Canada, researchers have shown considerable interest in the ex-situ enablers of local development (e.g. Joppe, Brooker & Thomas, 2014), often framing their discussions with a neo-liberal or new regionalism perspective (e.g. Young, 2008; Zirul, Halseth, Markey & Ryser, 2015). For example, the impacts of state programs designed to fund local projects (Stern & Hall, 2015), enhance local interaction (Krawchenko, 2014; Markey et al., 2012; Sullivan et al., 2014), and build local knowledge (Barnes, Hayter & Hay, 2001; Fullerton, 2015) have all been observed. With few exceptions (Mitchell & Madden, 2014; Mitchell and O’Neill, 2016a, 2017), comparable interest has not been shown in Canada to the contribution of in-migrants to this development variant, and it is this situation that provides the motivation for the present study.

### 3.0 Methods

Our specific intent in this article is to discover if the externally accumulated capital that migrants possess is contributing to three endogenous development goals. To facilitate this understanding, we visited Dawson City in 2014 to collect information on the activities of migrants, who we define as individuals born outside Dawson City, who moved to the community as an adult. Using a mixed method approach (Creswell & Plano Clark, 2007), we distributed questionnaire surveys, and conducted semi-structured interviews, to identify these individuals, and to assess their contribution to neo-endogenous development.

Surveys were given to each establishment (71) located in Dawson’s business district to uncover the presence of in-migrant proprietors. Twenty-seven people responded to our request, including 25 migrants, and two local residents who were born and raised in the community. Within the in-migrant pool are 20 Canadian counterurbanites—individuals who moved from larger population concentrations (Mitchell, 2004)—, arriving from Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver, Edmonton and Windsor; two international counterurbanites—one from Switzerland and one from Poland—; one lateral migrant (Gkartzios, 2013) who moved from a similarly-sized settlement in Yukon Territory; and, one person who arrived from a very small community in Ontario.

On average, our in-migrant survey respondents have lived in Dawson for 18.5 years and moved here for a variety of reasons, which are well-documented in the international literature (e.g. Aner, 2014; Torkington, David & Sardhina, 2015). Six people cited economic motives—i.e. employment—, but in three cases, these were combined with other intentions. Four respondents provided family reasons, with

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<sup>4</sup> While, in theory, the transition is driven by local residents, Young points out that by enabling local communities, the policies of external stakeholders, may, in fact, “structure and pattern” local action (Young, 2008, p. 27).

other factors influencing the migration decision for three of these movers. Seven migrants came for lifestyle reasons, and fourteen mentioned motives related to place. The lure of Dawson's isolated physical environment (noted five times), its history (noted twice), its culture (noted once) and its people—described by one as honest, genuine, and giving—, were among the attributes that lured southern residents to this northern space.

We also approached 12 non-profit organizations in Dawson, with five founders, or key personnel, agreeing to provide an interview. Each of these individuals is a counterurbanite, all of whom arrived from larger Canadian municipalities including Toronto, Ottawa, and Halifax. On average, these participants have resided in Dawson for 23.6 years, with one choosing relocation here solely for economic reasons, two combining economic, lifestyle and amenity motives, with the fifth motivated only by the latter. Our more in-depth discussions with these participants provide detailed insights into migrants' role in this northern settlement<sup>5</sup>.

In the following section, we consider if these individuals have contributed, over time, to attainment of endogenous development goals. Given that both private and civic sector participants provided comparable information—on their enterprises' products, number of employees, and capacity-building activities—we combine these findings, and present them in a series of tables. We draw conclusions for the entire in-migrant pool, and disaggregate the data by enterprise type to compare impacts of ventures that contribute to Dawson's identity, with those that do not<sup>6</sup>. Where applicable, we also compare our results to others (e.g. Bosworth & Atterton, 2012; Mitchell & Madden, 2014) to determine if similar impacts are unfolding in this peripheral locale.

## **4.0 Findings**

### ***4.1 Territorial Identity Creation***

Endogenous development seeks to create an identity that builds on a territory's assets (Mitchell & Madden, 2014). As previously established, Dawson's current identity combines an active gold mining industry with preservation of its industrial and First Nation's heritage, and its vibrant art's scene. Our first task, then, is to determine if in-migrants have contributed to this multi-faceted identity. We are specifically interested in those aspects of its image that are consumption-based—i.e., stemming from the community's heritage and artistic assets—, rather than production—i.e., gold mining—oriented.

To determine if migrants are contributing to Dawson's territorial identity, we divide their ventures into two groups (see Table 2). In the first, we include 'identity-building' enterprises that offer goods or experiences that commodify the community's heritage and contemporary artistic assets. We find 19 of 30 participants occupying this group, with nine introducing these ventures to the community, and ten assuming ownership, or management—in the case of the

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<sup>5</sup> Pseudonyms accompany the quotations presented throughout the article.

<sup>6</sup> We conducted two-sample t-tests to determine differences between sets of means, and two-sample tests for equality of proportions. We found only one statistically significant difference at the 95% confidence interval, which we draw attention to in the findings.

non-profit organizations—, from their founder. Most establishments (8) provide retail goods, including two that make and sell gold jewellery. Five others offer heritage-themed food and/or accommodation, with another five providing experiences. Included here are two that celebrate Dawson’s artistic assets: the Dawson City Music Society, and, the Klondyke Highway Music Society, which we describe briefly below.

Table 2: *In-migrants’ Enterprise Types*

	<b>Pre-existing n = 17</b>	<b>Established n = 13</b>	<b>All n = 30</b>
<b>Identity-building</b>	10	9	19
Retail	2	6	8
Food/Accommodation	5	0	5
Tours	0	1	1
Experiences	3	2	5
<b>Identity-supporting</b>	7	4	11
Services	3	4	7
Food/Accommodation	2	0	2
Retail	2	0	2

The Dawson City Music Society was founded in 1978, and today is responsible for organizing the Dawson City Music Festival. This event was initiated by an in-migrant, in partnership with others, and today provides significant economic benefit, with 90 percent of its revenue arising from outsiders (Taggart, 2011). Income generation, however, was not the Festival’s main intent, as its founder explains:

The reason for doing the Festival isn’t to improve the economy in Dawson. It’s to hear music we want to hear and expose local musicians to outside musicians and networks . . . It’s a fun thing that places like Dawson, and not so many other places, can do, because we have a critical mass to do it. We have the energy, we have the drive, somehow, which is also part of our identity . . . [something] a lot of communities our size don’t have.

The Klondyke Highway Music Society also celebrates the region’s artistic assets. Established by an incomer in 2006, this organization has revived a music tradition of the indigenous population, the Tr’ondëk Hw’ëchin First Nation. Its founder describes how this revival came about:



I never would have dreamt in a million years that this Aboriginal fiddle tradition would have become such an important part of what we do. We were just tutoring people in fiddle in three communities. But everywhere we went, Elders talked about the fiddling tradition that was up here until the early 1960s and the square dancing and the long nights and the Christmas Eve dances that went on forever. And it was pretty clear that this was an important part of their memories. And that kids playing fiddle, kids dancing, was an important tradition to carry on.

Local residents welcome the addition of this, and other, cultural initiatives. According to one interviewee:

I think [these new organizations] are adding a new facet to Dawson's identity. I mean, the town has now become rich in cultural events. It's not like there were zero cultural events before, but there weren't many and they were the same ones and they were flagging badly. You know, Discovery Days was getting weaker and weaker. Things like the raft race had come and gone...so yeah...things were winding down in that side. So, this kind of breathed new life into all that and created a bunch more. I think it's a much richer place because of it.

These organizations demonstrate the direct role that in-migrants are playing in creating, or maintaining, Dawson's place-based identity. However, we also find 11 businesses along the main street—with four established by survey respondents—that do not sell products or experiences that enhance this image—e.g. a massage parlour, hardware store, windshield repair venue, and a book-keeping business. The presence of identity-supporting businesses is not surprising, since local requirements must be met; indeed, when asked to provide a motivation for operating their business, five survey respondents specifically noted, to “serve local needs”. Their operation by in-migrants is not unique to Dawson, but confirms what others have reported elsewhere in Canada (Mitchell & Madden, 2014), and several European countries (Herslund, 2012; Stockdale, 2006).

Our findings thus reveal that in-migrants are contributing to Dawson's place-based identity, either directly, through commodification of heritage and artistic assets, or indirectly, through provision of supporting goods and services. While most maintain this identity by either acquiring or assuming key roles in an existing enterprise, a third of our sample has furthered its development by establishing new enterprises, particularly in the retail and arts sectors.

#### ***4.2 Local Labour Mobilization***

Mobilizing local labour is also an integral part of endogenous, and hence, neo-endogenous development (Mitchell & Madden, 2014). To determine the extent of

labour mobilization in Dawson, we asked our survey and interview respondents to indicate how many year-round and seasonal workers are employed at their establishment, and to indicate what percentage of these individuals are local residents (i.e. live in Dawson year-round). We present the findings in Table 3, and disaggregate the data by firm type to provide a nuanced description of in-migrant impacts.

Table 3: *Employment Statistics for In-migrants' Enterprises*

	<b>Identity-building n = 19</b>	<b>Identity-supporting n = 11</b>	<b>All n = 30</b>
<b>Average number of employees</b>	14.1	8.6	12.1
<b>Average number of year-round employees</b>	3.3	4.7	3.7
<b>Average number of seasonal employees</b>	10.0	3.9	7.8
<b>No employees</b>	4	4	8
<b>% who are Dawsonites</b>	43.4	67.1	52.3

On average, the establishments we sampled employ 12 people, with most hired during the summer months—7.8 employees per firm—, with only 3.7 year-round positions created per firm. Employment numbers vary considerably, however, with eight venues providing no opportunities, and two establishments providing seasonal work for more than 100 individuals. The absence of employment in several businesses is not surprising, given in-migrants oft-stated desire for independence (e.g. Mitchell & Madden, 2014), and its widespread reporting elsewhere (e.g., Herslund, 2012).

While in-migrants are generating some employment opportunities, only half of these jobs are taken up by Dawson residents. This situation is somewhat surprising since, as John, an interviewee, explains:

When you hire local, particularly when you're in the business of selling and marketing the community to visitors, you want people who are working for you who know the community and are invested in the community and who directly and indirectly benefit from visitors coming and spending time and money in the community.

We did not probe participants about their reason for hiring outside staff. It is likely, however, that Dawson's small labour force—960 residents (Statistics Canada, 2013) —, results in summer staffing shortages, forcing ventures that cater to outsiders to hire non-residents during the tourist season. To validate this, we calculated the percentage of employees who are non-local in the 11 establishments that rely on tourism for more than 60 percent of their business. This calculation reveals that 63 percent of employees at tourist-dependent firms are outsiders, suggesting that Dawson's labour force is insufficient to operate these enterprises during the summer months. Thus, transients are employed, some of whom, we learn, "often become local" (John, personal communication, 2014).

We observe two differences in the employment impacts of firms that do, or do not, contribute to Dawson's place-based image. First, identity-building firms generate more jobs on average—14.1 compared to 8.6 per firm—, than do business providing supporting goods and services. This is expected, since many of these firms (five) are in the accommodation/food services sector, which have higher labour requirements than other business types—employing, on average about 18 individuals, compared to about 7 for other establishments. Second, identity-supporting ventures employ more Dawson residents, on average (67.1%), than do those contributing to its place-based identity (43.4%). We attribute this to the relatively small average number of seasonal employees in this group, when compared to those hired in the identity-building sector (3.9 and 10.0 on average, respectively). While these differences are not statistically significant, they do reflect subtle variations in the employment impact of those who commodify local assets, and those that do not. We turn now to consideration of the third goal: building local factor capacities.

### **4.3 Capacity Building**

In-migrants' contributions in transitioning communities arise from their extra-locally accumulated capital (Mitchell & Madden, 2014). This capital, whether financial (Philip, Macleod & Stockdale, 2013), cultural (Benson, 2013; Gkartzios & Scott, 2015), or "core social" (Moyes, Ferri, Henderson & Whittam, 2015, p. 11), may be converted, either immediately, or over time, into economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986), in the form of private or public revenue-generating enterprises. To determine if Dawson's in-migrants are potentially building local capacities, we consider their contributions to three things: the strengthening of local connections—social capital—; the generation of skills and knowledge—cultural capital—; and, the creation of 'second-generation' enterprises—economic capital—, that is, businesses or non-profit organizations established by individuals who formerly worked, or volunteered, for migrants' 'first-generation' enterprises. If we find that in-migrants are building these local capacities, then migrant-induced, neo-endogenous development is clearly underway.

Our first task is to determine if in-migrants connect to organizations in the community. We use volunteering in local non-profit organizations, as others have (Putnam, 1993; Ray, 2006), as a measure of social obligation first, for the entire sample, and then for the two migrant groups we have identified here. We anticipate relatively high levels of volunteer activity since, according to Taggart (2011, p. iii), "Dawson City has long been known for its exceptionally high rate of volunteerism". To determine this, we calculate the average number of local organizations to which each respondent belongs, and has belonged, and then determine if migrants are

playing a leadership role in these institutions (see Table 4). In this way, we assess migrants' local connections as a measure of social capital.

Our analysis reveals that about half of respondents (53.3%) volunteer locally, with each currently participating, on average, in 1.4 non-profit organizations. Volunteering is slightly more prevalent amongst those involved with identity-building, rather than identity-supporting, establishments (57.8% compared with 45.4% respectively). Furthermore, leadership roles have been assumed more frequently by those providing heritage or artistic products, than by those in the sample selling supporting goods and services (42.1% compared with 36.4%)—although these differences are not statistically significant.

More than half of our study participants are socially connected; however, these ties are much less prevalent today, than in the past. Indeed, eighty percent of respondents indicated prior volunteer experience, with more participants operating identity-supporting establishments (90.9%) indicating past participation, than those contributing directly to Dawson's identity (73.6%). Hence, although a slight majority demonstrates current volunteer activity, their past levels of participation indicate that newcomers are willing to engage more with the community than are longer term in-migrant residents; a situation that several interviewees attempt to explain.

According to Karen, volunteer burn-out is an issue in Dawson, so newcomers are actively approached to participate in local organizations. She states:

Finding volunteers to sit on Boards of Trustees...we all hate it! . . . If there are 1500 people in Dawson there are 100 people that sit on everybody's board and they are so burned out or they're on their way to being burned out . . . [that when] somebody new moves to town . . . it's like fresh blood. Everybody pounces on them and says please, please, please come sit on our board.

Table 4: *In-migrants' Participation in Local Non-profit Organizations*

	<b>Identity-building n = 19</b>	<b>Identity-supporting n = 11</b>	<b>All n = 30</b>
<b>% with past involvement</b>	73.6	90.9	80
<b>% with current involvement</b>	57.8	45.4	53.3
<b>Past average # of organizations per migrant</b>	3.2	3.3	3.2
<b>Current average # of organizations per migrant</b>	1.6	1.1	1.4
<b>Percentage of in-migrants holding a leadership position</b>	42.1	36.4	40.0

Gavin, another interviewee, adds that new volunteers are readily accepted in Dawson, indicating that:

The thing about town is that we're all so accepting. There's no probation period. There's like this immediate acceptance and willingness to exploit the person that just came, to get them to help do something that you need.

Once volunteers engage with local civic organizations, wider benefits result, as Matt, a participant, explains:

A lot of people come up in the spring and they don't really know anybody and they all slowly become part of the community through volunteering for something like the Festival. And after that everyone is just friends and we go on . . . I find that really important for helping build the Dawson community into something bigger.

These observations, and the empirical evidence we have presented, suggest that in-migrants establish local connections upon arriving in Dawson, with a number taking on leadership roles. As found in other transitioning resource communities (e.g. Mitchell & O'Neill, 2016a), involvement wanes somewhat over time—potentially due to burn-out—, paving the way for newcomer recruitment. Hence, as anticipated, migrants are contributing to the building of social capital in this northern setting.

In addition to impacting social capital, in-migrants may also build cultural capital capacity in their destination community. This is made possible by their externally accumulated knowledge and skills, obtained through formal post-secondary education, self-teaching, or work experience (see Table 5). We find that approaching one-half of the sample (46.6%) have University degrees from institutions in six Canadian provinces, the United States and Europe. This percentage is nearly identical to all Yukon in-migrants—aged 25 to 64—, as reported in the 2011 census (46.3%), and somewhat higher than the percentage recorded for the Territory's non-immigrant population (37.0%; Yukon Bureau of Statistics, n.d.). An additional one-fifth of our sample holds a college diploma, and more than one-half have obtained skills through external work experience, or self-teaching. These trends are the same for those working in identity-building, and supporting, firms, although slight differences are observed in the source of formal training—with university more prevalent amongst the former, and college amongst the latter.

Although external sources are important, further analysis reveals differences in the relative importance of external, versus local, capital to our sample respondents. Less than half (40%) secured the knowledge and skills to operate their business, or non-profit organization, solely from external sources. In contrast, for many—particularly identity-building respondents—, capital is accumulated both internally—through volunteering or on-the-job training—, and externally. For others—particularly identity-supporting respondents—, knowledge and skills are secured only from local sources. These findings thus reveal that extra-local capital is of importance to those

operating identity-building enterprises, as expected; however, these migrants also benefit from knowledge and skills secured from local experiences.

Table 5: Source and Type of In-migrants' Cultural Capital (%)

	<b>Identity-building n = 19</b>	<b>Identity- supporting n = 11</b>	<b>All n = 30</b>
<b>Sources of in-migrants' external cultural capital</b>			
University degree	57.8	27.2	46.6
Trade school or college	26.3	9.1	20.0
Self-taught or work experience	57.8	54.5	56.6
<b>Types of cultural capital accumulated by in-migrants to operate enterprise</b>			
Only external	35.0	45.5	40.0
Local and external	54.5	18.2	26.7
Only local	10.5	36.3	33.3

Our survey and interview data also reveal that the knowledge disseminated by in-migrants benefits local residents. We asked participants to indicate if their enterprise provides informal—i.e. volunteering—or more formal—e.g. workshops, internships—learning opportunities (see Table 6). Analysis reveals that more than half of the participants in our study provides at least one formal learning opportunity (56.6%), with a larger percentage (68.4%) of identity-building enterprises incorporating these, than those offering supporting goods and services (36.4%). We also find that more than one quarter provides volunteer activities (26.6%), with a statistically significant difference found in the types of firms offering these opportunities, with all but one being identity-building. Three of these are pre-existent private businesses—two in the retail sector and one in accommodation/food services—, and five are non-profit organizations—two established and three pre-existent.

The individuals who run these establishments confirm that volunteer participation builds local knowledge. According to one organization's founder, "every volunteer that works with an expert from outside picks something up," with another, commenting that by volunteering with technical crews during the Dawson City Music Festival, local residents and in-migrants have gained "huge amounts of knowledge". Thus, although a relatively small percentage of our sample establishments provide volunteer experience, those that do, help build local cultural capacity.

Economic capital may be generated from the knowledge and skills obtained through formal, or informal, involvement in migrant ventures. We define economic capital here as profit or non-profit enterprises that generate financial capital. We have already determined that our sample in-migrants created 13 new ventures in Dawson, and maintained 17 others (see Table 2). We have also discovered that most of these (9 of 13) contribute to Dawson's identity, with fewer (4) offering supporting products. Our final task is to ascertain if the knowledge and skills instilled in others by Dawson's in-migrants, have fostered creation of new economic capital.

To assess this, we asked respondents if they were aware of any local residents who had used the skills or knowledge acquired through their organization to start their own local business, or non-profit enterprise. Six migrants indicated the affirmative; with nearly all (5 of 6) being identity-building ventures (see Table 6). Although only a small number has been created, Philip, an interviewee, suggests that the skills local workers obtain are often transferable and benefit other firms. He explains:

I would like to think that the skill sets that people gain through any job, . . . serve them well as they go through life. We do have former staff who have gone on to other positions . . . Employers see that they have a valuable skill set and so there is competition for quality local staff and I think it's a testament to the quality of the Dawson workforce that their skills are sought by so many different employers.

Through knowledge transfer, therefore, migrants are using their externally and internally accumulated capital to build local cultural capital which, in turn, both benefits existing firms, and stimulates new business creation—i.e. economic capital. When combined with their mobilization of local labour, and contributions to territorial identity, it appears that in-migrants to this isolated northern place are maintaining and advancing economic transition, through neo-endogenous development.

Table 6: *Learning Opportunities Provided by In-migrants*

	<b>Identity-building n = 19</b>	<b>Identity-supporting n = 11</b>	<b>All n = 30</b>
<b>Volunteer opportunities*</b>	36.8	9.1	26.6
<b>Formal learning opportunities</b>	68.4	36.4	56.6
<b>Second generation enterprises established by migrants' former employees/volunteers</b>	5	1	6

\*Difference between identity- building and identity-supporting firms offering volunteer opportunities are statistically significant at the 95% confidence interval.

## **5.0 Discussion**

We set out in this paper to determine if neo-endogenous development is occurring in an isolated community of northern Canada. Our specific intent was to ascertain if in-migrants' injection of externally accumulated capital contributes to development of a place-based territorial identity, the mobilization of local labour, and, the building of local factor capacities. We embarked on this study in response to Mitchell & Madden's (2014) call for research on the relationship between demographic and economic change in rural locales. We elected to focus on Dawson City, which, we knew from published research (e.g. Lotz, 2012), had diversified its economic base. Our goal was to ascertain if in-migrants have contributed to this economic transition. Our results confirm that this process is fuelled, at least in part, by migrant-induced, neo-endogenous development.

The data we collected from 30 local businesses, and non-profit organizations, confirm that in-migrants are enhancing Dawson's identity. This distinctiveness emerged from its historic gold mining industry, but, over time, has come to reflect its contemporary artistic assets, and, most recently, its cultural roots. As Mitchell and Madden (2014) found in Nova Scotia, in-migrants have played an active role in both maintaining, and growing, each component of this consumption-oriented image. In doing so, they have contributed to development of a community that now combines its space-based extraction activity, with a variety of place-based attractions.

Dawson's labour force has been mobilized by in-migrants' actions. However, as others have reported (Atterton, Newbery, Bosworth, & Affleck 2011; Bosworth & Atterton, 2012; Herslund, 2012; Raley & Moxey, 2000), in-migrants generate few full-time jobs. Furthermore, the majority of these jobs are secured by non-local residents, a situation we attribute to incongruity between summer labour demands, and Dawson's labour force. This necessitates that tourist-oriented firms enlist outside laborers, some of whom, according to one interviewee, decide to make Dawson their home. Although we did not collect the appropriate information to gauge the extent of this scenario, it appears that there is potential for in-migrants to indirectly enhance population growth, as well as employment opportunities, in remote settings with amenity and lifestyle appeal.

Labour mobilization has been accompanied by the strengthening of Dawson's social, cultural, and economic capital. Approaching three-quarters of our in-migrant sample have, at some point, been active volunteers in Dawson's civic organizations; participation that is both encouraged and welcomed by Dawson's longer-term residents. More than a third of the sample indicated playing a leadership role in at least one enterprise, suggesting the presence of "social entrepreneurs" (Bosworth & Glasgow, 2012, p. 140) amongst our survey and interview subjects. In-migrants, such as the founder of the Klondyke Highway Music Society, and the Dawson City Music Festival, for example, are using their "organizational" energy (Herslund, 2012, p. 251) to mobilize residents for the well-being of community members. Their actions, and those of others who hold memberships with local organizations, increase the number of connections, or social obligations, in the community, and, in doing so, build social capital.

In-migrants also have added to Dawson's cultural capital. As found in other studies (e.g., Gkartzios & Scott, 2015), migrants bring extra-local knowledge to rural



areas. Indeed, more than three-quarters of our sample indicated receipt of a college diploma or university degree. By probing the location and nature of skill attainment we also determined that the extra-local, skill-based core cultural capital that migrants bring, is enhanced through a variety of local learning opportunities. Hence, like social capital (Moyes et al., 2015) we find that migrants' 'core' cultural capital, too, is augmented in the destination location.

Knowledge transfer thus appears to be a two-way process in rural settings: in-migrants contribute extra-locally accumulated cultural capital to their new place of residence, and, at the same time, receive locally-accumulated cultural capital from longer-term residents. Over time, in-migrants, too, may transfer this knowledge to others via a variety of learning opportunities. Although only a minority of respondents provide such opportunities in Dawson, the presence of volunteer positions, internships, and workshops, for example, suggests that knowledge transfer is taking place, particularly in identity-building venues.

In some cases, this transfer has resulted in creation of additional economic capital. We discovered that six enterprises in Dawson have been opened by employees, suggesting that in-migrants provide a training ground that spurs additional economic activity. Furthermore, according to one interviewee, the skills and knowledge that are instilled in local workers are being transferred when staff move to a different place of employment. Thus, not only are in-migrants generating new businesses, and maintaining others, but, through knowledge transfer, are fostering additional local economic activity and, hence, generating new economic capital.

## **6.0 Conclusion**

We conclude from this study that in-migrants are contributing to endogenous development goals. They are accomplishing this by enhancing place identity, mobilizing local labour, and, building local factor capacities. We observed some variations in the nature of in-migrants' impacts. However, the lack of statistically significant differences between firms that are identity-building and identity supporting, suggests, with one exception—number of volunteer opportunities—that in-migrants facilitate development, regardless of enterprise type.

Although we draw this conclusion, readers should bear in mind that we are basing it on a relatively small sample of in-migrants in one community, who were asked a relatively limited range of questions. We encourage others to use different research techniques, rather than surveys, to delve more deeply into the activities of migrants, and particularly their contributions to the building of local capital capacity. While we found evidence of social interaction, knowledge transfer, and enterprise creation, our survey format did not allow us to explore these topics in as much detail as we would have liked. Additional semi-structured interviews, or ethnographic research, would shed additional light on the role that in-migrants are playing in the evolution of formerly resource-dependent spaces, with recognized heritage assets.

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