

NEW FOUND LIFE:
RETURN MIGRATION TO THE GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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**NEW FOUND LIFE:
RETURN MIGRATION TO THE GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA**

**BY
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**A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfilment of the
requirements for the degree of
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ABSTRACT

This thesis has a particular focus on Return Migration and its explanation in terms of the dynamics of the largely hidden social economy of rural Newfoundland. Often people think Newfoundlanders move back home to be with their families. What most do not realize is that moving back home to be with one's family is not as culturally associated as originally believed. Moving back home to be with one's family often means having more money to spend and being able to acquire material things that are unobtainable on the mainland. This is largely because of the hidden social economy.

This thesis discusses in detail the social and economic benefits of living in rural Newfoundland. It explains that theorists who believe people move in search of work or those who believe that people move to be near family are not fully understanding return migration to rural Newfoundland. These theorists have not uncovered the economic benefits of living near family.

The research for this thesis was completed through formal and informal interviews including participant observation of the lifestyle of the people on the Great Northern Peninsula. It was based on grounded theory with some preconceived hypotheses that later proved to be irrelevant to the study. The conclusions in this thesis were made following the research and therefore were conclusive based on hypotheses

that became evident during the research. To demonstrate the presence of a social economy in rural Newfoundland, this thesis discusses the lifestyle on the Great Northern Peninsula and compares Stayers with Returnees. In addition to demonstrating that there are few differences between the two groups, this thesis discusses the migration experience of those who have gone away and returned home to a better lifestyle which they had not acknowledged before they went away.

This thesis concludes that typical out-migrants from Newfoundland are searching for what they can only find in their home communities because they have limitations such as low skills and education levels that keep them from obtaining a better quality of life than they can have in rural Newfoundland. It further explains how the economic life in rural Newfoundland does not prejudice against those without skills or education, and that consequently most people live a lifestyle that is not that different from those who live in other parts of rural Canada.

List of key words:

Return migration, Great Northern Peninsula, Stayers, Returnees, Seasonal employment, Out-migration, Subsistence production, Informal economy, Migration, Fishery.

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The study introduced migration to and from Newfoundland within the Canadian context. It dealt more specifically with the two communities involved in this research, Anchor Point and Bird Cove. It discussed in detail the economic life of these communities and how it affects migration. The immediate conclusion was that the Great Northern Peninsula communities and its people generally have good lifestyles that are comparable in many ways to most rural communities in Canada, and that the people who live in these communities, for the most part, live there by choice.

I would like to thank ISER for allowing me to take part in this study which was a result of the contract from Health and Welfare Canada to undertake a study of "Migration and the Viability of Small Canadian Communities". The contract allowed me to investigate the microdynamics of population migration in small communities and the relationships between migration, economic viability and community well-being. The aim of the research was to produce a substantive "grounded

theory" of migration in these small communities, its prevalence, its nature, its causes, and its social and economic effects. In particular I would like to thank Mike Murphy, Michael Dence and Karl Krotki of the Demographic Review.

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my late Grand-Mother (Mary Isabel Miller (Peddle); who passed away when I first began grad school. Thank you for being my mentor, my friend and most notably, my inspiration in life. I also would like to thank all of my friends and family members who have stood by me through the course of my completing this thesis; in particular, Dr. J.D. House and ISER for allowing me the opportunity of going to the Great Northern Peninsula to complete my research; the people of the GNP who gave of themselves, unselfishly, to a stranger who invaded their lives, in particular, the Coombs family of Plum Point; my colleagues at Queen's College especially Cathy Murphy, Peter Sinclair, Larry Felt and Bob Hill for believing in me; my sisters Irene, Isabel and Christina, and my friends, for not giving up on me; to Paul Cowan who helped me numerous times; and finally, my parents, Effie and Gerard White, to whom I can finally say " Yes, I have that 'thing' finished".

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Chapter One

INTRODUCTION

Newfoundland became the tenth province of Canada in 1949. Even before Confederation, out-migration had been a prominent mode of adaptation to the economic struggle for survival. In coping with the shortage of employment in Newfoundland many of its residents have had to leave in search of work. For this reason, and because Newfoundland has the lowest level of immigration of all ten provinces in Canada, it also has the highest level of net out-migration. But the most striking feature of migration for Newfoundland is return migration. For many years, Newfoundlanders have been going away to work, and for various reasons have decided to return to their homeland.

Patterns of migration to the Great Northern Peninsula have reversed in the last 100 years or more. People used to migrate to the Peninsula on seasonal, temporary and permanent bases. This was how the fishermen dealt with the nature of the fishery. Most did not settle permanently. They came to the Peninsula seeking fish. Now people migrate out on seasonal, temporary and permanent bases. In recent years, one of the most important forms of migration to the Great Northern Peninsula is return migration. Return migration, for the

purpose of this thesis, is when someone leaves the Great Northern Peninsula to live elsewhere and later returns to the Peninsula with the intention of staying.

Return migration is common on the Peninsula. For various reasons some people find that going away is either not what they had expected it to be, or they have accomplished what they had set out to do and decide to return home to continue their lives. The reasons people migrate vary according to personal circumstances. What attracts people to certain areas? For many, work, relatives, climate or school are the attraction. Each individual has a reason for moving to a specific area but the reason is not usually the same for all migrants. Different people are affected in various ways by the same set of migration obstacles. Factors that might appear trivial to some may be important to others. For this reason, some migrants decide to remain away while others decide 'it's just not for me'. Trying to determine a single reason for masses of people moving would oversimplify the many factors affecting the decision to migrate. It would also ignore individual circumstances, treating people as mere statistics. Human behaviour is not that easily explained. Some theories that try to explain migration are overly simplistic, but migration is complex. It cannot be explained simply through any one theory. As one economist studying migration has claimed, "migration was rather distinguished for its lawlessness than for having any definite law" (Lee, 1969).

Economists attempt to explain migration through labour market theory. They hypothesize movement according to labour market conditions, that people move where there are jobs, implying return migration is a movement towards employment or better economic conditions. A recent study conducted by the Economic Council of Canada found no statistical basis for assuming people return to Newfoundland in search of employment (Coppithorne, 1986). This suggests alternative motives for returning.

Anthropologists claim that culture is a determining factor in return migration decisions. They believe that shared values, norms and beliefs play a role in 'pulling' the return migrant back to the native land (Gmelch and Richling, 1988). We cannot disclaim either economic or cultural explanations. In fact, a combination of the two more accurately explains return migration as a social and economic endeavour.

This thesis will contend that the economic factors which explain why Newfoundlanders leave are also the foundation for understanding why they return, and that cultural reasons also have an economic basis, which many Newfoundlanders only appreciate when they move away. Personal factors may be constant for some people throughout their lives but for others they vary with different stages of their lives. As for people on the Great Northern Peninsula "it is more feasible for young, unmarried people to migrate in search for work"

(Sinclair, 1985). Age and marital status play a major role in the decision to migrate. Sometimes chance factors may increase the desire to move but usually it is a decision based on an individual's life situation at the time. For those who have unsatisfactory experiences while living away from home, the desire to return may be much greater than those who have not experienced any problems.

People return to Newfoundland for social reasons as well as economic. A survey of migrants to Newfoundland and Labrador in 1980-81 (Newfoundland Statistics Agency, 1982) found that in-migrants entering Newfoundland who were non-Newfoundlanders were actually improving their social-economic status by doing so. However, they also found that native Newfoundlanders often returned to lower paying jobs or no job at all.

A major contention of this thesis is that, despite weaknesses of local labour markets, many Newfoundlanders can nevertheless improve their social and economic situation by returning to the island. They can find alternatives to urban life that actually increase their economic well being. Return migrants often discover for the first time the economic worth of their social relations at home that they previously took for granted. They discover that social ties actually entail hidden economic benefits. Previously, before their move to the mainland, they had not realized the economic importance of family and community. By leaving the island, they experience

a life to which they are not accustomed. They have to pay for services such as day care, parking, housing and transportation. All such services are less costly in rural Newfoundland, mainly because of the informal support of family and friends. People are unaware of the economic advantages of social relations until they become deprived of them when they move away.

Day care, for example, is often provided by family or close friends in the community, free of charge or for a return favour. Parking is not a problem in rural Newfoundland. There is plenty of land and parking permits or meters are unheard of in most outports. Housing can be rent-free through sharing with family. Many share housing while waiting for their own homes to be built. For those who do decide to build, land is purchased at very low cost or obtained through inheritance. Building a house is much cheaper in rural Newfoundland. Much of the labour is free as a result of family and friends donating their time and skills. Cutting one's logs to build a house is also common. Transportation costs are greatly reduced on the Great Northern Peninsula because of shorter commuting distances to work. In fact, walking to work takes only minutes in communities where employment is obtained in the immediate area. For those who work in a nearby community, less traffic and less congested highway driving make going to work by car much cheaper and less stressful than in a city.

Return migrants find that they obtain a new status in their community once they return. Community people usually respect return migrants for the fact that they actually took the initiative to go away and 'try it'. Newfoundlanders respect their counterparts for at least trying a new life on the mainland.¹ "It proves to others that they can do it too." ²

In attempting to understand further this explanation of return migration, a comparison is made between 'Stayers', those who have never left the Great Northern Peninsula (GNP)³, and 'Returnees' those who have tried their luck elsewhere and have returned home in a new attempt to achieve their original goals. Sometimes this means acquiring enough money to own a house, have a good paying job and a higher standard of living. This goal cannot be realized for many Newfoundlanders who migrate to the Mainland. Low education levels and inadequate training restrict the potential worker to menial jobs characterized by low pay. The cost of living is also much higher on the mainland. These factors, combined with

¹ Mainland refers to places in Canada that are outside of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

² This is a comment that was made to me during an interview with a resident of Bird Cove.

³ 'GNP' and 'The Peninsula' will be used interchangeably throughout this thesis when referring to the Great Northern Peninsula. 'The Peninsula' is often used by the local people living there, and 'GNP' is sometimes used in more formal writings as an abbreviation.

additional costs of living in a city, render a would-be dream unfulfilled. Many who inherit land back home stay away to obtain employment income, and then return to their land to build a home and experience some form of permanency and security. Inheritance and tenure influence the decision to migrate (Thornton, 1977 and Sinclair, 1985). For women who do not inherit property, staying may seem pointless, especially if migrating means independence. For men, staying may mean a piece of land and a chance at owning a home.

For this study, the empirical focus is on two small coastal communities on the Great Northern Peninsula of the island of Newfoundland (see map in Appendix A). Anchor Point, one of the most prosperous communities in Newfoundland, will be compared to Bird Cove, one of the most disadvantaged outports. Demographic characteristics of the sample for each community were similar making them ideal for comparison. Survey data were collected on 286 residents of Bird Cove and Anchor Point aged 15 years and over. Return migration to these communities will be explained through an examination of the social and economic dynamics of these communities compared to people's experience away.

The Great Northern Peninsula's economy is best described as a primary resource-based economy. Today, as in the past, the harvesting of fish and timber accompanied by the extraction of minerals at the Daniels Harbour Mine comprise the cornerstone of the peninsula's economy. The only form of

manufacturing taking place is fish processing. Most people are either directly or indirectly involved in an uncertain, seasonal fishery while the minority cut logs, work in the service sector or hold public administration positions such as nurses, social workers and teachers. More recently, tourism and crafts are taking a minor role. The official unemployment level is high, and family incomes low. Why, then, do people return in large numbers to what does not appear to be an economically promising environment? This thesis will show that there is a means of survival and even economic success for those who fully realize the potential of their social and economic relations. It will also demonstrate that to return migrants, life on the Great Northern Peninsula is a new found life, one that they have grown to appreciate and enjoy. Many of the residents in these communities claim they would never live elsewhere, 'not for any amount of money'.⁴

Chapter Two will discuss recent studies completed on Return Migration. It will also cover related readings from different disciplines such as geography, economics and anthropology. It is the intention of this thesis to explain how these disciplines fail to fully explain return migration by introducing hypotheses related to social relations and economic value. Chapter Three describes the sample, and its breakdown for purposes of analyses. It will also discuss in

⁴ As noted in the questionnaire, respondents were asked how much money they would need to earn to get them to leave. Many people commented that they wouldn't move for any amount.

full detail, the survey, problems that occurred in conducting the survey, the interviews, and the final analysis process. Chapter Four presents a brief introduction to the Great Northern Peninsula describing its geographic location, culture and economic structure. It also provides a demographic profile of the communities studied, including population, community size and description. Life on the Great Northern Peninsula, the people in general, and their behaviours, including economic and social activity within the communities is also discussed.

Chapter Five introduces migration and the social economy. In discussing households it demonstrates the high rates of participation in subsistence production activities and the community spirit which promotes the informal economy making it a benefit of living on the GNP. It further demonstrates that households are not deprived in terms of material possessions which helps prove that people are maintaining a decent standard of living. Despite the limitations of the local economy, people seem to be content to live on the Peninsula and this is expressed through the high levels of satisfaction that the residents display in their social lives. Chapter Five is the basic foundation for understanding why people return to the GNP. Inserts from the interviews completed are used throughout chapters five, six and seven to illustrate explained behaviours from the perspective of the individuals involved.

Chapter Six defines return migration for this study. It demonstrates how the conclusions of this study reflect the findings in other studies on return migration to Newfoundland. It further explores 'Returnees' by discussing their decision and motivation for both leaving and returning. The full migration experience is detailed including the various types of migration experienced by Returnees, how they feel about living away and the benefits of returning. This chapter concludes with two case studies that give a humanistic view of the migration experience.

Chapter Seven compares 'Stayers' and 'Returnees' on the many variables that have been examined in the final analysis such as employment, age, education, and demographic make-up. The issue of education and its relation to the local economy is also discussed. To conclude, this chapter demonstrates that the lifestyles of 'Stayers' and 'Returnees' are very similar despite any differences in education levels or employment structure, and that the local economy being restricted as it is does not prevent these two groups from successfully surviving on the Great Northern Peninsula.

Chapter Eight is the conclusion. It summarizes the findings of the study and makes observations based on the research conducted and the literature review completed. It also discusses the implications of this research and makes suggestions for further research.

Chapter Two

MIGRATION THEORIES AND THE CASE OF NEWFOUNDLAND

The inability of the Newfoundland economy to provide the population with ample employment in the wage sector has led to high rates of out migration. Difficulties in maintaining sufficient shares of inshore and offshore fishery resources due to competition from foreign fleets and depleted stocks affected people in the fishery. For many, this meant having to give up. To support their families, many chose to leave. Sometimes this meant leaving the family behind because of the cost of moving or while they search for paid employment.

Migration is a continuous process in every province of Canada. Newfoundland is no different. Newfoundlanders are constantly moving to other provinces in Canada but very few Non-Newfoundlanders move to this province. In fact, most people moving into the province are Newfoundlanders returning home. This explains why most of the residents in this province were born here.⁵ The constant flow of Newfoundlanders moving into and out of the province demonstrates that migration plays an important role in their lives.

In Newfoundland, migration has played an historical role

⁵ In 1986, ninety-four percent of Newfoundland residents were born here while other provinces had less than ninety-percent of their residents who were actually born in the province they resided in (Statistics Canada 93-109).

in the survival of its people. It served as an alternative to fishing and living off the land. Today migration is still an alternative that some people choose to cope with the ups and downs of the employment cycle. There are many forms of migration occurring in Newfoundland such as in-migration, out-migration and return migration. For the purpose of this thesis my immediate concern is return migration, the process of moving away from one's home region⁶ and later deciding to return.

Economic theories of migration

Theories of migration try to explain its occurrence, why people migrate, why they migrate to particular areas and the entire process of migration. Migration theory dates back at least to 1885 when an economist named Ravenstein began working on theories to explain migration (see Lee, 1969).⁷ It was believed that the basic context of migration was commerce and industry, that people move to where the work is and where most economic activity is occurring. This means that moving is dominated by people's desires to better themselves

⁶ On a more general basis Return Migration would be returning to one's home community or to one's home province, however because migration between communities is so common on the Great Northern Peninsula coupled with the fact that I am mainly interested in people who return to rural communities, I am treating return migrants as those who have returned to The Peninsula after a stay away, usually in an urban community.

⁷ For greater detail see E.G. Ravenstein, "The Laws of Migration," Journal of the Royal Statistical Society, XLVIII, Part 2 (June, 1885), 167-227.

economically. Although this theory is still prevalent today, it has several shortcomings and needs refining.

Lycan (1969) claims that patterns of population movements are due to changes in the economic and social fabric, especially changes in unemployment and income levels. People move to another province if the income level is higher there and the unemployment rate lower. This may be true as a simplified description of net migration, but many Newfoundland migrants who have lived on the mainland find that a higher income does not necessarily mean a higher standard of living because of the higher cost of living at their destination. Lycan also found that differences in industrial structure, income levels, unemployment levels, investment levels and levels of urbanization are all related to migration flow patterns. However, his theory fails to explain return flows of migrants to regions of low income and high unemployment such as Newfoundland. In a similar vein, (Galle and Taeuber, 1966) try to explain migration rates in terms of a mathematical equation.⁸ This form of aggregate mathematical model is useful for some general purposes, but it fails to take into account that people as individuals are capable of making independent decisions and are not always motivated by a simple economic rationality. It also assumes that migrants have accumulated information and knowledge of economic conditions.

⁸ Also see the works of Hamilton, C. Horace.

Burke (1987) applies such an aggregate model to Canada and sees the flow of migration as following perceived economic opportunities and hardships. Hence, economically disadvantaged provinces would have difficulty attracting migrants and therefore experience a net outflow of people. This approach does not explain people returning to their place of origin, such as Newfoundlanders returning home. It also does not explain the trend of counterurbanization that occurred in Canada in the 1970s; which was caused, according to Statistics Canada, by the attraction of a rural environment, lower municipal taxes, and greater availability of property.⁹ Newfoundland experienced a modest rural growth in comparison to Canada as a whole. Population movement in Newfoundland is not the same as population movement in other parts of Canada. " Since confederation with Canada, Newfoundland differs from other provinces in that its level of in-migration is lower but its level of net (but not gross) out-migration is higher than other regions of the country. Newfoundland also experiences the highest rate of return migration--of Newfoundland out-migrants returning to their native province--of any Canadian province " (House, 1989:1).

While economic models may help explain aggregate movements of people to urban industrial areas, they do not

⁹ For further detail on counterurbanization see Corbett and Keman, November, 1986: *A Matter of Record: A Review of Population Changes and the Implications for Rural and Small Town Canada and the Atlantic Region*. (A paper prepared for the Department of Health and Welfare.)

explain why people move to rural areas where industry is scarce and chances for employment slim. Economic theory does not focus on why specific individuals move, especially those who move for reasons not directly related to economics, such as personal, educational, or social reasons. People sometimes move to follow their family or friends, to improve their social life, to look for a spouse, or just for a change of pace.

To understand return migration, attention must be given to individual differences in migrants' reasons for moving and particularly to those who choose to move to less economically desirable areas. Conventional econometric models do not explain return migration to regions such as Newfoundland where paid employment is scarce.

A study on the economic implications of migration to Newfoundland completed by the Economic Council of Canada in 1982 found migration to be positive for the people of Newfoundland and not detrimental to its economy. The Council's conclusions were based on comparisons of those leaving the province with those who have never left and those who have returned. The Council claimed that migration is healthy for Newfoundland because those who choose to leave do so while they are young and unskilled, while those who return are more mature, better educated and therefore more employable. They also earn more money than those who have never lived away. Migrants who remain on the mainland also

tend to earn higher incomes than their Newfoundland counterparts. However, we must remember the difference in the cost of living before stating that those who stay away are better off. Further research on Newfoundland out-migrants is needed to compare their social and economic well being to return migrants and Stayers.

The Economic Council also found that migrants moving into the province who are not Newfoundland born had higher employment ratios and higher income and education levels than the resident Newfoundland population. This suggests that in-migrants to Newfoundland are coming here to take jobs, and not to look for them. This indeed is positive to the economy if these people are filling jobs that Newfoundlanders are not qualified to fill. However, the reverse would be true if Newfoundlanders with high levels of education are having to leave the province in search of work.

If the motive for migrating is people's desire to better themselves, then this implies that all people want what is socially and economically best according to their own values and preferences. If this is true for return migrants to the Great Northern Peninsula, then what these people are actually searching for can be found in their rural outports. But they do not realize this until they move away. What is socially desirable for the people on the Great Northern Peninsula in terms of local values is maintaining a standard of living that includes 'owning ones own home' and being free to roam 'the

country ¹⁰, hunting, fishing and just joy riding; things they cannot do in urban areas. People who are raised in rural environments value experiences that are specific to the rural environment, such as the activities listed above. The closeness of the people and similar rural cultural traits cannot be duplicated in urban settings. Return Migrants find this out when they move away from home.

Although econometric models of migration are limited in their usefulness for explaining return migration, the economic literature does contain a number of general observations which are suggestive for the present study and help sensitize us to several issues. Following Lee (1969) the following generalizations should be considered.

In every area there are a number of factors that attract some people and repel others. Factors include a migrant's place of origin, timing in the migrant's life, sameness among people in the host society, and educational and work experience background of the migrant.

Where people are from is an important factor in determining whether people will stay in a new place. Previous information about the area usually received from friends and relatives may not always be accurate. Different individuals living in the same area experience it differently. The stage of a person's life-cycle will affect how he or she sees the

¹⁰ Local colloquial for wooded area where people generally go snowmobiling.

new area. A young couple living in Toronto with small children may find it much more difficult to adjust than a person who is single and childless.

Where people share similar characteristics (education, race, income, culture), we may expect a lower rate of migration than where there is diversity. This certainly does not explain why many Newfoundlanders move to the mainland but it does offer a partial explanation for why many return. In Newfoundland, people are surrounded by others who have similar education levels, race, income and backgrounds. Return Migrants respond to these similarities by modifying their urban lifestyles when they return. They accept jobs at home that they would not or could not generally do on the mainland such as fishing or working in a fish plant. They feel 'in place' working at these forms of work while living in Newfoundland, but while living on the mainland they would prefer to do jobs that others do there. This is true of both sexes as Return Migrants of both sexes are found in greater proportions in marginal, more traditional Atlantic Canada industries such as fishing and related fish product industries (Hiscott, 1987).

According to Lee, migration increases the likelihood of subsequent migration. A person who has migrated once is more likely to migrate again than a person who has never moved. Many people who leave Newfoundland move again and again. In communities or families where it is common for people to

migrate, being a member of that family or community increases the likelihood of their migrating. People feel comfortable doing what others close to them have done. Sometimes the duration of stay plays an important part in the likelihood of a person moving. This is especially true of those who live away from home. The longer a person has been in a particular location the less likely he/she is to move, meaning the longer a person has lived away from home the less likely he or she is to return.

For every migration stream, a counter stream develops. One reason for this is that the positive factors at the place of destination may be more apparent than real. People get laid off and have difficulties making ends meet, and their friends may leave the new destination. This results in out-migrants re-evaluating their lives at their destination and balancing it against their lives at their place of origin. This is part of the process people returning to Newfoundland go through. If they decide that it would be more advantageous to move back, they do.

According to Lee, the existence of a migration stream creates contacts between origin and destination. The accumulation of new virtues at destination be they skills or wealth, often makes it possible to return to the place of origin on advantageous terms. Having contacts back in the place of origin allows a migrant access to information about employment possibilities; just as having contacts away allows

potential migrants access to the same information about the host society. This information assists them in making a decision about moving. Miller, 1973 recognizes that a powerful deterrent to migration is the fear of the unknown and for this reason Return Migrants are at an advantage because they know what they are coming home to. Newfoundlanders do gain skills while away, although they are not always applicable back home. Savings accumulated may allow a person to return to where he or she has inherited land or can purchase it more cheaply than on the mainland. The person can then begin to build a new home in the place of origin.

In times of recession or depression, migrants return to their area of origin and others move toward the comparatively safer nonindustrial areas; safer in terms of economic survival. This argument does not explain why nonindustrial areas are safer. In rural Newfoundland economic survival is possible regardless of the province's economic situation because of the connection between social ties and economic survival. This will be discussed in more detail throughout this thesis.

Generally, professionals and managerial people are highly mobile because of opportunities for advancement; however, it is more likely to be the uneducated who are forced to migrate.

Educated professionals and managerial people in rural Newfoundland are often forced to migrate because work in their area of expertise may not be readily available in the region.

In rural Newfoundland most employment does not require higher education or specific skills, therefore moving for the uneducated people becomes more of a matter of choice than for those who are educated. They do not have to move but do so because they perceive opportunities in the host society. For these people moving is more of a response to the positive factors associated with their place of destination. Most people who reside in rural Newfoundland do so by choice and more of these people are uneducated and/or employment disadvantaged than the educated.

Wage level theory predicts that areas with high wages usually experience high gross rates of in-migration (Miller, 1973). For Newfoundland, as well as other rural areas it is necessary to measure family income instead of wage level because having more than one person in the household working and sharing living costs increases the social and economic status of that family. According to Miller, by using annual family income, instead of an hourly wage, the opportunity to increase income by working longer hours, or by having more than one person in the household employed, is equivalent to the opportunity to increase income by earning a higher hourly wage. Where total household incomes are reasonably high, people may not move to places where personal incomes may be higher due to higher wages. In rural Newfoundland, it is common for grown-up children to live at home until they build their own houses. This means that there may be as many as

three or four people in one household bringing in an income. By fishing and working in the fish plants, people work as long as there is fish to be caught or processed. A twelve or sixteen hour work day is therefore not uncommon when the fishing season is at its peak. This increases the amount of money that people take home, and also increases off-season household income through unemployment insurance. Cash income, in turn, provides the household capital (freezers, snowmobiles, building materials) needed for successful subsistence production.

For people in rural areas in many parts of the world, subsistence production is an important source of wealth. This form of noncash income is usually passed on through family members. Both males and females often participate in the growing of crops, and land and tools are passed on to the next generation. This same economic adaptation can be found on the Great Northern Peninsula today. An interesting variant of this is that people on the Great Northern Peninsula grow crops along the sides of the road because land is more fertile there. It is quite common to see families working in their gardens along the road. People choose their spot and use the land, which is government-owned. People enjoy the togetherness of working their roadside plots as well as the economic gain.

Newfoundland, like much of Atlantic Canada, is characterized by a low income employment sector that lacks job

security, career mobility, and fringe benefits. Most rural jobs are in the 'marginal work world' (Hiscott, 1987). This reflects the historical economic underdevelopment of the region.

Although the dependency and underdevelopment perspective on Newfoundland history does allow for some explanation of the work situation and why for years Newfoundlanders have been going away in search of employment, it does not explain why Newfoundlanders choose to return to an employment-disadvantaged province. The explanation needs the social economy perspective adopted in this thesis.

Summary of the economic perspective

Generally, professionals and managerial people who are highly mobile because of opportunities for advancement are not the ones who return to Newfoundland. It is more likely to be the uneducated who migrate and find that living on the mainland or urban Newfoundland is not what they expected. Where people are from is an important factor in determining whether people will stay in a new place. Many migrants who were raised in a rural area find adjusting to urban industrialized areas a grave task. Where people share similar characteristics (education, race, income, culture), we may expect a lower rate of migration than where there is diversity. Rural Newfoundland migrants have little in common with urban residents; especially those with lower education

levels which usually results in lower pay. Different cultural experiences and the inability to share possessions make living away more difficult. For various reasons Newfoundlanders continue to migrate back and forth.

As some Newfoundlanders move to the mainland, others decide they want to return, and as these return, others decide they would like to move away and give it a try. The existence of this migration 'stream' creates contacts between origin and destination allowing opportunities for family and friends to move away and have somewhere they can stay until they become settled; just as having family and friends back home makes it easier to move back. But when people lose their jobs because of layoffs and are unable to find another one, they begin to think of alternatives. In times of recession or depression, migrants return to their area of origin which is usually a comparatively safer nonindustrial area; just as others search for these safer areas to try and cope with the hard economic times. For Return Migrants to rural areas they know they can find a means of economic survival by cooperating with their families and communities and using cultural safety nets to achieve their survival goals. This includes sharing in subsistence production activities and stretching individual incomes by combining them into household incomes. Economic models fail to account for family and cultural ties having economic benefits. They cannot explain people moving to rural areas where economic activity in the labour market is not more

prosperous. The Anthropological Perspective addresses the cultural association of family and return migration.

Anthropological theories of migration

Economic models of migration are useful at the macro level for explaining national trends but are inadequate for understanding the dynamics of return migration at the micro level. Anthropological explanations focus more on individual choices, a more personalized view of migration. Anthropologists point out that while research on European and North American demographic history has resulted in the creation of mathematical models that correlate migration and social, economic and spatial variables, and while the resulting analogies are useful for explanations of some aspects of migration, they do not fully explain migration. Such ecocentric models ignore the informal or social economy. Britan (1972) criticizes such research for failing to consider cultural differences. Anthropologists claim that culture and lifestyle are important determinants of return migration. To grasp a full picture of return migration and why people decide to return, especially to a province where employment is scarce, we must consider anthropological explanations.

Anthropologists argue that culture plays a major determining role in people's decisions to migrate. They claim that people act on the basis of commonly shared values, norms and beliefs, not just economic self-interest. "Culture is

something that emerges from the interrelationships among people as they adapt to their environment. But once it emerges, it comes to have its own determining effect upon people's personalities, their behaviours and their socialization" (Firestone, 1967). While culture is important in shaping individuals' ideas and decisions, it alone cannot explain why people behave as they do. It cannot explain long term macro-level migration trends, but, when considering individual reasons for moving, cultural considerations are important for understanding why Newfoundlanders return to their place of origin.

The anthropologists' perspective views migrants as individual people making individual decisions based on their historical background. Anthropologists consider such variables as gender, age, occupation, years spent away, population of the host society and the home residence and emigration intentions. Gmelch (1983) considers all of these variables before examining motives for return migration. First he divides decisions to migrate into three classes: patriotic-social, familial-personal and economic-occupational. He then subclassifies these into "push" and "pull" factors. Push factors represent host society conditions that influence a person's decision to return to their place of origin. Social factors include relative incidence of crime and violence in the host society, and fear of children being harmed, molested, using drugs, or becoming sexually

permissive. Personal factors include death of a spouse, separation, divorce, or poor health. Push factors also include high cost of living or lack of employment or any other factors that would persuade a migrant to return home because he/she is not content living in the host society.

Pull factors determine the desire to return based on what the place of origin has to offer the Return Migrant. These factors may include desire to live near friends and relatives; desire to live with people of similar background; the availability of new job opportunities at home; the chance to be self-employed; availability of cheap housing; and death or illness of a family member. Using such variables, Gmelch found that Newfoundlanders, like the Irish with whom he compared them, are motivated primarily by their attachment to their home province and by social and familial factors. According to Gmelch, the reasons for leaving home initially were mostly economic-occupational and have little in common with the motives for returning.

Although such anthropological studies are useful in studying return migration, especially to rural Newfoundland, they also have shortcomings. In claiming that Newfoundlanders return because of their unique culture and lifestyle, and the desire to live near their families, anthropologists tend to ignore any economic gain resulting from the move. Anthropological theory suggests that Newfoundland migrants rarely return home for economic reasons. This approach

ignores the ways in which the culture of Newfoundland and the closeness of family units produce economic benefits that the out-migrant may fail to appreciate until he or she has left the home community.

An exception in the anthropological approach can be seen in the work of Richling, 1985 who describes some of the hidden economic benefits of living in rural Newfoundland. Richling criticizes the macro-economic approach for disregarding cultural factors which influence migration. He claims that locally-held values pertaining to family finances and other aspects that have been historically linked to rural living in Newfoundland play a greater role than economists appreciate. Richling recognizes the presence of non-cash income in rural Newfoundland; including garden produce, game and small commodity production, and exchanges of labour and resources with and between families. He also acknowledges the possibility of a decline in living standards for those who move to urban areas despite access to regular wages and public services. However, Richling treats non-cash income as secondary to cultural factors in his explanation of return migration. " At one time an outport household depended on non-cash income from subsistence production as it mainstay. Today subsistence activities merely supplement an otherwise cash-reliant domestic economy" (Richling, 1985:241). It is the major contention of this thesis that various hidden economic benefits are the central determinants of return

migration. Richling's research was completed in the Bay of Islands on the west coast of Newfoundland; located near Corner Brook, Newfoundland's second city. Because the Bay of Islands is so close to a large urban centre, residents may have become dependent on the city and consequently have adopted urban values with household production being unimportant.⁸ This thesis will show that non-cash income plays a major determining role in the total domestic economies of rural communities on the GNP; the findings of Richling's research on the Bay of Islands is not representative of other rural areas of Newfoundland.

Summary of the anthropological perspective

The Anthropological Perspective fails to fully explain migration because it does not consider economic values and their pursuit as critical to the overall explanation of migration. It does, however, have an advantage over economic perspectives because it focuses on individual choices and not mass movement. This gives a more personalized view to the study of migration. The anthropologist's claim is that culture and lifestyle are important determinants in migration; and more specially, return migration. This perspective hints at the hidden economic benefits of living in rural

⁸ Richling found that "While most families consume some subsistence production such as salted fish, game, berries, and firewood, the non-cash portion of total domestic income from such sources exceeds 10 per cent in fewer than one household in five; in none did it account for more than 25 per cent".

Newfoundland but does not fully acknowledge its value and therefore the role it plays in determining return migration.

A closer look at migration will demonstrate that neither the economic nor the anthropological perspective alone can fully explain return migration; while the two perspectives combined give a more accurate view of why a person moves and why he/she comes back home.

Applying migration theories in the Newfoundland context

Out-migration

People generally leave home to seek employment. A study of attitudes toward emigration showed that, of those who were seriously considering emigrating, their primary reason was they felt their occupational and income aspirations would not be satisfied in their homeland (Hannon, 1970 in Gmelch, 1983). Wage work away has often been found to be important for members of many rural communities (Berg, 1965; Frazier, 1976; Caldwell, 1969 in Stier, 1983). Surveys demonstrate that a large proportion of adult members of rural communities have worked outside the community. This is true of rural communities in Newfoundland where many adult members go away to work for varied periods of time often long enough to qualify for unemployment insurance.

When families choose to migrate, the man usually goes first, looks for work and then sends for his family (see Benoit, 1982 and Gmelch, 1987). This pattern of migration has

remained constant for married migrants. Men go to areas where they know chances of gaining employment are greatest and become settled before sending for their families. These migrants are "following the movement of capital" (Oakley, 1976).⁹ But Newfoundlanders often find that the move is not economically viable even when they do find employment. They are then forced to consider whether they could make a better living back in their rural community; with so many returning, we have to ask if the host society is fulfilling people's aspirations, or whether the aspirations of the Returnees have changed as a result of the move.

As Dryden points out, unemployment as a product of the industrial revolution has become important to our society (1986).

Before this, people worked according to their natural environment and culture. Work was outdoors, primarily agricultural and moved to a natural time clock. The seasons determined the work you did and what you needed to do determined how long you spent at it. This meant binges of work in summer usually mixed with binges of leisure in winter. It was predictable and secure except for periodic natural disasters. People were mostly craftsmen and farmers. The majority had no property and were not self employed. The work place was small and employers and employees were often friends or family relations. In slack times, this meant people were less likely to be laid off because of personal bonds (Dryden, 1986).

This description of pre-industrialism fits in many ways, the description of Newfoundland's current economic and social

⁹ As stated in Benoit, 1982 *The Poverty of Mothering: A Case Study of Women in a Newfoundland Community*.

situation, except that many Newfoundlanders are 'working off the sea' instead of 'working off the land'. There are many self employed fishermen, and a lot of people work with close friends and relations. However, rather than retain labour in slow times, the employer lays off the employees so that they can receive unemployment insurance.

As previously mentioned, the values of independence and individualism are important to Newfoundlanders. The division of labour that is typical of modern industry is contradictory to these values, and may help explain why Newfoundlanders have shown dissatisfaction with working in a factory on the mainland (see House, 1984). For many, even though the pay is better, the work is routine and boring. Newfoundlanders are used to setting their own standards of work so they find it very difficult to lose their independence and individualism in routine factory work. Their cultural ideal of work is not modernized industrial work.

Return migration

Return migration, although similar in many ways to out-migration and in-migration has some unique features. Return Migrants have experienced life in both the host society and the place of origin. Unlike out-migrants and in-migrants, they are familiar with the lifestyle and expectations of both place of origin and place of destination.

According to Britan, "migration is no different from

other behavioral strategies resulting from the interaction of creative individual choice, and selecting external conditions" (1972:1). By this token, Return Migrants, unlike someone moving for the first time, are not acting on impulse or hope of 'something better', but on prior knowledge. They can identify with the host society and their place of origin before they make the actual move, deciding rationally that the decision is in their best interests. The individual's goal in migration is to improve his or her life situation. This improvement is usually directed towards betterment of the individual's economic life or social life or both. Barth in Britan, generalizes about individual motivation for migrating. He summarizes the reasons people migrate; "... the processes of social life can be seen as the sum of the continuous individual decisions allocating time and resources towards the achievement of particular goals" (1972:4).¹⁰ Individuals looking to better themselves economically choose possibilities in their former rural lifestyle, such as working for lower pay but having family available to provide daycare, and compare these possibilities to what is available to them in their present lifestyle, such as having higher paid employment but a higher cost of living resulting from daycare expenses. When goals are not met in the host society the likelihood of the migrant returning home is high.

¹⁰ Barth, 1967 as found in Britan, 1972 "Migration, Ecology and Choice: Social Process on a Newfoundland Island".

In rural Newfoundland, the family is the main institution of socialization. Since most people in small communities are members of extended kinship groups, the concept of family extends beyond the immediate household. Attitudes concerning values of education, employment, unemployment and future aspirations are molded and shaped within the extended family and the community.

The cultural values of independence and individualism in outport Newfoundland emerged during a historical period when such values were necessary for survival. Today these values still exist. Values affect social organization. For example, in Newfoundland people tend to want to be a 'jack of all trades'¹¹. There is very little occupational specialization, although some men can build boats or houses better than others while others are better at mending nets. Ideally, everyone takes pride in doing his/her own work but relies on others when they need something done that they are unable to do. There always seems to be someone within the community who is known as a craftsman in a particular area and everyone seems to generously assist others when they are in need. This form of 'exchange labour' takes place in rural communities (Chiaromonte, 1970 and Faris, 1973). Faris found "noncash exchanges" (seeking advice or help) existing usually within the person's extended family; however on the GNP it is a

¹¹ This term is common in Newfoundland. It is used to mean that someone can do any kind of physical work.

community exchange. Individualism and independence therefore shape the attitudes of Newfoundlanders and the emergence of reciprocal noncash exchanges in outport social organization.

Gmelch (1983) and Richling (1985) demonstrate the importance of 'quality of life' considerations in return migration. Quality of life has to do with the rural value system, the general life style and environmental conditions. These factors help explain migration to economically disadvantaged regions. But 'quality of life' needs to be elaborated to explain its relevance to return migration. The demographics of the people migrating, individual migration histories, motivations for the move, readjustment after the return and the impact of the return on the local community must also be considered. Most research fails to focus on the precise demographic makeup of the return migrants and their motives for coming back. In fact, why people return has not been well understood.

In his research on return migration to Newfoundland, Gmelch concentrates on type of employment before migration in the host society and after return (1987). This helps us understand the economic aspect of migration. He also concentrates on adaptation and readjustment, the economic and social conditions of Returnees including whether they found a job, adequate housing, developed personal relationships, and participated in community organizations. Gmelch also studied migrants' perceptions of their adjustment and the extent to

which they felt their homeland had fulfilled self-defined needs and given them a sense of well being. He also examined the decision to return: how long the migrants had been planning to return before they actually moved. Most said they had been planning to return for about one year and 16% said they had always intended to return. Gmelch claims that by returning these migrants have fulfilled their original intentions at the time of out-migration. Their original intention was to increase their social and economic well-being. Gmelch also found that 37% of Newfoundlanders' decisions to return were abrupt, that is, no planning occurred. The return was usually a response to a family crisis at home, the death or illness of a parent or simply a 'vacation' home.

Gmelch found men to be more migratory than women and the desire to return was greatest among men. He claimed this may be because migration often means separation from adult children, which is less acceptable to women. Gmelch found returning to be more satisfactory for men. The return home often meant the satisfaction of being near kin because the move back is usually to the man's community. In addition, the activities of life in rural Newfoundland such as fishing and hunting may be more attractive to men, with women more interested in shopping and the attractions of urban living.¹²

¹² Although there may be some truth to these findings, they do tend to generalize women. On the GNP many women seemed to enjoy similar activities to men.

Gmelch did not suggest that women were dissatisfied, in fact he claimed that women generally find Newfoundland a better place to raise children than mainland Canada, and they also have a favourable attitude toward rural life. All of these reasons are social in nature; however one factor encouraging Newfoundland women to remain in rural Newfoundland during the past decade has been the greater opportunity for employment, primarily in fish processing plants. This has no doubt changed due to the resource crisis in the fishery. These reasons for returning or staying in Newfoundland, although relevant to the study of return migration, do not explain why social explanations are so important. I will argue that these social reasons for returning have strong economic value which increases the incentive to move back home. The social characteristics of return migrants are also important in explaining return migration. Gmelch found that fifty-four per cent of the siblings of return migrants had also returned home. This suggests that in families where one sibling returns there is a strong likelihood that others will do the same. Gmelch also found 22.5 to be the average age of migrants leaving Newfoundland while return migrants were between the ages of 25 and 34. From age 30 on there appears to be a steady decline in the numbers returning, down to only four per cent for the 65-69 year group, representing persons who return shortly after retirement. Two thirds of Newfoundland migrants were unmarried at the time of their

initial out-migration. Both men and women tended to marry while away. Sixty-eight per cent of Newfoundlanders were married by the time they returned home. Only eight per cent chose nonpatriots. It seems that migrants who choose spouses from their own province are more likely to return home than those who marry outsiders. Native Newfoundlanders who marry spouses not from Newfoundland are less likely to return and if the couple met and married on the mainland the chances are even greater of their remaining there. Demographic characteristics such as age of migrant and the age of children at time of migration also play determining roles in returning. Return migrants tend to be older than out-migrants. People usually return while their children are young in hope of offering them a better upbringing.

Two other important considerations in explaining return migration are the length of time migrants intended to remain away and their reasons for returning. Temporary migrants, those who had intended to leave only temporarily, usually return after accomplishing the objectives they set for themselves, such as pursuing further education, accumulating money or obtaining enough qualified weeks of work to obtain unemployment insurance. Those who originally believed they would become permanent migrants hoped to create a better life for themselves, but for various reasons decided to return or felt forced to return. Some simply failed to adapt to the host society.

When people move away, they favour certain locations, especially ones where kin and friends have already settled. These contacts aid in job search, housing and general information. Gmelch refers to this as 'chain migration'; going to places where there are kin or friends already established.

Rural and urban differences

Two socio-economic sectors can be identified in Newfoundland. Brox (1972) called one traditional and the other modern; rural and urban. To understand what migrants go through when they leave rural Newfoundland one only has to look at the differences between rural and urban Newfoundland. Rural life is characterized by small, widely dispersed settlements. In the past, these 'outports' had economies based on the truck system with limited access to cash resources. The emphasis was on fishing for export, supplemented by subsistence production (logging, hunting, fishing, and gardening), a high variability of work situations, so that people were working at different jobs during the year. Social organization was based on family, and technology was simple. This resulted in rural and urban spheres in Newfoundland being less integrated and structurally more independent than in most Canadian provinces.

Return migration is typically an urban to rural movement. Gmelch (1983), in his study of return migration, concentrated

on movement from a developed to a less developed area. His major concern was the role which migrants returning from advanced countries might play in the modernization of their homelands. The present study has found that the role that return migrants play in improving their homeland is small, as the skills they acquire cannot be applied in their home environment because the types of employment are different. They do, however, improve their own lifestyles which in turn may help improve the quality of the lifestyles of others in the community who have never left. A small but yet significant example is trying new foods. One return migrant told me that others in the community tend to try new types of foods and other things when those who have lived away come back home and introduce their new ideas to the Stayers.

In Gmelch's study of Return Migrants to Newfoundland, he found that 64 per cent of Newfoundlanders had left cities with populations of more than one million. Over 50 per cent of Return Migrants interviewed had returned from Toronto; only eight per cent were from places with a population under 100,000 (Gmelch, 1983). Although Gmelch argues that the size of the host community is not a factor in promoting or encouraging return migration, the impression from those interviewed for this study suggests that the larger the community to which the migrant has moved the less likely he or she is to remain in that community. This can be demonstrated by looking at the large numbers of Newfoundlanders who live in

Atlantic Canada or who have moved to other communities within Newfoundland. These people are less likely to return home as the host society more closely resembles their home community. Gmelch found that 65 per cent of household heads had returned to their home communities. The pattern was less prevalent for white-collar migrants who are inclined to resettle in urban areas because of employment opportunities.

Why do Newfoundlanders return to Newfoundland rather than to other migrant destinations? Gmelch found that pull factors are the reason for so many returning, such as the desire to live near relatives and friends and people of your own background. This was identified by measuring the amount of contact with relatives and friends from home (phone calls and visits) the migrant had while away. But even with high unemployment in Newfoundland, economic reasons such as good job opportunities at home or the chance for self employment were also cited. It should be noted that Gmelch did his interviews in the summer, a time when many people are employed in the seasonal fishery. Many Newfoundlanders go away to work for the winter and return to Newfoundland in the summer to obtain work. Therefore Gmelch's study may have some biases.

In Newfoundland, domestic production and informal exchange relationships contribute to economic well-being. While return migration for Newfoundlanders means moving away from the area where the demands of the formal labour market are greatest, non-market production and the availability of

cheap housing in Newfoundland often make the move back economical. Return migration often makes good economic sense.

When Newfoundlanders return home, do they wish to re-emigrate? According to Gmelch one third of his Newfoundland sample said 'yes'. The reasons were mostly economic. What Gmelch does not determine is what the migrant's economic-material expectations were before they returned home.

Readaptation

There are two perspectives from which the question of the return migrant's readaptation to the home community can be approached. One is the economic and social conditions of the Returnees. Do they find jobs, adequate housing, personal relationships, participation in community organizations? Success or failure of the return depends on the degree to which the migrant can satisfy these objective criteria. The other perspective focuses on the migrants' own perceptions of their adjustment and the extent to which they feel this homeland has fulfilled their self-defined needs and has given them a sense of well being. Were they prepared for the return? Do they associate more with the host society upon their return more than their own? Have they lost their common interests with their old friends? Do their old friends have new friends? Have values changed? These are all questions that determine the success of the adaptation to the home society and also help determine whether the return migrant

will stay or re-emigrate.

In general, people are more content the longer they have been home. Those who are seriously unhappy leave again. The cycle of migration then continues. Further research to explain adaptation or re-emigration of return migrants, and the differences between the two sexes, would help explain further the need to return.

In her research on social and economic conditions in Newfoundland, Benoit (1982) found that large numbers of people were forced to return to outport Newfoundland on several occasions since Confederation. The outport way of life made economic survival possible, and this is still true today. As one resident from Anchor Point stated in the present study in reference to why people come back home, "You can't starve here".

Conclusion

Patterns of out-migration and return migration in Newfoundland are linked to the evolution of social and economic policies. Historically, migration from outport communities was related to government policies that favoured rapid industrialization and modernization at the expense of many communities in the rural sector. However, families moved back despite unsupportive government policies, demonstrating that there is something about outport living in Newfoundland that allowed people to fend for themselves. Such moves were

not based on cultural values; they were economic responses to the weak urban labour market situation and the stronger 'hidden economy' of the outports.¹³

The following chapters will assess the social dynamics of return migration and its economic relevance. Social institutions, especially the family and the community, will be viewed as economic institutions which provide economic support. It will be demonstrated that it is a false dichotomy to separate social and economic institutions and structures, and that there is a social economy in rural Newfoundland that enhances the standard of living for outport residents and makes return migration a viable alternative to living on the mainland.

¹³ For a summary of historical material on Newfoundlanders being forced to move back to rural Newfoundland see Benoit, 1982.

Chapter Three

METHODOLOGY

Description of methods

The methods chosen for this research include informal unstructured interviews, participant observation, secondary sources e.g. local newspaper and court records, and a survey using a structured questionnaire.

Informal unstructured interviews

In preparation for the field work that was completed for the research, I did an intense literature review of articles, papers and books related to migration, the Great Northern Peninsula and social and economic structures within the region. I also met with members of various organizations such as the Federal Government's Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Provincial Department of Rural Agricultural and Northern Development, the Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation, and several others to gather background information about the general area of the Great Northern Peninsula and also to become familiar with secondary sources that later might prove useful. These were crucial steps in the decision-making process of selecting the two proposed communities for the study.

Introduction to research

Following a preliminary statistical examination of communities on the Great Northern Peninsula, I selected two communities, Anchor Point and Bird Cove, as primary research locations. Based on consideration of a number of variables including population size, unemployment insurance dependency, social assistance dependency, religious affiliation, household income, and community location, I decided that these two communities would provide a useful contrast for studying rural outport life on the Great Northern Peninsula, and that the differences between these two communities would probably reflect differences that might occur among other communities on the Peninsula.¹⁵

While in the field I conducted 23 informal interviews, that were taped and transcribed for later use. These interviews were held with key informants within the two communities and the region as a whole. The selection of interviews was based on a snowball sample. My first interview was with the mayor of Anchor Point. Each person I interviewed would give me a list of possible informants that I later contacted. I interviewed a selection of return migrants, a school principal, mayors, community development association

¹⁵ This thesis does not compare these two communities, instead it groups the two communities together and concentrates on return migration to the area. For the purpose of this thesis there were too few differences to treat the communities separately. Community differences are discussed in House, 1989: *Going Away ... And Coming Back: Economic Life and Migration in Small Canadian Communities.*

coordinators, a fish plant manager and several others. People were selected based on their position within the community or if they were a return migrant.

In addition to these, an additional fourteen unstructured interviews were held as a result of meeting people who had interesting opinions and knowledge of the area. These interviews were brief and informal. They included Presidents of Development Associations, the owner of the local newspaper, two reporters with the local newspaper, social workers within the region, government representatives at the provincial and federal level, school teachers, otter trawl fishermen, small boat fishermen, lobster fishermen, union representatives, and local business people.

The approaches I used included visiting these people at their places of work, meeting them for lunch, and talking with them at local functions that were both formal and informal.

Participant observation

I moved to the Great Northern Peninsula on October 15, 1987 and lived there until July, 1988, a total of nine consecutive months. Participant observation was the key to becoming accepted by community residents. Once people got used to seeing me around they became less defensive and much more relaxed in my presence. This also proved to be an invaluable way of both gathering information and learning to appreciate the lifestyles of those in the area. I attended

their recreational activities such as bingos, dart games, house parties and local dances. I volunteered my services to work at the Salmon Festival, an annual event for those living in the region. I also participated in Anchor Point Day, an annual celebration that takes place on Canada Day. I attended the talent shows, games, dances and went out to sea with the otter trawlers for the annual sail around the Strait of Belle Isle.

The first function I attended in Anchor Point was a bingo game. I went to the game with a local resident that I had known from childhood. People were very friendly and of course wondering who I was. Some of the locals came over and spoke with me, asking my name and where I was from. They also inquired as to my reason for being on the Peninsula.

Meeting people in Bird Cove was easier because I was living in Plum Point which is a five minute drive from Bird Cove. Many people from Bird Cove spend time in Plum Point shopping or attending recreational activities. For this reason I was able to meet people from Bird Cove quickly. Bird Cove also has a local bar which people from Plum Point visit to play darts or pool. This allowed me to meet people much more easily.

In Brig Bay, which is located between Plum Point and Bird Cove, there is a beauty salon. Most of the people in these three communities and the surrounding area (both men and women) go to this salon to get their hair cut or styled. I

became friendly with the owner of this shop and usually dropped in on a daily basis to sit and chat with the staff and customers. I met many people this way as the owner of the shop always made sure that I was introduced to the customers, especially if they were from Bird Cove or Anchor Point. This enabled me to let people know what I was doing and to inform them that I would probably be going to their home to interview them or to conduct a questionnaire.

Secondary sources

One secondary source that proved to be useful in learning about the area and its people was the local newspaper. The Northern Pen is a weekly newspaper published by a resident of St. Anthony. This paper provides various local and regional stories (see map). Court records were used to determine the occurrence of criminal activity on the Peninsula. These records were obtained from the provincial court in Woody Point. They helped to explain types of deviant behaviour and the frequency of their occurrence in the two communities.

The questionnaire

In February of 1988, I returned to St. John's with a more detailed knowledge of the Great Northern Peninsula and its people. I constructed a 92-item questionnaire, completed more literature reviews and then returned to the field.

The questionnaire consisted of five sections and an

appendix for a total of 92 items. Section one, Personal Information, was used to obtain demographic information on persons living in the household. Section two, Household Migration Data, obtained more specific information pertaining to migration patterns of household members such as where they had lived previously, why they had moved there, how long they had lived in each location, and their immediate intention about settlement when they moved to each area. Within this section demographic and migration data were also collected on out-migrants from the household. Section three, Household Information, gathered household data such as family size, incomes, home ownership, and acquisition of household items. Section four, Subsistence Production, supplied specific information regarding participation in subsistence production activities and their importance to the household. Section five, Respondent Perceptions of the Great Northern Peninsula, explored patterns of social behaviour, opinions and attitudes towards living on the Peninsula, and future expectations for the region. The Appendix to the questionnaire was directed towards gathering information about in-migrants, similar to section two on return migrants. See Appendix 1 of this thesis for a copy of the questionnaire.

Sample description and technique

Many problems occur when trying to conduct a survey, especially if one has two communities to cover. Originally,

it was intended that the total population of the two selected communities would be surveyed, but because of time and limited financial resources a 100% survey was not possible. Through the use of the telephone directory and names given to me by locals that were not in the directory, an attempt was made to select a 50% random sample for a total of 93 households. The only restrictions for respondents were that they must have been 15 years of age or older and a member of the current household.

This research was conducted through the use of a random sample, but accessibility to respondents was difficult because of their work schedules. Subsequently, if subjects from one household could not be reached, subjects were selected from another household selected at random.

The survey data contained demographic information about migrants and stayers (non-migrants) of both communities. Education, labour market characteristics, social behaviours, work patterns and overall views of the communities were the focus of the interviews.

Information was gathered on a total of 362 people. For the purpose of analyzing the data collected, subjects were broken down into three categories; respondents (93), nonrespondents (193) and out-migrants (76). Respondents were the 93 people actually interviewed. They supplied information on household members (nonrespondents) and out-migrants. They also answered questions concerning the household and expressed

opinions about living on the Great Northern Peninsula. A subsample of the subjects were in-migrants to the Peninsula, (9) who provided additional data on in-migration. "Subjects" included both Respondents and Nonrespondents who were present members of the household that the respondents described during the interview (286). Out-migrants were those who used to live in the household in the last ten years but are presently living outside the community. There was a total of 76 out-migrants identified by current resident household members. Thirty-two of these were from Anchor Point and 44 from Bird Cove.

The fieldwork experience

In October of 1987 I went into the field to study the two communities. In searching for a place to stay I decided to try to avoid any perception of bias toward either community, and because housing was a problem, I decided I would live in Plum Point where cabins were available on a long term basis. Plum Point was close enough to both communities that I could easily commute back and forth. Plum Point is about a five minute drive from Bird Cove and a 25 minute drive from Anchor Point.

While in the field, I learned about the communities, the residents, and the social patterns that existed within the area. To do this I attended functions and completed several informal interviews. Fortunately, people were not difficult

to meet and as time progressed the number of people I knew increased as did the acceptance by these people of the work I was trying to complete.

I began the questionnaire survey in April after my university term was over. Unfortunately, this coincided with the beginning of the fishing season. Seasonality of employment and the nature of this work limited my accessibility to informants. The men in Anchor Point were fishing off Port aux Basques on the southwest coast of Newfoundland at that time and unless the weather did not permit them to fish, they did not come home during the week. Later I found that the men were no longer fishing on Saturdays because Dorset Seafoods in Anchor Point and other plants had decided not to buy fish on Saturday. The reason for this was to prevent the plant from operating on Sunday at high costs to the company because of having to pay overtime to the workers. They could finish processing Friday's fish by Saturday. This gave me access to the fishermen but only on Saturdays as Sunday was their only leisure day and Monday they were off fishing again.

In Anchor Point the people who were not fishing worked shift work in the fish plant. This disrupted normal daily routine as those who worked at night slept during the day. This reduced access to these people until a shift change occurred. One approach I used to overcome this difficulty was to spend time at the fish plant. This helped me to make

contact with the people I was trying to see and sometimes enabled me to complete an interview.

Restriction of access to respondents also occurred in Bird Cove. A lot of people were busy working at the Brig Bay fish plant which was in full operation at the time. This meant a lot of shift work and the irregular schedule that accompanies this type of work. The fishermen were out fishing during most of the day. When they came off the water they still spent time at the wharf repairing nets and other fishing equipment. Living closer to Bird Cove than Anchor Point, I was able to make many more trips to try to reach people. This may explain why I completed my survey in Bird Cove first.

At first I found it difficult going to people's homes when they were not expecting me. It seemed very inconvenient for them and would subsequently be a waste of my time. I decided to phone people a day or two ahead and set up an appointment. This seemed to work better and I found people more receptive as a result. I found this made the subjects feel in control of the situation because I was not taking them by surprise. Subsequently I was treated more as an invited guest rather than an intruding researcher. I would be asked to stay for 'a cup of tea' which is traditional Newfoundland hospitality and several times I was offered a meal. When, and if, time allowed I accepted the hospitality of the people and took advantage of the opportunity to get to know them better. This opportunity was reciprocated by the locals resulting in

a warmer reception by others in the community.

One of the first problems I encountered was finding where people lived. There are no numbers on people's houses or names to the side streets. I had to rely on peoples' directions. Local colloquial expressions were common on the peninsula so that 'lower branch' or 'new division', although meaningful to the people, were meaningless to a stranger. The search became easier as I became familiar with people's names and where they lived. The directions I would follow then were 'to the left of John Smith's home, down by the wharf, or a blue truck parked in the driveway'. These guidelines assisted me until I became more familiar with the community.

My initial challenge was getting people to appreciate what I was doing and to trust that I was not a government agent investigating them. As people in the community became familiar with me this problem seemed to solve itself. However, when I was near completion of my survey in Anchor Point, someone spread a rumour that I was indeed a government worker checking up on people and whether or not they were following regulations for unemployment insurance. I quickly solved this problem by contacting a few locals who were influential in the community in the hope that they would make people aware that this was no more than a rumour. The problem delayed me for a few days as people would not be home when they were expecting me or I would be given an excuse as to why they could not arrange a time for me to go to their home.

I was assisted in my research by the plant manager in Anchor Point. She would make calls for me and tell the people what I was doing and ask them if I could come to their house for an interview. She also invited me to the plant and allowed me either to conduct an interview there or arrange for one at a later time. She also gave me access to the work schedule allowing me to know convenient times to contact people.

Bird Cove people did not seem as suspicious as those from Anchor Point. At first they were hesitant but it seemed mostly because they were unsure of my reason for being there. As time went on, they seemed to overcome this. I was asked by one woman if answering the questions would cause any 'trouble' for her old age pension. I quickly assured her she had nothing to worry about.

Towards completion of the survey I realized that I did not have as many successful contacts with male respondents as female. Because men were more likely to be at sea, I found it generally easier to contact women. This meant I had to concentrate on completing interviews with males. This slowed down my interviewing as it seemed much more difficult to catch the men at home.

Problems with interpretation

There are problems when using a standard questionnaire in rural areas where labour markets, occupations and migration

patterns are quite different from urban patterns.

In meeting with several respondents, I sensed a literacy problem during the survey. Fortunately, I overcame this quickly. I realized that people were unsure of what I was asking. Because I had lived in the area for six months I had become accustomed to the 'slang' and local colloquialisms so I knew how to adjust my questionnaire to suit the subjects. I never read the questions directly from the research instrument. I rephrased questions using local colloquial expressions so that I felt the subject knew what I was asking.

One of the problems I encountered in administering the questionnaire was that if both the husband and the wife were present, they sometimes would give different responses to opinion questions. I had to make a decision as to which response I would record. I usually noted both but one response was used for later analysis. I coded the response of the person I had initially recorded as the respondent.

Another problem occurred within the questionnaire. When I asked people what their highest level of education was, they interpreted education to mean only grade school. This resulted in my only obtaining the highest grade they obtained in primary or secondary school. This was quickly overcome by my asking if they had completed any courses by mail or had obtained a trade or any further schooling. The problem only seemed to be present for responses of those who had not finished high school so I made sure that I probed further

after they responded.

Initially I recorded place of birth as where people were born. What I did not anticipate was that the responses I would receive would be the location of the hospital where people were born. I then decided that instead of recording where people were born I would record where they were raised. If a person had moved to either of the communities before the age of ten, I counted that community as their place of birth regardless of where they had previously lived. This required some careful rechecking of the answer sheets of the questionnaire.

In finding out if people were self-employed or employees, I found some discrepancies in the responses. Some fishermen who were part of a crew on an otter trawl dragger that was incorporated considered themselves self-employed while others described themselves as employees. A local fisherman explained to me that this was a result of interpretation. According to the Department of Fisheries these men were self-employed. According to Employment and Immigration they were employees. This discrepancy in definition had to do with eligibility for unemployment insurance benefits. For the survey response, I used the definition used by Employment and Immigration for those who worked on the dragger but were not part owners because these people were truly employees. I recorded 'incorporated' next to the responses of the owners of the draggers and treated them as self-employed.

When asking seasonal workers how many weeks of the year they were usually employed, in order to ensure consistency of responses, I recorded the average number of weeks they gave me. Sometimes people would give more than one response saying that it depended on the fishery and therefore varied from year to year.

Another problem was with the definition of part-time and full-time workers. A lot of respondents considered themselves part-time because they only worked every second week or were off for several weeks if the fishery was slow. I used the definition of 20 hours a week or more to be full-time regardless of the inconsistency in work schedules.

To the question 'have you always lived in this community?', some people responded 'yes' even if they had lived elsewhere, because they did not consider working away from home as actually living away. This was a result of their viewing their migration as temporary and therefore unimportant. I overcame this problem by asking (after they responded 'yes') if they had ever been away to work for any period of time. This helped me gather a lot of temporary migration information that otherwise would not have been obtained.

Because most migration was short-term and the intention to stay away was temporary, it was difficult to obtain information as to why people returned to the Peninsula. I decided to include 'temporary reason for leaving' as a

possible response. I felt that a bias could otherwise result from interpreting responses to this question.

Because of the temporary nature of the migration of students and their decision to return home between school terms, it should be noted that students can alter the interpretation of data collected on out-migrants. When and if applicable, I tried to capture the temporary reason for their leaving and let it be noted that these migrants were away only until the school term ended.

Interview descriptions

Research was conducted in the fall of 1987 on through the winter, spring and summer of 1988. The advantage of my having been there through the seasons was that I experienced the full economic cycle of the region and the dramatic social changes that occur with each phase. Having arrived in the fall of 1987, I witnessed the close of the summer fishery, subsequently the change in activity as the small boats and longliners were put away for the winter, and the otter trawl fishery moved to Port aux Basques. I also experienced the summer fishery beginning in the spring, and the lobster and salmon seasons during the summer. Unfortunately, the inshore winter fishery for 1988 was not typical. Many problems arose with fish prices, union negotiations and elections, fish quotas, and having the fish shipped to the Peninsula for processing. As a result, many men did not go to Port aux

Basques and those who did were late leaving, making the fishing period much shorter than usual. Because the fishermen did not go away to fish, I was able to include many of them in my interviews which resulted in my learning a lot about the fishery from those who know it best. This did not affect my migration data because the information I gathered was based on past migration experience.

Because of the location of the region, weather restrictions were sometimes a problem. Snowstorms and unsafe road conditions often disrupted my work schedules. A lot of my interviews had to be completed in the evenings because of other people's work schedule. However, I made myself completely accessible to the respondents because of the restrictions on their time. Household interviews were usually completed at the homes of the respondents with the exception of several that were done at the fish plant in Anchor Point, neighbours' houses if the respondent was visiting while I was there interviewing, or the Plum Point Motel, when it was convenient for the respondents because they worked there.

All interviews were completed at the convenience of the respondents at a time specified by them unless I would accidentally meet them and they would agree to the interview at that time. Depending on the number of people in the family, (more people meant recording more information and unavoidable interruptions such as phone calls, visitors, or children requesting parental attention), the approximate time

it took to complete the interviews varied from one half hour to two hours.

Conclusion

The purpose of this research was to complete a comparative analysis of the migration patterns of two small communities that were on opposite ends of the economic spectrum. The intention of this research was to identify the number of migrants flowing into and out of the communities, and to gather information about social and economic patterns that would help explain migration and non-migration.

During the initial investigation, I found that unemployment insurance and social assistance were two variables that I would have to think differently about as part of the analysis. These two variables showed far less variation between the two chosen communities and among other communities on the Peninsula than was initially assumed. Because of the seasonal nature of the labour market the number of people who were receiving unemployment insurance was very high in both Bird Cove and Anchor Point. Most people who work in fish plants have unemployment insurance claims "opened" all year round. This way, they can collect unemployment insurance when there is no fish and therefore no employment for that week. Social assistance is not viewed as an alternative to unemployment insurance. The only people collecting social

assistance are unwed mothers who have not found work or are unable to work for various reasons, and widowed women. In fact, both communities rated low in comparison to the rest of the island.¹⁶ This was a very important discovery as it had been assumed that Bird Cove would have a high degree of dependency on unemployment insurance and social assistance, and that Anchor Point would have a very low degree of dependency. In fact, there was little difference between the communities when comparing the number of people receiving benefits.

I will conclude this chapter with a descriptive categorization of Anchor Point and Bird Cove residents. Stayers or non-migrants are defined as those who have never left their community of birth. Return migrants are those who have lived away and have returned to their home community or to the Great Northern Peninsula. Out-migrants are those who no longer live in the community and are either 'potential return migrants' based on the fact that their families believe they may return to live at home in the future, or 'nonreturn migrants' whose families claim have taken up permanent residency elsewhere. Family claims are usually based on whether the out-migrant has married and settled (usually defined as owning a home or in process of building one); is only gone away for temporary reasons such as school or work,

¹⁶ Anchor Point rated very low and Bird Cove rated low (Municipality Statistics, Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 1985-86).

or whether he or she has a 'good' job. A 'good' job is defined by the people of the Peninsula as one that is full-time and year round. Sometimes out-migrants who were employed full-time were still considered potential return migrants because the family felt the out-migrant would eventually return home if work became available, or when they were ready to come back and build a home.

Chapter Four

SETTING THE SCENE: ANCHOR POINT AND BIRD COVE.

The Great Northern Peninsula is a large land mass that extends northeast from the west coast of the island of Newfoundland into the Gulf of St. Lawrence as far north as the southern tip of Labrador (see map, Appendix A). Sixty-two communities, primarily subsisting on the inshore fishery, are strung along the coastline. The total population of these communities is just over 26,000. All the communities have a population of less than 1,000 except for five larger towns: St. Anthony, Port aux Choix, Roddickton, Rocky Harbour and Norris Point. St. Anthony, on the northern tip of the Peninsula, is the main service centre with a hospital, community college and several government services. Other government and education services are supplied by communities such as Port aux Choix, Flowers Cove and Rocky Harbour. The Great Northern Peninsula has often been referred to as the 'forgotten coast' because of the historical significance of its once being part of the French Shore (Simms, 1987). The French Shore was land granted to the French migratory fishery by England, which controlled Newfoundland. The French fished on the shore until 1904 when they gave up their fishing rights on the French Shore as part of a general Anglo-French agreement.

Anchor Point and Bird Cove, approximately thirty

kilometres apart, lie towards the northwestern tip of the peninsula. Prior to 1962, these communities were not accessible by road. The only methods of transportation were dog team and coastal steamer.

These two communities were selected for the present study because they appear at first sight to be "typical outports", but they have very different local economies. Both communities pursue the inshore fishery. They both have a dominant religious affiliation, Anchor Point being mainly Anglican and Bird Cove mainly Roman Catholic. The population of the two communities are similar, Anchor Point having a population of 387 and Bird Cove, 394.

What distinguishes these two communities from each other is the difference in the structure of their fishery. Anchor Point fishermen predominantly use large, mobile otter trawlers in a lucrative inshore dragger fishery. Bird Cove fishermen pursue the traditional small boat, fixed gear fishery which has meant small catches and low incomes in recent years. As a result, the communities differ markedly in terms of economic prosperity.

The social and economic implications of the dragger fishery are easily discerned by comparing these communities. Looking at the physical structures of Anchor Point and Bird Cove, one can see the financial advantage of dragger fishermen living in Anchor Point. This community has 100 houses scattered throughout the village into several new housing

districts. These houses are affluent by rural standards. They are both larger and more expensive-looking than one would expect to see in a fishing community. In fact, in many ways, Anchor Point looks like a modern suburb. In the last decade, 20 new houses have been constructed.

Bird Cove has 85 houses running parallel to the one main road that runs through the community. There is a new subdivision called 'Big Droke' which contains five houses. This subdivision is located at what appears to be the end of Bird Cove. Apart from this area are two small roads that branch off from the circular road that surrounds the wharf where the fishermen launch their boats. These roads lead to a dozen houses and a body of water referred to as 'Long Pond'. Although Bird Cove has new houses being built all the time, the physical structure of these houses can in no way compare in size or appearance to the houses in Anchor Point. The houses in Bird Cove are what one would expect to see in a rural area, ordinary looking bungalows.

In Anchor Point, employment is concentrated within the community; and Anchor Point's fish plant work extends beyond the usual summer season. From mid-January to May, the otter trawlers migrate to Port aux Basques, on the south west coast of the island of Newfoundland, to participate in the winter fishery. This not only brings in extra cash for the fishermen but for Anchor Point's fish plant workers as well, because large amounts of the fish caught in southwestern waters are

sent to the fish plant in Anchor Point to be processed.

Many of the fishermen who own draggers have incorporated companies. This saves on income tax, and is also used to increase the amount of unemployment insurance coming into the household if the fishery is slow. Many housewives are hired as fish assistants in the incorporated companies. They cook, clean and take care of the book-keeping for the company. This qualifies them to collect unemployment insurance during the off season.

Bird Cove fishermen are not as fortunate. Their small boat fishing season begins in early May and ends around the middle of October. Some fishermen participate only in the lobster fishery which lasts for just a couple of months. Many fishermen have problems qualifying for unemployment insurance during the off- season.

There is no fish plant in Bird Cove to supplement income for those who are not fishing so most people work outside the community. Some travel as far as Port aux Choix, some 50 kilometres away, to work in the fish plant there. Others cut pulp wood in Hawkes Bay, work at the motel in Plum Point, or at the fish plant in nearby Brig Bay when it is in operation. Most workers have difficulty securing employment in or near their community. To cope with this problem, some businesses have began an informal 'work- sharing' system in which employees work one week and collect unemployment insurance the following week. Another means to help locals qualify for

unemployment insurance is government sponsored 'make work' projects.

The economic advantages of the otter trawl fishery are also evident in the number of businesses existing in the two communities. Anchor Point has three stores, one snack bar, a service station, and a Lions Club which was paid for and built by local people. Bird Cove has only one store and one lounge both owned by a long time resident of Bird Cove who opened his store years ago because he was finding it impossible to obtain fresh milk and other supplies for his children. Other businesses that were started have failed because of the lack of money in the community. Bird Cove residents have to drive to nearby communities for most of their supplies and services.

There is a primary/elementary school located in Bird Cove. After grade six, however, the children have to attend school in Plum Point, approximately five kilometres away. Anchor Point has no school so the children are bussed to Flowers Cove, approximately ten kilometres north of the community, where there are several schools.

Bird Cove has a Roman Catholic church run by two Sisters who perform the 'Celebration' on Sundays.¹⁷ Twice a month the community is visited by a priest who says mass and blesses the sacraments for the 'services' provided by the Sisters.

Anchor Point has an Anglican church that was opened in

¹⁷ The Celebration is similar to Mass in the Roman Catholic Church but it does not contain the Blessing of the sacrament (the re-creation of the Last Supper) that usually takes place.

1987. Prior to this people had to go to Flowers Cove for church services. Presently, the Anglican minister who resides in Flowers Cove holds a church service each week in Anchor Point.

Each community has a local post office, with the postmasters providing postal services from their homes. Residents from the communities pick up their mail as there is no mail delivery service provided.

People in both communities participate in similar recreational activities. Bingo, darts, and card games are common. In Anchor Point these activities take place in the Lions club. In Bird Cove darts are played in the lounge while bingo and card games take place in the school gym.

Anchor Point is the oldest settlement on the Great Northern Peninsula. It consists mainly of families with the surname 'Genge', all ancestors of one of the first settlers.

Because of the three dominant surnames, 'Pittman', 'Maher', and 'Caines' that are part of the community, an immigrant presently living in Bird Cove refers to the community as "one big family". A lot of the family members have intermarried thereby carrying on the family names.

Prosperity has apparently been achieved in Anchor Point as a result of the otter trawl fishery. Some people on the Peninsula claim it was the result of hard work and the willingness to take risks. Others claim it was just pure luck because the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans has

strictly limited the number of otter trawl licenses and Anchor Point Fishermen happened to take advantage of the new opportunity first. "An otter trawl licence is like gold," said one local inshore fisherman. For those who have experienced financial growth and stability, this may be true. For those who have become financially in debt through large loans for their boats and heavily financed houses, only time will tell. A large number of the local people in Anchor Point resent the accusation of immense wealth existing in the community. They feel it is only a select few that have experienced financial well-being. A lot of otter trawl fishermen live in fear of a future decline in the near-shore fishery, on which their precarious prosperity depends. They need high prices and consistently large catches; but recent reductions in their quotas due to overfishing in the Gulf of St. Lawrence and a price decline in the U.S. market for cod threaten their prosperity and their security.

Bird Cove, by contrast, has been faced with a chronic lack of resources that has restricted economic growth for years. Many have left the fishery in search of employment elsewhere. The economic costs of maintaining large families that is common to Roman Catholic communities may initially have deterred the fishermen of Bird Cove from investing in the otter trawl fishery. Most did not have the capital to invest in otter trawlers. One resident in the area declared that the fishermen of Bird Cove were just not willing to take the risk

that the fishermen of Anchor Point took. Now, entry is prohibited by government regulations that limit the number of otter trawlers. Consequently, the community lacks the opportunity to emulate Anchor Point's success. Although families are now smaller in size, the struggle for survival continues. Scarcer local employment and the additional costs for those who have to commute to work are the major economic differences between Bird Cove and Anchor Point.

A way of life in outport Newfoundland

To fully understand the community spirit and closeness that makes rural living so comfortable and desirable for many, we must understand what people do there besides work at their jobs and around their homes.

"You don't know what yer miss'n." - socializing on the GNP. Social life on the Great Northern Peninsula is not limited to rented movies and night clubs. In fact, activities that many people from urban areas go outside the city to do are quite common to the social atmosphere on the Peninsula. These activities include fishing, snowmobiling, sleigh rides, ice fishing, wiener roasts, moose roasts, beach parties, boat rides, all terrain vehicle riding, mussel picking, lobster boils and just spending a quiet weekend 'at the cabin'. It is easy to see from the variety of activities that life is far from boring when living in a rural area such as this one. The biggest advantage is that these activities are enjoyed at very

little cost. People living in urban areas spend a lot of money to enjoy similar activities.

In addition to the social activities mentioned above are more formally organized activities such as dart games, bingos, basketball games, volleyball games, dances and the annual summer festivals and the winter games.

Darts; not just for the fun of it.

In the fall of the year, when the summer fishery is coming to an end, people are preparing for the regular dart games. These games are a form of organized behaviour that occur in most communities several nights a week. People from all over the Peninsula play darts. They are of all ages, social classes and sexes. This forms a closeness among people of all types. Many are known for their skill in dart playing,..."We have some of the best dart players around. They went to the provincial championships last year." ¹⁸ Most homes on the Peninsula are equipped with a dart board. This is the main source of entertainment both in the home and at the local clubs. The people play darts all year round but when March comes fishing takes priority.

Bingo; for the whole family

Another organized activity is 'the Bingo' as they call it on the Peninsula. Women, children and senior citizens are the

¹⁸ As stated by the Mayor of Anchor Point.

main players with men participating for the most part as bingo callers and canteen operators. This is another activity that brings the people of the community together.

Fishing for enjoyment

Fishing for fun is an activity that most people enjoy; on the Peninsula this is no exception. People fish for fun in the daytime as well as at night, in the winter and in the summertime. Whitefish catching or smelting¹⁹ is done in nearby brooks. These fish are plentiful and can be easily caught with a net, a hook, or your bare hands.

Socializing during the fishing season

Things really change when the fishery starts up in the spring. The social dynamics of seasons are clearly defined. When the men fish during the season they do not go out at night; the routine is to go to bed early and rise early in the morning. Because men are not out socializing women tend to stay home as well. Saturday nights however are reserved as "couples' night". People go to the local bars and dance on this night as the men do not fish on Sundays. When the fishing season is over, by contrast, people can be seen in the local bars or out around the community any night of the week. Social life on the Great Northern Peninsula revolves around

¹⁹ Smelts or whitefish are small fish which resemble a caplin or a trout. Their taste is similar to these two types of fish.

the fishery and consequently the types of activity fluctuate with the seasons. Nearly seventy-five per cent of household respondents expressed satisfaction with living on the GNP. For these people the active social life, combined with the many freedoms that accompany living in a small community, make life enjoyable for those who have chosen to remain on the Peninsula.

A real sense of community

" No need to knock on doors if you're not a stranger." In Anchor Point and Bird Cove a knock on the door means it is a stranger. People always walk into each others' houses unannounced. For people used to living in a city this may seem to be an invasion of privacy but for those who are accustomed to this practice it just seems more convenient. For those who live off the Peninsula, coming home may mean breaking the old habit of not knocking. As one out-migrant stated, "It just don't feel right." But even out-migrants are confident that after spending time at home you realize there is no reason to feel this way.

People living in a small community are quite aware that everyone knows each other's business. This serves as a social control in the community. One former resident said that "The families are close. Everyone is related. If someone did anything to his children or wife, the family would step in ...Everyone knew what everyone else did. There were no

secrets. If one knew it, soon, everyone knew it." This closeness although not appreciated by all, serves a very useful purpose when people are in need. When anyone is in need of help, others are there to pitch in. Neighbours help out by bringing food to families when members of the family die or are sick. They also bring food to each other if someone has been out of work for awhile. "People know when someone's having a rough time and they respond." One family had neighbours who came over and did the house work and baked bread while the mother was recuperating from an operation. Families who have lost their homes in fires have had their houses rebuilt by neighbours. People not only donate their labour but they donate the materials as well. Churches have been built in several communities by parishioners who have donated lumber as well as their time. The idea of the family sticking together exists within the community as well as in the household.

Conclusion

This chapter has described the people of the GNP and their way of life in general. Its purpose is to provide a feeling for the lifestyle on the GNP and the people who live there. Not only do the people enjoy the social life but in many ways they also enjoy their work lives as well. It is now necessary to relate the way of life to migration.

The following chapter will demonstrate how the

togetherness experienced by the people on the GNP makes living there more economical than it appears because when the labour market cannot supply cash income, people unite and survive. In relating migration to the social economy it will demonstrate how the hidden social economy is the main explanation for the high rate of return migration to the Peninsula.

Chapter Five

MIGRATION AND THE SOCIAL ECONOMY

Introduction

The family unit seems stable. Families seem to stay together. They do everything as a family. You see teenage sons and daughters coming to church with their parents and singing together. I think this is very important to the community. At Christmas time, it is very beautiful here because the people are so family oriented. You see a lot of families visiting each other. They are always asking us to come to their homes for meals.²⁰

The purpose of this chapter is to explain return migration through the workings of the social economy of the Great Northern Peninsula. By looking at both the informal and formal economy, one can begin to understand why some people choose to remain living on the GNP, and why some of those who choose to move away also choose to return.

It seems that rural Newfoundland has always been plagued by high unemployment and an unstable economy. Heavy reliance on the fishery and other seasonal industries has forced people to adapt to the uncertainties. Migration and urbanization have often been suggested as solutions to the problems of unemployment in Newfoundland (Richling, 1985 and Herrick, 1971). Some Newfoundlanders choose not to take advantage of these alternatives because of their reliance on transfer

²⁰ All quotes in this chapter and the following two chapters are based on personal interviews conducted by me while living on the GNP.

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payments combined with the economic benefits of rural living. However, Newfoundlanders in general are very mobile people. Newfoundland's population barely increased at all between 1981 and 1986. In fact, Newfoundland is the only Atlantic province which has experienced consistently high loss of population through net migration throughout the 1956 to 1986 period. Despite this exodus of people out, over half of the migrants into Newfoundland are Newfoundlanders returning home. This particular migration pattern, and the low rate at which outsiders migrate into the province, accounts for Newfoundland having the highest percentage of native-born residents of any Canadian province.

The initial task of this research is to establish why many people choose to stay and never leave, while others decide to leave. Then we will be better able to explain why many of those who leave, come back. To demonstrate my theory of social and economic value of family living in Rural Newfoundland, I will discuss the way of life and the role it plays in the lives of those who have never left (Stayers) and those who have returned (Returnees). In discussing the social economy, I will demonstrate that the way of life on the Great Northern Peninsula not only makes it economically feasible to live there despite the restrictions on the economy but that the people also enjoy the way of life.

The data for this section are based on household information (see questionnaire - Appendix B). Therefore it

includes information obtained from Stayers, Returnees, and In-migrants, those who moved to the Great Northern Peninsula and decided to make it their home.

The social economy of rural Newfoundland

They got a fulfilled life there, in a sense, because they have a job even if it is seasonal, and if they have a family, they can build themselves a fine home and have enough money to go on vacations and things like that.

Lifestyles in rural Newfoundland may make the cost of living comparable to living on the Mainland with a higher paying job. In fact, because of the lifestyle in rural Newfoundland, some people who go away find that they obtain more by returning there. The lifestyle includes advantages of rural living such as the informal economy, subsistence living, and family relations that have social and economic value. It is often only by going away that a Newfoundlander learns to appreciate the economic benefits of staying home.

In practice, 'economic' life in rural Newfoundland cannot be easily distinguished from the social and cultural context more widely conceived. People like living with their family and kin, but the economic benefits which arise from this arrangement make living with family more economical. Family provides economic services such as free household repairs, free babysitting, shared food costs through subsistence production activities such as hunting, fishing, growing vegetables, berry picking and home produced goods. Shared

chores such as cutting wood for the winter also provide more economical means of surviving. All of these benefits are either nonexistent on the Mainland or would have to be purchased for a price. Therefore, in explaining return migration to Newfoundland, one has to consider not only the pleasure of living with family and friends, but also the economic benefits that accompany this pleasure and which make living at home more economical than living away for many people.

Household composition

A total of 93 households were surveyed. One person from each household was considered the respondent and therefore answered the questions on household information.

Table 1 gives the number of people living in each household. What is interesting about the households of the GNP is that not only do 96.8 percent of the households have two or more people living in them, but 39.8 percent of households have no children under the age of fifteen living in them (see Table 2). What this means is that many homes on the GNP are occupied by adults, meaning more than one income. Households that consist of mainly adults mean that there is usually more than one income being brought into the household. This results in higher household incomes which have many economic benefits (see Table 3).

It is quite common in rural Newfoundland to find adult

children living at home with their parents. One reason for this is the lack of rental housing; another reason is that people find it more economical to live with their parents until they obtain their own home.

Table 1: Number of people living in household

No. of people living in household	Total %
One	3.2
Two	15.1
Three	18.3
Four	30.1
Five	21.5
Greater than Five	11.8
Total %	100.0%

Table 2: Number of children aged 15 and under living in household

No. of children aged 15 and under living in household	Total %
None	39.8
One	26.9
Two	23.7
Three	5.4
Four	2.1
Five	2.1
Total %	100.0%

In the words of one respondent, the advantages for young people living at home include:

...housing, and very little groceries even. If he's a young unmarried fellow, if he's living with his parents, his parents would just feed him and nobody would even think about the fact.

Although less than ten percent of the households in Anchor Point and Bird Cove had adults who paid board to their parents, they usually help out in other ways. Many married couples live with their parents until their house is completed. While living at their parents home, adults usually assist in many household chores including housework, repairs and maintenance to the house, helping cut wood for the winter, babysitting, and assisting in other general household chores. Adult children also provide transportation for their parents when they need to visit a doctor, dentist or go shopping. This relationship has mutual benefits as children save money and aging parents enjoy being looked after when they are sick or unable to help themselves. The family unit is strong on the Great Northern Peninsula, and the extended family provides economic benefits for all as the incomes earned become household incomes.

The majority (about two-thirds) of the household incomes on the GNP, although not extremely high, are at least \$25,000 or more. Table 3 describes the household incomes as reported

by the respondents. ²¹ These incomes, because they are household incomes and not personal incomes, let many people of the Great Northern Peninsula live a comfortable life. Household expenses are usually standard and do not change much based on the amount of people living in the house. Because general maintenance and upkeep is only on one house and therefore shared, those living in the house can spend their money on other things such as shopping trips, vacations, and luxury items.

**Table 3: Household income of the residents of
Anchor Point and Bird Cove**

Household income	Total %
>\$50,000	20.4
\$35,000 to \$49,999	15.0
\$25,000 to \$34,999	23.7
\$15,000 to \$24,999	26.9
\$ 8,000 to \$14,999	8.6
< \$8,000	4.3
No Response	1.1
Total %	100.0%

²¹ Household incomes are made up of a combination of various forms of cash income. These combinations are received into many households, as reported by respondents include; paid employment (94.6%) and government transfers such as unemployment insurance (87.0%), family allowances (67.4%), job creation projects (20.7%), old age pensions (19.4%), Canada pensions (14.0%) and social assistance (6.5%). The reported percentages are based on the total numbers of households.

Affordable housing

Another benefit of families sharing housing is the increase in ability to own your own home. As can be seen in Table 4 a large number of people own their own home, mortgage free, and the added benefits of subsistence living decreases the amount spent on food and repairs, necessities that urban people usually buy or pay someone else to do for them.

People build and maintain their own houses. This is possible through the interaction of family and friends. People often live with family until their house is completed. Family, friends and neighbours usually assist in the building of the house from start to finish. They go into the woods and help cut the logs to build the house, they help pour the basement and build the structure. Afterwards, they even help out with painting, plastering and general upkeep of the house.

Table 4: Housing situation of households in
Anchor Point and Bird Cove

Housing situation	Total %
Owens own home	94.6
Rents	4.3
Other*	1.1
Total%	100.0%

* Other - this household is occupied by a family who is living rent free in a relative's house.

Almost ninety-five percent of households own their own home. What makes home ownership so common on the Great Northern Peninsula is the easy access to land through inheritance and the ability to build the house by cutting the necessary wood themselves and having family and friends assist in the actual building of the house. The attraction of owning your own home by remaining on the Peninsula is enhanced by the fact that it is also possible to do this with little or no mortgage. Table 5 shows just how possible this is.

Table 5: Rate of owners who have mortgaged homes

Status of ownership	Total %
No mortgage	72.0
Mortgaged house	22.6
Other*	5.4
Total %	100.0%

* 'Other' includes those renting and the family who is living rent free in a relative's house.

Almost three quarters (72.0%) of the houses in these two communities are mortgage free, which shows the benefits of living with parents and family until you have your house built. The money saved on rent by living with parents is spent on materials and furnishings needed for the house. Very few people even borrow money to build their houses. They save and build as they can afford. Table 6 shows how easily people

acquire a house on the Great Northern Peninsula.

Almost three quarters (74.1%) of the houses in these two communities were built by the owners themselves or with the assistance of family and friends. What makes this so affordable is that work done by family and friends is not paid labour. People generally assist each other, and favours are usually repaid by nothing more than a return favour. Very few people hire a contractor to build their house. There is really no need when family and friends are so willing to help.

Table 6: How house was acquired

How house was acquired	Total %
Built house*	74.1
Purchased it	14.0
Inherited it	6.5
Other**	5.4
Total%	100.0%

* This includes those who built the house themselves with no hired help; built house with some hired help; and hired someone to build house. I found that those who hired someone to build their house tended to be the ones who had a mortgage.

** 'Other' includes those renting and the family who is living rent free in a relative's house.

Subsistence production activities

People got lots up there. They grow their own vegetables, and hunt and get their fish for the winter. They build their own homes. You don't have to pay for the land. There was twelve of us, and we each had our own block of land. Their freezers are always filled with moose, scallops, shrimp and other foods. We have to buy them here in Stephenville. You need a

lot more money to live here in Stephenville than you do in Bird Cove.

The social economy on the Great Northern Peninsula enables the people to maintain a standard of living comparable to that enjoyed by many residents of urban areas. Household members engage in a wide variety of economic production for their own use. Fishing, collecting wood for the winter, hunting, gardening, berry picking and preserving, and repairing automobiles are all part of rural work that takes place during the 'off season'²². Because people earn less in rural Newfoundland than they do in urban areas, especially on the Mainland, these activities have proven to be most beneficial. The economic value of these activities make living in rural Newfoundland and earning less money seem worthwhile.

The following tables demonstrate the extent to which the people of the Great Northern Peninsula participate in these activities. The high participation rates demonstrate that those who live there appreciate this advantage of living on the Great Northern Peninsula. Tables 7 and 8 give the participation rate of various activities that not only help people save money, but allow family members to work together in performing these activities.

²² When the fishing season is closed.

Table 7: Subsistence production activities that help decrease grocery bills

Participate	Fish	Hunt	Pick berries	Make preserves	*Grow own veg.
Yes	92.5	82.8	88.2	67.7	57.0
No	7.5	17.2	11.8	32.3	43.0
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Grow own vegetables

Table 8: Subsistence production activities that replace paid labour

Participate	Cut wood	Build house	*Repair machines	Repair house	**Other
Yes	62.3	75.3	52.2	93.6	77.4
No	37.7	24.7	47.8	6.4	22.6
Total %	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* 'Machine' means cars, trucks, snowmobiles, ATV, etc.

** This includes other activities not mentioned above that contribute to the household ie. exchange babysitting, household chores such as baking, sewing and general cleaning, gardening and supplying transportation when needed.

The people of the Great Northern Peninsula feel these activities not only enhance their lifestyles but contribute greatly to the economic survival of their households. Table 9 shows just how important the people of the GNP feel these activities are in contributing to their households. Most (97.9%) felt that subsistence production activities that they participate in are pertinent to their households.

Table 9: Importance of subsistence production activities

Importance of subsistence production activities	Total%
Very important	79.6
Important	14.0
Some importance	4.2
Not very important	1.1
Totally unimportant	1.1
Total %	100.0%

The people here are very generous. A lot of people grow their own vegetables and pick berries. They bring us vegetables, berries, and they make preservatives, jams and pickles. They bring them to our house and offer them to us.

To achieve a decent standard of living, household members engage in a variety of activities that provide income, both in money and in kind, to the household. Having no major industries to supply full time employment means making do the best way one can.

Most residents of the Peninsula (97.9%) realize the importance of subsistence production activities and the contribution they make to the household. The people of the GNP know the importance of economic value and they feel these activities are important to the economic survival of their households. Even those who do not participate in these activities know the advantages of subsistence production activities because people often share with their neighbours. Because of this kindness, no one who lives on the Peninsula

goes without fresh vegetables or wild meat or fish.

Buying for the household

On the Great Northern Peninsula, the household rather than the individual constitutes the basic economic unit. As a result, what articles an individual purchases is usually for the household's benefit. When more than one working adult lives in the same house, the number of individual purchases means that the household accumulates a lot of items. Judging by the number of material possessions owned by the households of Anchor Point and Bird Cove, it is obvious that these people own just as much if not more than what is typical in most Canadian households. The sharing of everyday expenses for the household coupled with the added benefits of the informal economy allow more money for luxury items. Most people have what every household has, articles that help them with chores, articles that are mainly for consumption, and luxury items such as televisions and vehicles. Rural households in Newfoundland have more items such as snowmobiles and boats than the average Canadian household, perhaps because they use these items for more than just fun. These items assist in performing the subsistence production activities that many rural Newfoundlanders enjoy.²³

²³ For a comparison of Anchor Point and Bird Cove, see House, 1989, p.72. Anchor Point residents own more luxury items, but there are few differences on most items.

Table 10: Number of articles owned by households

Number of items	Truck	Car	ATV	Snowmobile	Boat
One	45.2	51.6	7.5	53.9	31.2
Two or more	3.3	9.7	1.1	18.3	14.0
None	51.5	38.7	91.4	27.8	54.8
Total machines	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Number of items	Telephone	Radio	T.V.	VCR	Microwave oven
One	44.0	36.6	35.5	66.3	32.6
Two or more	53.8	61.2	62.3	0.0	0.0
None	2.2	2.2	2.2	33.7	67.4
Total luxury items	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Number of items	Chainsaw	Other power tools	Fridge	Deep Freeze	*Other items
One	55.9	4.3	94.6	83.9	7.5
Two or more	15.1	66.7	4.3	6.5	89.2
None	29.0	29.0	1.1	8.6	3.3
Total necessity items	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* Other items include washer, dryer, vacuum cleaner, etc.

Limitations of the local economy and the importance of UI

Despite these many hidden strengths of the social economy, the weaknesses of the formal economy are real and restrictive, and people have to rely on transfer payments, mainly unemployment insurance (UI), to supplement their household income.

In communities where the fishery is not enough to maintain households, people have to rely on other sources of cash income. With the exception of professionals such as teachers, social workers, and other government workers this means going where the work is or taking whatever work one can find. Many of the residents of the Great Northern Peninsula have jobs that require them to work away from their community for a period of time. The types of employment these people obtain may account for their having to leave home occasionally for work-related reasons. This includes fishermen who go to the Southwest Coast for the Winter Fishery and others who travel with their jobs. The time away from home varies from one night to six months or more. The work that most people do is considered full-time employment despite the fact that it is seasonal.

Those who return from the Mainland typically have problems obtaining paid employment back home. Other than fish processing, there is no manufacturing done in the region. With the exception of professional jobs, which are usually filled by in-migrants, other means of employment are

restricted mainly to construction and the service industry. These jobs tend to be seasonal and/or low paying, and as a result become part of the unemployment insurance system that incorporates job sharing and make-work projects.

There is no denial that government transfer payments make it easier to remain in rural Newfoundland. People have adjusted to the system, making it work for them. People sometimes leave their UI claims open all year round. They collect unemployment insurance and report the hours they work. Once this claim runs out, they open a new claim. Some have put their businesses in their wife's name to enable them to become eligible to collect unemployment insurance. Others participate in job sharing, stamp saving²⁴, and other activities that have allowed them to survive. When the economy is bad, these programs allow people to stay. Government programs and the way they are structured, in fact, discourage out-migration.

Despite the restrictions of the regional economy, people have managed to maintain their households and feel satisfied with their lifestyles. Some claim they would not leave the Great Northern Peninsula for any amount of money. For the selected few who have managed to secure permanent employment, working in such a rural setting has advantages. Some people

²⁴ To ensure that a worker qualifies for unemployment insurance, a company may accumulate the worker's hours over time and give the worker either a higher stamp or enough weeks of employment to qualify for his/her UI. 'Stamp' refers to an insurable week's work.

run businesses from their homes; such as those who run the post offices, video shop and hair salons. Working from your home means no travel costs to and from work, no day care expenses, and income tax benefits. It is very unlikely that any of these people would leave the GNP; but then, why should they?

Satisfaction of living on the Great Northern Peninsula

The residents of Bird Cove and Anchor Point, for the most part, are satisfied with living in their communities. A general sense of well-being and extreme loyalty to the GNP were felt by most of the people who live there. People feel better off both socially and economically than labour market statistics suggest. Their homes are similar to homes anywhere in Canada, and they enjoy living in a rural area, near the ocean, with all the freedom that accompanies this.

Many people take pride in owning their own home. Owning one's house is affordable on the Peninsula, despite the lower incomes. Easy access to wooded areas, the low cost of land, combined with the helpfulness of people in building each other's houses, make this possible. Economic benefits of hunting, fishing, and growing one's own vegetables are also realized. But there are other benefits to living on the Great Northern Peninsula; "a sense of personal freedom, enjoyment of the physical environment, and the people of the area".

When people were asked what they disliked about living in

their community, one fifth of the sample said "nothing". What most mainly disliked was the weather and the lack of employment; both beyond their control. But there are many benefits, even beyond economics. Serious crime, for example, is nonexistent on the Great Northern Peninsula. As stated by the local court judge, "Generally, they are very law-abiding citizens". Crime is quite petty on the GNP; mostly liquor related or traffic violations. For these reasons many people say they find this rural area a good place to raise children and a great place to live.²⁵

Conclusion

After examining the social and economic reality of the GNP, one is left wondering why anyone would want to leave if things are so good there. But people do leave for many reasons. The limitations on the economy are the main reason for going away; but social and economic benefits also encourage people to return. The result is a flow of people into and out of the community, making return migration a prominent part of the cycle of working away and struggling for survival.

The following chapter will concentrate on Returnees and their migration experience. Looking at the experience of Returnees while they were away, the reasons why they left, and

²⁵ For a greater understanding of satisfaction levels, advantages and disadvantages of living on the Great Northern Peninsula, see House, 1989: 62-69.

the reasons why they returned will help distinguish what makes them different from Stayers but yet in many ways very similar.

Chapter Six

RETURN MIGRATION: THE EXPERIENCE OF RETURNEES

I was away in every province across Canada. The attitude is the same. 'Oh, you're from Newfoundland. You must be here to get your ten stamps and then go back.' I'm not going back up there any more. Lots of people leave and they come back. They just can't hack it up there.

Introduction

Understanding the experience of migrants is essential to any study that explains why people move to any location. It is the intention of this chapter to discuss migration in detail. How Returnees feel about living away, the various types of migration, the migrants intention when they left and the reasons given for moving away help explain not only why they decide to leave but also give a greater understanding as to why many of these people decide to return home. The benefits of returning home can only be fully understood by looking at the migrants as individuals with individual experiences that help determine the outcome of their migration experience. This chapter concludes with two case studies that show first hand exactly what migrants feel from the time they leave home until they finally decide to stay permanently.

How returnees feel about living away

When Newfoundland migrants go to the Mainland they are more noticeable than migrants from other provinces who more

easily blend in with the local population. Newfoundlanders have moved to places such as Nova Scotia, Ontario and Alberta in large numbers thereby making themselves a minority population. In Nova Scotia, Newfoundlanders easily blend in as they share similar backgrounds with the people there. However, they tend to be more like immigrants as they form a minority in places such as Brampton, Ontario and Fort McMurray, Alberta. The cultural barriers they experience when they move to the Mainland may account for some returning to their home community in Newfoundland. "Even though I wanted to go, leaving a little place ... where you had never seen a traffic light and going to a confusing place like Montreal--you can imagine!" Many experience culture shock because they leave a small community which they have never been outside of and go to large urban centres.

Most of the returnees in this study have lived in urban centres on the island of Newfoundland, where there is also a social distinction between "townies" (those born in St. John's) and "baymen" (people from the outports). Urban growth in Newfoundland is confined mainly to the Avalon Peninsula. Even though these people have not moved off the island, many still move back home on a permanent basis to their rural communities. When examining returnees for the purpose of this thesis there were no differences found in comparing those who lived on the Mainland to those who lived in urban Newfoundland. For this reason, returnees from the Mainland

and urban Newfoundland are combined for this thesis and the discussion will focus mainly on why people return to rural areas such as the Great Northern Peninsula.

A mobile population

They usually hang around for a few years and if there is no chance of a job, they leave. My husband came here to teach school, that's how we met. We left and moved to Corner Brook and then St. John's. From St. John's we moved back to Anchor Point. Then we moved to Pasadena. Then in 1980, we moved back to Anchor Point and built our house. We made this community our home.²⁶

Migration does not appear to be a one-time move for many. Most returnees have moved at least twice in their lifetime. People do not usually move immediately after finishing high school. They usually try staying around the area, doing whatever work they can find. Table 11 gives the numbers and percentages of returnees who have moved away from the Great Northern Peninsula, one, two, three and even four times. A closer look at returnees will help explain why there is a cycle of migration to and from the Great Northern Peninsula.

²⁶ This return migrant was given a piece of land by her father. Her husband told me during an interview that they would probably not have a house if they were living away. He also said that this piece of land was the main reason for them returning to Anchor Point.

Table 11: Returnees to the GNP

*MOST RECENT MOVE	Second last move	Third last move	Fourth last move
78 (100.0%)	45 (57.7%)	24 (30.8%)	11 (14.1%)

* 'Most Recent Move' only includes moves to urban areas off the Great Northern Peninsula. Urban moves were to communities off the Peninsula. Rural moves were confined to other communities on the GNP. However, Previous moves also include several moves on the Peninsula. These numbers can be viewed in Table 15.

A look at the intention of migrants when they moved and how migration has affected the returnees and their families, may help us understand why they move so often. What do they experience while they are away? How do their families deal with their leaving? Table 12 describes the immediate intention of respondents each time they left.

Table 12: Intention of returnees when they left

Intention when they left	MOST RECENT MOVE	Second last move	Third last move	Fourth last move
Temporary	50.1	42.2	73.9	72.7
Uncertain	37.1	49.0	13.1	27.3
Permanent	12.8	8.8	13.0	0.0
Total%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

As can be seen in Table 12 most people either knew their move was temporary or were uncertain about their

intention. Very few people thought their move might be permanent. The effect on the family and the migrant may further explain why more moves were not permanent.

Family life and types of migration

Families don't want to see their people²⁷ leave, and the community as a whole feels the same way.

Migration plays an important role in the lives of many Newfoundlanders. There are several ways in which you can describe a migrant. Some are temporary migrants who know they will return, some uncertain migrants who are unsure about returning, and some are permanent migrants who know they are going with the intention of only returning for visits. Various types of migration have different effects on the family and the migrant. The migration experience itself helps determine whether or not one becomes a return migrant.

Temporary migration

A common form of migration in Newfoundland is temporary migration, going away to work for a short period of time. It includes fishermen who go to sea for weeks at a time, workers who go to the rigs or the mines, students who go to pursue further education and people who leave home to get enough work

²⁷ In Newfoundland, it is common to hear people refer to their family as 'my people' or to others' families as 'their people'.

to obtain unemployment insurance benefits for the winter.

Those who migrate for weeks at a time spend shorter periods at home with their family. These people go through an adjustment period each time they come home. Returning home means adjusting to the family schedule. The impact affects the whole family, the individual migrant, parents, the spouse and children, as well as friends and neighbours. A different lifestyle and new experiences while away may lead to personal changes for the return migrant, causing difficulties when returning home. These people generally lead disrupted lives which result in irregularities especially for those who enjoy being involved in organized sports or associations. Their time schedule does not allow for participation in any of these activities. For these reasons many migrants dislike the temporary move and the uncertainty that accompanies this move.

There are some benefits of temporary work migration which explain why people bother to participate. For those who go to work at sea or in lumber camps, not only are these workers paid well, but they may be unable to spend their earnings while they are away. Therefore they have a greater opportunity to accumulate cash and establish savings. But for many, the money does not seem worth the anguish and the stress. Most people who work away from home feel the pain of leaving after each and every visit home. For other temporary migrants, the cost of maintaining two households seems to defeat the purpose of going away to work. Temporary migrants

who leave rural Newfoundland plan to return at some time in the future, but many others leave not knowing what the future will bring.

Uncertain Migration

People who move to Toronto might not be any better off than those who stay here. There is opportunity for people to advance in Toronto but the freedom is not there.

For those who are uncertain when they leave, their experiences in their new destination will help them decide whether or not they will return to Newfoundland. There are many reasons why people who move away decide not to return. Sometimes those who do not know their intention when they leave find a mate, get married, and decide to settle. Others find a secure job that promises them a good future and decide that returning home would not benefit them. Some find they enjoy their new lives on the mainland including the many forms of entertainment not available in Newfoundland. These people find themselves remembering only what they did not have on the island.

But many return after 'giving it a try'. These people usually are not happy with their lives away from home. They decide that their move away is not what they expected it to be or they realize that living back home is not as bad as they thought before they left. To obtain a better understanding of these people we must look at why they went away as well as why

they return.

Why move

We've seen a lot of young people leave the community and go to cities and towns. They leave mostly because of employment opportunities elsewhere. People are not happy waiting for make-work projects. A lot go to Toronto, some go to St. John's, and some go to Fort McMurray and Calgary. It seems like a lot of people go to the Mainland.

Most people move in search of work or to further their education. Some people are forced to move because their family moves. Still others move for personal or social reasons such as just wanting to try some place different.

Sometimes the influence of a return migrant affects further out-migration. "It gives people the urge to go because once they see others do it they feel they can do it too." After one member of the family leaves it is quite common to see the brothers and sisters start leaving home. "After one goes...they all go" is a common expression in Newfoundland homes. What goes through your mind when you are preparing to go away? You are filled with a lot of mixed feelings. You experience fear of the unknown, excitement for the new challenge, and anxiety about leaving your family. These are feelings common to all migrants who leave home for the first time.

Table 13 shows that most people move for employment. This is not surprising because seasonal work on the Great Northern Peninsula often forces people to move for periods of

time to obtain work. The second most popular reason for moving is to obtain education. There is only one post-secondary institution on the Great Northern Peninsula. This is located in St. Anthony. The type of training available is limited therefore most people are forced to leave the Peninsula to pursue further education. ²⁸

Table 13: Reasons why returnees moved away

Reason for moving	MOST RECENT MOVE	Second last move	Third last move	Fourth last move
Employment	59.0	44.4	41.7	36.4
Education	21.8	26.7	20.8	45.5
Join Mate	10.3	8.9	12.5	0.0
Join Parents	1.2	4.4	16.7	0.0
Other*	7.7	15.6	8.3	18.1
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

* 'Other' includes personal reasons such as divorce, to help a family member, or to try something new. (The previous moves also include born and raised under the 'other' category.)

²⁸ There are two university campuses in Newfoundland and Labrador. The main campus of Memorial University is located in St. John's on the east coast of the province, and a smaller west coast campus at Corner Brook, less than a one hour drive from the bottom of the Peninsula. It takes five hours to drive to St. Anthony once you enter the Viking Trail off the Trans Canada Highway.

How long are they gone

Table 14 looks at the length of time return migrants were away, telling us more about the migrants and their experiences.

Table 14: Length of time return migrants spent away

Length of time away	MOST RECENT MOVE	Second last move	Third last move	Fourth last move
Less than one year	59.0	60.0	50.0	54.5
One to five years	30.8	26.7	33.3	18.2
Greater than five years	10.2	13.3	16.7	27.3
Totals	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Almost ninety percent (89.8%) of return migrants spent five years or less away from their home. Almost sixty percent (59.0%) spent less than one year away, indicating temporary migration for the purpose of work, maybe to obtain enough weeks to qualify for unemployment insurance. However, some may have completed education training courses that were less than one year duration. But this number is not large as education levels are low even for return migrants. The small numbers that have stayed away for greater than five years may have obtained a university degree, married and stayed longer than the average migrant, or in the cases of the three previous moves may have been born and raised in another community. Most migrants leave in search of work, a better

life and the hope of finding some sense of permanency, but as indicated in Table 5.13, they do not stay much longer than a year or so. This indicates the uncertainty of their intention when they left and demonstrates that the outcome of their move does not meet the expectations of what they had hoped for when they moved away. But to understand why most return migrants do not stay away for very long, we must look at the reasons that they give for returning home.

Why return

There's a lot of people up there working for minimum wage. They end up, a dozen of them staying in one house just to make ends meet. They're each paying \$200 a month for rent. They're just barely making ends meet. They just can't stay up there, but that amount of money would be sufficient living in Bird Cove.

Many times people leave, meet a mate, buy a home and never return. Other times the Newfoundland migrant decides they just cannot handle the 'hustle and bustle' of mainland city life or they decide going home would be more advantageous in terms of finances. Many return because they would prefer to be near their family. Most of those who return say they never appreciated 'home' until they moved away.

In keeping with Gmelch and Richling (1983, 1985, 1987) the reasons return migrants gave for coming home are arranged according to Pull and Push factors. To include reasons which are beyond the migrant's control a third category, Neutral, has been created. This includes when the migrant knew before

he or she left the move would be temporary or because the migrant was following family. This category fits those who were not the direct decision-maker in the return migration process.

If they work in the fish plant and live home with Mom and Dad, then they can have a pretty good life. They can have cars.

The reasons given by returnees indicate that most people returned because of Pull factors, going back home was what they really wanted. Almost forty percent of returnees named a Pull factor as their first response. Greater than fifty percent gave a similar response as their second and third reason. As can be seen in Table 15 some returnees felt there was only one reason for their return.

Pull factors include wanting to live closer to your family, which most people chose from this section, missing the general lifestyle, a job opportunity waiting at home, death or illness in the family or cheaper housing. Those who went home due to death or illness in the family indicated that once they got home they decided they did not want to be away the next time something similar happened to a family member. For this reason they did not go back. Living on the Mainland with high rent means sharing housing and working for low wages. Working for low wages leaves little money for housing. Most people from the GNP are from large families so living in a house with a lot of people is not that different than living at home. But living back home means no rent so your money goes further.

Cheaper housing includes living at home with your parents, rent free or going home to build a new house.

Neutral reasons include joining your mate or parents. These people were merely following a spouse or parents who decided they wanted to return. Temporary reasons for leaving include those whose school term had ended and those who went away to take a job that they knew they would return when the job was finished. Other includes those who came back due to personal reasons such as Divorce, Separation or family problems. These people are not that different than those who claimed they wanted to be closer to family but they seemed insistent that their coming home was more a result of their problems than merely wanting to be near family. These people indicated that they felt they had no choice. But as this thesis claims, being near family can prove to be more than moral support.

The predominant push factor was lack of employment. If these people were coming home to collect unemployment insurance then pull factors are actually involved. Those who claimed financial reasons for returning are also indicating a pull factor as a response to their problem. Once again being near family provides financial as well as moral support. Those who chose 'tired of city living' and 'fear of crime' were generally turned off with the city. Fear of crime was only a secondary reason for returning.

Table 15: Reasons for returning

Pull reasons	First reason	Second reason	Third reason
To be closer to family	21.8	29.7	23.5
Missed lifestyle of the GNP	6.4	10.8	19.1
Job opportunity	7.7	9.5	5.9
Death/illness in family	3.9	1.4	1.5
Cheaper housing	0.0	1.4	5.9
Total % of pull reasons	39.8%	52.8%	55.9%

Neutral reasons	First reason	Second reason	Third reason
Join mate/parents	11.5	24.4	13.3
Temporary reason for leaving	11.5	2.8	5.9
Other	7.7	10.4	13.2
Total % of neutral reasons	30.7%	37.6%	32.4%

Push reasons	First reason	Second reason	Third reason
Financial	5.15	4.1	4.4
Lack of employment	21.8	2.7	4.4
Tired of city living	2.6	1.4	2.9
Fear of crime	0.0	1.4	0.0
Total % of push reasons	29.5%	9.6%	11.7%
Total % of reasons for returning	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Totals N=	78	74	68

The responses given in Table 15 are based on their most recent move.

The benefits of returning home

Their nine year old daughter said to me last summer, 'Why can't Daddy save all his money for the next two years and then we could come home for good.' Children like it better here because they can play anywhere. Parents don't worry so much about them because there is nothing to fear.

The decision to return home is not necessarily considered by the migrant when he or she first leaves home. Experiences in the new town or city are not the same for all. For those who do not enjoy the new experience, the decision to go home comes much more easily. Bad experiences cause stress to the migrant and to alleviate this stress they return. Worrying about the children and the new lifestyles they are engaged in, wondering if they are being made fun of at school because of the way they speak or are they meeting the right people, are all thoughts expressed by return migrants. One family who lived in Alberta for a few years claimed that they returned because they feared for their children. They said that they constantly worried when their children were not home. Children also like to experience the freedom of living in rural Newfoundland. For whatever reason, people continue to return home and the benefits of returning are being realized.

We felt safer in Newfoundland. The greater opportunity on the Mainland is only a trade-off for the rural way of life.

Return migration movement is mainly from urban to rural communities. For some who return, their experience while away

enables them to move into higher positions, such as in the case of Joan who had worked in several managerial positions on the Mainland. She returned and eventually moved into a higher position at the fish plant. "I used to be in packing, but I've been the manager about three years." But for many, their experience away cannot assist them in getting better jobs as they just do not exist. Rural Newfoundland is very limited in its employment opportunities, the lack of education and variety of work do not allow for better jobs. But returnees know this before they come back, unlike their lack of knowledge of the place to which they had decided to move. If it is not the work situation that encourages people to return, what is it about rural living that makes coming home seem affordable?

To further exemplify the migration experience and why people decide to return to rural Newfoundland, it is important to view first hand from return migrants just what they experienced and how they interpret their motives for going away and for returning. The following two case studies indicate two very different migration experiences with very different reasons for returning. However, it is worth noting that their reasons for staying are very similar, they both were better off financially within the terms of the regional social economy described earlier.

Case study A: a return migrant who has
moved again and again.....

Gerald finished high school in 1977 and moved to St. Anthony where he completed a nine month carpentry course. I worked around locally for awhile and picked at it, getting work wherever I could. In the spring of 1979 there was no work around so he went to Alberta for four or five months. Instead of lying around home doing nothing, making no money, I decided, well the heck with this, I'm going to go somewhere and look for work. If I like it I'll stay, if I don't, I'll get my UI stamps, more or less the same as most people that go. Gerald chose Alberta because he had relatives living there who he could stay with for a while. I decided to go to Alberta because I was in contact with my cousins before I left and they said, 'Yes, no problem, we'll put you up until you get on your feet. We'll give you a place to sleep and when you get work and straightened away, then you can get a place of your own or whatever.'

Gerald was single then so he found it easy to move. It was my very first trip out of Newfoundland when I went to Alberta. To be honest, in Alberta, I felt almost like I was in Newfoundland, only the climate was dry. You meet a variety of people from Vancouver right across to Newfoundland. My cousin knew people and introduced me so I got to know lots of people

real quick. Like many Newfoundlanders who go away to the Mainland, Gerald searched for fellow Newfoundlanders. Newfoundlanders tend to stick together. You find a certain bar and 90% of the people that go there are Newfoundlanders or maritime people anyway. Gerald worked there for a while but like many Newfoundlanders something was missing. I worked at carpentry for a company called Revelstock, building cabins and garages in a factory where you build it in sections and instal it for those who buy it.

But for some reason Gerald was not happy. I came back home in the fall of 1979. I don't know, I just wanted to be back home. But going home was not what Gerald was looking for. In the winter of 1980, I went to Stephenville and completed a commercial transport course. I got my class 1 license for driving big trucks. In 1981 I went back home and worked around at carpentry work again.

Gerald continued to work at odd jobs and hope for something more permanent. But the spring time seems to bring on the need for a change. In the spring I got married. Then we had a little boy. After a while, the same thing, no work in the future, not that I could see. The way I looked at it, I could sit down for a couple of months and wonder if there's a job going to come up or keep phoning manpower and they tell you this and that. So one day I was talking to a friend of mine in Fort McMurray, 'boy, if you want to come, there's a bit of work here on the go'. So, in the spring of 1982 I went

to Alberta again. The first month I was there I'd say I had about 5 or 6 different jobs, and each job I didn't like, painting, renovations, repairing, stuff like that. I picked up the local paper and found an ad looking for swampers, fighting forest fires in Saskatchewan. I filled out an application and two days later I got a call. I worked at that for two weeks and I got promoted to supervisor over 25 males and females.

But that job was seasonal so in September, Gerald moved to Calgary to look for work. He tried to find work in Fort McMurray but there was only low paying jobs available. So Gerald began thinking. My wife and baby were still back home. I couldn't work for low pay and support a family back home. So I went back home in October of 1982.

Gerald is not that different from other return migrants. They go with expectations and when they are not fulfilled, they go home. My intention when I left was, I'll go to Fort McMurray, hoping just to get a job. My goal was to get on with Syncrude or Suncor, one of the two oil companies there. In other words, Gerald was hoping to find a 'good paying' job. If I did, I was planning to move my family to Fort McMurray. But that didn't work out. After I got laid off from the job with forestry, I searched for work for the next five or six weeks and then I thought before I spend all my money I better go back home for the winter. My family was back there.

For the next few years Gerald was lucky enough to get

work back home. He drove a truck for a while and did carpentry work. But this did not last for long. In March of 1986, I left and went to Toronto. There was a pretty good paying job there that I was able to get and lots of people from Bird Cove were there. But I only stayed until April because the rent there was outrageous, a two or three bedroom house was between \$700 and \$1,000 a month. I was looking for a place in Brampton because that's where all of my friends were living. There was no way this was financially feasible for me so I went home. I went there with the intention of getting a good job, a place to live, and then move my family. By this time we had two children and one on the way. But my wife phoned me and said that a company back home were looking for a truck driver and asked about me. So I phoned them up and they told me if I could be there within the next week or so I could have the job. Every time Gerald left home he was looking for the same thing, security, a job that paid enough to support his family and then he could bring them to live with him. Staying up there meant living without his family. Going home meant being with the family but wanting a permanent full-time job. But he still felt that he was better off home. The way I looked at it, I had a home, our own, lock stock and barrel, it's not financed, it's not mortgaged, and the wife and kids are there. If I could get a job clearing \$300.00 plus a week back home I'd be far better off than clearing a thousand dollars a week in Brampton and the wife

and kids living in Newfoundland. .. trying to pay your share of an apartment and keep your home up in Newfoundland.

The reason Gerald left in the spring is perhaps because that is the time of year when everyone goes back to work. He never seemed to mind the winters but then no one else is working in the winter either. The fishing season begins in the spring and if you are not working in the fishery, there is not much else to do. Gerald could not sit around while everyone else worked. He did not want to be perceived as being lazy. So in the spring he continued to move wherever he could find work. I never found what I was looking for. I feel the same now. It's on my mind to go again. I don't like working three or four months a year and then sitting around for the rest of the year drawing unemployment. Perhaps some day if we get better off financially we might move away for a while. I'd like to offer my kids more. In Corner Brook, Grand Falls or St. John's there's a bigger variety of things to do.

But Gerald, like other return migrants knows that the only way he can support his family is to remain on the GNP and go away from time to time in hope of finding that good paying job. When I was away a lot of employers would ask you where you were from and when you'd say Newfoundland then they'd ask you what you are looking for and they'd say 'well you're only here for your stamps'. I'd say, 'if the job is good and the pay is good, I might be here for a long while, not a short time'.

As Gerald explains, you cannot afford to live away but when you're home you have to make do with whatever you can get. This year is 1988, when the spring comes around, my UI will run out. Here I am with no stamps and a wife and four kids. I have no choice but to go away. After three months, you get pretty sick of it, there you are in Ontario somewhere and your wife and kids are back home in Newfoundland. You haven't seen them for a while. What do you do? A lot of people who are married are faced with the same situation. They got no other choice, instead of going on welfare, living off the government, you work for a while and get UI. But basically, you're living off the government when you're drawing UI too but it's a different category. People do not feel that there is stigma attached to employment insurance because they work as much as they can until they are forced to return home to their families. Gerald is still working as a truck driver but the work is seasonal. He works during the fishing season. When my UI runs out, if there is no job in the area I will probably go again. I'll pack my suitcase and say to my wife, 'I'll see you in four or five months because I'm going to try and get good stamps so that I can come back in the winter and then hopefully in the spring of 1989 I won't have to go away. Hopefully there'll be a job around here'. That's what it comes down to, keeping your head above water.

Case study B: a return migrant who is staying for good

Mary left Bird Cove with her daughter on the 14th of October, 1965 and went to Montreal. She was a single parent with two children. One day she decided she just had to go so she took her daughter and went to Montreal to work as a housekeeper for a Spanish doctor. I used to work in Flowers Cove Hospital before I went away, and one of the nurses that used to worked there had moved to Montreal. She was working in Montreal Children's Hospital. I contacted her and told her I desperately needed to go away because my life was so confusing at that time. She knew this doctor, and arranged the job for me. I worked there for a couple of months until the doctor decided he couldn't afford a housekeeper any more. I got in contact with my friend again and she knew a professor that worked at McGill University. She hired me as her housekeeper. She had two small children. I worked for her for six years and at the same time I finished high school at night. When I left there I went to work in a Convalescence Home. I worked there for about two years and then I went to work in a geriatric hospital. While working there I did a nursing assistant course. I worked there for six years.

But no matter how badly a person wants to leave, going away to a new place is sometimes frightening, especially if it is your first time away from home, and even more so if you are

leaving a small rural community and going to a large city.

When I went to Montreal it was very confusing, even though I had wanted to go, I was till trying to find myself. Leaving a little place like Bird Cove where I had never seen a traffic light and going to a confusing place like Montreal--you can imagine! Once I got used to Montreal and used to getting around, I loved it.

Mary loved Montreal and was doing very well there. She had managed to upgrade her education and make a living for her and her daughter. So why did she go back?

Well my decision to come back to Bird Cove was based on two things; my mother died suddenly in 1976 from a massive heart attack. I had to travel from Montreal to here. The flight to Stephenville seemed fairly short but then I had to drive for four or five hours to get here. Everything was so tense and I was so anxious and upset, I thought, 'Oh my God, I never want to be this far away again if a family member dies'. I thought if I could jump out and walk I wonder would I get there any faster. This was the basis of my decision to return. Secondly, my son was only six or seven when I left and I never saw him grow up. I thought, now I'm going to go back and watch my grandchildren grow up. So that's what brought me back, but I dearly love Montreal.

Mary did not come back to Newfoundland until a few years after her mother's death. But even then she was unsure.

Before I actually moved back to Bird Cove I lived in

Corner Brook for two and a half years. I worked in the special care unit at the hospital. I came back to Bird Cove in the fall of 1980, but I found it hard, really, really, hard. I missed Montreal terribly. When I first came back I felt shut off, shut off from Montreal. It was more my home than here. With my own mother gone, and I was never close to my Dad. We were closer to her, and she died, and it didn't seem like that much to come back for. I hadn't seen everyone for so long and I didn't know how to greet them. It was just so different. The people treated me nice. They would say 'it must be lovey to be back home', but I didn't feel good.

But if someone is this miserable about being home you would think they would go back to where they were happy. But I stayed because my son lived here and my father moved out and gave me the house. My aim was to rebuild this house, and apply for a job in Flowers Cove as a nursing assistant but the way it is up here once you get a job you don't leave because jobs are not that plentiful around here so there were no openings. Mary was unable to find a fulfilling job which she was always used to having and she had worked so hard to be able to obtain. But her family seemed more important to her than a job. Having free housing meant she did not need as much money to survive. Mary cooks in a restaurant now. She is not doing what she has trained to do, but she is happy. She has her own home and she is near her family.

Anybody who wishes to go away, I don't discourage them

because I think it's a good thing to get out of your system.
My daughter, wild horses wouldn't drag her away from home. This really bothers me because Montreal was her home and she says she doesn't want to go there, even for a visit. She was only a baby when she moved there and she did almost all her schooling there. But no way, she won't leave here.

Conclusion

One of the main reasons for studying return migration is to understand better the rationality of in-migration and population growth as a whole. Return migration in rural Newfoundland in particular is important not only because of its frequency but because it cannot be explained by merely applying economic or social theories that typically explain migration patterns in general.

To complete the social economic approach used in this thesis to explain return migration it is useful to compare Returnees to Stayers. Returnees have little or no impact on improving their homeland because the skills they developed while away cannot usually be applied in their homeland (see chapter two). They appear to be no different than their family and friends who have never left the community. In understanding the return migration question we must understand why these people who have gone away and lived a different life appear to be so similar but yet have some significant differences. The following chapter will discuss these similarities and differences in detail by comparing significant variables such as age, gender, marital status, size of households, education and employment history of Stayers and Returnees that help complete the return migration explanation.

Chapter Seven

THE IMPACT OF RETURN MIGRATION: RETURNEES VERSUS STAYERS.

Their personalities are similar. They like the same things, but maybe those who go away are a little more ambitious or more concerned with the overall well-being of their families. Maybe it's the future of their families they are concerned with but most who go away for periods of time are young and single. There are families who leave too, but not many.

Introduction

Now that it has been explained why people choose to return to an economically "depressed" region such as the GNP, it is interesting to examine what impact the return migrant has on the local society. Are Returnees different from Stayers? And do they contribute anything different to the local economy and to the culture?

The main difference between Returnees and Stayers is that Returnees have experienced living somewhere other than their home community. For this reason Returnees are able to make decisions about their lives based on first hand information. This, according to Britain (1972) is what makes Return Migrants unique because they are familiar with both lifestyles and expectations and therefore make decisions based on prior knowledge and not impulse. Stayers on the other hand can only reference information that others who have lived away give them.

The value of the general life style of the Northern

Peninsula is appreciated by both Returnees and Stayers. This is where they seldom differ. They both have a strong appreciation for the outport social organization which allows everyone to help each other and they also both appreciate the environmental conditions which allow for easy access to wooded areas so that they can hunt, fish, or just enjoy the solitude of the natural environment. It is these types of appreciations that Gmelch (1983) and Richling (1985) refer to as 'quality of life'. They claim it is the rural value system that helps explain migration to economically disadvantaged regions.

This chapter will demonstrate how 'quality of life' for Returnees and for Stayers is very similar. It just took Returnees a little longer to appreciate it. According to Gmelch, by returning these migrants fulfil their original intention at the time they left. If their original intention was to increase their social and economic well-being then they have met their goals by returning. A comparison of the demographics of the two groups will further exemplify the experience of Returnees.

A comparison of stayers and returnees

A total of 191 Stayers and 78 Returnees have been identified for this study. The first step in this analysis is to describe those who stay and compare them with those who go away and return.

Position in household

Table 16 compares the respondent's position in the household of such 'Stayers' and 'Returnees'. The head of household is defined as the person who is the main income earner of the household, usually the father but some households are headed by women. These women are mainly single parents due to divorce or widowhood, or married with the husband working away. The most mobile persons in the household are the household heads. They make up 38.5 percent of the Returnees. In comparison, only 28.8 percent of Stayers are household heads. After viewing the reasons why people go away we get a clearer picture as to why household heads are so mobile. These people are the main breadearners of the family and therefore have a financial obligation to their families. Going away to work often means going away to support the family, whether the family moves with you or stays home.

Table 16: Position in household of stayers and returnees

Position in household	Stayers	Returnees
Head of household	28.8	38.5
Spouse	30.9	15.4
Son	23.0	24.4
Daughter	10.0	16.6
Other*	7.3	5.1
Total %	100.0%	100.0%

$\chi^2 = .055$

*Other includes parents, in-laws, other relatives or friends of household heads.

Marital status

Twice as many Stayers as Returnees are spouses, indicating that most spouses do not follow their mates when they move away. Table 17 describes the marital status of the respondents at the time they were interviewed. Most Stayers were married (58.6%) while just as many Returnees were married (48.7%) as were single (48.7%). Single people are more likely to be Returnees than Stayers because single people have less family responsibility and therefore more freedom to go away and try living in another area.

Table 17: Marital status of stayers and returnees

Marital status	Stayers	Returnees
Single	35.1	48.7
Married	58.6	48.7
Widowed	4.7	1.3
Separated /divorced	1.6	1.3
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .144$$

Gender

Gender plays a role in migration. Gmelch found that not only were men more migratory than women but they also had the greatest desire to return. Table 18 shows that while slightly more Stayers are female, 62.8 percent of Returnees are male,

indicating that males are more migratory than females. Since most household heads are male, this is consistent with the finding that household heads are the most migratory people in the household.

Table 18: Gender of stayers and returnees

Gender	Stayers	Returnees
Male	48.7	62.8
Female	51.3	37.2
Totals	100%	100%

$$\chi^2 = .035$$

Age

Age plays an important role in migration. Greater than 70 percent of both Stayers and Returnees are between 15 and 44. However, within that age range, only one age group has a higher percentage of Stayers than Returnees. Those between 25 and 34 have a greater percentage of Stayers. This may be because spouses would most likely be within this age range and they are primarily Stayers. It is safe to say that Returnees are more likely to be young than Stayers, the older people in these communities are more likely to be Stayers. This age group is more settled and less likely to migrate. (This does not necessarily mean they have never migrated. Migration for the purpose of comparison in this thesis is 'recent', in the

last ten years.)

Table 19: Age of Stayers and Returnees

Age Groups	Stayers	Returnees
15-24	27.2	37.2
25-34	25.7	19.2
35-44	15.7	26.9
45-54	6.3	7.7
55-64	15.2	3.9
65 and older	9.9	5.1
Totals N=	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .014$$

Religion

No relationship between religion and migration exists. Table 20 demonstrates that there is little difference between the religion of Returnees and Stayers. Therefore no explanations in terms of the Protestant Work Ethic and its relationship to migration can be concluded from these results. Both those who stay and those who return are very hard working people who work not only in the paid labour market but also in the household and informal economies.

Table 20: Religion of stayers and returnees

Religion	Stayers	Returnees
Protestant	46.6	51.3
Catholic	53.4	48.7
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .244$$

Education

Where are you going to go when you grow up? I don't know. Are you going to stay here? I don't think so. Do you want to go fishing? No. Why not? Because I sees how hard it is on Dad, he comes home tired every night. No time for nothing, and all he does is go to sleep. I went out two or three times, sometimes I help him, not all that much, and I was tired when I got in.

It is clear that Returnees are better educated than Stayers. There is only one post secondary institution on the GNP, a community college located in St. Anthony. For this reason, many people have had to leave to obtain post secondary training unless they are completing a course at the Western Community College in St. Anthony. At least 50.0 percent of Returnees have obtained a high school diploma, are university graduates or have some post-secondary education in comparison to only 13.3 percent of Stayers (see Table 21).

Table 21: Education levels of stayers and returnees

Education level	Stayers	Returnees
Grade 9 or less	68.6	41.0
Grades 10 to 12 (nongraduate)	18.1	9.0
High school graduate	9.0	12.8
University graduate	.5	2.6
Some post- secondary ²⁹	3.8	34.6
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .000$$

Education and the local labour market

With the exception of a small number of professional jobs, education does not play an important role in obtaining seasonal and marginal employment on the GNP or in most rural communities in Newfoundland. For those who stay, education is not often viewed as relevant to the general labour market on the Peninsula. "Not many males bother to finish high school because they don't need it to go fishing." This attitude has resulted in very few people even bothering to finish school. This may explain why 86.7 percent of Stayers

²⁹ 'Some Post-Secondary' includes vocational training, some university credits and correspondence courses.

have not even graduated from high school. But even for Returnees, the education level is low compared to the general Canadian population in their age range. Their low levels of education have made it more difficult for them to find a good paying job while they were away. But they are by far the more educated of the two groups and they are more likely to be working than Stayers (see Table 22).

For both groups, education appears to be unimportant as most occupations require little formal education, and people do not always obtain employment based on their qualifications. "The young, perhaps leave because the jobs are given to the married ones. There are only enough jobs for the married people." The personal networking for finding jobs contributes little encouragement to pursuing formal education.

People usually obtain employment through family reputation and availability of work.

In small communities jobs are sometimes given to those who appear to need it the most. Married people are viewed as having a responsibility and this is taken into consideration when jobs are filled. "Most young people live with their parents because resources are limited. If they are living with their parents, they are expected to live off of them." Single people live with their parents therefore it is expected that their parents give them the basics they need to survive. Even though some married people also live with their parents, the expectations are different. They are expected to

contribute to the household and are usually saving to build a house so they are still viewed as someone in need.

A total of 93 households participated in this survey. Tables 22, 23, and 24 contain employment information about the Stayers and Returnees who are participating members of the paid labour force.

Employment status of stayers and returnees

I don't know why I decided to make Bird Cove my home. I guess its because my wife is working around the community 'too', working in the store, and to move somewhere else and for both of us to try and get a job over again would be a lot harder to do. So that's part of the reason I stayed.

Returnees seem to have more success finding jobs, which suggests that their wider experience and higher education levels do help them find employment. Less than ten percent of the Returnees do not usually work at some time during the year. We know from Table 19 (page 130) that 5.1 percent of Returnees are aged 65 and older which means they are receiving an old age pension and are no longer part of the labour force. This implies that almost all Returnees who are of working age, work at some point during the year. Stayers on the other hand have 23.0 percent of their group who do not usually work, but only 9.9 percent of them are of retirement age. This suggests that 13.1 percent of Stayers of labour force age do not work at some time during the year compared to 4.1 percent of Returnees.

At the time these interviews were conducted, almost two thirds of Returnees were working compared to less than half of Stayers. Many may have been waiting to be called back to work in the fish plants. The problem with employment on the Peninsula is that it is mainly seasonal, even for Returnees.

Seasonal employment

Many rural Newfoundlanders are employed for at least part of the year but most also spend time unemployed and not in the labour force. The most important employment characteristic that Returnees and Stayers share is that their employment is mainly seasonal (see Table 24). Seasonal employment predominates on the Great Northern Peninsula because of the heavy involvement in the fishery. Returnees seem to have better luck at obtaining what little nonseasonal work there is as more than one quarter of them do not work in seasonal jobs compared to 20.7 percent of Stayers. This may be a result of their more varied work experience coupled with the fact that they are better educated, allowing them greater opportunity to obtain a year round job that is unrelated to the fishery.

Tables 22,23, 24,: Employment status of stayers and returnees

Table 22: Usually employed at some time during the year

Usually employed	Stayers	Returnees
Yes	77.0	90.8
No	23.0	9.2
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$x^2 = .009$$

Table 23: Currently employed

Currently employed	Stayers	Returnees
Yes	49.7	64.1
No	50.3	35.9
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$x^2 = .032$$

Table 24: Seasonally employed

Seasonally employed	Stayers	Returnees
Yes	79.3	74.3
No	20.7	25.7
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$x^2 = .412$$

Problems with re-adaptation

...the ones that do take a trade, usually become beauticians because there's nothing down here (referring to availability of trades people can take),....we do have one young girl that's got a course in photography but I mean she worked at the fish plant all summer. She does photography on the side. Not that much around here. All that's down here is the fish plant so if you want to work in the fish plant, you come home.

People also find that even when they do obtain some post-secondary schooling, employment in their particular field is often not available. The ones who take a trade sometimes find themselves unemployable in that field. They then find themselves faced with the decision to move away to where work in their field is available, or to stay at home and work at something else. Some go to work in the fish plant and work at their trade when they can. "All those who went away and became teachers, none of them have come back to teach. The work just isn't here." Many jobs that require post-secondary training are filled by in-migrants. But according to employers they are also faced with a dilemma, whether to hire a local or search for outside people who are more qualified for the position.³⁰

³⁰ The Northern Pen, a locally owned and published weekly newspaper is operated by a resident of St. Anthony. He expressed concern over successfully retaining employees. A past tendency to hire outsiders has proven to be troublesome for the paper because some of these people left after gaining experience. He claimed that settling for less qualifications, hiring local people, may allow him to train and keep his staff.

Migration in itself may be educational. Those who go away learn new ways of doing things from other people and often bring these ideas back with them. For some return migrants, trying to impress what you have learned on those who have never been away can be frustrating. Sometimes return migrants find that their educational training is not applicable or even appreciated in their community. One return migrant who had completed a course in food technology said when speaking of the people in the plant he worked in "... they have no appreciation for good quality fish". He also said that the Stayers figured they knew more than he because of their experience with the fish. He said they did not consider his knowledge valid. They did not appreciate his educational training in the area which accounted for his expertise.

The local labour market has merely provided an opportunity to obtain summer employment while attending post-secondary institutions. Usually those who go to university or other post secondary institutions come back and work in the fish plant in the summer. This helps them cover the financial costs. The community encourages this and the plants too try to accommodate the students. The plant manager in Anchor Point explained how students fit into the work in the fish plant.

Usually the first couple of weeks that the fish plant is opened is slow production time and it's only when you start getting what they call 'capelin glut' that you get any fish. That's when there is a lot of work on the go. That is when the students usually fit in.

Changing attitudes toward education

Now, they've got the money to go. They've got more money, more access to everything, and with new technology coming out, they got to be trained for certain things on the boats, like wenches, blueprints, fish finders and all that stuff. It requires education. Therefore in the winter probably 'so and so's' daughter or son will go and take something and then they'll come back and it benefits. You know most of them are going into the marine field so this kind of helps their father because that's the life they got set out for themselves.

Improvement in people's financial situations if the fishery revives may make it more affordable for young people to go to school. Females may be more likely to go to university than males because many males stay and work on the inshore fishing draggers. Some of the females work on the their father's dragger but they are a minority and usually it is when the draggers are really busy. Changes in the fishery and the amount of work it creates is slowly changing the perception of education.

Those who have obtained post-secondary training are usually the younger people in the community. This is more likely a result of people stressing the importance of education in society today than the increase in money available from the draggers. The uncertainties within the fishery are stressed to children by their parents. Parents want their children to have more choices than they had. As expressed by a local teacher today students just stay in school for longer periods of time.

Kids don't drop out like they used to. Before guys dropped out at grades 7 or 8, but girls, it was sad, some of them with a 90% average and they would drop out. Now hardly any. You can tell, you know whose going to drop out.

The levels of education are going up slightly as the younger people realize its importance in obtaining employment elsewhere. For those who do not want to work in the fishery, education has become a means to occupational mobility. For those who wish to pursue a career in the fishery, the modernization of fishing technologies has also increased the necessity of formal training. There is no longer enough work in the fish plant to persuade the young to stay, or to choose not to go to university.

Work and household maintenance

You'd probably leave four o'clock in the morning and come back around 12 o'clock at night. Then its two or three o'clock by the time you get rid of the fish, then four o'clock you got to go again.

The employment status of both groups helps explain the financial situation of the households, and their participation in the labour force. As Table 22 demonstrates most people are usually employed at some time during the year. This means several incomes per household. Even though work is not plentiful on the Peninsula, working when you can allows a decent standard of living as long as expenses are shared.

Stayers and Returnees are really not that different except for education levels. Both groups comprise hard working individuals who have a common goal, to maintain their families and their

households. The myth that Newfoundlanders lack a 'work ethic' has been discounted by the Economic Council of Canada (1980). In their report they analyze the means to reduce unemployment by raising earned incomes and reducing transfer payments. They demonstrated that Newfoundlanders are mobile people, willing to search for work, and are flexible in the types of jobs they will take. Given this, we must try to understand why many who choose to migrate in search of work also choose to return home.

Stayers remain on the Peninsula and work when they can while Returnees get tired of this way of life and go away to try to obtain something more. Once they realize that what they had on the Peninsula was a lot more than what they can ever obtain living in urban centres they pack up and move back home. Sometimes once they go home they get disillusioned with the way of life again and go away in anticipation of it being different this time. After trying once again and obtaining no more than they had on their first move they go back home hoping that it will be better than it was when they left.

What makes it different living in rural Newfoundland is the structure of the household. In households with several adults working, the total income for the household is higher than in other households. On the Great Northern Peninsula, like many rural Newfoundland areas, it is quite common to have adult children living at home, even if they are married. When all of these adults work, even for part of the year, the household maintains a standard of living quite similar to urban regions where one or two adults

per household work.

Employment

Looking at employment status in terms of self-employed or employee (see Table 25) and understanding the structure of the fishery can help us realize how education and work experience outside the fishery presently do not play a key role for finding employment in the fishery, although it may affect participation in the more lucrative otter trawl fishery.

It is important to note that the two communities concerned in this study experience the fishery in a completely different manner, but the differences in economic structure have not significantly affected how these communities have reacted to migration. Migration was just as prominent in Anchor Point, one of the most successful and prosperous communities in Newfoundland, as it was in Bird Cove. The success of Anchor Point rests on its very productive inshore dragger fishery and its busy fish plant which relies mostly on the draggers for a secure supply of fish. The inshore draggers are larger than fixed gear vessels. The draggers are anywhere from 45 to 65 feet in length. These fishing vessels use mobile gear called otter trawls. This is a highly regulated industry through government restriction of licenses and quotas. Anchor Point was fortunate enough to obtain thirteen of these licenses. The inshore dragger fishermen earn large incomes up to \$100,000.00 or more for the skippers during good years. Crew members earn anywhere from \$30,000 to \$40,000 dollars and sometimes

more. In contrast, incomes of the small boat fishermen of Bird Cove range from \$10,000 to \$25,000. Many of the dragger fishermen are self-employed businessmen, as they have incorporated their draggers as limited liability companies. Some of the self-employed draggers might be Returnees who brought back money to purchase otter trawlers. Table 25 does not show much difference in Stayers and Returnees with respect to self-employment, but this may be because small boat fishermen are also self-employed. As can be seen in Table 26, there is some evidence to suggest that Returnees are more likely than Stayers to work in the otter trawl fishery.

Table 25: Employment structure of stayers and returnees

Employment structure	Stayers	Returnees
Self-employed	20.4	17.4
Employee	79.6	79.7
Both	0.0	2.9
Total	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .114$$

Reviewing the various types of employment that these people have, Table 26 explains why Returnees work for longer periods of time. Returnees have more stable jobs in such occupations as otter trawl fishing and trucking.

Table 26: Usual occupation of stayers and returnees

Usual occupation	Stayers	Returnees
Ottertrawl	7.7	17.1
Fixed Gear	1.4	0.0
Small Boat	12.7	7.1
Fishplant	35.9	37.1
Fish assistant	2.1	1.4
Receptionist	2.1	1.4
Store clerk	5.6	2.9
Government program	5.6	8.6
Carpenter	2.8	1.4
Labourer	4.2	2.9
Bartender	2.8	0.0
Truckdriver	.7	7.1
Other*	16.4	13.0
Total	100.0%	100.0%

$$\chi^2 = .157$$

*Other includes teachers and other workers who are employed by the provincial or federal government. It also includes other types of employment not mentioned in the table.

Table 26 shows just what people actually do for a living on the Great Northern Peninsula. Greater than fifty percent of both samples work in the fishery. Surprisingly, more Returnees (62.7) percent than Stayers (59.8) percent are involved in either fishing or fish processing. The Otter trawl fishery which is the more lucrative fishery has more than twice as many Returnees involved

than Stayers. This may be due to the fact that Returnees have brought back money to invest in the inshore fishery.

Professional positions are not generally held by the Returnees to the Great Northern Peninsula. Other than the differences in the numbers of Returnees and Stayers working on ottertrawlers, the only other notable difference in numbers of a particular occupation is truck drivers. There is a vast difference in the number of Returnees who are truck drivers (7.1%) compared to less than one percent of Stayers. Trade oriented positions such as truck driving which require post-secondary education are more likely to be held by Returnees because these people have to leave the Peninsula to obtain their training. This demonstrates that education does play a role in the employability of Returnees compared to Stayers for this occupation at least.

Returnees generally work for longer periods of time each year. This may be due to the types of employment they are involved in or the fact that Stayers participate more in work sharing to obtain transfer payment subsidies such as unemployment insurance. Stayers have perhaps become more accustomed to making the system work for them. Table 27 shows that twice as many Returnees as Stayers work for more than twenty weeks each year which is beyond the minimum requirement for obtaining unemployment insurance for first time recipients.

Table 27: Average number of weeks worked each year for stayers and returnees

No. of weeks worked	Stayers	Returnees
1 to 10	23.7	20.0
11 to 20	60.5	47.3
21 or more	15.8	32.8
Totals	100.0%	100.0%

$$x^2 = .041$$

What makes Returnees somewhat more employable than Stayers? They gain more work experience as they move, and as a result of moving they are not as fearful of trying a new experience, and moving again. They are also better educated which gives them an advantage even when they are competing against a Stayer for a job that requires a specific skill. People in the community think highly of those who go away to work. They view them as ambitious which must be in the Returnee's favour when competing for a job.

The unemployment scene

The Great Northern Peninsula is more dependent on unemployment insurance than the rest of Newfoundland. In Newfoundland, 'unemployment' refers to unemployment insurance. Many people obtain unemployment in times when work is scarce or non-existent. This is crucial for seasonal workers who work only when the fishery is successful or when work is available. Because of seasonal

employment there is no stigma attached to receiving unemployment insurance in rural Newfoundland. It is viewed as a reward for doing hard work for a period of time. Fishermen and plant workers claim they work just as much during the six months they are employed as most people do all year round. ³¹

People use the unemployment system to ensure that everyone is taken care of during hard times. Job sharing is common to the Great Northern Peninsula. In Bird Cove the women who work in the local store work one week and draw unemployment insurance the next week. This allows twice as many people to be employed. In Anchor Point people sometimes stay off work in the plant if they have enough stamps, to enable someone else to obtain stamps to collect unemployment insurance for the winter.³² Fishermen also participate in a form of job sharing. They let their catch be placed in another fisherman's name if they have received enough weeks to obtain unemployment insurance. This helps other fishermen who are trying to get enough stamps for the winter.

Make Work Projects or Government Programmes as they are often referred to originally began in the early 1970s when the provincial and federal governments began short-term job creation programmes.

³¹ Social Assistance Recipients are also not stigmatized because they are viewed as really needing it. Single mothers and widows are the only people receiving social assistance in Anchor Point. In 1985-86, Anchor Point had the lowest rate of social assistance recipience per capita of any community in Newfoundland and Bird Cove was considerably below the provincial average.

³² Stamps are actually insurable weeks of employment. The term was adopted from the early years of unemployment insurance when people actually obtained stamps for employment.

Even though attempts have been made to make these jobs meaningful and useful in terms of future employment people still view them as simply "make work". People use these projects to secure the necessary weeks for obtaining unemployment insurance. A little less than ten percent of both Stayers and Returnees were working on government programmes at the time they were surveyed (see Table 26) which is not particularly high compared to the overall occupational structure.

It appears that some people only work the required ten weeks it takes to get 'unemployment' or the twenty weeks for new entrants. But there are many who work beyond the required time to become eligible for unemployment insurance. The reality is people generally work when there is work and only draw unemployment when no work is available. Unemployment insurance serves as an income supplement to assist the rural households in maintaining a fair standard of living. We must also remember that even though people work in the labour market for only part of the year, receiving unemployment insurance for the rest of the year does not mean people are sitting home doing nothing. There is lots to be done.

Conclusion

Returnees and Stayers are similar in terms of wants, needs and goals. What distinguishes the two groups is their choices in fulfilling these needs. Returnees appear to be more restless than Stayers and because of their impatience with the status quo they go away until they are ready to go back to their old way of life. Stayers have already come to terms with the restrictions on the local economy, and have learned to live their lives according to the means they have become accustomed to. Returnees take a little longer to achieve a similar level of satisfaction with their lives, and when they return enjoy somewhat greater job security than Stayers. Basically, the people of the Great Northern Peninsula are hard working individuals who make do with what they have. They have grown accustomed to seasonal employment, government transfers and the informal economy that makes their lives comfortable and more secure than an outsider would perceive it to be. The people of the GNP own what many people in the world can only dream of owning and live in an area where the pace of life is relaxed, the air is clean, and people are free to lead their lives as they wish.

Chapter Eight

CONCLUSION

This thesis has assessed the social dynamics of return migration and shown their economic relevance. The economic relevance of return migration is understood by viewing social institutions such as family and community as economic institutions. When explaining return migration, especially to rural areas, it creates a false dichotomy to separate social and economic institutions and structures.

Geographic and economic models of migration are useful at the macro level but are inadequate for understanding the dynamics of return migration at the micro level. They ignore the informal household and community economies that comprise the social economy. Anthropological research focuses on familial and social reasons for return migration. This thesis maintains that there is a social economy existing in rural Newfoundland that has economic value and more accurately explains return migration. It is necessary to have a complete understanding of return migration as a social economic decision because of the impact on the communities involved. A clearer understanding could affect rural and community development policies and programs. This is important for the future of rural communities because of their dependency on transfer payments.

This thesis did not discuss the two communities involved as separate and distinct because basically there were few differences in these two communities for the purpose of this study. Therefore, the discussion of return migration is based on both Anchor Point and Bird Cove which represent the Great Northern Peninsula as a whole which the people who live there see as an entity in itself. While my initial aim for this research was to offer a conceptual understanding of return migration to rural Newfoundland and hopefully to lead towards a theoretical explanation based on the results of the survey I completed on the Northern Peninsula, the research I completed has led me to conclude that return migration is not well understood by researchers, politicians or decision makers who make recommendations for government policies.

To gain a complete understanding of migration and in particular return migration to rural Newfoundland there are several issues that need to be further researched. Understanding migration includes examining all of those involved in the process. Return migration can never be fully understood without careful analysis of those who stay as well as those who go away and never return. Former research completed on this topic tends to focus too closely on the characteristics of migrants without discussing reasons for migrating. Return Migrants need to be compared to Stayers and Out-migrants. A comparison of all three groups is necessary.

Many times Newfoundlanders are misunderstood in their

reasons for going away to work and even more so for their decisions to return home. Working away can be exciting for someone who is doing it out of desire for a change, but it can be a lot less exciting for someone who is forced to move for financial reasons. People who leave Newfoundland generally leave hoping to obtain a better life. They want to earn a decent income, own a nice home and have greater opportunities available for their children.

Many out-migrants from Newfoundland are undereducated and unskilled, and therefore do not obtain what they set out to accomplish. With the exception of the upward trend in the availability of employment at particular times in southern Ontario and Fort McMurray, Alberta, the economy across the country has not provided a surplus of jobs that pay decent wages or enable workers to continue working. For a person who has no particular skill working at whatever one can get has been the trend. Leaving one's family and working in a strange place with new people can be difficult for anyone. But trying to obtain what one believes is obtainable, like a job making good money, a house, a car and the other things in life that people strive for is not obtainable for everyone. Working in factories and other unskilled jobs not only pays less than what is needed to obtain these things but can soon become routine and boring. This, added to the stress of being away from family and friends, can soon make living in the new place undesirable.

For someone who goes home on vacation and sees their friends finishing their houses and living in their home community their disillusionment of living away becomes increased. For some the economic benefits of going back home soon make sense. Even though the job away pays more, the return on the dollar is not nearly what it is back home. Those who live away pay high rent and utilities, high travel costs to work, daycare, parking, and other costs that come with living in the city. For those who live back home with their parents, sharing costs, having time to cut wood to build a house on land that was obtained at little or no cost and enjoying the pleasure of being around family and friends provides a good standard of living.

For the person who lives away the life back home does not always seem so bad when compared to the lifestyle in the city. After all of the bills are paid there is not much money left. Friends back home always seem to have spending money, mostly because their costs are much less. Building a house in the city is out of the question and buying one is usually impossible because of the high cost.

The migrant makes a decision to go home which appears to be a result of wanting to be near family. In reality, the decision is largely economical, but unless it is evaluated and explained how family can make living more economical the reason is not always obvious.

In addition to understanding why people come home, it is

equally important to understand those who never come back. These migrants for various reasons have had a different experience. They may have been lucky enough to obtain employment that allowed them to become promoted to a better job or they may have married a person not from Newfoundland and therefore coming home would not interest their spouse. For whatever reason, there will always be people who will never move back home. To fully understand why some people stay away while others return home it is necessary to investigate those who have left and never returned. What is so different about their lives that going home is not part of their immediate plans?

In addition, education must be better understood to explain the role it plays in migration. Migration for the purpose of centralizing populations is no longer necessary. Modern electronics, computerization, transportation and communication systems, new industrial technologies and rapid growth of the service sector make migration unnecessary. There is a need to examine the various levels of education of Out-migrants, Return Migrants and Stayers. We must concentrate on educating the people so that they can survive in changed economic structures that incorporate modern technology. Not only must we include education in the study of those who never return but we must understand its changing role in the local labour market on the GNP. Somehow a balance must be found between locally relevant education seen as

useful and an important way to interest students in becoming well educated. This can only be done if potential students know they will increase their chances of obtaining employment. For communities on the Great Northern Peninsula, this means developing industries such as aquaculture, tourism and other small scale businesses so that the people will have incentives to become educated by providing a means for them to apply what they have learned. Most people do not want to live elsewhere; therefore, new opportunities should be introduced to provide for a sustainable economy which the people can participate in.

Those who return from the Mainland say financially it is much cheaper to live in Newfoundland, not because of the cost of living, but because of the lifestyle. Newfoundland has strong social relations that have economic value. Families provide living accommodations to members who are building their homes. Subsistence production activities such as growing your own vegetables, catching fish, moose, rabbit and making preserves are shared among family and neighbours in rural Newfoundland. Exchange labour such as helping someone build their house, cutting wood for the winter, repairing vehicles and equipment, and sharing child care is common. Many people are unaware of the financial savings these social relations provide until they are forced to live away from home.

Returning to Newfoundland is not just a social decision. It is an economic decision as well. Some social reasons can

also be viewed as economic; e.g. the stress of migration resulting from separation from family and from economic pressures. Stress in this context can be viewed as an 'economic issue'. Our economic strength can determine the stress we encounter in our lives. Therefore, stress indeed becomes an economic issue when people are forced to move, are forced to leave their families, and are forced to work at jobs that they dislike.

Stress becomes an economic issue when we are told that to survive, we must leave. Freedom of choice does not really exist for those who are unemployed in a province with the highest rate of unemployment in the country. Those who are forced to leave, either in search of employment or to follow their spouses, know the feeling of stress. Those who are left behind while family members go away to make a living, also know the feeling of stress. For anyone who has experienced migration, always, " leaving is the hardest part ". Many say coming back to rural Newfoundland makes them feel so relaxed that they learn to view Newfoundland as stress free. Those who live here on a permanent basis know that this is not entirely true. However, those who have spent some time living in urban areas say that Newfoundland is a lot less hectic and a lot less quieter.

A local band from the Great Northern Peninsula recorded a song titled ' A Little Piece of Heaven ' which demonstrates, in a somewhat romanticized version, the tranquillity of living

on the island, and just how people feel about living on the Peninsula. As experienced by those who stay and by the those who go away and return " The beauty and the freedom to do just as we please " ³¹ is exactly what Stayers and Returnees mean when speaking of how they feel about living on the GNP. They say they feel so 'in control' of their lives. "...Just take a look around you, it's not hard to understand why we have a piece of heaven right here in Newfoundland."

The experience of migration for many Newfoundlanders is one that teaches them financial and social management. Through balancing of family budgets with increased expenses and having to do without family assistance, many find they have to stretch their dollars. Social skills are enhanced through forced dealings with outsiders. Families are forced to rely on paid services and assistance from friends or acquaintances outside the family. For these people, the realization of the benefits of living in Newfoundland become quite clear. What they had taken for granted while living in Newfoundland is recognized for its advantages. These migrants soon find that the idea of living home becomes more and more appealing.

The Economic Council of Canada claims that unemployed Newfoundlanders can rely on subsistence resources, therefore, the situation is not as serious as in urban Canada. But we

³¹ From the cassette 'fish or no fish' by Uncle Harry's Bar Band.

should be cautious when making such observations because urban Newfoundland is not dealing with unemployment in the same way as rural. There are no equivalent studies of urban employment in Newfoundland to allow generalizations about the findings of studies on outports and their experiences with unemployment to the whole of Newfoundland.

What we find in Anchor Point and Bird Cove is similar to what we find in most rural communities with limited resources, people trying to survive the best way they can. They make the system work for them. These people manipulate what little resources they have and maximize the use of government subsidies such as unemployment insurance, make-work projects, and whatever work they can find, even if this includes going away.

We need further research on gender differences to understand if the types of employment available are a major factor in the decisions to move away, to stay away or to return home, or if general gender differences influence the lifestyles of migrants.

While migration plays an important role in the adaptive strategies of many individuals and households on the Great Northern Peninsula, neither out-migration nor return migration have much impact on community development. People generally are underemployed; most people work for cash incomes for only part of the year and, with the exception of otter-trawl fishermen, their incomes are low and have to be subsidized by

unemployment insurance and household production. This combination does, however, provide a material standard of living that is adequate if not affluent, as is evidenced by the good quality of housing and many consumer durables that people enjoy. Most would prefer this pattern of living to being exploited workers in an urban area. Their low levels of formal education and training prevent most would-be out-migrants from 'making it' on the mainland, and many drift back to rural Newfoundland where, although underemployed, they are neither underworked nor undervalued.

Migration has been and will no doubt continue to be an adaptive strategy to the unemployment problem that exists in this province. Despite the fact that many continue to go away even for short periods of time, there will always be those who will remain Stayers and who will continue to survive despite the economic shortfalls. Migration does seem to have some negative effect on the area through the loss of capital and skills. However, the Great Northern Peninsula like other rural areas will continue with new initiatives in the hope of potential changes in the economic development of the area. People on the Peninsula generally work in low paying jobs and until the education levels rise there will be no greater chance of finding better work away than on the Peninsula. The local economy is depressed and will remain so unless new initiatives create employment. Therefore whether people leave or not is irrelevant to the area in the short term, although

a better educated local population could contribute to new economic initiatives in the long run. At present, any loss of individuals who have education or skills is offset by the immigration of middle-class professionals.

When people are away they usually do not earn enough to accumulate wealth that they would in turn bring back to the community to invest in businesses or in community development. Respondents did indicate that they felt new ideas and skills that Return Migrants have brought back with them have contributed to the community. More research is needed on the effect of Return Migrants on community development. Since most Return Migrants have been away for short periods of time, any real effect on the community is unlikely.

Rural households on the Great Northern Peninsula have managed to establish for themselves a lifestyle that most are comfortable with and therefore is satisfying for many. This explains why many residents of the Peninsula are Stayers or non-migrants. It also explains why the rate of gross out-migration from Newfoundland is lower than from many other provinces in Canada, despite the high unemployment and low cash incomes.

Understanding the local dynamics of economic and social life on the Peninsula provides explanations of the major features of return migration. Only through this understanding can one realize the desire to return and the significance of many Return Migrants success. Further research on the topic

of return migration may help identify if increased levels of education will increase out-migration levels or if it could improve community development.

The social and economic benefits of living on the GNP should be acknowledged by others who live in rural areas, especially with the economically depressed state of many rural areas in Canada today. A lesson can be learned for those who try to deal with the reality of seasonal and temporary employment. Coping and surviving go hand in hand for those who have experienced living on the GNP. The benefits of having a wider variety of activities and services on the Mainland are certainly not beneficial to anyone who cannot afford to participate, and in addition there are fewer alternatives than exist in rural areas.

Pre-confederation Newfoundlanders were told that to join Canada would be a blessing. Transfer payments such as family allowance and unemployment insurance were used as inducements as the people were told that these payments would allow for a better lifestyle. This sounded great to the many people who made their living off the land and the sea. The insecure lifestyle that they had been accustomed to would soon be ended. Starvation would be less, a word of the past. Now the complaint is that Newfoundlanders receive these benefits and take advantage of them, and for generations people continued to move in search of work so that they would either find that better lifestyle that was promised to them or to simply become

eligible for the unemployment insurance which they had learned to value. Out-migration will continue and so will return migration. People will get tired of the cities and return to the pleasures and the economics of rural living. Migration continues to be very important to Newfoundland. It has become a coping mechanism for the sad economic state. Return migration is the most critical form of migration for this province and therefore needs to be better understood.

There are many reasons why people return just as there are many reasons people move away. However, it is much easier to understand out-migration than return migration. Research has demonstrated that migration is indeed an individual issue and that only through further research can we learn the commonalities of return migrants that will enable us to have a clearer view of what return migration really means to rural Newfoundland. A combination of social/cultural and economic issues must be examined so that we can begin to truly understand how communities in this province can survive despite the little work that the weak economy supplies, and how despite the former, many Newfoundlanders seem to improve their social and economic situations by returning. Migration for rural Newfoundland has always been a mode of accommodation to the depressed economy. However, it is only one of the adaptive strategies. Returning home and learning to explore what the local economy has to offer also teaches people to adapt.

This thesis contends that return migration has to do with the alternatives Newfoundlanders find to urban life which increase their economic wellbeing. They have discovered the economic worth of social relations, and this is why so many Newfoundlanders and no doubt, many other Canadians, have come to realize the benefits of rural living.

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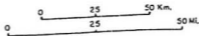
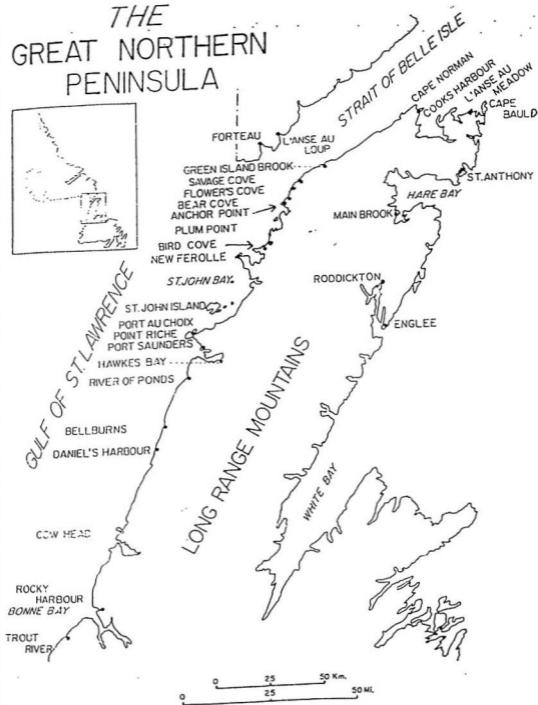
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APPENDIX A
MAP OF THE GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA

THE GREAT NORTHERN PENINSULA



APPENDIX B
QUESTIONNAIRE

The Great Northern Peninsula Migration Survey

Your community has been selected as part of a study of migration on the Great Northern Peninsula. The purpose of this survey is to discover patterns of people moving, both into and out of the community. Information required for this study includes where people move, why they move, when they move, and who are the people migrating.

We would also like to ask a few questions concerning the household members and perceptions of lifestyle on the peninsula.

We would like to assure you that all information given will be held in confidence and any or all information will not be traced to any individual or family.

Thank you in advance for your cooperation and time.

1. Respondent's Position in Household: Head of Household ___ 1
 Spouse ___ 2
 Child ___ 3
 Other (Specify) _____ 4

2. Gender: M: F:
 1 2

The following questions in sections one and two pertain to all members of this household aged 15 and over.

Section I : Personal Information

3. How many people age fifteen and over live in this household?

4. Could you please tell me their relationship to the head of household ?

Head of Household ___ 1, Spouse ___ 2,
 Son ___ 3, Daughter ___ 4, Other (specify) ___ 5,

5. Gender: M: ___ 1 F: ___ 2

6. Could you tell me which age category they fit into.

15-24 ___ 1; 25-34 ___ 2; 35-44 ___ 3;
 45-54 ___ 4; 55-64 ___ 5; 65 and over ___ 6.

7. What is their religion ?

Roman Catholic ___ 1; Anglican ___ 2;
 Other(specify) _____ 3; None ___ 4; Don't know ___ 5.

8. Could you tell me if they are currently

Single ___ 1; Married ___ 2; Widowed ___ 3;
 Separated ___ 4; Divorced ___ 5; Common Law ___ 6.

9. For those who are not single, please give place of marriage.

This community ___ 1
 Elsewhere on GNP ___ 2
 Elsewhere in Nfld. ___ 3
 Ontario ___ 4
 Alberta ___ 5
 Nova Scotia ___ 6
 Other (specify) ___ 7
 Don't know ___ 8

10. For those who are not single and the spouse does not live in household, could you please give spouse's place of birth.

This community ___ 1
 Elsewhere on GNP ___ 2
 Elsewhere in Nfld. ___ 3
 Ontario ___ 4
 Alberta ___ 5
 Nova Scotia ___ 6
 Other (specify) ___ 7
 Don't know ___ 8

11. Could you please tell me the highest level of schooling they have achieved ?

Grade 9 or less _____ 01
 Grades 10-12 (Non High School Graduate) _____ 02
 High School Graduate _____ 03
 Post High School Vocational Certificate _____ 04
 Some University _____ 05
 University Graduate _____ 06
 Post Graduate University Training _____ 07
 Other (specify) _____ 08

12. Were they born on the Northern Peninsula ?

Yes ___ 1; No ___ 2.

- 12 (a) If yes, where ? _____.

12 (b) If no, where ? _____.

13. Are they currently employed ?

Yes No
 1 2

13 (a) If no, have they actively looked for work during the last four weeks ?

Yes No Don't know
 1 2 3

14. Are they usually employed for at least part of the year?

Yes No
 1 2

For those who have answered yes to at least one of questions 13, 13(a) or 14, please answer questions 15 to 21(a).

15. Are they self-employed or employees ?

Self-employed 1
 Employee 2
 Both 3

16. Is their usual employment seasonal?

Yes 1 No 2

16 (a) If yes, how many weeks of the year are they employed on average?

17. Do they consider themselves full or part-time employed ?

Full-Time ; Part-Time
 1 2

18. What is their usual occupation ? (Please be specific)

Otter Trawl Fishermen 01
 Fixed Gear Fisherman (longliner) 02
 Fixed Gear Fisherman (small boat) 03
 Fish Plant worker 04
 Other (specify) _____ 05

19. What is their secondary occupation (if any)?
(eg. fisherman who logs off season, etc.)
20. Where do they usually work in their main occupation?
(Use code and specify community name)

This community __ 01
 Elsewhere on GNP __ 02
 Elsewhere on island of NFLD. __ 03
 Labrador __ 04
 Elsewhere in Canada __ 05
 Elsewhere ____ 06

21. Does their work usually require them to live away from their home community for at least part of the year?

Yes __ 1 No __ 2

- 21 (a) If yes, for how long ?

__ 1 0-3months __ 2 4-6 months __ 3 >6months

22. Which of these groups are they a current member of?

1. Rural Development Association Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 2. Any Political Party Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 3. Lion's Club Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 4. Church Groups Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 5. UFCW Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 6. NFFAW Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 7. Fishermen's union (not sure which one) Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 8. Any other Fishermen's Association Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 9. Nonfishermen's union Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
 10. Any other Associations (Specify) Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
-

Section II: Household Migration Data.

23. Have they always lived in this community? (Meaning present place of residence.)

Yes No
 1 2

23 (a) If no, could you tell me where else they have lived, for how long, why they moved to each location and if their intention to stay was permanent or temporary?
 (Maximum of four responses starting with most recent)
 (Place 1., Place 2., Place 3., Place 4.,)

Possible Responses: (I) Where/ elsewhere on GNP 1
 elsewhere in Nfld. 2
 Ontario 3
 Alberta 4
 Nova Scotia 5
 Other (specify) _____ 6

(II) Why/ employment 1
 education 2
 lifestyle 3
 join mate 4
 join parents 5
 other (specify) _____ 6

(III) Length of stay/ < 6 months 1
 6 months - 1 year 2
 > 1 year (specify) _____ 3

(IV) Intention/ temporary 1
 permanent 2
 uncertain 3

24. Was it more expensive for them to live in any of these places?

Yes , No , Uncertain ,
 1 2 3

24 (a) If yes, which ones, and why? (Description)

25. For members of the household fifteen and up who are return migrants to the peninsula, please tell us why each of them have returned.
 (three only)

Possible Responses:

- (a) To be closer to family __ 01
- (b) Financial Reasons __ 02
- (c) Missed lifestyle of GNP __ 03
- (d) Fear of crime and violence __ 04
- (e) Availability of cheap housing __ 05
- (f) Anti-Newfoundland feeling __ 06
- (g) Lack of employment __ 07
- (h) Job opportunity __ 08
- (i) Death or illness of a family member __ 09
- (j) Divorce or separation __ 10
- (k) Join mate __ 11
- (l) Join parents __ 12
- (m) Other (Specify) __ 13
- (n) Other (specify) __ 14
- (o) Other (specify) __ 15

26. For members of your present household who are return migrants could you please name the types of employment they have had both in their community and while away. Please state where they lived while working at each job. (Start with employment before move, host society, and then after return.)

27. When you/they lived on the mainland did you/they experience any anti-Newfoundlander prejudice?

Yes 1 __ No 2 __ Didn't live on mainland __ 3

27 (a) If yes, did this influence the decision to return?

Yes 1 __ No 2 __

28. When you/they were away how often did you/they have contact by mail or phone with family or friends back home?

No contact 1 ___
 1-4 times a month 2 ___
 > 4 times a month 3 ___
 1-6 times a year 4 ___
 < once a year 5 ___
 don't know 6 ___

29. How often did you/they come home for a vacation while you/they were away?

more than once a year ___ 1
 once a year ___ 2
 once every 2-5 years ___ 3
 once every 6 years plus ___ 4
 never ___ 5
 don't know ___ 6

30. When you/they decided to return, how long did you/they plan the return?

at least one year ___ 1
 > one year ___ 2
 no planning ___ 3
 other ___ 4
 don't know ___ 5

31. Has return migration by you or other members of the household influenced other members of your family or community to move away?

yes ___ 1 no ___ 2 Don't know ___ 3

32. Has return migration by you or other members of the household influenced other members of your family or community to stay?

Yes ___ 1 No ___ 2 Don't know ___ 3

33. How do you/they feel now that you/they have returned?

very satisfied ___ 1
 satisfied ___ 2
 dissatisfied ___ 3
 very dissatisfied ___ 4
 not sure ___ 5

34. How often do you/they wish that you/they were living somewhere else?

never ___ 1
 once in awhile ___ 2
 alot ___ 3
 don't know ___ 4

35. How would you/they describe their feelings about their present employment compared to their employment while away?

very satisfied ___ 1
 satisfied ___ 2
 dissatisfied ___ 3
 very dissatisfied ___ 4
 don't know ___ 5

36. How do you/they feel about the quality of the personal relationships you/they have established since their return?

very satisfied ___ 1
 satisfied ___ 2
 dissatisfied ___ 3
 very dissatisfied ___ 4
 don't know ___ 5

37. How would you/they describe their housing situation since their return compared to their housing situation while away?

not as good ___ 1
 same ___ 2
 better ___ 3
 don't know ___ 4

38. Do you think that you or other return migrants to this household brought back anything of value to your household's well-being?

(skills, money to invest, new ideas, etc.)

Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

- 38 (a) If yes, what?

(1) capital for housing / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

(2) capital for investment / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___
 in small business

(3) usable skills / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

(4) new ideas / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

(5) other (specify) Yes: 1 ___ No 2 ___

39. When you/they were away, were you/they able to pick up new skills and / or savings that you/they wouldn't have done if you/they had stayed here?

Yes ___ 1 No ___ 2 Don't know ___ 3

- 39 (a) If yes, what?

(1) savings / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

(2) training/ education / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

(3) employment training / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

(4) other/(specify) / Yes 1 ___ No 2 ___

40. Do you have family or friends who used to live in your household in the last ten years but are now living outside of the community?

yes ___ 1 no ___ 2

- 40 (a) If yes, please supply the following information on the people who (used to) live in your household within the last ten years.

(use categories from section I.)

(A) Relationship to H.H.

(B) Gender

(C) Age

(D) Religion

(E) Marital Status

(F) Place of Marriage

(G) Spouse's Birth Place

(H) Education (Highest Level)

(I) Place of Birth

(J) Place of Residence

(K) Why they left

(L) Intention

(M) Type of Occupation

41. Do you think any of these people will eventually return home?

Yes 1 No 2 Don't know 3

41 (a) If yes, why?

41 (b) If no, why?

42. When you or any of your family have moved away who has helped in the adjustment process of the new area?

- (1) Kinship ties / Yes 1 No 2
 (2) Established Friends/ Yes 1 No 2
 (3) Other(specify) Yes 1 No 2

43. How have you/they been helped by others in the new location?

- (1) Job search / Yes 1 No 2
 (2) Housing / Yes 1 No 2
 (3) New friends / Yes 1 No 2
 (4) Babysitter/ Yes 1 No 2
 (5) Other /(specify) Yes 1 No 2

44. When people move away from this community, do they usually go as individuals or as households?

Individuals 1 Households 2 Some of each 3

45. How do you think the outmigration of the members of your household has affected your community?

- (1) Loss of skills / Yes 1 No 2
 (2) Loss of capital/ Yes 1 No 2
 (3) More jobs for those still here / Yes 1 No 2
 (4) Other (specify) _____

46. Do you know of any families that have left your community in the last ten years and have not returned?

Yes 1 No 2

46 (A) If yes, please supply their name, where they moved and why they left the community.

Section III: Household Information

47. Total number of people living in household. _____

48. How many children under the age of 15 are there in the household? _____

49. Do any household members, aged fifteen and over, other than the household head and spouse contribute to the household in any way such as through paying 'board', taking responsibility for housework, repairing or improving the dwelling, babysitting, etc.?

1. Pay Board (yes -- 1 no -- 2)

2. Do Housework (yes -- 1 no -- 2)

3. Repair/Maintenance to House (yes -- 1 no -- 2)

4. Supply Firewood (yes -- 1 no -- 2)

5. Babysit (yes -- 1 no -- 2)

6. Other (Specify) (yes -- 1 no -- 2)

50. Could you please indicate the approximate range of yearly income for this household.

A: >\$50,000 _____ 1

B: \$35,000-49,999 _____ 2

C: \$25,000-34,999 _____ 3

D: \$15,000-24,999 _____ 4

E: \$8,000-14,999 _____ 5
 F: < \$8,000 _____ 6

51. Approximate Breakdown of Household Income:

Approximate Amount

- (A) Regular Employment
- (B) Job Creation Program
- (C) Unemployment Insurance
- (D) Social Assistance
- (E) Other Transfer Payments (CPP, etc.)
- (F) Other Income (specify) (rent, board, etc.)

52. Which best describes the household's current housing situation.

- (A) Rent 1 _____
- (B) Own 2 _____
- (C) Other (specify) 3 _____

53. If owned, is the house mortgaged?

Yes ___ 1 No ___ 2

54. How was the house acquired ?

- (A) Inheritance ___ 1
- (B) Purchase ___ 2
- (C) Built it yourself ___ 3 (i) own labour ___ 1
(ii) hired labour ___ 2
- (D) Other (specify) ___ 4

55. Does this household own:

- 1. Pickup Truck/Truck
- 2. Car/Van/Stationwagon
- 3. ATV

4. Snowmobile
5. Boat
6. Telephone
7. Radio
8. Television
9. VCR
10. Computer
11. Chain Saw
12. Other power tools
13. Refrigerator
14. Freezer
15. Microwave Oven
16. Other useful machines (specify)
None -- 1 One -- 2 Two -- 3 More than two -- 4

Section IV : Subsistence Production

56. Which of the following do you and or other members of your household participate in for household consumption.
1. Cutting Wood / Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 2. Fish / Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 3. Building your house / Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 4. Grow own vegetables / Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 5. Preservatives (Pickles, Beets, etc.)/ Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 6. Repairs to machines (cars, snowmobiles, etc.)/ Yes __ 1
No __ 2
 7. Repairs to house/ Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 8. Hunting (moose, rabbit, seal, etc.) / Yes __ 1 No __ 2

9. Berry picking / Yes __ 1 No __ 2
10. Other (specify) _____ Yes __ 1 No __ 2
57. How important is this kind of work in making a contribution to your household?
- (A) very important __ 1
- (B) important __ 2
- (C) some importance __ 3
- (D) not very important __ 4
- (E) totally unimportant __ 5
-

Section V: Respondent's Perceptions of the Great Northern Peninsula

58. What sort of things would people here do for each other without expecting pay?
59. Would any kind of return be expected?
- Yes ____ 1 No ____ 2
60. If yes, what kind of return?
- (1) exchange of goods / yes __ 1 no __ 2
- (2) return favour / yes __ 1 no __ 2
- (3) other (specify) / yes __ 1 no __ 2
61. Do you think that the so called "informal economy," that is people working for others for cash which is not officially recorded, is important in this community.
1. very important _____ 1
2. important _____ 2
3. of some importance _____ 3
4. of little importance _____ 4
5. of no importance _____ 5

62. Which of the following best describes your opinion about living in Bird Cove/Anchor Point?
- (A) There's no better place than here ___ 1
 (B) It's a pretty good place to live ___ 2
 (C) I don't mind living here ___ 3
 (D) I'd rather live somewhere else ___ 4
 (E) I don't like living here ___ 5
63. On the whole, how would you describe your feeling about living in this area?
- (A) Very Satisfied 1
 (B) Satisfied 2
 (C) Indifferent 3
 (D) Dissatisfied 4
 (E) Very Dissatisfied 5
64. What do you like most about living on the Northern Peninsula?
65. What do you think are the main advantages for people living in this region? (Three responses)
- (A) Family and Kin ties 01
 (B) Friendly (Friends and Neighbours) 02 1. ___
 (C) Absence of Crime and Social Problems 03 2. ___
 (D) Small Community 04 3. ___
 (E) Access to Countryside 05
 (F) Employment Opportunities 06
 (G) Low Cost of Living 07
 (H) Way of life 08
 (I) Other (Specify) 09
 (J) Other (Specify) 10
 (K) Other (Specify) 11

66. What do you like least about living on the Northern Peninsula?

67. What do you think are the main disadvantages for people living in this region ?

- | | | |
|--|----|---------|
| (A) Limited Employment possibilities | 01 | (1) ___ |
| (B) Problems with local service | 02 | (2) ___ |
| (C) Problems with ferry transportation | 03 | (3) ___ |
| (D) Problems with road transportation | 04 | |
| (E) Nothing to do | 05 | |
| (F) Stagnation, nothing ever happens | 06 | |
| (G) Small town mentality | 07 | |
| (H) Inter-community disputes | 08 | |
| (I) The weather | 09 | |
| (J) Other (specify) | 10 | |
| (K) Other (specify) | 11 | |
| (L) Other (specify) | 12 | |

68. Have you ever considered moving away from the Northern Peninsula in the next five years ?

Yes ___ 1 No ___ 2

68 (a) If yes, where have you considered moving ? _____ .

68 (b) Why this place ? _____ .

69. Suppose you moved to Toronto or 'Out West', approximately how much money a year would you have to get to live at the same level that you do now ?

A = \$75,000 or more _____ 1

B = \$50,000 - 74,999 _____ 2

C = \$35,000 - 49,999 _____ 3

D = \$25,000 - 34,999 _____ 4

E = \$15,000 - 24,999 _____ 5

F = \$less than \$15,000 _____ 6

G: Don't know _____ 7

70. How much would a new job on the mainland have to pay per year to get you to move?

A: \$75,000 or more _____ 1

B: \$50,000 - 74,999 _____ 2

C: \$35,000 - 49,999 _____ 3

D: \$25,000 - 34,999 _____ 4

E: \$15,000 - 24,999 _____ 5

F: less than \$15,000 _____ 6

G: Don't know _____ 7

H: Wouldn't move for any amount _____ 8

71. Supposing you continue to live here, in five years time do you think this area of Newfoundland will be:

___ 1/Better off than now

___ 2/About the same

___ 3/Worse off than now

___ 4/Don't know

72. Do you expect your household to be:

___ 1/Better off than now

___ 2/About the same

___ 3/Worse off than now

___ 4/Don't know

73. On the whole, how would you compare living here with living in a big city, (eg. Toronto).

74. Have you ever heard of the Great Northern Peninsula Development Corporation?

Yes __ 1 No __ 2

74 (a) If yes, do you think it is making a positive impact on the development of the economy of the peninsula?

Yes __ 1 No __ 2 Don't know __ 3

74 (b) If yes, how ?

75. Do you think that immigration has affected your community in any way?

Yes __ 1 No __ 2 Don't know __ 3

75 (a) If yes, how ?

75 (b) If no, why ?

76. Are there any other things about migration and household living in this community that you think might be of importance or of interest to us?

Appendix

To be answered by In-migrants. [Identify by letter from main questionnaire]

77. Why did you move to the Great Northern Peninsula?

78. How long have you lived here?

79. When you moved here was your intention to stay

permanent __1 temporary __ 2 uncertain __ 3

80. If your intention was not permanent, why did you stay?

81. Do you plan to leave the peninsula to go live somewhere else?
 Yes __1 No __2 Don't know __3
82. What types of employment did you have before you moved to the peninsula?
83. How often do you leave the peninsula for weekends, vacations, etc?
 more than once a year __ 1
 once a year __ 2
 once every 2-5 years __ 3
 once every 6 years plus __ 4
 never __ 5
 don't know __ 6
84. When you moved to the peninsula was it your first time here?
 yes __ 1
 no __ 2
85. How often do you wish that you were living somewhere else?
 never __ 1
 once in awhile __ 2
 a lot __ 3
 don't know __ 4
86. How do you feel about your present employment compared to your employment while living somewhere else?
 very satisfied __ 1
 satisfied __ 2
 dissatisfied __ 3
 very dissatisfied __ 4
 don't know __ 5
 Didn't work somewhere else __ 6
87. How do you feel about the quality of your personal relationships here compared to those that you have had elsewhere?
 very satisfied __ 1
 satisfied __ 2
 dissatisfied __ 3

very dissatisfied __ 4
 don't know __ 5

88. How would you describe your housing situation here compared to your housing situation elsewhere?

not as good __ 1
 same __ 2
 better __ 3
 don't know __ 4

89. Do you think that you have brought anything of value to the community's well-being? (skills, money to invest, new ideas)

Yes __ 1 No __ 2 don't know __ 3

- 89 (a) If yes, what?

(1) capital for housing / Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 (2) capital for investment/ Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 in small business
 (3) usable skills/ Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 (4) new ideas/ Yes __ 1 No __ 2
 (5) other (specify) Yes __ 1 No __ 2

90. When you moved here who helped you adjust to the area?

Family __ 1
 Established friends __ 2
 The people in the community __ 3
 Other __ 4

91. How have you been helped by others?

(1) Job search / Yes 1 __ No 2 __
 (2) Housing / Yes 1 __ No 2 __
 (3) New friends / Yes 1 __ No 2 __
 (4) Babysitter/ Yes 1 __ No 2 __
 (5) Other /(specify) Yes 1 __ No 2 __

92. How did you come to this community?

As an individual __ 1
 With family __ 2
 With friends __ 3
 Other (specify) __ 4

Thank you very much for your time and cooperation!



