The On the Move Partnership (OTM) has been conducting the first comprehensive study of the spectrum of employment-related mobility in Canada from extended daily commuting to long distance travel to work, including across provincial or even national boundaries, and the related absence from home.

OTM includes more than 50 researchers from 17 disciplines and 22 universities across Canada and internationally, working with more than 30 community partners.

OTM is based at the SafetyNet Centre for Occupational Health & Safety Research at Memorial University and is funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, InnovateNL (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador), the Canada Foundation for Innovation, and numerous universities and partners.

BACKGROUND

On the Move (OTM) studies have identified research implications for policy including government policies and programs at the federal, provincial, regional, or local municipality level, as well as policy issues for employers and unions at the organizational and corporate levels.

This policy synthesis focuses on community impacts and draws upon work by the OTM’s British Columbia and Newfoundland and Labrador teams.

This synthesis contains recommendations that can make a difference for workers, households, home communities, host communities, and ‘hub communities’.

‘Hub communities’ are defined as intermediary locations close to the workers’ home community through which workers transit on a regular and routine basis as part of their work rotations and where the impacts of transiting workers are experienced.
COMMUNITY IMPACTS

COMMUNITY IMPACT POLICY RECOMMENDATIONS

Community impacts from mobile work are far reaching. In this synthesis, attention is focused on select issues with respect to:

- preparation for engaging with mobile labour issues
- impacts on workers
- impacts on households
- impacts on home/host/hub communities, and
- attention to benefits and royalties agreements.

Attention on these issues can significantly improve the quality of community life and work for Canadians and be a benefit to the Canadian economy. Action in these areas will require the participation of various levels of government as well as employers and groups from the voluntary and non-profit sectors - sometimes in collaborative and partnered ways.
1. Preparation
Engaging with mobile labour issues

While mobile labour practices are not new, many industries, workers, families, and communities start to engage in labour mobility without adequate preparation.

Proactive planning must be adopted to assist communities in adapting to the boom and bust cycles of resource industries and related challenges. Local governments must be “ready” in terms of having updated financial, community, and physical infrastructure planning. Local governments, together with local service providers and local/regional voluntary or non-profit organizations, need to ensure that appropriate participation bodies/machinisms are established prior to industry development in order to identify concerns and develop plans/programs and to determine infrastructure readiness. Senior governments can assist with this preparation, serving as conveners of local or regional planning bodies, and with provision of funding. Senior government involvement is especially needed in cases where an upswing in activity is expected as a result of changing public policy or government project approval.

There is a need for improved environmental assessments in the planning stages of resource/industry projects – assessments that address the concerns of regions and communities that may be impacted by these projects including the communities/regions from which workers are being sourced. Both provincial and federal governments must be attentive to revisions to their own environmental and social impact assessment processes so that these processes are inclusive of the cumulative impacts of mobile labour practices in home, host, and hub communities.


2. Workers
An emphasis on job readiness

We need to address the ways by which mobile work and long distance labour commuting create fatigue, uncertainty, and stress that impact workers, their families, and the workplace.

Additional attention to training and orientation is needed on:

- mobile lifestyles (including physical and mental wellness)
- worker contracts and rights awareness
- conflict resolution and cultural/gender sensitivity
• financial literacy, and
• support services (in both home and host locations).

While some responsibility for training and orientation rests with provincial and federal government regulatory bodies and practices, much of the awareness building and delivery of training/awareness supports must come in partnership from employers and the trade unions/professional organizations that represent mobile workers.

Provincial governments should harmonize policies that relate to workers who cross provincial boundaries to work. For example, they should work to ensure that:

• there are no gaps in health or social assistance benefits for these workers;
• responsibilities for workers’ compensation benefits and return to work programs are clear;
• there are protocols for managing care and counselling therapies as people move between jurisdictions; and
• standards and guidelines for worker travel and fatigue management are harmonized.

3. Households
An emphasis on managing functional lone-parent households

Mobile work is a disruptive feature in household life that demands different parenting and household management practices when workers are home and away.

Additional attention to education and training is needed on:

• the impact of mobile lifestyles on all household members (including physical and mental wellness)
• the specific impacts of mobile lifestyles on children and grandparents
• household financial literacy aligned with mobility expectations, and
• social networking to overcome isolation and create support circles.

As noted, while provincial and federal government regulatory bodies and practices hold some responsibility, much of the delivery of training/awareness supports must come in partnership from employers and the trade unions/professional organizations that represent mobile workers. In home communities, the delivery of such training/awareness supports would be expected to fall to local governments and voluntary and non-profit groups with funding supports from the provincial government.
Additional supports are needed:

- for mobile workers and their families in home and host communities including mental health and addictions services, counselling, and family support programs
- for community non-profit groups to create support circles, and
- in the grade school system for the children of mobile workers.

Responsibility for bolstering these supports will rest with the provincial regulatory/funding body responsible for the respective service.

4. ‘Home’ community impacts

Reduced capacity and increased costs

In ‘home’ communities, mobile work reduces household and community capacity while increasing costs for both as they cope with ‘regularly scheduled’ losses of capacity.

Mechanisms are needed for supporting additional community services for functional lone-parent households, especially with:

- isolation supports
- transportation supports, and
- property maintenance supports.

Responsibility for bolstering these supports may involve provincial bodies who directly deliver local services; much will fall to local governments and local/regional voluntary and non-profit organizations. These organizations will likely require suitable access to provincial funding so that they can deliver needed services in support of the economy and mobile labour.

Best practice guidelines are needed for voluntary sector groups and organizations to cope with reduced involvement of mobile workers, especially in:

- enhancing community health and wellness services
- enhancing alcohol, drug, and abuse supports
strengthening partnerships between local, provincial, and federal stakeholders to support the social infrastructure of non-profit groups, and supporting delivery of volunteer-based community and recreational activities.

The writing of such best practice guidelines will involve collaboration between the research community, provincial regulatory bodies, participating voluntary and non-profit organizations, and the various professional bodies associated with those who deliver social and care services.

To address housing availability/affordability challenges in communities, provincial government intervention is required. Agreements with industry should be developed to include local and community-level impacts, rather than just provincial impacts. This impact is challenging in both home and host communities.

5. ‘Host’ and ‘hub’ community impacts

Overwhelming impacts/unmanaged benefits

‘Host’ and ‘hub’ communities need to be better prepared in order to manage the impacts and realize opportunities for community and economic development related to mobile work.

Information and awareness programs are needed on:

- mobile worker impacts on local services, housing, health and emergency services, and the business community (differentiating between camp and non-camp workers)
- smart planning guidelines for local governments to manage development and infrastructure investments, and
- the size, scale, and timelines of mobile workforces working in region.

As noted above, the creation of best practice guidelines will involve collaboration between the research community, provincial regulatory bodies, participating voluntary and non-profit organizations, and the various professional bodies associated with those who deliver social and care services. Accurate and updated information as to the scope and scale of mobile workforces must come via a recording tool managed by the provincial government with the data coming directly from employers.

Specialized training and preparation is needed for:

- local and regional governments to support decision making
- service organizations to assist in strategic program development and delivery, and
• local businesses to understand opportunities, potential partnerships, supports, and risks associated with mobile work environments.

Responsibility for preparation and training of workers for industrial or service sector worksites will continue to use existing mechanisms. Supports for local and regional governments will be a joint responsibility between the provincial and local governments. Training information and supports for the business community must be developed in collaboration, then mobilized through local/regional chambers of commerce and related mechanisms.

6. Attention to benefits and royalties agreements

Addressing infrastructure and support service challenges will benefit workers/households, industry, business, and all levels of government.

Benefit agreements and related instruments can be used to address some community impacts. Infrastructure challenges in host communities may be alleviated via share agreements where royalties are shared by the provincial government and municipalities. Corporate-community benefit agreements may also assist in addressing challenges associated with mobile labour. However, regional impacts must be considered for them to be effective in addressing challenges such as road maintenance, waste management, and environmental impacts that may affect more than one community.

The work of negotiating benefit agreements falls to the industry/employer, the provincial government as regulator, and the appropriate local body engaged in the dialogue over benefits. Responsibility for the creation of royalty or tax sharing agreements that recognize the extraordinary burden being placed on home, host, and hub communities will be the responsibility of the provincial government through negotiation with representatives of local/regional jurisdictions.

7. Comprehensive information program

Above all else, and as identified above, enhancing knowledge and awareness about all aspects of mobile work – and making that information accessible and freely available to workers, households, and ‘home’ and ‘host’ communities - is a critical first initiative.

Oversight for the creation and mobilization of comprehensive information programs must rest with the regulatory body approving new projects that will involve large numbers of mobile workers.
KEY FINDINGS OF OTM RESEARCH IN THIS AREA

Mobile work is not a new phenomenon in Canada, rather it has been practiced across many sectors for decades. With that acknowledgment, the focus of this policy synthesis is the implications of increased mobile work practices in Canada’s natural resource production sectors especially those with impacts in small, rural, and resource-dependent communities. This policy synthesis is supported by the OTM research findings summarized below (Ryser, et al., 2018).

Resource-dependent rural and small town communities are a focal point where natural resource development, industrial investments, public policies, labour practices, and multi-sectoral governance all ‘hit the ground’. How the interconnected impacts of these pressures play out within individual communities is influenced by the unique histories, geographies, experiences, assets, and populations of those communities. ‘Community impacts’ link to a wide range of topics and issues that must be approached with careful consideration of the complexity, interconnections, and anticipated and unanticipated impacts of actions and decision making.

An exploration of the community impacts of employment-related geographic mobility (E-RGM), including long distance labour commuting, must be mindful of contemporary community contexts as well as the community and economic development trajectories of the past. Attention must be paid to the impacts of labour practices on workers, households, and communities – both where workers go for work and those they call home. Additional background and references on the topics of context, workers, households, ‘home’ communities, ‘host’ communities, and ‘hub’ communities in presented in this synthesis.

Context

Halseth, et al. (2014) summarize how the contemporary context of resource commodity producing regions is a reflection of past practices and policies which are rapidly impacted by current practices and policies. While there may be an emergence of new economic opportunities, and even a diversification of economic sectors, there remains considerable continuity in terms of dependence upon significant natural resource exploitation that leaves communities, households, and workers vulnerable to global commodity demand cycles and prices.

Change is not a new issue for resource-dependent communities. In fact, change may be one of the few constants for such communities. Today, community impacts and changes are shaped by new technical and managerial processes as well as entrenched historical patterns of resource exploitation. While single industry resource communities are more vulnerable to extreme patterns of boom - bust economic cycles (Storey & Hall, 2017; Vodden & Hall, 2016), many rural and small-town communities have multiple resource sectors. As a result, economic change may occur rather like ‘regional waves’ as different
sectors experience boom and bust outcomes at different times and in dis-synchronous cycles (Ryser, et al., 2014). This requires communities, households, and workers to function with a more ongoing ‘readiness’ for change.

Among the critical challenges facing workers, households, and communities in this complicated and changing context, there are two that are especially challenging. The first concerns a lack of information, and information and communication structures that can assist with better decision-making at community, household, and individual levels. The second challenge is that many state policies or regulatory structures have not been retooled or updated to keep pace with the rapidly changing work context and often do not reflect contemporary mobile labour practices (Ryser, et al. 2016).

**Community impact themes**

The impacts of mobile work on workers, families, and communities fall into five key themes: economic; social-cultural; infrastructure and services; environmental; and planning, governance, and responses. While discussed separately, it is important to emphasize that these themes are interconnected and have recursive effects upon one another.

**economic**

The home communities where workers and their families lived, and to a degree also hub communities, felt that increased local spending by mobile workers was a positive economic impact of E-RGM (Vodden & Hall, 2016). Mobile workers were noted as helping sustain some rural communities through investments in housing and purchases at local businesses. However, these benefits were found to be limited by the availability of local businesses in communities. For instance, communities without amenities like grocery stores and recreational vehicle dealerships saw mobile workers spend more money in urban centres (Vodden, et al. 2018). Home communities also felt that while E-RGM allowed individuals to live in their communities and secure employment elsewhere, the overall economic stability of their communities was subject to resource booms and busts. Home communities felt that more investment should be made into growing local business and industry opportunities.

The economic impacts of E-RGM in host communities were largely dependent on the boom and bust cycles of resource industries and/or industrial projects in proximity to them. During boom periods, host communities saw an influx of workers. Some businesses, like hotels and restaurants, reported doing especially well financially during these periods due to worker spending (Vodden, et al., 2018). Housing markets saw increased purchases and renting. Subsequently, housing costs increased and housing availability decreased. Service industries reported losing workers to industrial projects during boom cycles due to higher wage opportunities; this
sometimes necessitated the use of temporary foreign workers (Vodden, et al., 2018). During bust cycles, however, employment opportunities faltered. Host communities saw outmigration of working-age residents, decreased housing purchases, and increased debt-related challenges (e.g. repossession). As with many single industry towns, host communities felt that dealing with resource fluxes was a major challenge to the sustainability of their communities.

**social-cultural**

Home communities saw E-RGM impacting family and community dynamics both positively and negatively. While E-RGM allowed mobile workers to maintain their place of residence in home communities close to their families and connected to their culture, the significant amount of time spent commuting and/or on work rotations impacted the ability of mobile workers to engage in these communities (Barrett, 2017). Many home communities reported struggling to find volunteers for local fire departments, churches, and other community groups because mobile workers did not have time to volunteer. Some home communities expressed concerns about increased drug and alcohol abuse by mobile workers while in their home communities and the negative impacts these might have on family and community dynamics. This concern around drug and alcohol issues was also expressed in some hub communities as well (Butters, 2018).

In host communities, the presence of mobile work was felt to contribute to challenges in equity and poverty. For instance, as mobile workers moved into host communities and drove up housing prices, they made the cost of living unachievable for some non-mobile worker residents. In an extreme case, social housing became unavailable in Labrador West, NL, because of housing demands and vulnerable non-mobile worker residents had to be transported to outside communities for shelter. Host communities also voiced concerns about increased drug and alcohol abuse by mobile workers while at work and/or in host communities. These concerns sometimes contributed to changes in resident perceptions of community safety.

**infrastructure and services**

Many home communities experienced housing and infrastructure growth due to mobile work. Some home communities, such as in the Avalon region, saw new subdivisions (including housing, streets, wells) built to accommodate drive-in/drive out workers (Butters, et al., 2017). Others, such as in the Burin region, saw new individual homes constructed, often considered of extravagant quality compared to traditional housing stock. Housing growth posed challenges in some communities. For instance, in Witless Bay, where homes rely on well water, there was fear of contamination of the water supply due to denser housing developments (Butters, et al., 2017).
Hub communities saw expansion of airport services and facilities to accommodate the needs of fly-in/fly-out and bus-in/bus-out workers. For instance, in Deer Lake, demand for long-term parking spaces necessitated several long-term parking expansions. In Happy Valley-Goose Bay, NL, the airport building was expanded to include a new terminal space that could be blocked off and used exclusively for charter flights to and from resource projects in Northern Labrador.

Host communities experienced housing growth during boom periods and vacancy/repossessions during bust periods. Due to transporting of goods to and from resource projects, some host communities experienced infrastructure degradation, especially of roads, and increased traffic on highways and ferries (Vodden, et al., 2018). Some host communities also saw increased use of services by mobile workers, with negative consequences for residents. For instance, in Happy Valley-Goose Bay, the hospital was spread thin addressing the needs of residents and mobile workers sent to the hospital for additional health screening or for care of chronic illnesses.

environmental

In home and hub communities, environmental concerns were expressed related to new housing and infrastructure development. For instance, in Deer Lake some housing growth took place in the floodplain of the Upper Humber River. In January 2018, some of these areas experienced flooding due to high water levels in the river (Butters, 2018).

In host communities, concerns were expressed regarding industry waste management. For instance, waste from the Muskrat Falls development was diverted to the Labrador Straits dump and the facility was at capacity as a result (Vodden, et al., 2018). In the Clarenville-Isthmus region of Newfoundland, concerns were also expressed about the demolishing of Bull Arm’s worker housing upon completion of the project and disposal of resulting waste.

planning, governance, and responses

In home communities, planning for and addressing opportunities and challenges related to mobile work was left to municipalities and community organizations. No concerted plans or programs were developed to address concerns related to E-RGM by senior governments though it was felt that such intervention was needed. It was also felt that the absence of residents from communities due to engagement with mobile work was a human-capital challenge for local efforts in planning and governance.

In host communities, planning for, and addressing the opportunities and challenges of, mobile work was also left primarily to municipalities and community organizations, with some exceptions. In Long Harbour, community-industry
communication occurred through community liaison meetings (Barret, 2017). Vale also assisted the Town of Long Harbour with some development and beautification projects. These efforts were made in accordance with a sub-agreement between Vale and the province prior to the Long Harbour site’s development (Hall, 2016). In Labrador, however, though Nalcor hosted environmental assessment feedback sessions related to Muskrat Falls, several communities were concerned about the lack of communication between the company and communities during the project. It was also felt that a lack of inter-community cooperation had exacerbated negative impacts of the Muskrat Falls development (such as road degradation) because no planning or negotiating was done with Nalcor at a regional scale (Vodden et al. 2018). Regional stakeholders felt that greater communication between communities, industries, and governments was necessary to address these concerns.

**Workers**

The actions of mobile work center upon the workers who travel from a home community to a host community or work location. There are significant benefits identified with mobility for workers including financial support, employment benefits, education and training opportunities, and work experience in other sectors, among other benefits (Ryser, Markey, & Halseth, 2016). However, there are also challenges in the day-to-day practices of mobile labour including transportation logistics, as well as the costs and safety associated with long-distance travel. There are concerns, stresses, and challenges that arise with respect to different shift scheduling regimes, the availability of ongoing capacity and skills development support, investments in information and communication, conflict resolution, conflict problem-solving skills for workers, fatigue management training, and support networks for the workers themselves.

While acting upon individuals, these opportunities and challenges for workers link directly to households and communities through the ways workers connect and interact with them. Policy attention is needed to address how mobile work and long distance labour commuting creates fatigue, uncertainty, and stress for workers. Policy and program support may help to address the many potential private costs associated with labour mobility.

**Households**

The mediating context between mobile workers and communities is that of the household. The household remains in the home community while the worker transits to host communities for work rotations. As such, households alternate in and out of periods
when they are functional lone-parent (or extended family member) households. OTM research has highlighted the need for attention to education and support for all household members with respect to the impacts of mobile lifestyles. This includes policy attention to both physical and mental wellness issues that needs to extend from children through to grandparents. In responding to the stresses associated with cycles of workers being home and away, policy attention is needed for those groups in the voluntary, service, and educational system that provide critical services and social networking supports to help overcome isolation and serve as support circles for household members.

In addition to household roles and routines, mobile work can introduce additional stresses with respect to household incomes. In particular, households need information and education around financial literacy. Policy attention is needed to support households in managing the disruptive demands of rotating through periods of mobility and absence.

‘Home’ communities

Labour patterns in rural regions have shifted substantially as a result of economic, social, political, environmental, and demographic change. An important manifestation has been the growth of long distance labour commuting and its relationship with increased labour flexibility on the part of capital and increased worker/household living and working preference on the part of labour. This is changing the relationship between work and home in many sectors that had previously been marked by living and working within the same community.

Patterns of long distance labour commuting create a series of stresses on workers and households that can be illustrated by understanding how the pressures of rotating ‘away schedules’ act to create functional lone-parent households (Markey, Ryser, & Halseth, 2015). Patterns of household responsibilities and routines change dramatically when workers are home and when they are away. This challenges all members of the household. It also challenges the services available to support these households. Given that voluntary and nonprofit groups deliver many of the local services and supports, the issue of lack of support is made more acute when community members are lost to mobile labour (i.e. they are no longer routinely available to do volunteer work in their home community). As the demand for supports rises, so too does the risk of volunteer burnout as participation is increasingly reduced. Policy attention in ‘home’ communities is needed to support household and community capacity to cope with regularly scheduled disruptions.
‘Host’ communities

Much attention has been paid in the media and in public debate about the impacts of mobile labour on ‘host’ communities. The increasing prevalence of mobile workers who travel long distances to work presents both opportunities and challenges for these communities (Ryser, et al., 2015). In an era where workers can increasingly choose where they wish to work and live, ‘host’ communities are pursuing ways to obtain benefits from resource development by attracting and retaining mobile workers and their families. Ryser et al. (2017a) suggest that these efforts are accompanied by several complex problems – research, planning, infrastructure investments, housing, education, and amenities – all of which must be addressed in order to facilitate a sense of place attachment in an otherwise mobile world. Local efforts are challenged by a limited understanding of what it takes to realize an ‘immobility’ strategy where place-based assets must be developed and realized.

Further challenging ‘host’ communities is that senior governments have been unwilling to invest in services and infrastructure that will transform these communities to engage in this new political economy, leaving immobility strategies undermined as communities have limited jurisdiction and control over critical services needed to support and renew industrial workforces (Ryser et al., 2017b). Community services and businesses also often fail to develop an effective strategy to understand and engage with the mobile workforces. A holistic labour recruitment and retention strategy should also pay attention to the growing cohort of residents approaching retirement and aim to retain these residents and their pension assets. Policy attention in ‘host’ communities is needed so they are better prepared and ready to manage the impacts and realize the community and economic development opportunities of mobile work.

Communities – The need for government attention

Successful community development is usually constructed with ‘bottom-up’ capacity and ‘top-down’ public policy. The synergy between these approaches has been hampered by limited local government readiness and lagging senior government policy responses to mobile labour.

Local government preparedness is a critical issue. Often they are not ready for the scale of mobile labour impacts even when they have advance warning (Ryser, Halseth, & Markey, 2018). Senior government often fails to equip local governments to react or to support local governments in a timely manner when the latter does respond. At the local government level, the watchword must be ‘preparedness’. This includes preparedness to make better decisions regarding the ups and downs of the labour market and its effects on community life, housing, infrastructure, and welfare support. Local government action and decisions cannot simply be reactive – the pace of mobile labour change does not allow for that. There must be planning and attention to the metrics of mobile work and its impacts. Improved preparedness can be achieved in part through promoting dialogue.

CLOSING

Research findings from the On the Move project highlight how mobile work is impacting not only work environments but also policies and programs that support the workers, their households, and the communities where they live and work. Many of these policies and programs have not kept pace with the rapidly evolving world of mobile work – with negative consequences for Canadian communities and economies.

Key policy issues in mobile work include:

- impacts on workers, their households, and communities
- challenges and strategies to connect services/supports with mobile workers and their households
- gaps in training to prepare the service sector to support mobile workers and their families
- housing pressures; implications for community planning and economic development strategies
- implications for small business development and workplace environments, and
- complications of maintaining consistent health programs for mobile workers struggling with injuries, addictions, or mental health issues across different provincial jurisdictions.
OVERVIEW OF METHODS USED IN THE RESEARCH

To identify the community impacts of mobile work in Newfoundland and Labrador, interviews and surveys were conducted in host, home, and hub communities across the province. A total of 133 semi-structured interviews were conducted in the Avalon Peninsula, the Burin Peninsula, the Clarenville-Isthmus Region, Long Harbour, Deer Lake, and in Labrador. These interviews were transcribed and then coded thematically using Nvivo software. In addition, 49 interview transcripts shared by researchers on other Teams (e.g. Oil and Transshipment) were thematically coded for community impacts. Two surveys were conducted, one in Parker’s Cove/New Waterford and one in Deer Lake. The Parker’s Cove/New Waterford survey identified the spending habits of mobile workers living in Parker’s Cove, NL and New Waterford, NS to determine how/if they contribute to their communities/regions. The Deer Lake census determined how many new and significantly renovated homes had mobile workers living in them to identify built space change attributed to Fly-In, Fly-Out (FIFO) work.

For the BC team, the policy recommendations were developed as part of the On the Move Partnership research project as well as several related projects regarding large industrial, resource development - projects that involve large numbers of mobile workers active in small towns and rural communities. The research included extensive literature reviews drawing specifically from Canadian and Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries. Statistics Canada data was also included, especially those which link ‘place of work’ and ‘place of residence’. The literature review was supplemented by detailed interview and survey work. Key informant interviews were conducted with community, labour, and industry stakeholders in a number of Canadian and international locations (including Scotland, the USA, and Australia). Detailed face-to-face interviews were also conducted with key community stakeholders as well as workers on major projects in northern British Columbia. The interview work was supplemented by community surveys carried out in British Columbia where mobile work was an important aspect of the local economy. Finally, a number of researchers from across Canada convened in Fort St. John, BC for a series of community stakeholder roundtables to talk specifically about the community impacts of mobile labour on local government issues, local business issues, health and care issues, protective issues, as well as education and training.
REFERENCES


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