ATTRACTING AND RETAINING ACADEMIC TALENT IN THE CITY OF KINGSTON, ONTARIO

by

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Abstract

Recent analyses of creativity in the North American economy have underscored the importance of city-regions in the generation of economic dynamism. These studies have been concerned with at least two principal assertions. The first assertion is that the social dynamics of city-regions constitute the foundations of economic success. The second assertion is that the distribution of human capital (talent) is a crucial element in regional economic prosperity; yet the distribution of human capital across cities is uneven. Therefore, the question emerges: what factors influence the locational choices of talented individuals? In recent years, this question has received considerable scholarly attention. This thesis has identified two existing gaps within this field of inquiry. Conspicuously absent from studies in this area are theoretical insights offered by cultural geographers in the field of whiteness and race. Economic geographers have created an essentialized reading of racial diversity in the economic performance of city-regions. Moreover, work in this area has been constrained by a quantitative focus and a lack of empirical evidence. Accordingly, the purpose of this thesis is to develop a more nuanced understanding of how social processes and institutions underlie and are shaped by the economic performance of city-regions. This is achieved by drawing on insights from an empirical study of 44 semi-structured interviews with academic talent in the City of Kingston, Ontario and 12 interviews with community insiders. The results on the one hand reveal complex dynamics linked to why academics live in particular places, but on the other hand point to one overriding explanation for why academics locate where they do: namely, academics are attracted to Kingston, first and foremost, because of academic jobs, not urban amenities or other characteristics of place.

Keywords: city-regions, race, talent attraction, tolerance, whiteness
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# Table of Contents

Abstract................................................................................................................................. ii
Acknowledgements.................................................................................................................. iii
Table of Contents..................................................................................................................... iv
List of Figures.......................................................................................................................... viii
List of Tables........................................................................................................................... ix
Chapter 1 .................................................................................................................................. 1
  1.1 Introduction....................................................................................................................... 1
  1.2 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions............................................................... 2
Chapter 2 : Literature Review.................................................................................................. 4
  2.1 Overview of Relevant Literature...................................................................................... 4
  2.2 Economic Geography of Talent...................................................................................... 5
  2.3 Models of Economic Development ................................................................................ 6
    2.3.1 Social Capital Theory .............................................................................................. 6
  2.4 The Creative Capital Model............................................................................................ 7
    2.4.1 The Significance of the Creative Capital Model...................................................... 7
    2.4.2 Unpacking the Creative Capital Model..................................................................... 9
  2.5 Critiques of these Models and Establishing the Need for Closer Empirical Examination .. 17
    2.5.1 Empirical Attacks of Florida’s Findings.................................................................. 18
    2.5.2 Questioning the Social Implications and Consequences of Florida’s Work........... 19
  2.6 ‘Whiteness’, Race and Class in Geography.................................................................... 21
    2.6.1 Central Features of Whiteness Studies.................................................................... 22
    2.6.2 Defining Whiteness................................................................................................ 23
    2.6.3 Race and Class ........................................................................................................ 24
  2.7 The Importance of these Avenues of Inquiry................................................................... 26
Chapter 3 .................................................................................................................................. 28
Research Design and Methodologies......................................................................................... 28
  3.1 Introduction ...................................................................................................................... 28
  3.2 Research Design............................................................................................................... 28
    3.2.1 Foundations of the Project....................................................................................... 28
    3.2.2 Answering the Call for Qualitative Research.......................................................... 29
  3.3 Qualitative Interviews...................................................................................................... 30
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Section</th>
<th>Page</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3.3.1 Creating the Interview Sample: Defining and Identifying ‘Star Talent’</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.3.2 Conducting the Interviews</td>
<td>31</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4 Interacting with the Data</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.1 Researcher Positionality</td>
<td>35</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.4.2 Coding and Analyzing the Data</td>
<td>38</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.5 A Note on the Operationalization of “Race” and “Class”</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.6 Limitations of the Study</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3.7 Conclusions</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 4 : Kingston Context</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.1 Introduction: Kingston, Ontario at First Glance</td>
<td>42</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2 Behind the Numbers: Kingston’s History and Legacy</td>
<td>43</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.2.1 Historical Employment</td>
<td>44</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3 Institutional Employers</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.1 Canadian Forces Base Kingston</td>
<td>47</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.2 Educational Services</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.3 Medical Services</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.3.4 The Prison Influence</td>
<td>49</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.4 A Note on Institutional Employment in Kingston</td>
<td>51</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.5 Kingston’s Population Demographics and Trends</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6 Kingston’s Economic History and Class Divide</td>
<td>57</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.6.1 Kingston’s Economic Division</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.7 Kingston’s Population Composition</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.8 Immigration as an Issue</td>
<td>62</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4.9 Conclusion</td>
<td>63</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chapter 5 : Summary of Research Findings</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.1 Introduction</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.2 Overview of Interview Questions</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.3 Summary of Findings</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4 Summary of Issues Around Tolerance and Diversity in Kingston and Within Queen’s University</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.1 Kingston’s “Culture of Whiteness”</td>
<td>69</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5.4.2 Racism in Kingston</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
7.2 Theoretical Implications ................................................................. 107
7.3 Implications for Municipalities: Drawing on Insights from the Kingston Example........ 109
7.4 Implications for Institutional Policy ....................................................... 112
7.5 Avenues for Future Research............................................................. 115
References............................................................................................... 118
Appendix A : ISRN City Regions Study: Interview Guide (Theme II).............................. 129
Appendix B : E-mail Invitation Template....................................................... 136
Appendix C : Social Dynamics of Economic Performance: Innovation and Creativity in City-Regions Consent Form........................................................................... 137
List of Figures

Figure 1: Academic Interviewees by Gender ................................................................. 32
Figure 2: Academic Interviewees by Family Status ..................................................... 32
Figure 3: Academic Interviewees by Marital Status .................................................... 33
Figure 4: Academic Interviewees by City of Residence ............................................. 33
Figure 5: Academic Interviewees by Age Range ......................................................... 34
Figure 6: Academic Interviewees by Self Declared Identity ....................................... 34
Figure 7: Kingston, Ontario Selected Neighbourhoods ............................................. 37
Figure 8: Kingston, Ontario’s Geographic Proximity to Selected Cities ..................... 43
Figure 9: Kingston’s Employment by Sector, 2008 .................................................... 47
Figure 10: Kingston, Ontario’s Correctional Facilities shown by Type and Inmate Capacity .... 50
Figure 11: Kingston’s CMA Average Household Income in Constant 1985 Canadian Dollars .... 53
Figure 12: The City of Kingston, Ontario and the Kingston CMA ............................. 55
Figure 13: Kingston’s CMA Population Over time ..................................................... 56
Figure 14: Kingston’s CMA Average Age of Population Over time ........................... 56
Figure 15: Kingston, Ontario, Average Household Income by Dissemination Area, 2005 .... 59
List of Tables

Table 1: Examples of Florida’s Indices ................................................................. 16
Table 2: Top Ten Major Employers in the Kingston Urban Area, 1970 ................. 45
Table 3: Kingston's Top 10 Largest Employers, 2008....................................... 45
Table 4: Kingston's Largest Public Sector Employers, 2008............................ 46
Table 5: Kingston's Largest Private Sector Employers, 2008......................... 46
Table 6: List of Attractive Features of Kingston, Ontario, According to Academics........ 66
Table 7: List of Unattractive Features of Kingston, Ontario, According to Academics.......... 67
Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction

Recent analyses of creativity in the North American economy have underscored the importance of city-regions in the generation and preservation of economic dynamism. These studies have been concerned with at least two principal assertions. First, that the social dynamics of city-regions constitute the foundations of economic success. Second, that the distribution of human capital or talent is a crucial element in regional economic prosperity. Richard Florida’s (2002a) ‘creative capital model’ incorporates the theory that the presence of human capital is a requisite for metropolitan economic growth. Yet the distribution of human capital across cities is uneven. Therefore, the question emerges: what factors influence the locational choices of talented individuals? Others have framed this question in another way: do jobs follow people or do people follow jobs? Questions in this vein have resulted in considerable scholarly attention (Berry & Glaeser, 2005; Florida, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2005a, 2005b; Florida, Mellander & Stolarick, 2008; Gertler, Florida, Gates & Vinadrai, 2002; Glaeser & Saiz, 2004; Peck, 2005; Sands & Reese, 2008; Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Several models of urban growth, including Florida’s ‘creative capital model’, tend to privilege the role of place-based amenities and other qualities of place (especially tolerance and diversity) in determining the locational choice of talented workers. This geographic research has had a profound impact on urban economic development practice, with economic actors in city-regions across North America and beyond, devoting considerable resources to implement Florida’s policy recommendations (Peck, 2005; Scott, 2006; Storper & Scott, 2009). In many cases, a portion of these resources have been dedicated towards examining ways in which cities can boost their diversity indexes in terms of the number of gays, bohemians,
or people of colour (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Peck 2005; Thomas & Darnton, 2006). On the one hand, this work has been instrumental in encouraging policy-makers and other actors to think more positively about the role of embodied diversity in economic development. On the other hand, this work has yet to incorporate the role of institutions and their respective capacity to perpetuate certain forms of racial biases that may be embedded in a city-region’s institutional economy and society. These complex processes are important to understand because institutional perpetuations of a certain culture of whiteness, for example, may be much more significant in terms of discouraging people of colour or other embodied diverse groups from locating in particular places than a simple reading of racial diversity through quantitative proxies.

In contrast to the assertions that are predicated on the ‘creative capital model’ of economic development, Storper and Scott (2009) take a much different view of the role played by amenities and quality of place in the attraction and retention of talent. They argue that labour movements are better understood by examining the economic geography of production, or the location of firms, relative to labour. To date there is very little empirical data to test these theoretical positions.

1.2 Purpose of the Study and Research Questions

Given the above context, the purpose of this study is to more closely examine the particular role of place based considerations in, allowing for and, facilitating localized economic growth. In turn, the primary objectives of this study are to 1) advance the limited understanding of the subject by providing new empirical evidence; 2) examine the implications of the application of this model for economic development practices; and 3) abstract the findings to advance theories of local economic development. With specific reference to members of creative occupations, such as professors, this study undertakes the following research questions:
1. To what extent are the locational decisions of these individuals influenced by their perception of a city’s social dynamics and amenities?

2. Are these characteristics of place more important than employment opportunities when choosing a place to live and work?
Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 Overview of Relevant Literature

Recent work by economic geographers on the role of ‘tolerance’ and ‘diversity’ in the creation of regional economic dynamism has yielded considerable findings (Fainstein 2005; Florida 2002a; Florida et al., 2008; Gertler, 2004; Gertler et al., 2002; Storper & Manville, 2006; Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Perhaps the most notable finding is that talented individuals (human capital) prefer to live and work in diverse and tolerant communities. This geographic research has not only influenced academics’ perception of the role of particular social dynamics in fostering economic performance, but has also reshaped urban economic development practice, with economic actors in city-regions across North America and beyond, examining ways in which they can boost their diversity indexes in terms of the number of gays, bohemians, or visible minorities (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Peck, 2005; Thomas & Darnton, 2006). This work has been instrumental in getting local economic development actors to think more positively about the role of embodied diversity in economic development. Unfortunately, however, the work misses complex processes of institutional perpetuations of certain forms of racial prejudices that may be embedded in a city-region’s institutional economy and society. These complex processes are important to understand because institutional perpetuations of a certain culture of whiteness, for example, may be much more significant in terms of discouraging people of colour or other embodied diverse groups from locating in particular places than a simply reading of racial diversity through quantitative proxies that link urban competitiveness with biological notions of diversity (Lewis & Donald, in press). Furthermore, as an economic development practice, ranking and rating a city-region’s economic performance in terms of the percentage of its population with certain skin pigmentations, has the further effect of highlighting the natural disadvantage of so many smaller city-regions that lack
communities of cultural diversity, a history of immigrant settlement or economic opportunities (Donald & Hracs, 2009).

This thesis is dedicated to developing a more nuanced understanding of how social processes and institutions underlie and are shaped by the economic performance of city-regions. To supplement the above body of literature that is sometimes constrained by a quantitative focus this thesis draws on insights from cultural geography and in particular from work on constructions of whiteness (Bonnett, 1997; Hartigan, 1997; Jarosz & Lawson, 2002; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; McDermott, 2006; McGuinness, 2000; Peach, 2000; Peake & Ray, 2001; Smith, 2007; Vanderbeek, 2006; Wray, 2006). This literature is employed to inform a debate that is integral to this thesis. The debate concerns the notion that competing claims of “whiteness” can weigh heavily on the economic performance of a city-region. This literature also provides a theoretical framework from which to view and examine this study’s research findings.

2.2 Economic Geography of Talent

Commentators of trends in regional economies have drawn attention to the relative importance of the now-pervasive policy imperative that cities and city-regions must participate in the ‘knowledge-based’ economy to guard against widespread poverty and subsequent out-migration of youth (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006). City policymakers are, therefore, convinced that they must remain proactive in their search for investment, or face eventual economic decline (Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Not surprisingly, many cities have committed to promoting, or branding, themselves as the preeminent location for investment (Short, 1999). These promotion campaigns are often centered on regional competitiveness, where nearly every city champions itself as a unique place with a distinctly positive people and business climate (Peck, 2005). At the macro-scale, place competitiveness has taken on tremendous importance as most academics and
policymakers consider it a crucial element of innovation and quality of product, which is paramount in a city or city-region’s capacity to respond to increasingly changing global and local market trends (Donald & Morrow, 2003). But not every city is equal in this “era of place wars” (Short, 1999, p. 51). For instance, at the micro-scale, the size, demographic composition or economic foundations of a city, or city region, are but a few of the many factors in equation of place competitiveness. To take the first example of city size, it affects; 1) the critical mass of economic actors; 2) the social and institutional landscape and; 3) the ability to attract and retain talented individuals, which are each intrinsic to innovation and regional economic growth and development (Donald & Morrow, 2003). Place competitiveness is highly situated and contingent on any number of inter-related micro variables. The extent to which the importance of particular variables is generalizable or transferable to different cities is still highly contested (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Nevertheless, several models of economic development have proposed ways of incorporating, while prioritizing, many of these variables. Therefore, the following section will outline several models of economic development that have been employed to bolster the economic competitiveness of cities.

2.3 Models of Economic Development

2.3.1 Social Capital Theory

Largely accredited to Robert Putnam, the ‘social capital’ theory of economic development has been described as a useful starting point to understand the processes that influence local economic fortunes (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Social capital may be defined as those properties intrinsic to social relations that help facilitate collective action and social networking (Woolcock, 1998). Included here are such things as “trust, norms, and networks of association representing any
Reciprocity and equality of citizens is considered essential to the development of social capital as it encourages bargaining, compromise, pluralistic politics and the formation of diverse groups (National Statistics, 2001; Woolcock, 1998). Social capital when defined in this way has been linked to a series of positive community outcomes, including, 1) better educational achievement; 2) greater levels of income equality and; 3) enhanced economic achievement through increased trust and lower transaction costs (National Statistics, 2001). The resounding policy directive emanating from this research has been to encourage the development of social capital through various community-building initiatives (Lynch, Due, Muntaner & Smith, 2000). This approach to economic development has been criticized, however, as it “…risks trying to explain too much with too little [and] is being adopted indiscriminately, adapted uncritically, and applied imprecisely…” (Lynch et al., 2000, p. 404). Moreover, Florida (2003) has taken issue with the premise of social capital as it “can and often does cut both ways: it can reinforce belonging and community, but it can just as easily shut out newcomers, raise barriers to entry, and retard innovation” (Florida, 2003, p. 6). In this sense, high levels of locally entrenched social capital may act to exclude entrepreneurs or innovative thinkers from a community, who are the very people that may invigorate a local economy (Thomas & Darnton, 2006).

2.4 The Creative Capital Model

2.4.1 The Significance of the Creative Capital Model

Beyond the social capital model, Richard Florida’s ‘creative capital’ model incorporates the theory promulgated by Edward Glaeser, among others, that the presence of human capital is a requisite for metropolitan economic growth. Accordingly, the next avenue of discussion will first, describe the human capital and creative capital models of economic development, and second
discuss the intricate variations of these models. The human capital theory primarily measures talent, or skilled labour, in terms of educational attainment, or the percentage of the population with a bachelor’s degree. The central facet of this model is that the presence of this talent or human capital has been shown to predict growth in population, productivity, and overall economic growth (Glaeser & Saiz, 2004). This model also supports the hypothesis that the number of entrepreneurs in a given locality is a derivative of the number of skilled people working in that area (Berry & Glaeser, 2005). It is further argued that skilled people like to hire other skilled people, giving rise to agglomeration economies where skilled people congregate disproportionately in particular cities (Berry & Glaeser, 2005). These agglomeration economies are highly contingent on the size of the regional population, given that workers act as both a supply of labour and as prospective innovators who can create further labour demand (Berry & Glaeser, 2005). This suggests that cities with high levels of human capital will become more skilled and prosperous overtime. It follows that this model presents a highly path-dependent trajectory for any given city depending on its initial supply of human capital. The question for policy-makers then becomes, how does a city augment its endowment of human capital?

Florida’s ‘creative capital’ theory seems to have provided the answer to this question with its recasting of the human capital debates. Yet, according to several academics including, Berry (2003), Glaeser (2005), Peck (2005), Raco (2008), Sands and Reese (2008), and Storper and Manville (2006), what makes Florida’s ideas so valuable is not their originality or even empirical merit, but rather their influence and resounding capacity to alter the political and academic debate over the importance of human capital, or talent, in the continued economic prosperity of city-regions. Nevertheless, given that policymakers throughout North America are drawing ‘insight’ from this newly created ‘Floridian’ school of economic development (Peck, 2005; Sands &
Reese, 2008; Storper & Scott, 2009) exploring and highlighting the empirical evidence presented by Florida, to support his arguments as outlined below, must be considered absolutely crucial to any evaluation of Florida’s theories. Therefore, the following section will first describe the crux of the creative capital theory and then unpack the empirical basis of Florida’s primary findings regarding the perceived role of the ‘creative class’ in regional economic fortunes.

2.4.2 Unpacking the Creative Capital Model

Florida, (2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2005a, 2005b, and in subsequent co-authored works with Mellander & Stolarick, 2008; Gates, Knudsen & Stolarick, 2006) while agreeing with Glaeser (2005) that human capital is crucial to regional economic prosperity, has made the case that human capital—as defined by Glaeser and his colleagues—is not a static feature of place, but a rather mobile “flow” that can and often does move or relocate (Mellander & Florida, 2006).

Accordingly, the guiding questions behind Florida’s writing in recent years have been, “Why do creative people (loosely defined here as human capital) cluster in certain places? In a world where people are highly mobile, why do they choose some cities over others and for what reasons?” (Florida, 2003, p. 7). Put differently, Florida is concerned with the relative locational dynamics of places and what makes them attractive to the ‘creative class’. Here the so-called ‘creative class’ is understood as comprising individuals who are preoccupied with high level problem-solving, demanding a great deal of unilateral “…judgment and requires high levels of education or human capital” (Florida & Mellander, 2007, p. 12). In particular, it includes the following major occupational groups: “computer and math occupations; architecture and engineering; life, physical, and social science; education, training, and library positions; arts and design work; and entertainment, sports, and media occupations….” Also included are “additional professional and knowledge work occupations… including management occupations, business and financial
operations, legal positions, healthcare practitioners, technical occupations, and high-end sales and sales management…” (Florida & Mellander, 2007, p. 12). Another notable feature of this group is that it is measured as a proportion of the regional labor force between the ages 25 and 64 (Florida & Mellander, 2007, p. 12).¹

The preoccupation with the creative class emanates from Florida’s (2002a) findings that the creative class, as defined by the occupational clusters above, is the primary driver of economic development, and accounts for approximately 30% of the United States economy. Florida further argues that this class is responsible for metropolitan growth and prosperity because of its 1) technology, 2) tolerance to diversity and, 3) intrinsic talent or skill level (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). It is crucial to recognize that, according to Florida (2002a, 2002b & 2003), these so-called 3Ts are each essential to stimulate abundant innovation and economic growth. In other words, each ‘T’ is necessary but not sufficient on its own to generate this outcome (Florida et al., 2008).

Universities, it is suggested, also play a direct and significant role in this equation. Mellander and Florida (2006) argue that universities are institutional hubs of the creative economy and are vital to not only the regional development of human capital and technology but also in the creation of tolerant communities. This argument is predicated on the fact that universities are substantial beneficiaries of both public and private research and development sponsorship, as well as traditional breeding grounds for innovation and spin-off companies.

¹ In the operationalization of the creative class, Florida recognizes that every individual is creative and “…potentially members of the creative class. It is just that 38 million people—roughly 30 percent of the [US] workforce—are fortunate enough to be paid to use their creativity in their work” (Florida, 2003, p. 8). In this sense, Florida should be regarded as cognizant of the creative potential of those individuals who do not fall into the ‘creative class’ but he is, nevertheless, repeatedly criticized for not adequately incorporating the ‘non creatives’ in his creative city model of economic development (most notably by Gibson & Klocker, 2005; Goonewardena & Kipfer, 2005; Lehmann, 2003; Peck, 2005).
Universities also have an incredible capacity to influence regional talent levels. Besides drawing in faculty researchers and students, universities also attract other innovative and entrepreneurial individuals seeking to benefit from the positive externalities created by universities. Finally, universities may foster the creation of a tolerant and diverse community as they “attract students and faculty from a wide variety of racial and ethnic backgrounds, economic statuses, sexual orientations, and national origins” (Florida et al., 2006, p. 2). That said, universities are a necessary but, once again, insufficient ingredient in the recipe for regionally based economic growth and development. A region must have both the “will and capacity” to reap the full benefits of the creative capacity of its university (Florida et al., 2006, p. 2). Thus, the fundamental role of the three T’s and the university is in the promotion of local creativity which, with its strong relationship to innovation, is the engine of regional growth (Donald & Morrow, 2003). Consequently, according to this logic, without creativity a city or city-region is destined to languish or decline relative to other competing localities.

Once again, however, the question emerges: how does a city attract and retain human capital or talent to increase its creative capacity? Part of the answer, according to Florida at least, is rooted in tolerance to diversity, but the other factor in this equation is tied up with place-specific amenities and overall quality of place. Both of these locational dynamics are critical to this thesis, but the ‘tolerance to diversity’ feature of place is paramount, as it is the primary subject of analysis in the original empirical research conducted for this study. Therefore, although the literary context regarding each of these locational dynamics is substantial, the following discussion will be disproportionally geared toward the tolerance and diversity literature.

The work of Florida (2002a, 2002b & 2003) is particularly useful in describing amenities, quality of place and the perceived function of both in influencing the locational choices of human
capital as it incorporates and expands on the work of Glaeser et al. (2001, 2004). Drawing on Florida’s (2002a) work, Donald and Morrow (2003, p. 4) suggest that a community rich in cultural and leisure amenities such as “natural, recreational, lifestyle, and arts and entertainment” may be particularly attractive to younger, educated, ‘new-economy’ oriented, creative individuals. Amenities in this sense are more than just traditional tourist-oriented luxuries of place, but also include such things as “…clean air, attractive views, quality of schools, parks, city services…” and the like (Thomas & Darnton, 2006, p. 155). In a similar vein, Wojan, Lambert, and McGranahan (2007) have found that a diversity of housing options in cities may also serve as a magnet to these creative individuals. Once these individuals are attracted to a city, it is argued that, they should expand the high-technology sector. In time, this development would 1) spur regional economic growth, 2) trigger reinvestment in further amenities, and 3) create an ever-increasing positive economic cycle (Sands & Reese, 2008) through “…more job generation and in turn to higher rates of talent production, retention and attraction” (Florida et al., 2006, p. 14).

This is certainly a condensed articulation of Florida’s broader amenity based argument, but for the purposes of this discussion it is adequate in highlighting the perceived importance of place specific-amenities.

Beyond cultural and leisure amenities, Florida (2002a) contends that a place’s tolerance to diversity is an integral part of attracting and retaining talent or human capital. Before examining the perceived link between tolerance and economic development, however, it is useful to define what is meant by the terms ‘tolerance’ and ‘diversity’. According to Fainstein (2005, p.1), diversity “represents the new guiding principle for city planners.” But the term has a multitude of meanings. “The noun diversity and the adjective diverse refer to the state of unlikeness, difference, and variety (a static and positive concept)” (Siegel & Johnson, 1995, p.
In the urban literature and for urban designers, diversity often refers to mixing building types; in planning and cultural analysis circles it may mean “mixed uses or class and racial-ethnic heterogeneity” (Fainstein, 2005, p. 4). In recent years, however, ‘diversity’ has become dangerously conflated with notions of inclusivity and social tolerance. It is important to iterate that diversity does not necessarily correlate with inclusivity and social tolerance. For example, cities with a great deal of ethnic variation are not necessarily hallmarks for inclusivity. Conversely, certain cities without ethnic variation, such as those found in the Scandinavian region of Northern Europe, may be inclusive and socially tolerant (Rothstein & Stolle, 2003). While ‘diversity’ is certainly a contested term, exploring the perceived importance of diversity in attracting and retaining to cities is one of this study’s goals, hence the terms repeated use.

The term ‘tolerance’ is another highly contested term. ‘Tolerance’ has traditionally been understood to imply restraint when faced by an objectionable group or practice. Conceptions of ‘political tolerance’ are more specific, typically referring to individual-level attitudes or institutional arrangements that allow the expression of opinions and views, or maintain practices that the majority of the population considers objectionable (Harell, 2008; Kymlicka, 1998; also see Cohen, 2004). Taken in this way, tolerance is the willingness to refrain from preventing individuals or groups from expressing their disliked opinions, lifestyles, preferences, or world views (Harell, 2008). John Stuart Mill most famously advocated for the social imperative of political tolerance. He argued that individuals living in liberal democratic states must ‘put up with’ objectionable ideas or practices to allow for the flourishing of 1) individuality; 2) social progress and the discovery of truth (Mill, [1865], 2009; also see Cranston, 1987). Meiklejohn (2000) furthers this idea by insisting that free debate, and a constant confrontation of ideas, on
even the most objectionable subjects, affords rational citizens the information they require to make informed decisions and sound political judgments.

According to Harell (2008, p. 30; also see Kymlicka, 1998) political tolerance is in need of more thorough examination as an ideal in contemporary, multicultural democracies. Increasingly, concerns over equality are being framed in terms of the need for tolerance, but what kind of tolerance is in question? Recent literature has explored the concept of ‘social tolerance’ which is markedly different from conceptions of ‘political tolerance’. Social tolerance is associated with embracing diversity, which denotes a particular “lack of disagreement with diverse others” (Harell 2008, p. 30). Social tolerance, therefore, can be conceived in terms of “the inclusion of minority social groups (homosexuals, ethnic and racial minorities, etc.) in one’s life and community; it involves a lack of prejudice instead of one’s ability to overcome such prejudice” (Harell 2008, p. 31, emphasis in the original). The latter use of the term is more in line with the way tolerance is used in the economic geography literature. For example, Florida (2003, p. 10) defines tolerance, “… as openness, inclusiveness, and diversity to all ethnicities, races, and walks of life.” This conceptual understanding of tolerance, however, has been refined more recently as Florida (2005b, p. 39) suggests that the most successful places are not just tolerant to difference but are “proactively inclusive.” From these definitional approaches it is clear that ‘tolerance’ is a nebulous concept; consequently, attempting to operationalize this term is a highly subjective exercise. Not surprisingly then, research in this area which has applied different operational models has yielded inconsistent findings (Sands & Reese, 2008).

Nevertheless, Florida et al. (2008) have argued that diverse cities, particularly those cities
with large artistic\textsuperscript{2} and gay\textsuperscript{3} populations indicate the presence of concealed mechanisms that increase the productivity and propensity of entrepreneurial activity. The rationale for this line of reasoning stems, according to Florida et al. (2008), from these groups’ status as traditionally marginalized. Therefore, these populations have been forced to mobilize resources outside of conventional channels and create new organizations and firms. Florida et al. (2008, p. 11) thus conclude, “…that regions where these groups have migrated and taken root reflect underlying mechanisms which are more attuned to mobilization of such resources, entrepreneurship and new firm formation.” The consequence of this argument is that tolerance to diversity is considered central in 1) the attraction and retention of human capital, 2) encouraging innovation through the place specific processes that quicken human capital externalities, and in 3) providing the competitive advantage of cities (Fainstein, 2005; Florida et al., 2008). To distill this argument to its most basic form, if everything was held constant, places that are more open and diverse are more likely to draw in a disproportionately high number of talented/creative people, who are in turn responsible for regional innovation and subsequent growth (Florida, 2003; from this point forward, this thesis will refer to this argument as ‘the diversity thesis’).

Florida has based not only his diversity thesis but also broader arguments around the

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\textsuperscript{2} Beyond Florida (2002a), several other academics (Ley, 2003; Markusen & King, 2003; Scott, 2006) have linked artistic populations and a subset of this population—bohemians with the creation of economic clusters and attraction of human capital to cities and their neighbourhoods (Thomas & Darnton, 2006).

\textsuperscript{3} The term ‘gay’ is used by Florida (2002a), in this context, to encompass both male and female homosexuals. The use of ‘gay’ as an umbrella term has been criticized and largely replaced by the term ‘queer’ which includes not only male and female homosexuals but other sexual orientations, including transgendered and bi-sexual persons (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Nevertheless, to be consistent with the literature reviewed in this thesis, the term ‘gay’ will be used, in accordance with Florida’s (2002a) definition.
creative class on quantitative and qualitative evidence—both methods leading to similar results (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). The bulk of this quantitative evidence has been predicated on correlation analysis using regression analysis. This analysis, at its most basic level has relied on ‘least-squares’ regression or estimation techniques but in other cases has utilized both the Pearson and a Spearman rank order correlation techniques (Florida, 2002a, 2003, 2005a, 2005b). Florida has applied these techniques to several indices. Table 1 shows these indices with a brief description of their respective purpose.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Name of Index</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Talent</td>
<td>Discerns the percentage of college graduates or members of certain occupations as an indication of local talent or human capital</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gay</td>
<td>Measures tolerance to diversity by calculating the number of same-sex male partners in the same household in a locality</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coolness</td>
<td>Measures the amount of amenities, or relative “coolness” of a place</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bohemian</td>
<td>Discerns the relative presence of people in artistically creative occupations, bohemians—such as authors, designers, or artists</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Melting Pot</td>
<td>Indicates the relative presence of immigrants or foreign-born population</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 1: Examples of Florida’s Indices

Table 1 Material based on the following books:


4 The qualitative evidence used to support Florida’s (2002a) findings was based on a series of focus groups and interviews with ‘creatives’ in the Pittsburg area, as well as US census data. Since this initial mixed method approach, Florida has been heavily reliant on quantitative measures based on US and other nationally gathered statistical data. This methodological approach has left Florida susceptible to criticism, the most notable of which will be highlighted in the next section of this chapter.

5 “The Pearson statistic measures the correlation between the values of two variables while the Spearman statistic measures the correlation between the relative rankings of the two variables” (Florida, 2005, p. 179). The Pearson statistical measure is useful for this method of analysis because it uses a unitless measurement to describe the strength of the linear relationship between two variables regardless of which variable is listed first (Brase & Brase, 2003).
Analysis of these indices has allowed Florida to rank cities and larger metropolitan areas against each other (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Places like San Francisco, Seattle, Austin, and Boston rank highly on most of these indices (Florida et al., 2006) and seem to corroborate not only the diversity thesis but also Florida’s other creative class arguments, as outlined above. These findings, however, must be viewed in light of the numerous criticisms that have been leveled against Florida and his work over the past five years.

2.5 Critiques of these Models and Establishing the Need for Closer Empirical Examination

These criticisms fall under two broad categories. The first are concerned with Florida’s research methods and subsequent findings (particularly noteworthy are Berry, 2005; Glaeser, 2005; Holzheimer, 2006; Kotkin & Siegel, 2004; Markusen, 2006; Malanga, 2004 & 2005; Sands & Reese, 2008; Stevenson, 2004; Storper & Manville, 2006; Thomas & Darnton, 2006; Wojan et al., 2007). The second, and more relevant to social activists, are preoccupied with the social ramifications of Florida’s work (see for example, Gibson & Klocker, 2005; Goonewardena & Kipfer, 2005; Lehmann, 2003; McCann, 2007; Peck, 2005; Scott, 2006; Storper & Manville, 2006). The sophisticated arguments that propel the majority of these criticisms fall outside of the scope of this thesis. That said, there are at least several dimensions of these criticisms that warrant reiteration. In keeping with the above categorical breakdown of these criticisms, the commentary on Florida’s methodological approach will be discussed first, followed by a condensed articulation of the social attacks brought to bear against Florida and his work.
2.5.1 Empirical Attacks of Florida’s Findings

Perhaps the most cutting of any critic, Malanga (2004) has suggested that the economics behind Florida’s theories do not work and the entire arts-innovation connection is a fabrication. Florida (2005b) has of course refuted this claim and Wojan et al. (2007) have defended the arts-innovation connection by pointing to their own work that supports this relationship. Glaeser (2005) on the other hand, ran regressions using Florida’s very same data set and came to some rather different conclusions. First, Glaeser (2005, p. 3) maintains that several of Florida’s indices have very little explanatory power and that the “skills-city growth connection doesn’t seem to come from reverse causality”. Second, Glaeser (2005) discredits the Bohemian Index by suggesting that it is only statistically significant because of two metropolitan areas: Las Vegas, Nevada, and Sarasota, Florida which have skewed the results of the regression. Without these areas, the “Bohemianism” effect is eliminated (Glaeser, 2005). Thomas and Darnton (2005) further contend that the Melting Pot Index requires closer examination as the relationship between different ethnic groups and local economic trajectories are still ambiguous. These authors also draw attention to the problematic dimension of the Gay Index as its dependence on census data may have underrepresented single gays and not fully accounted for varying types of gay households (Thomas & Darnton, 2005). Markusen (2006) has raised an entirely different set of questions around the entire relationship between the arts and high-tech industry. These questions emerge from the observation that Silicon Valley and Chicago, both high-tech hubs, have a relative deficiency of artists (Markusen, 2006; Wojan et al., 2007). This lends credence to the theory that different knowledge bases corresponding to different occupations within the broader the creative class are likely to respond differently to place based amenities (Wojan et al., 2007). With these criticisms in mind it is perhaps not surprising that Sands and Reese (2008,
p.18) assert that there is “mostly no” relationship between economic growth the creative class, diversity and high-technology employment.

2.5.2 Questioning the Social Implications and Consequences of Florida’s Work

There is no doubt that these empirically based criticisms have diminished the credibility of Florida by casting doubt on the validity of his work; but perhaps even more detrimental to Florida’s broader findings and policy prescriptions have been the attacks stemming from social justice and equity perspectives. For instance, Peck (2005) rebukes Florida’s (2002a, 2003) work and subsequent policy implications for fitting rather neatly within the guiding ‘neoliberal framework’ of most North American cities. In this vein, Florida is attacked for failing to acknowledge that his creative city model is a recipe for perpetuating and potentially exacerbating certain social and economic inequalities (Peck, 2005). Scott (2006) expands on Peck’s (2005) critique by highlighting the levels of inequality in creative cities like Los Angeles. The argument, here, is that creative cities do contain substantial numbers of highly skilled jobs but they are also home to distressing numbers of “…sweatshop factories employing masses of low-wage, low-skill workers” (Scott, 2006, p. 4). Elsewhere, the point is made that Florida’s (2002a) emphasis on diversity and its corresponding directive of attracting human capital to stimulate growth also ignores the importance of creating jobs for those individuals outside of the creative class (which,

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6 ‘Neoliberal framework’ is used in this context in reference to neoliberal economic policies, which stress fiscal discipline, where governments facilitate the minimization of budget deficits; privatization, where governments sell off public enterprises and goods to the private sector; deregulation, which promotes unimpeded trade; the reduction of taxes, primarily to the middle and upper classes (Peck, 2001). Since the adoption of neoliberalism some scholars have argued that it has become one of the most pervasive ideologies of the twenty-first century (Giroux & Giroux, 2006). During the 1990’s, the principles of neoliberalism became synonymous with the notion of “competitive globalization” and consequently became the overriding ideology behind most municipal, provincial or state, and federal governmental economic strategies (Peck & Tickell, 2002, p. 380). According to Peck (2001), these neoliberal initiatives contributed to income inequality and underemployment of those on the margins of society. In other words, neoliberal policies routinely privilege economic growth over social concerns (Peck & Tickell, 2002).
according to Florida, 2002a accounts for two thirds of the US population; Fainstein, 2005).

Fainstein (2005) is, moreover, not entirely convinced that Florida’s (2002a) diversity thesis holds true. “Sometimes exposure to ‘the other’ evokes greater understanding, but if lifestyles are too incompatible, it only heightens prejudice” (Fainstein, 2005, p. 13). The example of Tompkins Square Park in New York’s East Village is used by Fainstein to illustrate this point. This park, located in an extremely diverse community, home to white-working class, new gentrifiers, students and bohemians was also home to sheltered drug users and the homeless. In response to the complaints of the gentrifiers, the police moved in and proceeded to clear out the homeless population (Fainstein, 2005). As a case and point, exposure to new and diverse lifestyles does not necessarily lead to acceptance of those lifestyles; on the contrary, it may actually create “mutual loathing” (Fainstein, 2005, p. 13). This argument is particularly noteworthy in the context of the following chapters pertaining to the role of tolerance and diversity in the city of Kingston, Ontario. Contrary to Florida’s findings and assertions, the Tompkins Square Park case demonstrates the contingent and place specific social dynamics of tolerance and diversity. In other words, policy initiatives that promote diversity without due consideration of the context in which those policies are implemented may result in negative, rather than positive, consequences for a community. Fainstein’s broader point is well taken that there are few if any ‘one size fits all’ policy imperatives.

In summary, the above critiques of Florida’s work are valuable to this thesis because they 1) give balance to the discussion, and 2) make explicit that I am not necessarily advocating the use of the creative capital model as a mode of regional economic development. Instead, Florida’s ideas are central to this thesis because they have begun to influence policy formation in urban centers in, at least, North America and Europe (Fainstein, 2005; Lewis & Donald, in press; Peck,
2005; Storper & Manville, 2006; Storper & Scott, 2009). In the words of Peck, “Florida has made real waves in the brackish backwaters of urban economic development policy… with [Florida’s] creativity strategies quickly becoming the policies of choice” (2005, p. 1). Therefore, regardless of their intrinsic value or merit, Florida’s assertions must be taken seriously and considered when evaluating urban development strategies or broader policy formation.

2.6 ‘Whiteness’, Race and Class in Geography

A second body of literature concerning geographies of ‘whiteness’ has been growing in recent years, with geographers making considerable contributions to the understanding of race and class (Bonnett, 1997; Hartigan, 1997; Jarosz & Lawson, 2002; Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; McDermott, 2006; McGuinness, 2000; Peach, 2000; Peake & Ray, 2001; Smith, 2007; Vanderbeck, 2006; Wray, 2006). Surprisingly, however, the world of economic geography has remained largely insulated from the majority of these works, despite many recent studies examining the ties between urban economic competitiveness, talent attraction, and issues of race and diversity (Bell & Binnie, 2004; Fainstein, 2005; Florida, 2002a; Florida, et al., 2008; Gertler et al., 2002, 2004; Thomas & Darnton, 2006). These latter scholars, however, tend to employ research methods that still have the effect of essentializing diversity through quantitative proxies that link economic competitiveness of city-regions with biological notions of diversity (Donald & Hracs, 2009; also see Lewis & Donald, in press; Shaw, 2007; Storper & Scott, 2009). While much of the earlier work on the economic geography of talent can be praised for thrusting diversity issues into the public realm (Glaeser, 2005) there is now a desperate need for more focused attention revealing the ways material social processes like race underlie spatial economic performance (Donald & Hracs, 2009).
This section highlights some of the landmark work done in the realm of race and class in spatialized contexts. In discussing this work, this section is responsible for 1) briefly summarizing the central tenets of “whiteness studies”; 2) defining “whiteness”, while identifying some of the discipline’s prevailing issues, including those relating to the “shiftiness of whiteness” and finally; 3) addressing the deep seeded linkages between race and class.

2.6.1 Central Features of Whiteness Studies

On the brink of a new millennium, Kobyashi and Peake (2000) were some of the first academics in geography to seriously engage with spatialized forms of racism, by explicitly tackling issues of ‘whiteness’ in geography. One of their goals was to provide “a rationale for revitalizing and advancing the study of racism, whiteness, and geography” (p. 393). They view race as a social construction that is not about a biological essence but rather “a result of discursive, thoroughly material—and human—social processes” (p. 393). This is a point that deserves reiteration as it transcends so much of the recent literature relating to race and class. In other words, by adopting a social constructionist perspective on race, Kobyashi and Peake (2000) called attention to the point that “taken-for-granted systems of racial and ethnic classification are the result of sociocultural processes” instead of any meaningful biological variations between groups of people (Vanderbeck, 2006, p. 642). Work in this vein has also argued for an unpacking, and ultimate dismantlement, of the very category “white” resulting from its status as a “historically unstable social construction—as are all racial categorizations—rather than a natural one” (Vanderbeck 2006, p. 642; c.f. Bonnett, 2000; Stokes, 2001; Wiegman, 1999). Further scholarship on critical whiteness studies has also extended this argument, by suggesting that constructions of whiteness are more than just social constructions, as they are also politically constructed (Kobayashi, 2003; Vanderbeck, 2006). Within this context, “racism isn’t only about
hate”, instead “racism involves the manipulation of power to mark ‘white’ as a location of social privilege” (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000, p. 393; see also Wiegman, 1999). When viewed in this way, deconstructing whiteness should be considered as part of the core of human geography. The culmination of the above works has laid the foundations for a discipline that is concerned with examining the multifaceted inner workings of localized whiteness “as multiply expressed amalgams or relations of racialized empowerment – and its implications” (Shaw, 2007, p. 4).

2.6.2 Defining Whiteness
Whiteness has been described as an incredibly powerful, resilient and slippery character. Once again, Kobayashi and Peake’s (2000) work is helpful, as they provide a succinct account of the term. They view whiteness in at least three ways. First, they see whiteness as a position of advantage. This advantage is often conferred in the form of privileges. These privileges may include, for example, relatively higher wages, longer life, reduced chance of poverty or illness and better legal treatment (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000). Second, whiteness may be considered a standpoint, “a place from which to look at ourselves and the surrounding society, a position of normalcy, and perhaps moral superiority, from which to construct a landscape of what is same

7 Saldanha (2006) has put forth an eloquent argument deposing the merits of the social constructionist approach to critical race theory. Saldanha contends that race, or more specifically, racially dependant phenotype(s) are real and exist independent of cultural practice, discourse, or language. In this context, Saldanha rejects notions of essentialism by insisting that racial difference does matter and that social scientists need to more readily acknowledge the influence of biological difference on the way different bodies interact with each other and their environment(s). For Saldanha, race makes bodies ‘sticky’, leading to a certain clustering of certain bodies into aggregates. “Battling against racism is then not a question of denying race, but of cultivating its energies of the stickiness of racial segregation” (Saldanha, 2006, p. 10). While this is a persuasive argument, Saldanha’s work appears to underestimate the power of discourse and cultural practice in perpetuating prevailing patterns of privilege (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000). With that said, the work of Saldanha and the broader social constructionist school of thought share the same goal of eliminating the stigma, and inequality, created by race and phenotype. In this regard, I treat both of these scholarly approaches to critical race theory as supportive to this thesis. I have drawn more heavily on the social constructionist school, and accompanying literature, because it is more theoretically developed and provides a clear framework to approach particular issues of race as presented by the interview data.
and what is different” (p. 394; see also Dwyer & Jones, 2000; Frankenberg, 1997, 2001; Winders, 2003). It allows various places to be subjected to a white gaze, which acts to legitimize whiteness as part of a moral system, so often, depicted as normal or natural (Kobyashi & Peake, 2000). Third, it carries a set of cultural practices or a way of being in the world, but more importantly, a way of being in the world that is often considered normal.

According to Shaw (2007), ‘whiteness’ is quite a slippery conception to pin down. It is far from static as a term as it is constantly shifting or manifesting itself in different ways. For example, whiteness is by nature a legal entity, but unique as it has the ability to multiply or divide its membership, as needed (Shaw, 2007). This is emblematic of the fact that ‘whiteness’ is not just about ethnicity, or ethnic classification, as it is so often reduced. The literature on this point is clear; whiteness is something more than just a preoccupation with people from “Anglo” backgrounds (or “White Anglo Saxon Protestants” or stereotypically called “wasps”; Shaw 2007, p. 50). Instead, it is about privileging and cultural practice reflective of dominant normative societal viewpoints, which flow across time and space without a need to be associated with particular bodies (Kobyashi & Peake, 2000; Shaw, 2007). Furthermore, Shaw (2007) suggests that the intricate strategies of whiteness are not isolated, but instead operate in tandem with other agents of whiteness. Where these strategies are successful, a sort of cultural “whitewash” may come to dominate a particular place. Whitewash, is a term that describes the “process of cultural bleaching whereby the racialization of others naturalizes the dominance of whiteness” (Shaw 2007, p. 66). This phenomenon is central to critical whiteness studies since scholars have argued that, until recently, the discipline of geography itself was blinded by this whitewash, thereby allowing whiteness to avoid becoming the subject of critical scrutiny (Vanderbeck, 2006).

2.6.3 Race and Class
Since Kobyashi and Peake’s (2000) article, the study of whiteness has blossomed into a well-established trans-disciplinary scholarly field (Shaw, 2007; Vanderbeck, 2006). Recent works have explored issues of both whiteness and class (Jarosz & Lawson, 2002; McDermott, 2006; Shaw, 2007; Wray, 2006). What follows is a stylized account of the most significant findings from these studies. This literature provides indispensable context that contributes to a fuller understanding of my findings.

By, once again, arguing for a social constructivist approach to the study of whiteness, Wray (2006) argues for reconceptualizing the term to confront the multifaceted nature of social inequality (See also Hartigan, 1997; Jarosz & Lawson, 2002; Vanderbeck, 2006). According to Wray (2006, p. 6), we need to “re-conceptualize whiteness as a flexible set of social and symbolic boundaries that give shape, meaning, and power to the social category white.” Drawing upon his example of the usage of the term “white trash”, he suggests that deconstructing whiteness also “speaks to another tension, that between what have for too long been competing categories of social analysis: race and class” (Wray 2006, p. 3). By splitting the term “white trash” into its constituent parts, and interpreting the meaning of each word separately, Wray construes an entirely new meaning all together: “\textit{white} now appears as an ethnoracial signifier, and \textit{trash}, a signifier of abject class status” (emphasis in the original 2006, p. 3). This example is useful in highlighting the intrinsic link between race and class. This is especially significant in light of several recent arguments asserting that class has become an analytical category overtaken by other categories of ‘difference’ such as race, gender, and ethnicity (cf. Sayer, 2005; Smith, 2000). Seemingly in recognition of these arguments, Wray (2006) seeks a more unified theory of social difference and inequality, one that moves beyond the tired debates of how much analytical weight to give to either race or class.
Race, class or broader ‘social difference’ was also the object of study in McDermott’s (2006) case study of two neighborhoods in California. In the context of this thesis, her most instructive findings relate to underlying conceptions of the relationship between race and class. In one of her study areas, the underlying assumption, held by both visible minorities and ‘whites’ of various class backgrounds, was that “the whites who lived in workfare were somehow defective; that the least capable whites were most likely to live among large numbers of poor and working class blacks” (McDermott, 2006, p. 41). Interestingly, however, McDermott (2006) found that this assumption was not uniform across her study areas, but was instead context dependent. This example points to one of the central findings of McDermott’s work—understandings of “white racial identity are not fixed but context dependent; thus whites in two different neighborhoods that have nearly identical demographic profiles can have very different understandings of what it means to be white” (McDermott 2006, p. 149). This suggests that whiteness is not only resilient in its operation, but it is also capable of sliding across class designations (Shaw, 2007). Kingston is a good example of the slipperiness of whiteness and its integral relationship to class, as demonstrated by the recent work of Bedore and Donald (2009).

2.7 The Importance of these Avenues of Inquiry

By studying these concepts in the above context of economic development, one of the purposes of this thesis is to explore social difference and its effect on the social dynamics of economic performance in city-regions. Wray’s argument is provocative as it forces certain questions to be asked, 1) How can we arrive at a more unified theory of social difference and inequality in place? 2) What policy options are available to alleviate much of the economic unevenness that pervades cities and towns across North America?
One of the goals of this thesis is to help develop a more complete conceptual framework for understanding the social dynamics of economic performance that lead us to insights from cultural geography. In sum, the economic geography of talent literature, while useful at drawing attention to the importance of social processes in economic performance, still treats race like a biological essence rather than a social construction (Donald & Hracs, 2009). This essentialist approach has had profound implications for the ranking, ordering and thus perceived understanding of the economic performance of smaller cities. Given that these smaller cities tend to be more white in their physical makeup than their globalizing, cosmopolitan counterparts, an essentialist notion can lead to a somewhat narrow understanding of their social dynamics. As demonstrated by the work of cultural geographers who seek to push the “whiteness” concept further, their social constructive approach to whiteness also requires us to re-conceptualize the term to confront the multi-dimensional nature of social inequality.
Chapter 3
Research Design and Methodologies

3.1 Introduction
As emphasized in the above literature review there is a need to develop a more complete understanding of how social processes and institutions both underlie and shape the economic performance of city-regions. This section will explain the rationale for the methods of data collection used to gather the empirical data for this research endeavor. As part of the mixed-methods approach undertaken for this thesis, this section also describes the research methods employed including: 1) a literature review of talent attraction and retention, and 2) semi-structured interviews with academic faculty and Kingston community insiders about the issues at hand.

3.2 Research Design

3.2.1 Foundations of the Project
This thesis was initiated to examine a substantive body of empirical data, gathered as part of a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council—Major Collaborative Research Initiative (SSHRC-MCRI). This project, exploring the social dynamics of economic performance in cities across Canada, was designed and spearheaded by Professors Meric Gertler and David Wolfe at the University of Toronto (2006). Put another way, this project seeks explanations for what makes some Canadian cities more dynamic and innovative than others. As part of this project, twenty-two investigators in fourteen cities have been investigating why certain cities attract and retain creative and innovative thinkers and how this, in turn, may or may not create social inclusiveness,
civic engagement, and a dynamic economy. The research focuses on three themes: (1) the social dynamics of innovation (2) the social foundations of talent attraction and retention and (3) governance.

This thesis primarily explores the second of the above themes, ‘the social foundations of talent attraction and retention’. Concerning this theme, the project’s initial hypothesis is that “the economic performance of city-regions depends on a set of characteristics that define quality of place, including cultural dynamism, social diversity, openness and tolerance, social inclusion and cohesion” (Wolfe, 2006, p. 23). The work of Florida (2002a, 2002b, and in subsequent co-authored works), as outlined in the above literature review, argues that social aspects of quality of place determine the ability of city-regions to attract and retain highly educated (or talented) labour. This has caused considerable debate in academic and policy circles (Peck, 2005; Storper & Scott, 2009). What is evident from these debates is that more research is required to substantiate Florida’s findings. Moreover, as a result of Florida’s reliance on quantitative methods, there is a clear need for further qualitative research in this area to allow participants to express their opinions and feelings about policies, amenities and life-style choices.

3.2.2 Answering the Call for Qualitative Research

In recognition of this need for qualitative research in this field this thesis presents and analyzes a great range and depth of primary interview data collected by Professor Betsy Donald and her research team (composed of Melanie Bedore, Jacinthe Beyea, Janina Fisher, Brownwyn MacLean, Dustin Murray, Carolyn Yu and the author). With only one exception, of an interview conducted in May 2008, these interviews were conducted between fall 2006 and the spring of 2007. These interviews were designed to examine the talent struggles of a particular sector of the creative class who work at one particular kind of institution in one particular city: academic
faculty in Kingston, Ontario. The rational for focusing on this occupational group was, first, based on the empirical evidence that overwhelmingly supports the assertion that the higher education cluster (when compared with other clusters across Canada) is the only statistically significant cluster in Kingston (Spencer & Vinodrai, 2006; cf. Martin & Sunley, 2003; Porter, 1998). Second, according to the economic geography literature, it is well established that universities are important institutions for shaping knowledge-intensive regional economies (Donald, 2006; Florida et al., 2006, 2008). Third, not only are academics part of the ‘creative class’, but on the continuum of ‘creative class mobility’, they tend to be relatively more mobile than other occupational groups, especially in 2006, a year marked by economic prosperity and high demand for academics.

3.3 Qualitative Interviews

3.3.1 Creating the Interview Sample: Defining and Identifying ‘Star Talent’

This thesis reports on ‘the social foundations of talent attraction and retention’ (theme II of the broader research project). For this theme, interviewees were asked a series of opinion questions including: What characteristics of the Kingston economy and/or labour market make it an attractive place to work in your field? To what degree is Kingston a tolerant/welcoming place (i.e. in terms of race/ethnicity/ sexuality/gender equality)? Conversely, what characteristics of the Kingston’s economy and/or labour market undermine its attractiveness as a place to work in your field? What characteristics of Kingston reduce its attractiveness as a place in which to live? (Refer to Appendix A for the complete interview guide). To determine who would be asked these questions, Professor Donald decided to focus on academic ‘star talent’. The sample frame of ‘star talent’ was created by performing a reputational analysis of Queen’s University faculty members. By examining various databases (which listed research medals, teaching awards, research awards/
grants) and after consulting with local media, Queen’s University senior administrators, and community insiders a list of 150 faculty members were identified as being ‘the most promising and highly valuable to the university and Kingston community’ as well as being the most aggressively pursued by other institutions.

3.3.2 Conducting the Interviews

Once the sampling frame of potential participants was created, recruitment letters of invitation were sent out via email, along with the obligatory letters of consent and corresponding interview guide, to a sub-set of the initial list of faculty (refer to Appendix B and C for these documents). Thirty-three interviews were conducted on theme II using this method of sampling. After these interviews were conducted, the goals of the study were reconsidered. With the sample population emerging as relatively homogenous, resulting in a low degree of variance and the researchers observing very similar findings, several caveats of the initial sample population were identified (Gobo, 2008, p. 201). First, the reputational analysis was determined to over represent senior faculty at the latter stages of their careers. Second, the initial population also contained a survivor bias, where only those faculty members who had chosen to remain at Queen’s University were part of the sample. This resulted in a relatively uniform portrayal of Queen’s University and the broader Kingston community. While the data collected from these interviews were useful, they left certain themes unexplored which often corresponded to age, gender, ethnic background and length of tenure.

To further explore these underrepresented themes, Professor Donald and her team began conducting purposive interviews chosen because they illustrated some features or processes thought to be crucial to the broader study (Elliott, Holand & Thompson, 2008). For example, several interviews were conducted with Queen's University faculty who; 1) lived outside of
Kingston and commuted to work at Queen's University; 2) had left Queen's for employment at another Canadian university; 3) were part of a minority group not represented by the initial interview population; or 4) were in the early stages of their career. In total, eleven additional interviews were conducted with Queen's faculty to gather information on these themes. The following figures provide a detailed breakdown of relevant characteristics of the interview participants, including their age range, gender, marital status, family status, commuting profile, and identity as a visible minority or not.

Figure 1: Academic Interviewees by Gender

![Pie chart showing gender distribution with 40% women and 60% men.]

Figure 2: Academic Interviewees by Family Status

![Pie chart showing family status distribution with 61% Has Children, 16% Without Children, 23% NA.]

32
Figure 3: Academic Interviewees by Marital Status

Figure 4: Academic Interviewees by City of Residence
These forty-four interviews were then supplemented with another twelve interviews with Kingston community 'insiders'. The purpose of conducting these interviews was twofold. First, they were designed to draw out the social dynamics and relationships that foster knowledge circulation within Kingston and the surrounding community. Second, and perhaps more
importantly, they were designed to triangulate the findings gathered from the previous interviews with members of the Queen’s University faculty. These interview participants were selected by virtue of role in the community. Key stakeholders involved in community based civil governance, economic development and social welfare were all targeted and selected for involvement in this study. In total 56 interviews were conducted and subsequently transcribed for this study. It should be noted that the author of this thesis was responsible for conducting only one of these interviews and participated in none of the transcriptions.

3.4 Interacting with the Data

Before describing the process of analyzing the data collected from these interviews, it is prudent to first identify the limitations of such forms of data, and how these limitations have been addressed by this study; and second, the positionality of the author as a crucial factor in contextualizing the findings derived from these interviews.

A significant limitation of qualitative research, involving interviews, is its dependence on the honesty and cooperation of the research participants. As part of the mixed-methods approach undertaken for this thesis, this study tries to triangulate and compare the results of these interviews against other sources of data, including print media, scholarly literature, and personal observation, thereby mitigating this limitation and further validating the findings (Corbin & Holt, 2005).

3.4.1 Researcher Positionality

According to feminist conceptions of positionality in social research, it is important to acknowledge that researchers imprint their subjectivities on their products. “Such imprinting is inevitable. Knowledge bears the mark of its producer… [Although] knowledge produced from an acknowledged standpoint is less distorted, more visible and hence revisable than knowledge which erases its partiality” (Burns & Walker, 2005, p. 67).
As a third-generation Canadian born to parents of European decent, I have been immersed in a culture of whiteness my entire life. I therefore recognize that my status as a Canadian-born white male means that I may not fully understand or have experienced certain social phenomena such as racial prejudice or gender discrimination. Nevertheless, by engaging with certain elements of whiteness studies, I have become increasingly aware of the ways in which certain cultural norms around constructions of race have come to dominate and pattern social processes. Moreover, born and raised in Richmond Hill, a suburb of Toronto Ontario, I have witnessed, in recent years, a tremendous ethnic shift in my community with a large influx of immigrants from China, as well as from South and West Asia. Consequently, I have developed an appreciation for, and certain understanding of, how immigration may affect community members and community politics. With that said, I will not profess to have the capacity to adopt the standpoint of those regularly excluded or marginalized. As a researcher, however, I can attempt to incorporate the views of these groups, into my analysis, in hopes to achieve a certain ‘double vision’ so my account of the data will be more complete and less partial (Burns & Walker, 2005).

With respect to Kingston, I have particular experiences that influence my positionality as a researcher. While observation has not been a formalized research method employed for this study, I feel it important to identify the places from which I have come to view and understand Kingston’s social dynamics. I have lived in Kingston for the last twenty months. In that time, I have lived in two distinct parts of the Kingston community. For the first eight months, I lived in a house adjacent to Queen’s University West campus on the northeast corner of Sir John A MacDonald Boulevard and Johnson Street (refer to Figure 7 for a map of this area. Also note that this map along with the other maps, of Kingston, in this thesis exclude the townships amalgamated with the City of Kingston in 1998). Here, I lived in a middle class neighborhood
within close proximity (five minute walking distance) to streets exhibiting exorbitant levels of wealth but also to the “student ghetto” (a residential area occupied primarily by Queen’s University students and renowned for its urban decay and or neglect).

**Figure 7: Kingston, Ontario Selected Neighbourhoods**

*Figure 7 was created with reference material from the following sources:*
For the last twelve months, I have lived North of Princess Street, just north of the intersection between Queen Street and Sydenham Street (once again, refer to Figure 7 for a map of this area). Living here, and interacting with the surrounding community, I have experienced and observed a markedly different side of Kingston. Most notably, I have been witness to disconcerting levels of poverty. Perhaps the most extreme example of such poverty is found in the many homeless people who often congregate in parks or along streets near my home. This poverty is also expressed in the levels of neglected property and homes in this area of Kingston. Shopping at the recently closed No Frills grocery store, located at the intersection of Bagot Street and Charles Street, I was also able to interact with a distinctly less privileged demographic of Kingston, which has proven invaluable in my ability to contextualize the accounts of so many interview participants which speak of ‘two sides of Kingston’. This theme will be revisited in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 but it is important to establish my relationship, and with it, my potential bias, with this aspect of the research before presenting an analysis of the findings. In this sense I have come to consider myself an 'outsider within' being on the edge of intersecting power relations of race, gender and social class (Doucet & Mauthner, 2008, p. 334).

3.4.2 Coding and Analyzing the Data
The interview data collected by the research team for this study were transcribed from digital audio recordings to text files for analysis. In total, there were 56 interviews which produced, on average, twelve pages of single spaced text. Accordingly, over 650 pages of raw transcripts were coded and analyzed for this study. This coding was carried out in two stages. First, ‘open coding’
was performed on fifteen interviews. This stage of coding was designed to open and break apart the text by identifying concepts and themes for intensive scrutiny (Corbin & Holt, 2005). Interview passages were examined line by line, by asking questions like, what is going on and how does this relate to the literature reviewed for this study. As the concepts and themes developed in this stage of coding, they served as the basis for subsequent data analysis. Twelve main core concepts and supporting themes emerged as particularly significant to the research question. In the second stage of coding, these themes were used as a guide to code the remaining interviews. The remainder of the interviews were examined line by line and coded according to these themes. In several cases, new and previously unexplored concepts were identified as central to the research question. These new concepts were then added to the coding guide. Once coded, these transcripts were organized by theme and sub-theme into an 86-page, single-spaced, document for further analysis. The findings from this analysis are summarized in Chapter 5 and described at length in Chapter 6.

3.5 A Note on the Operationalization of “Race” and “Class”
Defining “race” and “class”, and applying these terms to official statistics, has been problematic. Moreover, when asked to employ these social constructions as central variables in a qualitative study such as this, their respective connotations become even more uncertain. For this reason, I want to be clear about the ways in which I operationalize race and class while collecting and analyzing data for this study. As McDermott (2006, p. 16) insists, “Race is an ambiguous concept.” Throughout the history of Canada and the United States the categories “aboriginal”, “asian”, “black” and “white” have had various meanings and have encompassed different sets of people. In the analysis undertaken as part of this research, the meanings of these terms constitute part of the research question as captured by the phrase “diversity”. Therefore, the ways in which
research participants define race for themselves and apply it to others is actually central to this research as they denote racial attitudes of the Kingston community. For this reason, research participants are classified according to “race” or “class” according to their own treatment and/or identification as part of a particular group.

3.6 Limitations of the Study

After conducting a study of this scope, several limitations of the initial study’s design are now evident. These limitations relate to the study’s interview sampling frame and thematic focus. With reference to the sampling frame (discussed above in Section 3.3 of this chapter), this study would have benefited from a larger sample size, with a sampling strategy geared toward overcoming potential interview bias as manifested in this study’s challenges of the survivor bias. In addition to this change, the interview guide could have been structured to specifically address questions of race and class. While both of these subjects were still discussed at length by the interview participants, particular dimensions of these subjects were left unexplored because of the open-ended nature of the interview guide. Therefore, a more systematic study designed to explicitly tackle issues of race and class might have yielded more substantive findings. Finally, this study was constrained by its scale and scope. There were several themes that could have been explored further. For example, issues of class and class-based tension began as integral themes to this thesis, but as the interview analysis progressed and certain themes emerged as crucial to this study’s research questions, issues of class fell outside of the scope of this study and were consequently largely unexplored in the following chapters. Fortunately, further work in this area is already underway by Mel Bedore (Queen’s University, Department of Geography, PhD. Candidate), whose dissertation will probe into these issues.
3.7 Conclusions

Overall, ethics guidelines were strictly followed and the qualitative research methods, outlined above, were successfully implemented. Interpretation and analysis of interview transcripts incorporated a range of perspectives and attitudes presented by the research participants. Semi-structured interviews have proven themselves to be tremendously useful in generating basic concepts while simultaneously contextualizing them, thereby providing the stepping-stones necessary to develop and update the disciplinary body of knowledge concerning the attraction and retention of talent in particular urban settings such as Kingston.
Chapter 4: Kingston Context

4.1 Introduction: Kingston, Ontario at First Glance

Through “the process of standardization and homogenization…” cities have “…become undifferentiated from many other urban environments. Fortunately, this process is incomplete for some cities, and a distinctive, if not unique, sense of place continues in the midst of the trappings of the modern urban society” (Osborne & Swainson, 1988, p. 1). Is Kingston, Ontario one of these places?

Upon initial inspection, Kingston, situated within the Toronto-Montreal-Ottawa triangle (refer to Figure 8 for a map of this geographic region), appears to be just one of many small sized Canadian cities – population of 117,000 people, median income of $67,908 (Statistics Canada, 2008a). Similarly, its ethnic composition is also representative of other small sized cities throughout Canada. However, upon further examination, these statistics are perhaps misleading in the way that they depict Kingston’s socio-economic landscape. This chapter will demonstrate that Kingston is not an “average” Canadian city by highlighting Kingston’s distinctiveness as documented by Osborne and Swainson, authors of *Kingston: Building on the Past* (1988). At the same time, this discussion will contextualize, the economic and population indicators, presented above. This is achieved in two stages. First, a brief account of Kingston’s history is presented, along with a description of Kingston’s chief employers. This is followed by a contemporary description of pertinent facts about the city and its people. Once more, the purpose of this chapter is to provide context for the following two chapters that present and analyze this study’s research findings.
4.2 Behind the Numbers: Kingston’s History and Legacy

Kingston was formally established in the late eighteenth century, but its history dates back some 300 years. And during the last 200 years of incredible social, economic and political advancement, Osborne and Swainson (1988, p. 1) maintain, “few cities have changed as little as Kingston.” Indeed, the Kingston of today is very much rooted in the Kingston of the past. Its history is one of “continuity” in terms of both form and function (Osborne & Swainson, 1988). In the last half-century, Kingston’s economic, social and physical landscapes have remained...
remarkably consistent, especially in relation to other Canadian cities. The following section will highlight Kingston’s consistency during this period, by presenting and discussing the significance of local employment trends in shaping Kingston’s economy and social fabric.

4.2.1 Historical Employment

By 1970, Kingston’s major employers were manufacturing companies and provincially funded institutions (note that all discussion of employment or employers which pre-dates 1998 refers to the old City of Kingston that had not yet amalgamated with adjacent townships). Du Pont Canada and Alcan Canada Products were Kingston’s first and third largest employers respectively, while Queen’s University and Kingston General Hospital employed only marginally fewer workers (refer to Table 2 for a list of the top ten major employers in Kingston for 1970; Osborne & Swainson, 1988; see also Harris, 1988). By 1987, however, Kingston’s major industrial employers, or the so-called “big four”, including Du Pont (1,459), Alcan (860), Celanese Canada (792), and Northern Telecom (597), accounted for only 3,698 employees, representing a decline of close to 40 percent from 1970 levels (Osborne & Swainson, 1988). In this period between 1970 and 1987, a period often characterized by deindustrialization—a phenomenon that swept throughout Canada and its cities—Kingston continued to develop its institutional operations. According to Osborne and Swainson (1988), by 1987 Kingston’s public institutions had come to greatly overshadow any private organizations in terms of direct employment. Moreover, by this time, Kingston’s concentration of military, educational, medical, and other related service functions had resulted in striking proportions of teachers, medical personnel, and service workers living in Kingston; a level that was well above the national average. This trend has not only continued to the present day but has come to define Kingston’s employment profile (refer to Section 4.4, later in this chapter for an account of the significance of this trend).
Table 2: Top Ten Major Employers in the Kingston Urban Area, 1970

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Dupont of Canada</td>
<td>2294</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s University</td>
<td>1871</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Alcan Canada Products</td>
<td>1820</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston General Hospital</td>
<td>1443</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Frontenac County Board of Education</td>
<td>1410</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Industries Limited., Millhaven</td>
<td>1406</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston Psychiatric Hospital</td>
<td>1092</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hotel Dieu Hospital</td>
<td>836</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Royal Military College</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Penitentiary Service</td>
<td>326</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 2 Material reprinted from a book:


4.3 Institutional Employers

This section will briefly outline the institutional employers of Kingston while underlining their respective historical and contemporary importance to the city. The most significant of these institutional employers include: 1) Canadian Forces Base Kingston; 2) Educational services; 3) Medical services; and 4) Corrections Canada and formerly known as Canadian Penitentiary Services. The following tables and figures help to position these institutions among Kingston’s economic actors.

Table 3: Kingston's Top 10 Largest Employers, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Forces Base Kingston and Royal Military College</td>
<td>8580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s University and St. Lawrence College (Kingston Campus)</td>
<td>4496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston's Hospitals and Ontario Ministry of Health</td>
<td>5340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Employer</td>
<td>Number of Employees</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>---------------------------------------------------</td>
<td>--------------------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canadian Forces Base Kingston and Royal Military College</td>
<td>8580</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Queen’s University and St. Lawrence College (Kingston Campus)</td>
<td>4496</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kingston's Hospitals and Ontario Ministry of Health</td>
<td>5340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Limestone District School Board</td>
<td>2720</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Correctional Services of Canada</td>
<td>2670</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>City of Kingston</td>
<td>1500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ontario Ministry of Transportation</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 3 Material based on a website:


Table 4: Kingston's Largest Public Sector Employers, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>StarTek Canada</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invista Canada</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Financial Group</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novelis</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assurant Solutions</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Canada</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont Research &amp; Development Centre</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLH Transport Inc.</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table 4 Material based on a website:


Table 5: Kingston's Largest Private Sector Employers, 2008

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Employer</th>
<th>Number of Employees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>StarTek Canada</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Invista Canada</td>
<td>1200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Empire Financial Group</td>
<td>525</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Novelis</td>
<td>366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assurant Solutions</td>
<td>280</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bell Canada</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dupont Research &amp; Development Centre</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SLH Transport Inc.</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

46
Table 5 Material based on a website:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Cancoil Thermal Corporation</th>
<th>150</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>KIMCO Steel</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Figure 9: Kingston’s Employment by Sector, 2008

Figure 9 Material based on a website:


4.3.1 Canadian Forces Base Kingston

Kingston is home to Canada’s largest national defense establishment of Canadian Forces Base Kingston. Included within this establishment are the Royal Military College, the National Defense College, the Staff College, and the various units at the Barriefield establishment.

According to Osborne and Swainson (1988, p. 304), by 1987, these units employed
approximately 5,700 people, including both military personnel along with civilian support staff. As of 2008, the base and its sub units employed 8,580 people (refer to Table 3 for a list of the top ten largest employers in Kingston). The Kingston Garrison and its personnel have always been somewhat isolated, in terms of not only physical location but also social interaction, with the rest of the Kingston community since its establishment during the First World War. But since the official establishment of the base in 1966, and with its continued personnel growth, in recent decades, the military must be considered an integral component of Kingston’s economy and social fabric (Canada National Defence, 2009; Osborne & Swainson, 1988). The military’s role in the creation of Kingston’s institutionally dominated identity will be a theme explored further in this chapter and also in Chapter 5.

4.3.2 Educational Services
Education, at all levels, has been a major employer in Kingston for at least the past three decades. Queen’s University has been a major employer in Kingston for much of its history. Since the 1970s Queen’s University has consistently been amongst Kingston’s top employers. By 1987 Queen’s University employed nearly 3,500 people and today employs 4,200 staff and faculty. In 2008, when combined with St. Lawrence College (296), the Royal Military College (780, note that the RMC is counted as part of Kingston’s military and educational establishments), and Kingston’s district school boards (2,720), educational employment accounted for nearly 8,000 jobs in Kingston (Kingston Economic Development Corporation [KEDCO], 2008). This figure and level of employment have remained remarkably consistent over the past two decades, only increasing by 600 total jobs from 1987 to 2008 (KEDCO, 2008; Osborne & Swainson, 1988). For the size of its population, Kingston has, by far, the highest proportion of education employment compared to other Canadian cities.
4.3.3 Medical Services

Another important dimension to the local employment picture is the concentration of medical facilities and related services in Kingston. Kingston is home to Kingston General Hospital, Hotel Dieu, several Providence Care facilities, Kingston Psychiatric Hospital and a sizable contingent of Ontario’s Ministry of Health operations. By 1987, these facilities and services accounted for just over 5,000 jobs (Osborne & Swainson, 1988). In 2008, after twenty years of steady growth, these facilities and services now employ well over 6,000 people. Amongst these facilities, Kingston General Hospital is still the top employer with 3,400 doctors and support staff (KEDCO, 2008).

4.3.4 The Prison Influence

Officially opened in 1835, Kingston Penitentiary was the first of nine prisons to be built in the Kingston area, which are all still in use today. These range from low-security facilities to maximum-security facilities (refer to Figure 10 for a map of these facilities). The presence of these penitentiaries has long been considered a stable contributor to the local economy, some even calling it a “local growth industry” (quoted in Osborne & Swainson, 1988, p. 304). In fact, total employment of Correctional Services Canada, in the Kingston area, has increased from 1,954 to 2,670 staff, between 1987 and 2008, which makes this description rather fitting. Despite the positive contribution of employment for the greater Kingston population, this cluster of prisons, however, has also made Kingston home to Canada’s largest prison population (2,377 offenders as of April 13, 2008, of those approximately 1,000 are in maximum security institutions; Nathalie Fortier, personal communication, October 16, 2008) and their accompanying prison family networks. Moreover, discharges from these correctional institutions
have also placed an enormous strain on Kingston’s social and mental health services (National Secretariat on Homelessness, 2004).

**Figure 10: Kingston, Ontario’s Correctional Facilities shown by Type and Inmate Capacity**

*Figure 10 was created with reference material from the following sources:*


Note. Canmap Street files DMTI. (2009), Toronto, Ontario. DMTI Spatial.
This is an area which demands further research, but unfortunately falls outside the scope of this thesis. Without such research, it is still clear that as a result of Kingston’s penal system, the city and its surrounding communities are home to hundreds, if not thousands, of former convicts and prison guards, a fact which sets Kingston apart from all other Canadian cities (Harris, 1988). This has also forced detectives of the Kingston police department to deal with what is often considered, “big-city crime.” What still remains unclear, however, is how prison guards are affected by, sometimes a lifetime, of incarcerating other people, “…but effect there must be” (Osborne & Swainson, 1988, p. 330; Information on the numbers of prison guards, current and former, living in Kingston is not publically available but this information could lend an insight into the migration patterns of this particular occupational cluster). These guards are paid anywhere between $34,277 and $70,477, depending on position and length of tenure (Treasury Board of Canada Secretariat, 2009). Given this pay scale, these guards would normally be considered part of the middle class. Yet, by virtue of their powers of supervision and control these guards might be considered, as Harris (1988, p. 40) argues, a “distinct strata within the middle class.” There is little understanding of this particular occupational group. Future research in this area would be useful in developing new policies and social programs to better utilize the skills and expertise embodied in this occupational cluster.

4.4 A Note on Institutional Employment in Kingston

Kingston’s major institutions, as outlined above, have come to define Kingston as perhaps the best known Canadian example of a public sector town. These institutions have come to shape the city in terms of occupational demographics, urban design, politics and economics, to name only a few areas.
The effects on Kingston’s occupational demographics and urban design are straightforward, but still significant. These institutions have made Kingston home to an unusually large number of the writers, scientists, medical doctors, lawyers, artists, musicians, engineers, social scientists, technicians and public servants. This amalgam of people clustered around their respective institutions has “…for generations contributed greatly to Kingston’s cultural life” (Osborne & Swainson 1988, p. 330). The presence of these institutions has also contributed to city’s epithet as the “limestone city.” Many of their buildings are patterned after the original architectural elements of the 1800s, a striking element of the total urban image and a fact which contributes to the city’s uniqueness.

The effect of these institutions on the politics of Kingston is less forthright—consisting of various layers of complexity. These institutions may be conceptualized as ‘silos’, and each of these silos has its own distinct function as mandated by its respective provincial or federal governing body. For example, learning institutions are designed to prepare individuals for the global marketplace. The military trains soldiers and officers for warfare, among other duties; while Kingston’s prison system strives to prepare offenders for a safe transition into civilian life. By virtue of their function and type of organizational governance, each of these institutions is predisposed to operating and reacting to political and economic forces beyond the scope of Kingston. They have little, if any, vested interest in the economic conditions of the city as their funding is derived from external sources (federal or provincial pay rolls; Osborne & Swainson, 1988). It follows that these institutions are inherently disconnected with local concerns.

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8 This fact was recently confirmed and highlighted in a 2007 Statistics Canada report titled “Where are all the scientists and engineers?” (McKenzie, 2007).

9 The first use of the term ‘silo’ in this particular context was in a 2007 presentation by Betsy Donald entitled “The Foucauldian City.”
This relationship has deeply affected Kingston and its political climate over the past half century. On the one hand, with the perpetually slow growth of institutions, Kingston has been unable to generate any significant economic booms as represented in Figures 9 and 10. On the other hand, these institutions have still provided a steady source of employment and economic prosperity for the city of Kingston, without which the community might have slipped into economic depression decades ago. With that said, however, according to interviews with local insiders conducted for this study (and reported on with more detail in Chapters 5 and 6), Kingston is currently dominated by an ethos of conservatism, coupled with a culture of risk-aversion. Once more, these insiders attribute this political environment to a general lack of involvement by the city’s major institutions in local politics, from which the city suffers from a general lack of entrepreneurship and malaise that also pervades the city’s civic leadership.

**Figure 11: Kingston’s CMA Average Household Income in Constant 1985 Canadian Dollars**

![Graph showing Kingston's CMA Average Household Income in Constant 1985 Canadian Dollars](image)

*Figure 11 Material based on a database:*

4.5 Kingston’s Population Demographics and Trends

Let us return to where this chapter began, by examining some population and economic indicators. Once again, as of 2006 and according to Statistics Canada, the City of Kingston had a population of 117,000 people\textsuperscript{10}, whereas the Kingston census metropolitan area or CMA\textsuperscript{11} had a population of 152,000 people (refer to Figure 12 for a map of the boundaries of these areas). According to Figure 13, between 1986 and 2006 Kingston’s CMA has seen modest population growth of approximately 30,000 or on average one percent per year (it should be noted that the data for Kingston’s CMA are markedly more consistent over time than the City of Kingston data which is plagued with inconsistency resulting from boundary changes and its amalgamation with neighboring townships in 1998. Therefore, when presenting longitudinal and comparative statistics this section will rely on Kingston CMA data.) Figure 14 shows that Kingston’s CMA average population has also aged over time.

\textsuperscript{10} This and every other population figure in this section are approximate values.

\textsuperscript{11} Canada currently defines metropolitan areas using a methodology that takes into account population density, population size and commuting patterns. The larger metropolitan areas known as ‘census metropolitan areas’ are delineated when densely populated urban areas attain an urban core population greater or equal to 100,000. Adjacent municipalities are added to CMAs and CAs when they have a high degree of integration with urban cores based on commuting flows derived from census place-of-work data (Mendelson and Lefebvre, 2003).
Figure 12: The City of Kingston, Ontario and the Kingston CMA

Figure 12 was created with reference material from the following sources:
Figure 13: Kingston’s CMA Population Over time

![Population Over time graph]

Figure 13 Material based on database:


Figure 14: Kingston’s CMA Average Age of Population Over time

![Average Age of Population graph]
In 1986, the population was approximately 35 years of age, whereas in 2006 the population was nearly 40 years of age. This is trend, however, is typical in the Canadian context, as the average age of all Canadians during this period has also trended upward, by a nearly identical level (Statistics Canada, 2008b).

4.6 Kingston’s Economic History and Class Divide

As described in the above section, Kingston is a city long built on institutions. What this study has found, and what external research has shown, however, is that in the cracks of the city’s institutionally supported walls, there are pockets of extreme neglect and poverty. This section will briefly describe Kingston’s economic landscape while highlighting the underlying dynamics of economic polarization that afflict Kingston.

In terms of class – as opposed to ethnicity – levels of segregation are rather consistent across North American cities, especially amongst cities of a similar size. In fact, larger urban centers tend to be slightly more segregated than smaller cities (Sassen, 2001). Yet, this has not been historically accurate in describing Kingston, where the majority of classes have been at least as segregated as they were in larger cities (Harris, 1988). Informally, this fact has been documented by journalists of the area. In 1962, Peter Newman, a journalist of Maclean’s magazine, covering a local political race for the upcoming Federal election, wrote, “few cities in Canada, have such a clearly marked division between the right and wrong side of the tracks” (referring here to the “North of Princess” spatial division of wealth and poverty; as quoted in Harris, 1988, p. 59). This remark is striking considering the call to action, almost a decade earlier,
by Reverend T. H. Good advocating for improved housing conditions for those impoverished members of the Kingston community. Pleading to the Kingston trades and labor council, he declared, “There are parts of the city, as depressed as any in the world, and it is to our eternal shame” (referring here to a “shacktown” known as Rideau Heights; as quoted in Harris, 1988, p. 31).

4.6.1 Kingston’s Economic Division

Over the last half century Kingston’s housing conditions have been improved; yet the city’s stark class division remains. On the surface, Kingston’s economic picture is typical of most Canadian cities. In 2005, (income data are not available for 2006 because Statistics Canada asks for income data from the year prior to the census year) the City of Kingston’s median household income was $67,908 whereas Kingston’s CMA median household income was $55,531. According to figure 11, in constant 1985 dollars, Kingston’s CMA average household income has increased by nearly $9,500 in a twenty-year period, increasing from $31,307 in 1985 to $40,760 in 2005. This increase also brought Kingston’s CMA average household income in line with the Canadian average which has increased from $34,269 in 1985 and $40,997 in 2005 (Statistics Canada, 2008a). These figures, however, are misleading, as they do not fully describe Kingston’s economic polarization. Figure 15 shows incidence of poverty by census tract. We see relative concentrations of poverty in Kingston’s “North End” in neighbourhoods such as Rideau Heights and Markers Acres. Conversely, “bubbles” of wealth exist in close proximity to Queen’s University and the downtown in neighbourhoods such as Alwington and Henderson.
Figure 15: Kingston, Ontario, Average Household Income by Dissemination Area, 2005

Figure 15 was created with reference material from the following sources:
4.7 Kingston’s Population Composition

Kingston is in many ways typical of small cities across Canada in its ethnic makeup. Of Kingston’s population, only 9 percent of its residents self-identified as either visible minorities\(^{12}\) (7 percent) or aboriginals\(^{13}\) (2 percent); this suggests that roughly 90 percent of Kingston’s population are not visible minorities but rather characterized as “white” or “caucasian” (Statistics Canada, 2008a). When Kingston’s adjacent municipalities are added, and measured as Kingston’s CMA, the percentage of its residents that self-identified as either visible minorities (5 percent) or aboriginals (2 percent) decreases to 7 percent (Statistics Canada, 2008a). This suggests that Kingston’s outer most areas have a lower percentage of visible minority and aboriginal populations than the city’s center. This proportion of visible minorities and aboriginals stands in stark contrast to the provincial average, which is a combined 25 percent, or national average, which is a combined 20 percent. That said, the provincial average is distorted because of Toronto’s Census Metropolitan Area, where nearly 43.5 percent of residents are visible minorities or aboriginal.

\(^{12}\) While I recognize the term “visible minority” is contested, in this context, it is used to describe “persons, other than Aboriginal peoples, who are non-Causasion in race or non-white in colour.” This definition is used by Statistics Canada and is derived from Canada’s Employment Equity Act of 1995.

\(^{13}\) The term “aboriginal” is used in this context to describe “persons who reported identifying with at least one Aboriginal group… and/or those who reported being a Treaty Indian or a Registered Indian, as defined by the Indian Act of Canada, and/or those who reported they were members of an Indian band or First Nation” (Statistics Canada, 2002).
When one considers the percentage of visible minority populations, combined with aboriginals, in other cities across Ontario, such as, St. Catharines with 11.5 percent; Peterborough with 6.5 percent; Guelph with 14 percent; Thunder Bay with 11 percent; and Sudbury with 8 percent, Kingston, with 9 percent of its resident population identifying as a visible minority or aboriginal, is by no means exceptional (Statistics Canada, 2008a, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e, 2008f, 2008g). Therefore, any notion that overwhelming white communities are isolated in few cities across the province is simply not accurate. Indeed, outside of Ontario’s big cities, Kingston actually appears to be proportionally representative of Ontario’s total visible minority and aboriginal populations.

Given the above figures, it follows that Kingston’s annual influx of new immigrants should also be proportionally low. Indeed, according to Statistics Canada (2008a) from the years 2001-2006 new immigrants accounted for only 1.8 percent of Kingston’s total population. This figure is well below the Ontario provincial average of 4.8 percent and is five times less than the immigration rate of Toronto (10.8 percent). Yet, once again, Kingston’s immigration rate over this period is actually quite typical of rates in other cities across Ontario such as, St. Catharines with 1.9 percent; Peterborough with 0.7 percent; Guelph with 3.3 percent; and Thunder Bay with 0.5 percent. Therefore, Kingston, with its 1.8 percent immigration rate is again by no means exceptional, but rather representative of other Ontario cities (Statistics Canada, 2008a, 2008c, 2008d, 2008e, 2008f, 2008g).

Before moving to a further discussion of the influence of immigration of urban centers; it should be noted that Kingston is home to significant number of immigrants emanating from Asia, the Middle East and all over Europe. However, this more diverse population has not broken one
of the town’s most obvious continuities: “it remains very much centered in Anglo Celtic traditions and values” (Osborne & Swainson, 1988, p. 334).

4.8 Immigration as an Issue

Given the above statistics, it is not surprising that Kingston is not a top ranked destination for new immigrants to Canada. Instead, new immigrants choose to settle, overwhelmingly, with nearly 70 percent, in the three CMAs of Toronto, Montreal, and Vancouver (Zietsma, 2007, p. 19). By 2006, the consistency of this decision for new immigrants has resulted in over 60 percent of Canada’s total foreign-born population residing in these three cities (Zietsma, 2007, p. 21). This trend has brought cause for concern, however, as these immigrant settlement patterns have manifested themselves in the extremely diverse ethnocultural composition of Canada’s three largest cities “while the rest of Canada is hardly touched by the effects of immigration” (Hiebert 2000; Kobayashi & Peake, 1997; as quoted in Lewkowicz, 2008, p. 19). This, they maintain, creates “a markedly heterogeneous social environment [in gateway cities] that stands in sharp contrast to the rest of the nation” (Hou, 2006; as quoted in Lewkowicz, 2008, p. 20).

This is detrimental in at least two ways for Canadian cities such as Kingston. First, according to Gertler (2001), growth of knowledge-based industries is closely linked to levels of immigration and diversity. Immigration has also been described as bringing “incredible dynamism and vitality” to cities, something that “exerts a strongly positive influence” (Toronto City Summit Alliance, 2003, p. 19). Gertler (2001), further argues that immigration also plays a central role in enhancing creativity which contributes to long term economic prosperity of cities. Without a significant level of immigration, therefore, Kingston along with other smaller Canadian cities are at a distinct economic disadvantage.
Second, low incidence of immigration has led to what some have called a “white normative culture” or a “culture of whiteness” in smaller urban centers (refer to Chapter 2, Section 2.5 for a fully description of these social phenomena). Racism and normative attitudes exist in every city but public institutions and their employees are expected to demonstrate a certain level of sensitivity towards issues of discrimination. This is especially true for police officers, who have sworn to serve and protect citizens, regardless of age, race or class. In recent years, however, Kingston’s police department and some of its members have come under public scrutiny because of a series of events involving racially-biased policing. In an effort to investigate and better understand the causes of these events, Closs and McKenna (2008) conducted a pilot study with the full support of Kingston’s police department. The most cited finding of the study indicated that “black male residents of Kingston between the ages of 15 and 24 were three times more likely to be stopped and questioned by the Kingston police than people from other racial backgrounds” (Closs & McKenna, 2008, p. 150). Despite the study’s other findings, most of which were considerably more favourable to the police, the local reaction to this study was one of embarrassment for being subjected to such intense national scrutiny (Batchelor, 2005). Through the publication of this study, Kingston and its police force have been dealt a damaging blow in the realm of public perception, with “nothing positive coming out of it” said Bruce Miller, chief administrator for the Police Association of Ontario (Armstrong, 2005, p. 4).

4.9 Conclusion
This chapter has highlighted some of Kingston’s most significant social and economic facets. It has described Kingston’s distinctive qualities, including 1) its unusually high levels of institutional employment; 2) its demographic characteristics; and 3) its class division. The purpose of this discussion was to contextualize Kingston’s economic and population indicators.
Given this context, the following chapter presents a summary of the study’s research findings while exploring Kingston’s ability/inability to attract and retain talent.
Chapter 5: Summary of Research Findings

5.1 Introduction
This chapter summarizes the results of forty-three personal interviews conducted with academics that have held or currently hold positions at Queen’s University. These interviews were supplemented with an additional eleven interviews with Kingston community insiders, the results of which are also summarized here. As evident in the literature review and description of Kingston’s economic and social dynamics, there are a number of challenges facing the City of Kingston in its efforts to both retain and attract talent. Beyond these challenges, however, the research participants have brought attention to a number of quality of life considerations that factor prominently in one’s decision in choosing where to live and work. By understanding the perceived importance of quality of place in relation to employment considerations, this thesis will not only explore the nuanced significance of place in the struggle to retain and attract talent, but will also test several of Florida’s (2002a, 2005a) underlying arguments. For a complete discussion of these arguments please refer to Chapter 2, Section 2.3.

5.2 Overview of Interview Questions
As outlined in the methods chapter above, the interviews contained a series of opinion questions (see Appendix A) including: If from outside Kingston: Why did you move to Kingston? What characteristics of the Kingston economy and/or labour market make it an attractive place to work in your field? To what degree is Kingston a tolerant/welcoming place (i.e. in terms of race/ethnicity/ sexuality/ gender equality)? Conversely, what characteristics of Kingston’s economy and/or labour market undermine its attractiveness as a place to work in your field? What characteristics of Kingston reduce its attractiveness as a place in which to live? If you were to
move to another city, where would you choose to live, and why? How would such (a) location(s) compare to Kingston in terms of 1) career opportunities and 2) quality of life/quality of place?

5.3 Summary of Findings

These questions elicited a wide array of responses. From these responses, several themes emerged as fundamental to understanding particular quality of life considerations that factor into one’s decision of choosing where to live and work. Tables 6 and 7 below present a list of attractive or unattractive features of Kingston, Ontario as articulated by Queen’s University faculty or Kingston community insiders.

Table 6: List of Attractive Features of Kingston, Ontario, According to Academics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Feature</th>
<th>Description</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Historical “full-service” downtown</td>
<td>- Offers a wide array of goods and services. Land-use is mixed, with both residential and commercial. Pedestrian friendly.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diversity of architecture</td>
<td>- Wide variety of architectural design resulting from historical buildings or creative restorations</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Little traffic compared to other cities</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Can walk, or bike-ride to work</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Excellent healthcare</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Air quality, opportunity to live “sustainability”</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cultural amenities for size</td>
<td>- These include, The Grand Theatre, The K-ROCK Centre, City Park, Ship Museum, etc.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Natural environment, just-in-time recreation</td>
<td>- Local recreation opportunities, Kayaking, Camping, Hiking or Jogging along trails, etc.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Lakefront, freshwater sailing

Top public schools

Culinary diversity

Family friendly amenities
- Libraries, Family Community events such as ‘Music in the Park’, The Haunted Walk, or the Fort Henry Corn Maize

Safe community

*Relative Proximity of Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal

*Cost of Housing

*Note. This feature was considered as either attractive or unattractive by the interviewees.

It should be noted that amongst the above list of features, Kingston’s downtown, was repeatedly cited as the single most attractive. This was true for academics at various stages of their careers or lifecycles. The importance of the other features was markedly less consistent, often dependent on personal tastes or lifecycle considerations.

Table 7: List of Unattractive Features of Kingston, Ontario, According to Academics

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Thin labour market</th>
<th>- Labour opportunities for professionals are lacking outside of Kingston’s institutions</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Social polarization</td>
<td>- Areas of visible poverty juxtaposed to areas of expressions of residential wealth are unsettling and therefore unattractive for some</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of accessible Waterfront</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lack of cultural or ethnic diversity (loosely defined)</td>
<td>-- Observed monoculture of primarily</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
“White Anglo Saxon Protestants” is unattractive

| Racialized sense of community - Race is seen as a barrier to community interaction |
| High property taxes |
| Prisons - Their mere existence and proximity to one’s place of residence or city is enough to cause discomfort |
| Closed community - New-comers to Kingston have experienced difficulty breaking into social circles |
| Cold climate |
| Poor transit system |
| Poor Airport |
| *Relative Proximity of Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal |
| *Cost of Housing |

*Note. This feature was considered as either attractive or unattractive by the interviewees.

It should be noted that amongst the above list of features, Kingston’s thin labour market, was repeatedly cited as the single most unattractive. This was true for academics at various stages of their careers or lifecycles. The importance of the other features was markedly less consistent, often dependent on personal tastes.

The features listed in the above tables should be considered significant in addressing the question: how does a city attract and retain talent? These place-specific amenities are clearly integral elements to Kingston’s overall quality of place, but according to the interviewees, these features are only part of the quality of place equation. In fact, there are at least three additional themes that factor into any assessment of Kingston’s quality of place. These themes are
significantly more complex than basic place-based amenities or features. Accordingly, this chapter will only outline and briefly summarize these themes; the following chapter will delve into their respective intricacies and nuances. These themes include, 1) issues around tolerance and diversity in Kingston and within Queen’s University; 2) Kingston’s class-based tension, and; 3) the importance of place relative to job opportunities in attracting and retaining talent.

5.4 Summary of Issues Around Tolerance and Diversity in Kingston and Within Queen’s University

The interviews were laced with references to issues around tolerance and diversity in Kingston and within Queen’s University. In sum, there was an impressive depth of discussion on these topics.

5.4.1 Kingston’s “Culture of Whiteness”

Kingston’s “culture of whiteness” was a prominent theme of discussion, especially amongst those individuals who felt “out of place” in Kingston by virtue of their respective ethnicity or culture (Here the term or phrase “culture of whiteness” can be understood as bestowing, privilege, and a moral system, often depicted as normal or natural, or conferring cultural practices or a way of being in the world, but more importantly, a way of being in the world that is often considered normal. For a more thorough description of this phrase refer to Chapter 2, Section 2.5). For those interviewees who broached the subject, this culture of whiteness was uniformly considered as an unattractive feature of Kingston. Other research participants did not explicitly discuss Kingston’s culture of whiteness but they implicitly referenced the term by describing Kingston’s “white monoculture” or what others referred to as cultural “blandness”. This avenue of discussion was often linked to perceptions of Kingston’s ethnic demographics. Once again, the research participants that broached this subject described Kingston as “overwhelmingly white.” When
probed about some of the causes or explanations of this culture of whiteness, a lack of immigration was often cited as a probable cause.

5.4.2 Racism in Kingston

The interviews also expounded upon issues of both implicit and explicit racism in Kingston. Within this discussion, overtly racist acts were detailed, sometimes with specific reference to hate crimes. Kingston’s police department was also implicated in community-based race issues. A recent study by Closs and McKenna (2008) of racial profiling by police officers was cited as a cause for particular concern. These, along with other issues relating to diversity were considered especially troubling for those academics with, or considering having, children. Despite these issues, however, several interview participants recognized that racism is a systemic problem that is not isolated to the city of Kingston. Instead, several interviews suggested that racism is an endemic problem in any urban center.

5.4.3 Issues Surrounding Tolerance and Diversity at Queen’s University

The working and social environment of Queen’s University was another central area of discussion for the interviewees. Largely echoing the above findings regarding Kingston, the academics interviewed recognized the culture of whiteness that permeates the university. Often in reference to the 2004 findings of the “Henry Report”, a report commissioned by the university administration to address “Systemic racism towards faculty of colour and aboriginal faculty at Queen’s University”, the interviewees confirmed that Queen’s University is beset by racist attitudes which are fostered by an “…astonishingly resilient culture of silence and complicity” (Walker, 2008, p. 7). Particular interviews described the depth of this racism, ranging from the university administration, to particular departments, one’s own peers, and to the very student body of Queen’s University. Other interview subjects, however, either contradicted these
testimonies or simply avoided this avenue of discussion all together. This mixed account of personal experiences paints an incredibly complex picture of the working and social environment of Queen’s University, one that will be discussed at length in Chapter 6.

5.4.4 Kingston: as Closed to Newcomers

When asked if Kingston was a welcoming place, the responses were less focused. However, one particular theme emerged as significant. This relates to Kingston’s social and economic hierarchy. According to several interviewees, Kingston’s social circles can be extremely closed to newcomers. The rationale provided for this trend is tied up with Kingston’s historically influential families. A number of these families were depicted as generationally oriented, whereby only those families with a historical presence of at least three generations in Kingston were “allowed” into particular social and business circles. Families with such a presence were deemed “old stones” which was a common phrase used by several interviewees to describe some of the more influential Kingstonians.

5.5 Summary of Kingston’s Class Based Tension

As discussed in the above chapter, Kingston’s population is socially and economically polarized. It is also “extremely ghettoized.” According to community insiders, there are several different Kingstons. They each occupy the same geographical space but they behave as if they were isolated, or alone, in their own respective city. Examples of these enclaves include, the “garrison town”, the public service community, the university or education related community and the prison community. It is almost an understatement to characterize Kingston as socially divided. By all accounts, Kingston is ripe with enclaves of poverty and exclusion juxtaposed with bubbles of relative wealth. And it is from these bubbles that the academics of this study view the rest of Kingston. For example, it was uniformly recognized that areas of residence “North of Princess
Street” (a street bisecting the city) or “N.O.P.” were tainted with the stigma of abundant crime and poverty (refer to Figure 7). This area was also recognized as a haven for those families with members in local prisons. Accordingly, new academics were advised not to settle in this area. Some academics seemed oblivious to Kingston’s class division, whereas others not only recognized it, but expressed feelings of sadness or guilt over its severity. For those that engaged the subject, Kingston’s class division was largely considered an unattractive feature of the city.

5.6 Summary of the Importance of Place Relative to Job Opportunities in Attracting and Retaining Talent

One of the goals of the interview guide was to assess the relative importance of quality of place considerations in relation to employment opportunities for academics choosing where to live and work. The results of this inquiry were consistent and extremely insightful. When asked, what is more important to you, quality of place or job availability, every respondent answered—job. Therefore, despite the importance of quality of life considerations, which were also significant factors, in choosing where to live and work, securing a job, especially an academic job, was paramount. Further explanation revealed that given the limited number of academic positions available at any one time, there is little contest between the two factors. The interviews also suggested that, for some, the monetary compensation from a job could actually compensate for the lack of amenities of a city. Therefore, money has the capacity to augment quality of life considerations. Finally, for other academics who may be considered “star talent” (defined in Chapter 3, Section 3.1), however, who have their choice of a number of positions, place was certainly a greater consideration, but still secondary to the merits of the position.
5.7 Conclusion

This chapter has summarized the results of the interviews conducted for this thesis. These results are in no way completely representative of the sheer volume and diversity of responses offered by the research participants. Instead, the above sections represent the most significant findings for this thesis. Included in this summary was a discussion of 1) Kingston’s attractive and unattractive features that influence academics’ perception of quality of place; 2) issues around tolerance and diversity in Kingston and within Queen’s University; 3) importance of place relative to job opportunities in attracting and retaining talent. The following chapter will not only contextualize and more thoroughly explore these themes but will consider their broader implications in theory and policy.
Chapter 6: Discussion and Analysis

6.1 Introduction
This chapter builds on the discussion and findings presented in the previous chapter. Once again, the results reported here are derived from personal interviews conducted with academics that have held or currently hold positions at Queen’s University. These interviews were supplemented with an additional eleven interviews with Kingston community insiders. It should be noted that the participants of this study chose to participate only after assurances that their identity would be protected. Therefore, for the purposes of this discussion all participants have been assigned a random pseudonym based on a number system. Participants who are Professors will be referred to as ‘Professor 23’, for example. Alternately, Kingston community insiders will be referred to as ‘Mr. or Ms. 12’. While the presentation of the interview data might have been improved by prefacing each quotation with personal identifiers such as references to age, gender, and ethnicity, these identifiers have instead been either stripped from direct quotations or altered in such a way as to protect the identity of the interviewees.

The interview data presented and discussed in this chapter allows for a more thorough examination of the themes and findings found in the previous chapter. The purpose of this chapter is to 1) provide an account of the challenges facing the City of Kingston and Queen’s University in efforts to both retain and attract talent; and 2) underscore a number of quality of place considerations that factor prominently into one’s decision of where to live and work. By understanding the perceived importance of quality of place in relation to employment considerations, this thesis will not only explore the nuanced significance of place in the struggle
to retain and attract talent, but will also test several of Florida’s (2002a, 2005a) underlying arguments. For a detailed account of these arguments please refer to Chapter 2, Section 2.3.

6.2 Perspectives on Kingston’s Quality of Place

6.2.1 Introduction
As outlined in the literature review, the ‘creative capital’ model of economic development emphasizes the importance of attracting talent or human capital in stimulating local economic development. This model suggests that the locational choices of those individuals that fall under the broad umbrella of the creative class are highly influenced by features of the urban environment, often deemed amenities. Accordingly, the bulk of Florida’s (2002, 2005) policy recommendations are centered on attracting the creative class by creating new amenities or marketing pre-existing amenities. Many critiques of this model point to its empirical deficiencies as it relies too heavily on statistical correlations rather than qualitative analysis of particular occupational clusters in particular places. This section tackles this very question: how much of a factor are place-based amenities in the locational decisions of members of the creative class? More specifically, this study focused on one particular occupational group of this creative class, academic faculty. The results are mixed but nonetheless informative. These results are highly place specific and contingent, therefore, caution must be taken if these findings are to be applied to other localities. With that said, some of the findings are generalizable and useful in evaluating the importance of amenities in economic development strategies. This section highlights and provides context for Kingston’s attractive and unattractive characteristics. This particular discussion is highly descriptive but by providing such examples, we are afforded an insight into the relationship between urban growth and urban amenities.
6.2.2 Attractive Features of Kingston

As presented in the above chapter on the summary of research findings, Kingston has many amenities that are certainly attractive to academics. Table 6 provided a list of the attractive features of Kingston as cited by academics. The following comments provide context to the features listed in Table 6.

Professor 11: It’s an attractive place, it’s got good entertainment. It’s a good scale for me – I don’t like a big city. I don’t like traffic, I don’t like driving. So, yeah... and it’s close to the people I want to be close to.

Professor 12: A Lot of people want to come to Kingston. I mean let’s face it; it's a beautiful old city. It's got a great climate. It's got the water. It's got all of these things that a city offers: great restaurants, theatre, and even a regional entertainment... I mean, it’s got those things right. It's a small city, but it's vibrant and it's got all of those things to offer - educational facilities, good medical care. It's got all of those things and yet, it lacks a lot of things that are detractors in big cities: traffic, smog; well we do get some smog from down the lake. But I mean, it's a nice place to live. A lot of military folks who actually spent time here during their career come back and are now retiring here...

Professor 13: In the past the quality of life has been more about the surroundings and it is a fantastic city to live in from that perspective. It's about the waterfront and the views and the fact that it is a walkable downtown. That's been a very important part but now with the Grand Theatre being upgraded and the entertainment center and the University putting in the physics center and perhaps the performing arts center. Young families
will start to see it as an advantage to live here, in addition to the basic quality of life that have to do with the environment.

While analyzing the interview data, certain patterns emerged relating to ways that professors evaluated the importance of particular urban amenities. It seems clear that the stage of one’s career and lifecycle has a tremendous influence on what these professors deem important amenities. For example, on the one hand, younger professors with families often discussed the importance of parks, good schools and community safety. On the other hand, older professors, without children in Kingston, discussed the importance of Kingston’s medical facilities, short commuting times and Kingston’s aesthetic beauty. While this direct relationship between one’s lifecycle and career with one’s assessment of urban amenities seems intuitive, much of the literature on the importance of amenities in economic development fails to make this connection (cf. Berry & Glaeser, 2005; Florida, 2002a, 2002b, 2003, 2005a; Glaeser & Saiz, 2004; the most notable exception to this oversight is the work by Donald & Morrow, 2003).

With recognition of this relationship it is tempting to rank the importance of particular amenities according to academics. Furthermore, devising a method to do so is not inconceivable especially considering certain amenities were repeatedly cited as important more than others. But then the question emerges, does a quantitative variation actually make certain amenities more important than others? Perhaps, but I am reluctant to assign relative values to particular amenities based on qualitative interviews which were by no means designed to rank amenities and their importance in one’s quality of life. Nevertheless, the interview data suggest that amenities are very much a part of most academics’ assessment of a place’s quality of life. It stands to reason, therefore, that Florida’s (2002a, 2005a) claims may be accurate because urban amenities do influence an individual’s locational decision. The question remains, however, what is more
important to academics when choosing where to live—amenities and perceived quality of life or employment opportunities? This question is crucial to this thesis and will be explicitly broached later in Section 6.10 of this chapter.

6.2.3 Unattractive Features of Kingston

The above discussion has described features of Kingston that might serve to attract and retain talent from the City of Kingston. These place-specific amenities are clearly integral elements to Kingston’s overall quality of place, but according to the interviewees, these features are only part of the quality of place equation. In fact, as Table 7 indicates, Kingston is also laden with many features which are considered unattractive and may serve to deter professors from living or working in Kingston. Examples of these unattractive features include, 1) the nine prisons in and around the city; 2) Kingston’s social polarization and areas of relative poverty; 3) Kingston’s distance from other urban centers such as Toronto, Ottawa and Montreal; and 4) Kingston’s inaccessible waterfront. The following comments lend a voice to these concerns.

When asked “what is it about Kingston that would make it a not attractive place for you to live...?” Professor 14 replied:

*Prisons and crime. That almost did it in for us. Because we look at crime rate in the cities, and Kingston is one of the worst in the area – this area around here – compared to some of the cities we’ve lived in the statistics seem to be borne out when you read the newspapers.*

Professor 15 commented on his perception of prisoners’ families and poverty in Kingston,

*I don’t know, say displaced persons because I’m assuming a large number are here because family members are incarcerated, and my sense is that there’s not a lot of wealth, and it’s been a surprise a little, because in the context of big...*
cities, you tend to associate that with immigrants to the city, or tend to associate that with the small minorities, you know, these entrenched enclaves of volunteered exclusion, but Kingston’s a little bit different: there are enclaves of poverty and exclusion, they may be migrants, ... [but it is also] white poverty, and that’s very striking, very striking to me.

Professor 16 stated that, “...getting in and out of Kingston can be a chore.” Similarly, Professor 17 commented,

If there are people who are in similar situations to me, I could imagine that they get annoyed with Kingston, but what they mean by that is they get annoyed that Kingston is two hours from Toronto. And that Queen’s is...so I could imagine that when people say that they get frustrated with Kingston, what they mean is, it’s their lives, where they have to commute...

In reference to the waterfront, Professor 18, with a tone of dismay declared,

Kingston’s got quite a lot of trees and the waterfront should be a mass of people, but unfortunately it looks awful because there’s been very little planning put into, if you compare it to the Sydney Harbour Front or Old Montreal, there are many opportunities to really showcase the fact that Kingston is on Lake Ontario, but of course Kingston hasn’t done that at all, so they’ve got these giant, ugly old hotels like the Holiday Inn, right at the bottom of Princess Street, and it looks sort of ratty and it looks like it was built in the 1970s.

The collective voice of these statements sheds light on some of the more significant and pervasive issues for the City of Kingston. Moving forward, each of these issues represent real challenges for the city in its struggle to attract talented workers and to develop a more diverse and robust economy. While these issues demand serious attention from local policy-makers, these issues
have been documented in other academic works (Harris, 1988; Osborne & Swainson, 1988) and are, therefore, peripheral to the focus of this study. Instead, the purpose of this thesis is to examine some of the more subtle and complicated challenges facing the city in its efforts to attract and retain the best and brightest minds that the world has to offer.

The interview data emphasizes a myriad of themes that might prove significant to Kingston’s economic trajectory, but the scope of this thesis is limited to examining the factors that may directly influence the city’s (in)ability to attract and retain talent. Therefore, the remainder of this chapter will describe, outline and discuss the following, 1) issues of tolerance, both at Queen’s University and in the broader Kingston community; 2) concerns over the ‘culture of whiteness’ that pervades the Kingston community; 3) Kingston’s lack of ‘diversity’ and low rates of immigration; and 4) the implications of Kingston’s ‘thin’ economy. Taking the collection of these concerns into account, this chapter will conclude by broaching one of the more highly debated questions in contemporary economic geography literature. Specifically, this final section will consider the relative importance of ‘quality of place’ versus employment opportunities for talent when choosing where to live and work.

6.3 Talent and Tolerance

6.3.1 Introduction
This study is concerned with both the institutional setting of Queen’s University and the broader Kingston community and their respective levels of tolerance. Definitional approaches of ‘tolerance’ have been outlined in Chapter 2, Section 2.3.4. For the purposes of the following discussion, it is also relevant to outline my particular conception of tolerance. To maintain consistency with the economic geography literature, I treat the term ‘tolerance’ to actually refer to ‘social tolerance’. This term, can be conceived in terms of “the inclusion of minority social
groups (homosexuals, ethnic and racial minorities, etc.) in one’s life and community; it involves a lack of prejudice instead of one’s ability to overcome such prejudice” (Harell, 2008, p. 31, emphasis in the original). I accept this conception in principle but would add that, social tolerance exists on a continuum, consisting of varying degrees, ranging on one extreme of absolute acceptance, welcoming, and sensitivity to difference, whereas, incredible ignorance, bigotry and overt prejudices toward ‘the other’ can be found on the other extreme. By applying this conception of social tolerance, I reject any notion that an environment can be ‘totally or universally intolerant’ or ‘entirely or universally tolerant’. Instead, I maintain that perceptions of tolerance are highly context dependent and personal in nature. As the data indicate, perceptions of tolerance in a given place can change over time, but are sometimes shaped by a single experience, and for some, this perception may persist in spite of future events or experiences.

Given this discussion, the term ‘tolerance’ should be recognized as a multifaceted term with a variety of ascribed meanings and connotations. Accordingly, the term ‘tolerance’ should be used carefully and with explicit reference to its more exact meaning. Unfortunately, throughout the interview process, the use of the term ‘tolerance’ was at times ambiguous. Therefore, in the following discussion, references to ‘tolerance’ cannot always be narrowly defined. Given this pretext, the following section outlines and discusses particular perspectives of tolerance at Queen’s University and in Kingston.

When asked about the level of tolerance at Queen’s University, university faculty offered a wide array of responses which described levels of tolerance as demonstrated by the Queen’s University administration, university department staff, colleagues, students and members of the broader Kingston community. Before the interview data are presented it should be noted that the original coding of the interviews was designed to explicitly separate comments on 1) tolerance
issues in the context of Queen’s University and 2) tolerance issues in the broader context of Kingston. These distinct themes were to act as the basis for two separate discussions. While writing these sections, however, it became apparent that the majority of the interview data could not be broken down according to this binary. Further analysis revealed the tendency of interview participants to draw simultaneously on experiences from both Queen’s University and the broader Kingston community to answer questions relating to diversity and tolerance. Therefore, in the following discussion, explicit indication will be made to the setting or context of the interviewee’s statements, but as a result this is sometimes impossible.

6.3.2 Perceptions and Implications of Tolerance at Queen’s University
Queen’s University was depicted by separate interviewees as either “quite tolerant”, “not tolerant” or somewhere in between. For instance, Professor 19 remarked, “I think [Queen’s] University has been quite tolerant, both racially and in terms of gender equality, certainly.” On the other hand, when Professor 20 was asked about the level of welcoming and tolerance at Queen’s University he insisted that “…the university has serious problems…” while indicating that Queen’s University is not tolerant or welcoming to people of various races, ethnicities and or sexual orientations. Divergent characterizations of the university where also offered. Professor 15 suggested that Queen’s University is “…a very conservative institution.” Conversely, Professor 21 maintained that the university is a “fairly liberal” environment having accepted the “gay/lesbian community.” For the most part, however, reactions to this line of questioning resulted in measured responses. Professor 18’s response was particularly insightful:

Oh, let's see, in my field, race/ethnicity is a very contentious issue in my department because of some recent issues, so, I don’t see it as being an issue, but certainly I can say that some of my colleagues think that it’s a real issue. Sexuality isn’t something
that isn’t talked about in my department. Race is talked about all the time. Gender equality...oh gosh...well, as per usual, as I’ve found with every institution I’ve ever worked in, I’ve found that the people who are least supportive of women advancing are other women. So, um, what that says about gender equality, I’m not sure, I mean, I keep being told that Queen’s has a history of gender discrimination. And I’ve certainly seen evidence of that, it would be surprising if Queen’s didn’t gender discriminate, because everyone everywhere else does. So if Queen’s has managed to somehow completely managed to eradicate gender discrimination, we would certainly be in a unique place.

On the whole, it would be misleading to represent Queen’s University as either overly tolerant or intolerant. The interviews suggest that particular university departments, or more accurately, particular people within these departments, demonstrate varying levels of tolerance towards difference. Certainly, levels of tolerance and sensitivity to particular issues could be improved. But as Professor 18 indicates, incidents of discrimination or bigotry are not uncommon in university settings. This is, of course, an unfortunate reality, but what is encouraging about this statement is that issues along gender and racial lines are being discussed and examined by not only university administrators but by faculty members from a range of university departments. And by maintaining a dialogue about these issues, antiquated attitudes concerning social intolerance are thrust into the realm of public scrutiny, thereby encouraging a positive outcome—one of moral courage and the propensity to subvert what John Stuart Mill calls ‘intellectual pacification’ (Mill, 1909).

Unfortunately, the politicalization of tolerance and intolerance along these lines in a university setting such as Queen’s carries with it a great deal of baggage in the form of negative publicity and increased social tension as particular divisions emerge along ideological lines.
Examples of such publicity include local newspaper articles with titles such as “Racism taints Queen’s, forum hears” and “Queen’s needs equity lesson” (Queen’s needs, 2006; Racism taints, 2006). For many, this baggage is undesirable, but Mill (1909) once again, reminds us that an open exchange of ideas regarding these types of issues is necessary for the free intellectual pursuit of the ‘highest subjects’.

Professor 20, however, suggests that “Queen’s University is obsessed with anti-racism work, and hasn’t moved beyond something that was happening in the 1980s.” He further posits that there are far too many people around the university that are preoccupied with a “reactionary antiracist discourse.” In fact, Professor 20 considers “…it actually very frustrating that the students and some of the faculty, not all, are kind of stuck in this, they realise that race is an issue, but they can’t, they don’t know how to look at it critically.” It would appear that on the one hand, universities that actively engage in intellectual and public discussions around contested issues, such as race, may become trapped in seemingly endless circles of debate. On the other hand, universities that are devoid of such intellectual and public debates may stagnate and maintain the very social intolerance that institutions such as Queen’s University have endeavored to eradicate. In other words, what has emerged as a sort of ‘hyper sensitivity’ to social intolerance in settings such as Queen’s University, I would instead call the right and mandate of the public to break down antiquated attitudes of social intolerance, thereby encouraging broader ideals of intellectual liberty and social equity.

6.4 Relational Perceptions and Implications of Tolerance in the Kingston Community

6.4.1 Introduction
This section addresses notions of tolerance in a relational manner. In relation to the institutional setting of Queen’s University, the Kingston community was depicted by separate interviewees as markedly less tolerant or welcoming. When compared to other larger urban centers such as Toronto, Montreal or Ottawa, once again the Kingston community fared poorly. This section first presents the interview data upon which these results are based, and second, discusses their broader theoretical and political implications.

6.4.2 Perceptions of Tolerance in the Kingston Community
As with perceptions of tolerance at Queen’s University, perceptions of tolerance by professors in the Kingston community were far from uniform. There were expressions on a range of personal experiences which led to a great breadth of commentary on this subject. Responses to questions regarding levels of tolerance and openness or welcoming by the Kingston community fell into three broad categories. These responses generally indicated 1) acknowledgement of general Kingston based tolerance; 2) avid recognition of Kingston based intolerance, and; 3) responses which again considered Kingston as intolerant but added further references to Toronto or other urban centers to lend context or justification to their response.

Professor 21 gave an example of the first type of response, “Uh, open and tolerant. I would say generally, yeah.” In response to the tolerance question, Professor 22 commented, “There’s nobody who’s perfect and no city is perfect, but I haven’t seen any significant problems.” This type of response was grossly overshadowed by the second and third style of responses which collectively articulated a deep concern for the lack of general tolerance by the Kingston community. The following are examples of such responses,

Professor 15: Uh, tolerant and welcoming place... I don’t think it is. I don’t think the city is at all, my sense of coming to
Kingston is its very divided, and just in terms of race and ethnicity.

Professor 23: This inclusiveness, welcoming into the Kingston milieu is not one of the signposts of Kingston character.

Professor 24: But I do find it’s too homogenous for me. It’s a pretty town but it’s not a friendly town, and it’s a small town.

Professor 25: I’d have to say no, no to all of them... I didn’t find it that way. That’s probably the way I would put it, I didn’t find it vibrant, I didn’t find it welcoming, I didn’t find it innovative, I didn’t find those things. I did find that communities of colour, racialized people, and in the native organizations, there was a strong sense of community, and that was simply because we were so outnumbered everywhere else. But that was against the grain, it wasn’t with the grain, we were working against the grain.

Professor 26: And in terms of its tolerance, I have to say it’s not as welcoming as some other cities.

This perception of Kingston as a ‘homogeneous’ and a relatively intolerant city has severely negative economic implications according to Florida’s diversity thesis. As cited in the literature review, according to Florida (2005b), the most successful places are not just tolerant to difference but proactively inclusive of it. Therefore, in the North American, urban based competition for talent, Kingston’s lack of tolerance (with its, believed, propensity to repel talent) may prove detrimental to its economy.

6.5 Defining and Exploring Kingston’s Culture of Whiteness

While analyzing the interview data, certain questions relating to the origins of particular experiences of intolerance at Queen’s University kept surfacing. The fundamental question to this
process is where does this intolerance come from and how has it become, seemingly, embedded in the university culture? The interview data suggested that within the institutional setting of Queen’s University there exists what some have called a “white normative culture” or a “culture of whiteness”. Academics have unpacked these phrases and define them as a social phenomenon bestowing, privilege, and a moral system, often depicted as normal or natural, or conferring cultural practices or a way of being in the world, but more importantly, a way of being in the world that is often considered normal (For a more thorough description of this phrase refer to Chapter 2, Section 2.5). Reference to this social phenomenon was in most cases indirect or through statements that implicitly alluded to a particular lack of ethnic diversity at Queen’s University.

Professor 27’s reference to this issue serves as rather powerful illustration of how one’s personal identity can quickly influence one’s comfort level in a new environment.

> When I came to teach here in Kingston [years ago], I became much more conscious of my Jewish identity than I had been. I mean, just the fact that I didn’t have blond hair made me a visible minority!! There was a kind of profound whiteness that was kind of hard to put your finger on, as soon as I moved here.

Professor 27 went on to explain that the culture of whiteness that exists at Queen’s University is not necessarily overt in its expression, “...there are subtle things in terms of a culture of whiteness.” This statement fits well with the literature on whiteness which maintains that “whiteness is a slippery character...[and]... difficult to pin down” which “...gives whiteness part of its strength” (Shaw, 2007, p. 5).

Professor 27 also addressed another crucial facet of this social phenomenon, namely that it is a social construct, something that North American society habitually reinforces and maintains
through action and inaction. Put differently, the culture of whiteness, like race, is a social and political construction, one that fundamentally rests on entrenched systems and processes of racial and ethnic classification and discrimination (Vanderbeck, 2006).

Professor 27: Kingston has a very profound culture of whiteness. And though I myself am white I’m very conscious that whiteness is something that is created, it’s a cultural and ideological question, it’s not a question of how many people have so much skin pigmentation. So I know that’s a factor, I can’t comment on the other aspects about it, but I have people of colour, friends, colleagues, who have identified the whiteness phenomenon, and certainly at Queen’s we know there’s been a study on the culture of whiteness, and for many of us, that was not a surprise... what was the tip? Was it the kilt?

When further probed about how constructions of whiteness have played out in the everyday operations of academia at Queen’s University, Professor 27 insisted that he had not witnessed explicit discrimination, but he had “...encountered a blind spot.” The use of this phrase ‘blind spot’ seems remarkably accurate for describing patterns of treating systems of racial intolerance at Queen’s University. Queen’s University’s diversity advisor, Professor Barrington Walker (2008, p. 7) has captured the broader implications of this phrase by publicly declaring that the racist attitudes that permeate Queen’s University and its members are fostered by an “…astonishingly resilient culture of silence and complicity.”

6.6 Lack of Visible Diversity on Campus and Around Kingston

Most interview participants approached questions of tolerance to diversity by discussing the readily observable lack of ethnic diversity at Queen’s University and around Kingston.
Comments to this effect were numerous. Certain professors’ comments, however, seemed to capture this sentiment rather well.

Professor 18: “Multicultural diversity, well obviously it’s very low on that, because Kingston’s a very white place.”

Professor 28: “I knew it was really white, but I guess I was stunned, I was completely stunned by its smallness, and not like its size, but just stunned by the fact that there wasn’t any places to go if you wanted to go out, and if you weren’t a student, and you wanted to go dancing.”

Professor 23: “Multicultural diversity, I think that’s more of a question mark. I don’t see a lot of black faces around here. I don’t see a huge number of Chinese faces. I see a few more of the, the visible minorities such as Indians, but ah, not a lot. I don’t think people are getting off boats and airplanes from, in part of our immigration processes heading for Kingston.”

Professor 29: “[there is a] lack of heterogeneity which is a critical problem for Kingston. My partner and I used to joke in the 1980s that we could call this place Caucasia.”

Professor 30: So there is a lack of diversity here, and I’m not saying that in a negative way, but I can tell you one aspect that I noticed right away. I don’t think it took longer time in [X city] to jump in, directly you know, into the social arena right away...

Part of it, perhaps, I should blame it on myself. Maybe I need to take an extra effort to approach... But at the same time it’s quite clear that the system, social system here, may not necessarily be as quick in receiving you.
Each of these comments, but particularly the last comment offered by Professor 30 highlights at least two points for discussion. First, there is the explicit recognition that Queen’s University and the City of Kingston are each beset by a social system that is at times not inclusive of particular ‘non-white’ individuals. While this point is of concern, perhaps even more troubling is the suggestion, that Professor 30 should blame any inability to make social connections on himself. This comment underscores, potentially, the most insidious quality of the culture of whiteness—its propensity to create and affirm a ‘white gaze’ upon certain environments, which acts to legitimize whiteness as part of a moral system, so often, depicted as normal or natural (Kobayashi and Peake 2000). The creation of self-doubt for at least some individuals of racialized backgrounds is a horrid by-product of this culture of whiteness and, aside from any negative economic implications, is grounds for increased attention by city and university policy-makers to this issue.

In recognition of the issues emanating from Kingston’s culture of whiteness, Professors 15 and 27 expressed a particularly sophisticated understanding of the subject and offered a potential explanation for its pervasiveness.

*Professor 15: There is a culture of whiteness, yes, but there aren’t very many people who are not white in Kingston, so it’s just like ‘in relation to what’, you know? I mean there is a culture of whiteness in most countries in North America and Europe, and that’s just because it’s the way they are! But the cities tend to be more diverse, I think, there’s still probably a culture of whiteness in Toronto, but it’s very much complicated by the sheer size of the visible minority population... But I think it’s hard to say there isn’t a culture of whiteness in North America to some degree, and perhaps if there were more visible minorities one could say there was a much stronger culture of whiteness, but it’s interesting when you don’t really have any to
speak of, and I suspect it must be very, very difficult for any community or groups of people of colour living in Kingston, because they’re probably like the one in your neighbourhood, you know, it must be very difficult, that’s my conclusion.

Professor 27: Kingston’s a small town, it’s a small white Ontario town. And it’s got the limitations of that.

These comments lend credence to much of the literature on whiteness which insists that this is not a phenomenon that operates in isolated North American cities or neighbourhoods. Indeed, the literature is clear that the culture of whiteness is very much a North American/European wide phenomenon (Kobayashi & Peake, 2000; Shaw, 2007; Wray, 2006). Therefore, Professor 15’s point is well taken—context is important when discussing this issue. The Kingston community and Queen’s University do not hold a monopoly on social intolerance and the culture of whiteness. Instead, by all accounts, including the literature on the subject and the data collected for this study, these social phenomena are not unique to Kingston or Queen’s University.

6.7 Alternate Expressions of Whiteness and Diversity

Embodied forms of diversity are but one of many forms of diversity discussed in the economic geography literature. Florida et al. (2008), for example, include other forms of diversity in the ‘locational decision equation’ of talent, such as diversity in personal lifestyles, artistic expression and architecture. The expressed experiences of certain professors indicate that these forms of diversity may affect an individual’s perception of a city. In Professor 28’s experience, the culture of whiteness that permeates Kingston is also expressed by “cultural blandness.” In this professor’s view, this type of environment marginalizes those who do not conform to popular fashion trends as embodied by ‘mainstream’ clothing chains like the GAP or Old Navy.
Professor 28: I certainly feel marginalized in the city [of Kingston]... not just in terms of race but just in terms of who I [am], it feels like a GAP town, like it's very bland and, you know, seems like, I'm not saying it's socially conservative, but it appears so, so I remember once I was looking at someone who was wearing an orange scarf...and oh my god! Someone else is wearing an orange scarf! So it feels like [there is] a level of cultural blandness... [there is] just a lack of diversity in general... lack of diversity here and lack of options... diversity at all levels, political diversity, cultural diversity, lack of things to do and be exposed to, in terms of what life is about...I mean honestly, I don't know how to put my finger on it. Walking around Kingston I never see anybody, it always feels dead to me.

Professor 25 expressed a similar sentiment regarding Kingston, “Kingston felt so white.... And I got tired of that, it felt very barren. I found myself very lonely there, on an everyday basis, walking around was just...I couldn’t make friends!” Taken together, these statements by Professors 28 and 25 serve to draw attention to the complexities and linkages between patterns of place and personal wellbeing. It appears that the culture of whiteness that permeates Kingston is much more than embodied notions of diversity. It is also about personal and societal behaviour. It is about what people do, how they do it and seemingly, what they wear while doing it. For some professors, whiteness is actually synonymous with ‘blandness’ and a ‘lack of diversity’. For others, whiteness also denotes certain power structures that exist within their places of employment and other institutions within Kingston. The experiences of these professors, among others who shared similar experiences, illustrate the potentially adverse outcome of maintaining a city “centered in Anglo Celtic traditions and values” (Osborne & Swainson, 1988, p. 334), namely that talent may be less likely to seek residence and employment in such cities. In sum, the
interview data indicate that cultures of whiteness may result in relatively lower levels of personal comfort and compromised levels of social interaction for particular professors, regardless of one’s ethnicity or personal background. According to the broader literature concerning the economic performance of cities, this finding is potentially devastating for the long term economic trajectory of Kingston and the many places like it across North America.

6.8 Kingston’s Immigration Trends: Assessing the Cause for Concern

6.8.1 Introduction
This section examines Kingston’s immigration trends and assesses their potential influence on the city’s economic trajectory. In the 2006 census only 9 percent of Kingston’s residents self-identified as either visible minorities (7 percent) or aboriginals (2 percent). It follows that the City of Kingston’s annual influx of new immigrants should be proportionally low and indeed it is. According to Statistics Canada (2008a) between the years 2001 and 2006 new immigrants accounted for only 1.8 percent of Kingston’s total population (see Chapter 4, Section 4.7 for a more detailed account of these figures). Given these figures, it is perhaps not surprising that analysis of the interview data revealed deep concern over Kingston’s immigration trends. The statistical evidence demonstrates that Kingston’s capacity to attract immigrants is well short of larger urban centers like Toronto, Montreal or Ottawa.

In addition to this evidence, several interview participants elaborated on these trends, by providing 1) context and 2) potential explanations for their persistence. Professor 27’s comments were particularly insightful, “Kingston is not immune to immigration, and certainly many of [Queen’s] students are first or second generation immigrants, but Kingston has not been a centre of immigration.” Repeatedly, interview participants made reference to Kingston’s lack of ethnic diversity, and from these comments it is discernable that a number of professors as well as
community insiders consider the lack of ethnic diversity to be a negative feature of Kingston (direct interview quotes to this effect are provided in the above Section 6.6). These statements and the broader literature on the importance of immigrants in fostering dynamism in regional economies (refer to the Chapter 4, Section 4.7) suggest that this lack of immigration is detrimental to the long term economic prosperity of Kingston. From this finding, two questions seem relevant, 1) what social processes and patterns of place explain these patterns of immigration, and 2) why have Kingston policy-makers not devoted more effort to augmenting these trends? The interview data speak to the first question and will, therefore, serve as the basis for the following discussion. Unfortunately, the second question is not addressed in the interview data; nevertheless, this question will be addressed in Chapter 7, Section 7.3.

What social processes and patterns of place explain Kingston’s low incidence of immigration? One of Professor 27’s earlier comments is once again relevant, “Kingston’s a small town, it’s a small white Ontario town. And it’s got the limitations of that.” It is important to recognize that Kingston is constrained by its population’s makeup. Roughly 90 percent of Kingston’s population are characterized as “white” or “caucasian” (Statistics Canada, 2008a). Consequently, as Mr. 11 (Kingston community insider) posits, Kingston is not an ideal location for new immigrants to live and work.

Mr. 11: So you're thinking about attracting workforce, like immigrant workforce, who might not have a cultural community based here. So they might not want to live here... I think the numbers the size, the sheer size of the community make it so that it's impossible to have that kind of community. I think it's like a leap of faith. If they [new immigrants] want the job, and there is a job and it works for their professional life or, you know trade or whatever it is. It's a tough decision. You know, how
important is the cultural aspect to them? ...I generally think my impression is as an outsider, just somebody looking at it from the outside, that those kind of representatives of immigrant families would start out in a larger city.

Mr. 11’s point is well taken—in relation to larger urban centers like Toronto, Montreal or Ottawa—for new immigrants, Kingston is not a preferable place to first live and work. Moreover, these cultural and social factors which seem to influence the locational preferences of new immigrants also seem to be inexorably linked to the difficulty that the City of Kingston has had with attracting and retaining talent (including professors but also other occupational groups).

According to the interview data, the two most readily cited factors influencing this locational preference are 1) Kingston’s relatively thin labour market (a theme that will be discussed below in Section 6.9) and 2) Kingston’s lack of community support networks (formal and informal) that new immigrants, and new community members alike, might rely on to help them integrate and settle into the Kingston community. Mr. 12 draws attention to the importance of easing the transition into places like Kingston, especially for individuals from racialized and/or non-English speaking backgrounds. Unfortunately, the types of support structures that might smooth the transition for new-comers to Kingston are comparatively weak, in relation, to those structures found in larger urban centers.

Mr. 12: It is difficult. We have lost certainly some visible minorities, who come here and work with us for six months to a year and say about the community, ‘There's just not support. I can't get the food I like. The community that I'm used to having and interacting with just isn't here.’ And that happens when you don't have significant numbers of 'x' group. Be that 'x' a certain race or religion. It can be a challenge. Even language skills.
We don't find a lot of newcomers to Canada, immigrants moving to places like Kingston. Or for that matter any other small town, they go to Vancouver, Montréal or Toronto. That's where the population growth is happening. We may get them moving here a couple of years after. It is the immigrant communities, or the cultural comfort that I really think drives where new immigrants will settle and where they will be comfortable.

In the struggle to attract and retain talent, this apparent deficiency in support structures, especially for community new-comers, seems to be one of the most important, yet challenging obstacles for Kingston to overcome. Unfortunately, Kingston and places like it are hamstrung by their relative size and subsequent means to effectively augment these supports structures. According to Florida (2002a, 2005a) this reality puts Kingston and other smaller sized Canadian cities at a significant economic disadvantage. Broadly speaking, without attracting and retaining new talent, these cities are supposedly condemned to eventually decline (Cooke & Leydesdorff, 2006, Kipfer & Keil, 2002). Yet Kingston’s economic performance over the last decade has shown few signs of overall economic decline. In fact, during this period Kingston has instead shown a certain level of resilience by remaining stable. Between 1997 and 2008 Kingston’s unemployment rate has remained low at under 8.5 percent. In this same period, Kingston’s labour force has steadily increased. Between 2005 and 2007, Kingston’s population did however undergo a modest decline of 0.5 percent, resulting from out-migration of youth between the ages 15-24. Despite this measured dip in population size, the remainder of Kingston’s economic indicators remain either neutral or positive (Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, 2009).

This observation raises certain questions about the robustness of Florida’s ‘creative capital model’ of economic development. Certain cities with their respective economic
complexities, it would seem, do not support the logic of the creative capital model. As previously outlined in Chapter 4, Kingston’s economy is not centered on dynamic private and creative enterprises but is, instead, driven by public sector employment.\textsuperscript{14} The figures are unmistakable and illustrate this point well. Together Kingston’s institutions directly employ approximately half of Kingston’s total labour force (56,940 people; Statistics Canada, 2008a; KEDCO, 2009). With this employment pattern, and with Kingston’s dearth of ‘creative industries’ and ‘tolerance to diversity’ it would be difficult to argue that Kingston is an exemplar of ‘Floridian’ style economic development. Therefore, Kingston’s economic buoyancy seems to be maintained by the city’s institutions. Yet, reliance on these institutions for economic stability has come at a price.

These institutions have deeply affected Kingston over the last half decade, and their effects reach well beyond the economic relations that have been described above in Chapter 4. According to interviews with several Kingston community insiders, the City of Kingston is dominated by an ethos of conservatism, coupled with a culture of risk-aversion and a general lack of entrepreneurship. These community insiders further contend that these overriding features of Kingston’s political and business climate are a result of the city’s relationship with its institutional employers. Mr. 12 and Mr. 13’s comments exemplify these arguments rather well.

\textit{Mr. 12: And we’re [Kingston is] risk averse. I think that comes from our history of being a public sector town as well, because by definition that is risk-averse. You are not rewarded in the public sector for taking risks or being innovative. You are steward of existing resources, and you are expected to behave that way. You can’t make too many bet-the-farm kind of decisions... It's still a fairly bureaucratic city. And the initial}

\textsuperscript{14} To reiterate, the most significant of these institutional employers include: 1) Canadian Forces Base Kingston; 2) Educational services; 3) Medical services; and 4) Corrections Canada or formerly known as Canadian penitentiary services.
reaction in many places is 'Well, we can't do that', even if you don't know specifics of why we can't be that. I mean, you just...
There is a very large part of the population; who have a lot of time on their hands; who are well educated and very comfortable; many of them drawing on indexed public sector pensions and ...they live in Sydenham Ward for the most part - and they want to see things kept exactly the same.

Mr. 13: Many people, therefore, argue that Kingston is a very conservative place, afraid to take risks, it hasn't taken risks, it's failed, it hasn't been part of the industrial, or the metropolitan growth in North America in the 20th century.

Therefore, reliance on these institutions for economic stability may have induced yet another negative consequence for Kingston. This reliance may have served to detract substantial waves of immigrants from entering the city. If one considers the economic structure of the city, one built very much on institutionally based incremental growth; it is not surprising that Kingston has not seen great explosions of in-migration which normally occurs in response to economic booms with concurrent increased demands for labour. One of Mr. 13’s observations serves to substantiate this hypothesis, “If you look back through the periods of mass immigration [in Canadian history], why would immigrants ever want to stop in Kingston? There were no jobs here!” In this context, it would seem that Kingston’s perpetual lack of employment opportunities have discouraged regional immigration.

Expanding on this observation, Kingston’s relatively low levels of immigration can be understood in yet another way. According to the interview data gathered from both Kingston community insiders and professors, over the years, Kingston has demonstrated a tendency to reproduce itself through a particular form of path dependency. Mr. 13 describes the historical
traditions of Kingston which provide insight into its current experience with immigrants, especially from racialized backgrounds,

_The attitude of the old Kingston was very much, it was a white place, a place for monarchy, a place for the establishment, a conservative place, the home of Canada’s first Prime Minister, Sir John A. MacDonald, is as important in the mindset as perhaps the so-called Loyalist tradition._

Professor 28 furthers this insight by suggesting that these traditions have a propensity to reproduce themselves and therefore maintain certain levels of whiteness and resistance to change,

_It’s a mutual connection. In the sense of being in Kingston reproduces the place, in terms of faculty and students, as more, continually more white, conservative and then that perpetuates the way that things are, it perpetuates a resistance to change._

Given that Kingston has a history of whiteness and conservatism towards immigrants, this has served to mitigate the possibility for change.

### 6.8.2 Conclusion

This section has highlighted Kingston’s immigration trends and examined particular social processes and patterns of place that serve to underpin these trends. Moving forward it seems that Kingston’s economy is relatively stable with its institutional employment base. Nevertheless, dependence on these institutions may be contributing to Kingston’s inability to attract and retain new talent, especially talent that seeks employment in new and creative private enterprises.
6.9 Kingston’s ‘Thin’ Labour Market: Another Barrier to Attracting and Retaining Talent

6.9.1 Introduction
The preceding section outlined the underpinnings of Kingston’s economy and emphasised some of the dynamics that may serve to reduce the city’s capacity to attract and retain talent. Central to this discussion was examining the role played by immigration trends and institutional employers. Building on these ideas, this section more closely examines the particular facets of the Kingston economy that have affected academics’ decisions to live and work in Kingston. Most notably, the relative size of Kingston’s economy and labour market have emerged as tremendously important to academics when evaluating Kingston as a place to live and work.

6.9.2 The Importance of a ‘Thick’ Labour Market
One of the central topics of inquiry for this study is wrapped up with two questions, first, why do professors leave Queen’s University and second, why might Kingston have difficulty attracting new talent to the city? And in this vein, the research was concerned with whether there is something endemically wrong with Kingston, Queen’s University, or both? The preceding sections have outlined several features of Kingston and Queen’s University that contribute to an understanding of these matters. To further probe into these questions, the interview guide was designed to elicit responses from professors and community insiders on these and related subjects.

One insight uniformly offered by many interviewees is related to the size and scale of Kingston, and its labour market. Explicit and implicit reference was made by several professors and community insiders who suggested one of the major problems faced by Queen’s and Kingston in attempting to attract and retain talented individuals “is [Kingston’s] lack of critical
mass” (Professor 31). In this case, critical mass refers to the minimum size and scale of a city needed to sustain a thick (opposed to ‘thin’) labour market and abundant cultural amenities, such as those found in larger cities such as Toronto, Ottawa or Montreal. It follows that Kingston’s size and relatively small economy presents limited opportunities for professionals. Professor 32 and 19’s comments offer context to this finding.

Professor 32: [what would be] nice to see would be more job opportunities for people with a background or with experience and education, such as mine. Not McJobs, or nothing – like the call centres of the world - but something that offers something more than that that challenges you and offers you some decent pay and offers you some opportunity for advancement. That’s one of the things that’s lacking in Kingston.

Professor 19: One of the difficulties of the small city [referring to Kingston]...is finding opportunities for two-career families. And I would not be surprised [if] Kingston, being not only a smaller place, but also one that has a very limited subset of industries and activities, would have trouble from that point of view.

It also seems that Kingston’s “limited subset of industries and activities” has resulted in the departure of new and creative firms to larger cities. Professor 19, once again, provides an account of this trend, “…some of our faculty have established spin-off companies here in Kingston, but by and large, people end up going elsewhere because that’s where the jobs are in the high-tech physics-related jobs.” It seems that this pattern of capital flight is closely tied to Kingston’s lack of particular economies of scale and the benefits which occur from the agglomeration of certain
firms and industries. According to Gertler et al. (2002) this is a problem faced by many mid to small sized cities in Ontario, not just Kingston.

The interview findings suggest that Kingston’s thin labour market directly affects academics in another way. Many professors moving to Kingston have had extreme difficulty in finding employment for their respective spouses. Professor 27 highlighted this concern: “…it’s very well-known that Kingston is a very small town… [and] it’s hard to find spousal employment if you’re in a two-person professional status/relationship.” Professor 33 was equally mindful of the ‘trailing spouse issue’: Kingston has “…a relatively small labour market, especially for people who have advanced skills and advanced careers… it’s one of the key barriers actually to people coming [to Kingston].” And in reference to faculty recruitment at Queen’s University, several professors articulated the centrality of this issue.

Professor 34: the issue of spousal employment is probably the biggest problem we face here in the... department.

Professor 16: ...we are forever looking for people and the biggest problem we face is precisely attracting people to Kingston because in almost all cases there’s a joint problem. And in many cases, people who tend to go through economics, often have spouses that do professional things that are harder to place in Kingston, you know, lawyers and accountants, and so forth. So yeah, it is a major problem for us...

Professor 33: I think the issue that springs to mind there is the trailing spouse... who will be looking in the Kingston labour market for a position. It’s a relatively small labour market, especially for people who have advanced skills and advanced careers, so um, if somebody was an accountant somewhere and they come to Kingston, they usually find that they might be able
to find a job, but the pay scale is significantly lower, and um, others find that they’re underemployed or not employed to the, to the top of their capacity. Um, and it’s generally the most um, the most of a barrier when people have had say seven or nine years of experience in their career and they’re really well entrenched that it becomes difficult... it’s one of the key barriers actually to people coming [to Kingston].

The above comment by Professor 33 touches on two points that deserve further discussion. The first point to be emphasized is that spouses of academics who work in Kingston are often underemployed, meaning that their skills are under-utilized. Secondly, the pay scales for professional services in Kingston are often lower than those found in larger urban centers. This monetary discrepancy can have the effect of devaluing the labour of one’s spouse. It follows that one or both of these realities can cause resentment and unhappiness for one’s spouse.

Unfortunately, coping with these experiences can have an adverse effect on both members of the relationship. In the words of Professor 35, “...if your spouse isn’t happy, you’re not going to last long being happy.” Similarly, Professor 36 adds, “...everybody’s miserable if one person’s miserable.” In recognition of the strain that spousal employment issues can have on families and relationships it is not surprising that some academics have declined job opportunities at Queen’s University because of an inability to secure an ‘appropriate’ job for their spouse. In line with this observation, Professor 20 posits, “I mean I can think of a number of cases of individuals who would not move to Kingston because of the difficulty of finding positions for their partners.”

Indeed, spousal employment considerations were central to those interviewed, but the importance placed on this dynamic was highly contingent on the participants’ age as well as their family status. Those professors that were over 50 years of age were noticeably less concerned with spousal employment, presumably because they had already resolved that issue. Conversely,
those professors under 50 years of age had a greater tendency to express concern over employment for one’s spouse. Professors 15 and 20 both shed light on the importance of age and lifecycle considerations when evaluating a place to live.

Professor 15: *often people aren’t at that stage in the life cycle, so who cares, you just want a job, that’s the reality, that’s what counts for them…*

Professor 20: *I think that age matters, too, because age, yeah, age matters a lot, whether you have a family and things like that. So, I didn’t like Ottawa, but I have friends who lived, who stayed and had families and loved it, in the end. So when I was 17, 18, yeah, thumbs down.*

In spite of the rather contingent nature of much of the interview data regarding these themes, taken together the interview data are highly instructive in underscoring the importance of employment opportunities in the locational decision of talented individuals. Therefore, in the absence of critical mass, and employment availability in professional occupations, a city such as Kingston may have difficulty in cultivating an attractive landscape for academics.

6.10 The Importance of Place Relative to Job Opportunities in Attracting and Retaining Talent

One of the central goals of the interview guide was to assess the relative importance of quality of place considerations as opposed to employment opportunities for academics when choosing where to live and work. More broadly speaking, this project sought evidence from one particular occupational group to answer the question of whether jobs follow people or do people follow jobs? As outlined in the literature review, Chapter 2, many models of urban growth, including Florida’s ‘creative capital model’, tend to privilege the role of place-based amenities in
determining the locational choice of talent workers. In contrast to the assertions that are predicated on this and similar models, Storper and Scott (2009) take a much different view on the role of amenities and quality of place in the attraction and retention of talent. They argue that labour movements are better understood by examining the economic geography of production, or the location of firms, relative to labour. To date there is very little recent empirical data to test these theoretical positions and none that speaks to this debate with specific reference to academics.

In terms of this line of inquiry, this study’s results were consistent and extremely insightful. When asked, what is more important to you, quality of place or job availability, every respondent answered—job. Therefore, despite the importance of quality of life considerations, which were also significant factors in choosing where to live and work, securing a job especially an academic job was paramount. Professor 17 provides a rather succinct account of the importance of his job in relation to the importance of the city that his job might be in, “Kingston could be a hole in the desert and if they’d give me a job I would have [taken it]…” Similarly, Professor 21 declared, “Yes, it’s a unique scenario, because, you know, I’m an academic, so I want to work in an academic institution, and fortunately this is a good academic institution, and so I don’t really care what else goes on in terms of labour market or… [etc. in the city].” Commenting on the importance of employment for his colleagues, Professor 15 said, “often people aren’t at that stage in the lifecycle, so who cares, you just want a job, that’s the reality, that’s what counts for them…” And Professor 18 described her own experience of why she chose Kingston as a place to live, “Well, we moved to Kingston because of the job.” Further explanation revealed that given the limited number of academic positions available at any one time, there is little contest between the two considerations. The interviews also suggested that for
some, the monetary compensation from a job could actually compensate for the lack of amenities of a city. When broached with the question of what was more important, quality of life or employment, Professor 18’s response suggested that for her those things were not mutually exclusive. She said, “quality of life is largely dependent on how much money you earn, right?” Therefore, money has the capacity to augment quality of life considerations. Finally, for other academics who may be considered “star talent” (defined above in Chapter 3, Section 3) however, who have their choice of a number of positions, place was certainly a greater consideration, but still secondary to the merits of the position.

6.11 Chapter Conclusion
This chapter has reported on the results from personal interviews conducted with academics and insiders of the Kingston community. The purpose of this chapter was to explore and examine the challenges facing the City of Kingston in its efforts to both retain and attract talent. Accordingly, a number of Kingston’s attractive and unattractive features were discussed. As underscored by the interview data, several of Kingston’s features emerged as integral to the city’s capacity to attract and retain talent. The most prominent of these were 1) issues of tolerance, both at Queen’s University and in the broader Kingston community; 2) concerns over the ‘culture of whiteness’ that pervades the Kingston community; 3) Kingston’s lack of ‘diversity’ and low rates of immigration; and 4) Kingston’s ‘thin’ labour market and economy. After working through the intricacies and exploring the nuances of these issues, this chapter concluded by offering evidence to answer the question of whether jobs follow people or do people follow jobs? The results lend credence to Storper and Scott’s (2009) argument that people, and in this particular case, academics, are likely to follow jobs, regardless of place-based considerations.
Chapter 7: Conclusions: Implications for Policy and Theory

7.1.1 Introduction
With specific reference to members of creative occupations, such as professors, this study sought to address the following research questions: First, to what extent are the locational decisions of these individuals influenced by their perception of a city’s social dynamics and amenities? Second, are these characteristics of place more important than employment opportunities when choosing a place to live and work? This study’s findings have important implications for both policy and theory. In terms of policy, the findings are relevant to municipalities and provincial institutions. The most immediate actors to be implicated are the City of Kingston and Queen’s University. In terms of theoretical implications, this study’s findings are instructive for developing new research agendas for testing and informing models of urban growth and development.

7.2 Theoretical Implications
This study has direct implications for 1) Florida’s diversity thesis; 2) the potential influence of whiteness on the economic performance of city-regions; 3) social capital and economic performance; and 4) understanding the intrinsic link between race and class. In terms of Florida’s diversity thesis, diversity has been shown to underlie the appeal of many cities; moreover, it can stimulate creativity and promote tolerance. The caveat to this observation is that this argument, as presented by Florida (2002a, 2005b), can be stretched too far and thus sometimes fails to incorporate the importance of broader economic structures, the thickness of localized labour markets, and place-based proximity or relative location of cities. Nevertheless, it is difficult to conclude that Florida’s work is without merit. For example, it is impossible to contend that a city
that develops more tolerance, or one that offers greater cultural amenities, is not a better place to live. However, the economic utility of those advancements, in terms of regionally based economic growth, is still highly contested (Sands & Reese, 2008). This debate is further propelled by this study’s finding that for most professors, quality of place considerations are not necessarily more important than employment opportunities when choosing where to live. In line with Storper and Scott’s (2009) arguments, this study draws attention to the importance of agglomeration economies and a critical mass of economic actors to facilitate regional economic prosperity. It appears as if regional production systems are still central to understanding broader patterns of capital and population flows.

This helps to inform debates on how competing claims of whiteness may weigh on the economic performance of city-regions. Whiteness alone is not enough to stifle the economic performance of city-regions. This study has shown that employment opportunities are considerably more important than issues of social tolerance and diversity for academics when evaluating a place to live and work in. With that said, the capacity of whiteness and accompanying social norms to taint a city’s image, and sway one’s perception of a city in favor of another should not be ignored. In other words, if two academic job opportunities of equal pay and merit were to arise in two separate cities, the city with more social tolerance and diversity would certainly be in a position of advantage in attracting new talent.

Cities endowed with tradition and elevated levels of social capital such as Kingston might also be at a relative disadvantage when attracting new talent. The interview data have shown that Kingston’s developed sense of community and tradition has potential to “reinforce belonging and community, but it can just as easily shut out newcomers, raise barriers to entry, and retard innovation” (Florida, 2003, p. 6). In this sense, high levels of locally entrenched social capital
may act to exclude entrepreneurs or innovative thinkers from a community, who are the very people that may invigorate a local economy (Thomas & Darnton, 2006).

This study’s findings have also served to demonstrate the intrinsic link between race and class. Race and class should not be conceived as competing categories of social analysis. Kingston’s population is socially and economically polarized. It is also “extremely ghettoized.” By all accounts, Kingston is ripe with enclaves of poverty and exclusion juxtaposed with bubbles of relative wealth. Given the population makeup of Kingston it is evident that the majority of the inhabitants that occupy both the city’s wealthy and poor neighbourhoods are “white”. Inhabitants of certain enclaves of poverty might easily be deemed “white trash”. According to Wray (2006), when broken into its constituent parts, “white trash”, “white now appears as an ethnoracial signifier, and trash, a signifier of abject class status” (emphasis in the original 2006, p. 3). This example is useful in highlighting the fundamental link between race and class. Kingston’s population demonstrates the deep chasms that exist between different segments of the population. Complicating features of this observation are the nine prisons and accompanying prisoner’s families that live in and around Kingston. Race and class need to be considered together when developing unifying theories of difference.

7.3 Implications for Municipalities: Drawing on Insights from the Kingston Example

Much remains to be done in the formulation and implementation of policies that will push certain regions and their municipalities in the direction of rising skills, increased economic competitiveness, and higher levels of growth and prosperity. To achieve these goals, the central policy problem is not how to build a local milieu that is attractive to talent, but to establish municipal and regional development trajectories that lead to increased forms of competitiveness based on rising conditions of work and life for all (Storper & Scott, 1995). Accordingly, perhaps
this study’s most valuable contribution is to demonstrate the shortcomings of economic development models that are fundamentally tied to amenities and quality of place. It follows that when these models are used to inform urban based policy frameworks, they may lead to misguided urban policy. In contrast to the policy imperatives offered by these limited models, what follows is a list of policy recommendations for municipalities that incorporate the insights gathered from this study (recommendations 6 and 7 are somewhat removed from the above Discussion and Analysis Chapter but are relevant because of their implications for Kingston’s quality of place and were both derived directly from the interview data):

1. Localities would be well advised to examine the extent to which they attract and retain not only members of creative occupations but immigrants of all social classes as a strategy for economic development (Thomas & Darnton, 2006). Accordingly, the foreseeable challenge for policymakers is to promote economic development in a way that not only embraces the importance of diversity but also acknowledges the “…limitations of simple reliance on a few specific kinds of diversity” (Thomas & Darnton, 2006, p. 165).

2. While looking at the range of cities implicated in this study, before enacting any policy, due respect must be given to each city’s historical, geographical and sectoral specificity. In other words, a simple one-sized approach to economic development is strongly discouraged. Municipal policy-makers must be mindful of their city’s unique path-dependent trajectory which imposes certain limitations but also presents certain opportunities (Storper & Scott, 2009). The City of Kingston, for example, should recognize its limitations of size and scale and focus on its strengths of higher education
and healthcare related services, rather than engage in an all out battle over talent with larger cities such as Toronto, Ottawa or Montreal.

3. In line with Storper and Scott’s (2009) arguments, this study draws attention to the importance of agglomeration economies and a critical mass of economic actors to facilitate continued regional economic prosperity. In the case of Kingston, meticulous attention must be paid to the backbone of the city’s urban production system—the institutions.

4. There are several policies that could be universally aimed at improving cultural tolerance and diversity. According to Donald and Morrow (2003, p. 20-21), these include, provisions for “community groups and ethno-cultural associations to promote their culture…[and]…new and unique cultural expressions”. Cultural planning policies could also be included here, especially those that recognize the intrinsic merit and value of cultures that generate both economic and cultural vibrancy in a city. More specific policies could be aimed at minimizing less overt forms of “racial discrimination (such as racial profiling by police) and strengthening employment equity laws and equity training programs in the workplace” (Donald & Morrow, 2003, p. 21).

5. Due consideration must be given to the finding that Kingston and Queen’s University do not hold a monopoly on social intolerance and the culture of whiteness. Instead, by all accounts, including the literature on the subject and the data collected for this study, these social phenomena are not unique to Kingston or Queen’s University. With that said, however, the tremendous prevalence of cultural intolerance and normative attitudes favouring whiteness should not allow for complacency and inaction on these issues. Recognition of these issues is only the first step towards change. There must be broad
engagement on these issues to move past broader forms of social intolerance and discrimination.

6. The university student bodies of smaller cities are often disengaged from the broader communities in which the universities are located. The students of Queen’s University, for example, are largely isolated from the rest of Kingston by virtue of their housing and resulting commuting patterns. It is recommended that universities consider mandating a community service program. This program could be predicated on the same model that is used by Ontario’s secondary schools. The goals of this program are twofold. First, it may help to bridge the gap and foster improved relations between university students and local residents. Second, this program may encourage an elevated appreciation, by university students, of the amenities and social dynamics inherent to the community. In turn, this may lead to greater retention of university graduates.

7. Urban transportation planning is vital to encouraging sustainable living. With their more compact urban design and geography, smaller municipalities are ideally suited to increase levels of alternate modes of transportation. Policy-makers can successfully change the physical characteristics of cities to facilitate more sustainable modes of transportation like biking and walking. The results of this study have shown a marked preference by academics towards these modes of transportation. Policies in this vein would also reduce the strain on public space caused by the need for parking.

7.4 Implications for Institutional Policy

Some of these recommendations are more easily implemented than others. The fifth policy recommendation listed above is perhaps the most important yet most difficult to execute. What does broad engagement on issues of equity, tolerance and the culture of whiteness mean? More
importantly, how might this engagement be achieved through institutional policy? As a result of *Federal Contractors Program* (FCP) as of 1986 every Canadian university has a legal obligation to take measures towards making its workforce population reflect the diversity of the Canadian workforce population. It targets four equity-seeking groups: women, Aboriginal peoples, persons with disabilities and visible minorities (Council on Employment Equity, 2008). To meet the requirements of this legislation, Queen’s University, along with every other university in Ontario, has a dedicated office to address and manage issues of human rights and equity. The Queen’s University Equity Office has a clear mandate. In addition to further responsibilities, this mandate commits the office to:

- Identify throughout the University those structures, practices and policies which create inequity;
- Initiate processes to identify gaps in equity policy and to facilitate the development of new policies, procedures and programs that remove barriers to equity and ensure greater and equal participation of marginalized groups and individuals in the University;
- Take steps necessary to ensure those responsibilities are met and to coordinate University equity resources… (Queen’s University, 2007)

In accordance with these imperatives the Queen’s University Equity Office has highlighted several strategies for achieving equity at Queen’s University. The Equity Office stresses the importance of a *collective* effort in helping the university achieve its employment equity goals. These strategies call for Queen’s University community members to:

- Support the creation and maintenance of a workplace climate that is inclusive of and welcoming for all, including Aboriginal peoples, members of visible minority/racialized groups, people with disabilities, women.
- Ensure equity practices are followed with regards to each stage of the recruitment process: position advertisement, interview, job offer and orientation.
- Assess your department with regards to accessibility for people with disabilities and develop plans for removing any identified barriers.
- Take a Positive Space session to ensure a positive climate for employees of all sexual orientations and gender identities.
• Recognize your rights and responsibilities under the FCP. It targets the achievement of Employment Equity for four designated groups: Aboriginal peoples, women, visible minorities and people with disabilities (Council on Employment Equity, 2008, p. 13-14).

Collective uptake and execution of these strategies would certainly promote an environment with markedly less possibility of incidents of inequality and discrimination. Unfortunately, this study has helped to demonstrate the shortcomings of such strategies by exposing the deep roots of social intolerance and the culture of whiteness that pervades Queen’s University and the broader Kingston community. The issue lies in the expectation of voluntary and collective action. I fear that without proactive and vigorous programs that educate and work to curtail belligerent attitudes of social intolerance, there is little hope in achieving meaningful change in the near term. Barrington Walker, Queen’s University diversity advisor, captures the importance of such action in this statement:

_University leaders cannot wish problems away by pinning them on a culture of incivility or individual acts of thoughtlessness... We have had to deal with a number of unfortunate incidents, but by confronting these issues head on, we are making slow progress. We must continue to locate them within an institutional context. In turn, we must use our growing awareness of this broader context to continue to push for change... We all have a right to pursue our work in an environment free from interference, physical or otherwise. This is the bare minimum that a university should provide its members (2008, p. 7)._ 

Integral to new strategies for combating social intolerance is the need for a deeper understanding of the psychology behind discrimination. We need new insights to formulate effective modes of change. There is a clear need for further research on how we break down entrenched attitudes of
superiority and deconstruct the culture of whiteness that engross institutions and smaller urban centers like Kingston.

7.5 Avenues for Future Research

This study’s findings have helped to outline several further avenues of research. There are two particular areas of research that are fundamental to more fully realizing this study’s objectives. The first concerns the scope of this research project and the second addresses one of this study’s more significant findings. To more entirely understand the importance of social dynamics and amenities in the attraction and retention of talent, it would be useful to systematically conduct interviews with different subsets of creative occupations. Despite the relative importance of academics in the Kingston example, their significance is lessened in other local economies with fewer per capita academics and learning institutions. The broader research project—on which this study is based—has deliberately commissioned complementary occupational studies in other cities across Canada to combat this very limitation. Unfortunately, the results of these individual studies, very much like the Kingston study, as shown above, are incredibly context specific, therefore, making it difficult to abstract the findings to other urban settings. It appears that the depth of these types of studies reduces their broader application and generalizability. But this very trait is what makes these studies so valuable and informative to particular urban areas. It follows that more work in this field is required to more completely understand the broader influences on talent’s locational preferences.

This study has demonstrated the importance of immigrants and new-comers in the economic competitiveness and prosperity of smaller urban centers like Kingston. One of the challenges for policy-makers of these communities is developing ways in which these communities can be more inclusive and attractive to individuals from diverse backgrounds. In
recognition of the need for more inclusive communities across Canada outside of major urban centers like Toronto, there has emerged a very promising research project. The new "Welcoming Communities Initiative", with co-investigators at institutions across Ontario, including Audrey Kobayashi at Queen’s University, “will test and implement strategies for creating and sustaining communities in which all members feel comfortable and valued” (emphasis in original, Esses, 2009, p. 11). In summary this project will study “the challenges faced by small and medium-sized Ontario cities in the attraction and inclusion of visible minorities and immigrants, and will work to strengthen municipal capacity to respond to and overcome these challenges” (Esses, 2009, p. 11). The broader research aims and objectives of this initiative are in lock-step with the findings to emerge from Kingston’s struggle with attracting and retaining talent.

There are three goals that deserve particular attention. The first is education and educational policy, this project goal includes “integrating equity and diversity issues in all education areas” (Esses, 2009, p. 11). The second involves the “social and psychosocial conditions affecting integration” and “labour market integration of immigrant and minority youth; and programs and policies to promote inclusion” (Esses, 2009, p. 11). The third goal concerns optimizing social and cultural integration. Here the implications of local attitudes toward visible minorities and immigrants will be examined, in addition to the role of the local media and opinion leaders (Esses, 2009). One of the reasons for highlighting these goals is because of their respective importance in changing the social dynamics and patterns of small communities that perpetuate normative attitudes of race and cultures of whiteness. These goals point to the ways in which cities and institutions might combat these incredibly toxic and disparaging social norms.

Canadian cities are in a unique position to benefit from the creative and industrious nature of immigrants. It would be in the interest of all Canadians to encourage and facilitate the
broader diffusion of new immigrants, one of Canada’s most valuable and underutilized resources, into smaller urban centers and communities. Finding new ways of promoting these patterns of immigration should be considered fundamental to ensuring national and regional prosperity. Work on these strategies is still in its infancy but this "Welcoming Communities Initiative" represents a significant step towards creating and maintaining communities which benefit from the inclusion of all members of society.
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Appendix A: ISRN City Regions Study: Interview Guide (Theme II)

ISRN City Regions Study: Interview Guide

Theme II: Social Foundations of Talent Attraction and Retention

Our research proposal noted that competitive success in many sectors of the economy rests increasingly on intangible assets such as knowledge and creativity. If so, this suggests that the a critical resource is now pools of highly educated and creative workers who have the potential to attract and embed globally mobile investment, as well as generating innovative growth in situ. The argument here is that such talent is attracted to, and retained by cities, but not just any cities. In particular, those places that offer a richness of employment opportunity, a high quality of life, a critical mass of cultural activity, and social diversity – low barriers to entry for newcomers – are said to exert the strongest pull. The success with which an urban region can generate and retain creative activity also depends on its quality of place and community characteristics that promote strong neighbourhoods and social cohesion. The questions in this guide are intended to explore various dimensions of this hypothesis.

Part A. Questions for Highly Educated/Creative Workers

Background

1. Where were you born?
   a. If outside [city name], when did you first move to [city name]?
   b. Age and family status?

2. How would you describe your ethnic identity?

3. Please describe your educational history and credentials (institute, degree program, location, years)

4. Please describe any other additional training, apprenticeships, or other on-the-job learning that you have engaged in.
   a. Have you completed an apprenticeship?

5. What is your current occupation?
   a. Does your current job fully utilize your skills, training and education?
6. Please describe your employment history (firm/organization, location, sector, position) Follow up [probe issues of volition, challenges that workers have faced]:
   a. In the case where there was a succession of jobs, why?
   b. Where such changes voluntary or not?
   c. What attributes of the cities help to minimize risk associated with losing one’s job (role of social networks, location, policies)?

7. To what extent have you moved between different kinds of sectors or occupations?
   a. To what extent does the [city name] economy enable this kind of mobility and the kinds of opportunities available?
   b. To what extent do you apply knowledge gained from working in other industries or firms in your current work?

8. What are your future career plans/aspiprations?
   a. What would you like to be doing and where?
   b. What strategies are you undertaking in pursuit of these goals?
   c. Challenges?

Attractiveness of the City Region

9. If from outside [city name]. Why did you move to [city name]?
   a. If you worked in your field in another city, how does [city name] compare?

10. What characteristics of the [city name] economy and/or labour market make it an attractive place to work in your field? Follow up on the following aspects:
   a. Degree to which [city name] is a city characterized by an 'openness' to experimentation and creativity?
   b. Cutting edge work in field?
   c. Degree to which [city name] is a tolerant/welcoming place (i.e. in terms of race/ethnicity/ sexuality/ gender equality in their field)?
11. What characteristics of the [city name] economy and/or labour market undermine its attractiveness as a place to work in your field?
   a. Have you encountered discrimination in [city name] in your field?


13. Are there particular aspects of [city name] that enhance creativity in the city?
   a. What part of the city do you work in?
   b. In what ways does it facilitate creativity (or not)?
   c. To what extent are [city name]’s strengths unique to the city or are they related to Canadian institutions and values more generally?

14. What characteristics of [city name] reduce its attractiveness as a place in which to live? (Follow up on same issues as in previous question)

The City Region’s Ability to Retain Talent

15. If you were to move to another city, where would you choose to live, and why?

16. How would such (a) location(s) compare to [city name] in terms of:
   • career opportunities?
   • quality of life/quality of place?

17. How likely is it that you will move to another city-region within the next three years, for the reasons just discussed?

18. Are there other people you know who work in the same area as you but are not employed at the moment? Do you think they would be willing to be interviewed?
Part B. Questions for Employers of Highly Educated/Creative Workers

(could also be adapted for use with Higher Education Institutions, Research-Based Organizations):

*Background*

1. What are your firm's primary products or services?

2. Please provide a brief history of the firm (year and location of establishment, founder(s), and changes in ownership since founding).

3. Why did your firm choose to locate in the city? (or, if it has changed locations, why?)
   a. What are this city's particular strengths (and weaknesses), from your firm's perspective?

4. How many different sites/locations does this firm operate from, and where are they (if more than one)?
   a. What does your firm do at these different locations, and why?

5. How many employees work in this firm (total, [city name] office(s), elsewhere)?

6. Employment composition by (approximate percentages):

   Occupational category
   - managerial
   - scientific/technical/engineering
   - 'creatives'
   - sales
   - clerical
   - production
   - other

   Educational attainment
   - less than high school diploma
   - high school graduate
   - community college graduate
   - university graduate (bachelor's)
   - master's degree
   - PhD degree
7. Why are you located in this part of the city? Follow up on: What aspects of this neighbourhood facilitate the creativity and innovativeness of your organization?

   a. What parts of the city do your employees live in?

   b. What specific requirements do you have in terms of location? ' Buzz ', architecture and building characteristics (need for lots of light, open flexible spaces, etc.)

*Attractiveness of the City Region*

8. What are the primary sources of recruitment for your highly educated/creative workers (local and nonlocal)?

   - Educational institutions
   - Competitor or supplier firms
   - Other (specify)

   a. Does your firm have special relationships with any local educational institutions?

9. What proportion of your highly educated/creative workers was born outside Canada?

10. Do you recruit talent from outside [city name]/outside Canada? If so, how actively do you do so, and what mechanisms do you use for this)?

   a. What obstacles have you encountered to doing this – immigration policies, bureaucracy/red tape?

11. Do you target any particular locations in such recruitment? If so, why?

12. What characteristics of the [city name] economy and/or labour market enhance your firm's ability to attract and retain highly educated/creative workers?

13. What characteristics of the [city name] economy and/or labour market undermine its attractiveness in terms of your recruitment efforts?

14. What characteristics of living in [city name] make it an attractive place for your highly educated/creative workers?
15. What characteristics of [city name]'s quality of place/quality of life undermine your ability to attract and retain highly educated/creative workers?

16. To what extent does your firm benefit and learn from other sectors in the city?

   a. Is there a high degree of crossover between these different sectors in terms of innovation and learning? Or employees?

   b. To what extent do your employees work across fields and is this an asset for you?

17. To what extent does being located in a multicultural city help you in terms of developing products/services/etc.? (may not be applicable to all the cases)

The City Region's Ability to Retain Talent

18. What challenges do you currently face with respect to the retention of your highly educated/creative workers?

   a. Where are their potential competing employment opportunities: primarily local or nonlocal?

19. If your highly educated/creative workers were to move to another city for career-related reasons, where do you think they would choose to live, and why? [May need to break this down by specific occupational categories]

20. How would such (a) location(s) compare to [city name] in terms of:
   - career opportunities?
   - quality of life/quality of place?

21. Have you lost any highly educated/creative workers to such locations in the last three years? If so, how many? Why?
Part C. Questions for Intermediary Organizations:

Organizations to be considered might include: specialized headhunting agencies, local employment centres and immigration boards.

1. Describe the goals and mandate of your organization.

2. What specific services does it provide?

3. Describe your organization’s history: how it was formed; how it has evolved over time?

4. What are the principal challenges facing this region, with respect to the attraction of highly educated/creative workers from elsewhere?

5. What are the principal challenges facing this region, with respect to the retention of highly educated/creative workers?

6. What are the principal challenges facing this region, with respect to the integration of highly educated/creative workers into the labour market; into society more generally?

7. In what ways does your organization facilitate the attraction, retention, or integration of highly educated/creative workers in this region?

8. To what extent do you focus your efforts on particular socially disadvantaged groups in this program activity? (And which groups do you target for this work?)

9. What programs or services do you offer to help these groups?
Appendix B: E-mail Invitation Template

Dear ________,

I am a recent MA graduate in the Department of Geography at Queen’s and I am currently conducting interviews for Professor Betsy Donald as part of a SSHRC funded research project entitled, "The Social Foundations of Talent Attraction and Retention". I am contacting you because you have been identified through various research methods as one of Queen’s most talented and creative workers. We would like to interview you as part of our project. Ideally, I would like to interview you in your office within the next four weeks. The interview should last between 30 minutes and 1 hour. I have attached an interview guide with the questions I plan to ask you. As you can see, the first 3 pages are relevant to you.

For the next four weeks, I will be working for Professor Donald full-time to conduct these interviews. I am available Monday-Friday, 8:00 a.m. – 6:00 p.m., and can meet you in your office for the interview. Could you please email me at _________@queensu.ca to set up an interview with a time that is convenient to you? I can also be reached by phone at ____________.

If you have any questions or concerns please feel free to contact me or Professor Donald (betsy.donald@queensu.ca). For more general information on the project, you can also go to Professor Donald’s website under “new research”.


Thank you for your consideration and I look forward to hearing from you.
Appendix C: Social Dynamics of Economic Performance: Innovation and Creativity in City-Regions Consent Form

Social Dynamics of Economic Performance: Innovation and Creativity in City-Regions

CONSENT FORM

This research investigates the social dynamics that shape the national innovative and creative capacity at the city-region level across Canada. The project is premised on the now widely accepted claim that city-regions are the key source of economic vitality and innovative capacity for nation-states – and increasingly so, despite well-established trends towards a globalizing economy. Some scholars have suggested that the comparative advantage of city-regions in the knowledge economy rests on their social characteristics as much as their economic assets, so much so that a city-region’s social dynamism can be considered to be its principal economic assets. The research investigates three specific dimensions of social dynamics and their relationship to the economic dynamism of city-regions: the social nature of the innovation process (e.g. how important is labour mobility to innovation?), the social foundations of talent attraction and retention (e.g. how important is quality of place to the retention of talent?), and the degree of community inclusiveness and civic engagement (how important is civic engagement in developing and supporting innovation and creativity of a region?).

You are being asked to participate because of your organization’s relevance to one of the three themes listed above. While there will be no immediate benefit to you for participating in this study, the goal of this research is to gain insights that can be applied to improve the way knowledge sectors are governed in the future.

We are asking you to help by consenting to an interview. This interview, which has been designed to minimize the amount of time required by you (typically lasts one hour. The interviews, will, with your permission, be recorded with a voice recorder.

Please note that all information gathered from you will be treated as confidential. The confidentiality will be assured by assigning code numbers to each interviewee. We also assure you that neither your identity nor any details of your organization will be revealed in any presentations or publications that result from this research, without your express written permission.

Your participation in this study is strictly voluntary and you are, of course, free to choose not to answer any questions and may terminate the interview at any time with no consequences. If you have any questions regarding the study and your participation in it, please feel free to ask.

Professor: David Wolfe
Department of Political Science, University of Toronto
(416) 946-8922 or david.wolfe@utoronto.ca

I agree to participate in the study as outlined above. My participation in this study is voluntary and I understand that I may withdraw at any time.

(Name/Title/Organization – PLEASE PRINT CLEARLY)

May we contact you in the future to seek your permission to identify you and/or your organization by name in any presentations or papers resulting from this research? ☐ YES ☐ NO

Participant’s Signature ___________________________ Date ___________________________

Researcher ___________________________ Date ___________________________

137