

YOUNG WOMEN ON THE MOVE:  
GENDER, MIGRATION PATTERNS AND THE  
CONSTRUCTION OF RURAL SPACE IN  
NEWFOUNDLAND, CANADA

DEATRA WALSH



001311



YOUNG WOMEN ON THE MOVE: GENDER, MIGRATION PATTERNS AND THE  
CONSTRUCTION OF RURAL SPACE IN NEWFOUNDLAND, CANADA

by

© Deatra Walsh

A thesis submitted to the  
School of Graduate Studies  
in partial fulfilment of the  
requirements for the degree of  
Doctor of Philosophy  
Department of Sociology  
Memorial University of Newfoundland  
December 2009

St. John's

Newfoundland



## ABSTRACT

The call for a more inclusive approach to rural migration has been made in the recent literature on migration. This dissertation is a response to that literature and an attempt to establish an alternative migration meta-narrative for rural areas. Despite the recognition that migration decision-making involves both economic and non-economic considerations, migration theories continue to be framed in economic terms. This is particularly true for rural communities where large scale restructuring has occurred. Through an economic lens, the discourse on outmigration from rural areas suggests failure and rural decline.

My dissertation combines a 15-year longitudinal statistical analysis of Canadian youth born between 1970 and 1974 with the findings of 45 interviews with young women aged 25 to 34 living in or from a rural area in central Newfoundland, Canada. My research probes migration trajectories, biographies and narratives through an individual, rather than community or economic, point of entry. The statistical analysis reveals that migration patterns for rural men and women are fairly similar. Bivariate trajectory analyses suggest, however, that the circumstances surrounding these patterns, and their outcomes, vary according to gender.

Applying a structure-agency framework to the qualitative data and focusing on both social and economic relations, my work demonstrates the importance of women's stories and their agency in the decision to stay, leave, return or move into the study area. Of the 37 women interviewed in the rural study site, 27 returned to the area for reasons associated with social, cultural, spatial and economic relations. Relations were also at the core of migration decision-making among the women who left, stayed or moved into the area. They were, however, qualitatively different. These differences are discussed.

The individual point of entry used in the research, and throughout the qualitative work in particular, highlights important aspects of migration decision-making and migration narratives that are not always visible in the dominant discourses on rural migration framed by the interplay of statistics, bureaucracy and the media. An individual-centered approach contributes to an alternative migration meta-narrative for rural areas. In the case of rural Newfoundland, it also highlights the continued production and reproduction of gendered rural spaces that have been historically prevalent. This reflects the structural contexts within which women's migration agency occurs and helps explain the gender differences revealed through the statistical trajectory analysis.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

It is hard to believe that after five years, I finally made it to this page.

Mother, without you I am nothing. If I could ask for eternity, I would ask it of you. Donna Walsh you are an inspiration and an incredible parent. Freeman Lewis, I am so glad you came into my mother's life, and into mine. Thank you both for always listening to me.

Larry Dalton, we have discussed every page and everything around it several times. All I can say is that I would not have made through this doctorate without you. You are a true friend.

Kelly Greenfield, I now cheer *you* on from these sidelines. I raise my pom-poms high for the spirit of the female academic. Thank you for doing the same for me.

Brad Brown, I thank you for the support, the conversations, the dinners, the laughter and the hour glass. It *is* still good.

Megan Morrison, your vibrant tornado burst in to my life and I have not been the same. We shall be rainbows after the storm. Thank you for being you.

At a subway station in London I proclaimed that there was no such thing as a "Mr. Darcy." I was wrong. Sean McCann, you have reached places of my soul where no one else dares to go. Nothing replaces your absence.

This research would not have been possible without the women who gave me their time and spoke to me about why they were there at that time in their lives and everywhere they have been since high school. Thank you.

Peter Sinclair, Barbara Neis and Robert Hill, I thank you for your guidance over the past 5 years. Thank you for giving me the space to dream, to think and to go on creative tangents of Deatra-inspired madness. I know it has not always been easy. Thank you for all of the suggestions, for the meticulous editing (Bob) and for the title suggestion (Peter).

I thank Ray Bollman and the staff at Statistics Canada's Rural and Small Town Analysis Division for their support and assistance with the longitudinal data. Rob Greenwood, thank you for your early mentorship and your continued support. Stephen Tomblin and Natalie Beausoleil, your conversations have been helpful at the times when I have needed them. I would also like to thank Judy Guernsey and the staff at the Atlantic Rural Centre for supporting me through the last push. I thank all of my colleagues and fellow students at the Department of Sociology at Memorial and all of the people who I continue to work with on rural issues. I have named a few. There are many others.

I wish to thank Bryan and Robyn for their unfailing support and invitations to Sunday dinner.

My research has been supported by Le Fonds québécois de la recherche sur la société et la culture, Memorial University's School of Graduate Studies, the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the Leslie Harris Centre of Regional Policy and Development and Statistics Canada. Without this financial aid, this doctorate would not have been possible.

I thank Drs. Linda Cullum, Reade Davis and Martha MacDonald for their reviews and feedback on the thesis.

Father, you may have the last word. I tuck your memory into my back pocket. I am reminded of how moments such as these can be bittersweet. I am proud to become the second Dr. Walsh.

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

TABLES AND FIGURES .....	vii
PREFACE: FOUCAULT'S RURAL: A PLAY IN THREE ACTS .....	viii
CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION .....	i
CHAPTER TWO: ORDERS OF DISCOURSE AND RURAL MIGRATION .....	10
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	10
2.2 SEDENTARY METAPHYSICS AND MOBILITY .....	12
2.3 DISCOURSE.....	14
2.4 POPULAR DISCOURSE ON RURAL MIGRATION IN CANADA.....	15
2.5 BUREAUCRATIC DISCOURSE ON YOUTH OUTMIGRATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR.....	17
2.6 ACADEMIC DISCOURSE ON YOUTH MIGRATION INTERNATIONALLY .....	21
2.7 DISCURSIVE COLLISIONS: THE RURAL MIGRATION-DEVELOPMENT NEXUS .....	24
2.8 CONCLUSION.....	28
CHAPTER THREE: MIGRATION PATTERNS IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR AND CANADA .....	30
3.1 INTRODUCTION.....	30
3.2 MIGRATION IN THE CONTEXT OF NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR .....	31
3.2.1 Outmigration and Return Migration in the Pre-moratorium Period.....	34
3.2.2 Outmigration in the Post-moratorium Period .....	35
3.3 RURAL MIGRATION PATTERNS IN CANADA.....	38
3.3.1 Outmigration .....	40
3.3.2 Return Migration .....	42
3.4 GENDER AND MIGRATION .....	43
3.5 CONCLUSION.....	54

<b>CHAPTER FOUR: CHAPTER 4: GENDERED MIGRATION PATTERNS IN CANADA: A QUANTITATIVE EXAMINATION.....</b>	<b>55</b>
4.1 INTRODUCTION.....	55
4.2 METHOD AND ANALYSIS FOR EXPLORING GENDERED MIGRATION: USING THE LONGITUDINAL ADMINISTRATIVE DATABANK.....	55
4.3 FINDINGS: MALE AND FEMALE MIGRATION PATTERNS ALONG THE RURAL-URBAN GRADIENT .....	58
4.4 EXPLORING MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES.....	64
4.5 CONCLUSIONS .....	70
<b>CHAPTER FIVE: ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK FOR THE QUALITATIVE STUDY.....</b>	<b>74</b>
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	74
5.2 STRUCTURATION, HABITUS AND THE BIOGRAPHICAL APPROACH IN MIGRATION STUDIES .....	75
5.3 ARGUING FOR HUMANIST SOCIOLOGY IN MIGRATION: SMITH'S LIVED REALITY AND INSTITUTIONAL ETHNOGRAPHY .....	81
5.4 CONCLUSIONS .....	82
<b>CHAPTER SIX: MIGRATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND: QUALITATIVE METHOD AND ANALYSIS .....</b>	<b>84</b>
6.1 INTRODUCTION.....	84
6.2 THE LOCATION.....	85
6.3 RECRUITMENT.....	86
6.4 THE WOMEN .....	89
6.5 THE INSTRUMENT.....	90
6.6 DATA ORGANIZATION AND ANALYSIS .....	92
<b>CHAPTER SEVEN: CHOICES AFTER HIGH SCHOOL IN A RURAL SETTING .....</b>	<b>97</b>
7.1 INTRODUCTION.....	97
7.2 A BRIEF NOTE ABOUT POST-SECONDARY EDUCATION IN NEWFOUNDLAND AND LABRADOR.....	99

7.3 RIGHT-AWAY AND PSE.....	101
7.4 UNIVERSITY RIGHT AWAYERS: WHAT TO DO ONCE YOU GET THERE.....	106
7.5 DELAYERS.....	111
7.6 INTERRUPTIONS, THE UNFINISHED AND NO-GOERS .....	113
7.7 CONCLUSIONS .....	118
<b>CHAPTER EIGHT: MIGRATION TRAJECTORIES.....</b>	<b>121</b>
8.1 INTRODUCTION.....	121
8.2 STAYING, RETURNING AND MOVING IN: A NOTE ON BELONGING.....	121
8.3 STAYING.....	126
8.4 RETURNING .....	131
8.5 MOVING IN .....	140
8.6 MOVING AWAY AND STAYING AWAY .....	147
8.7 CONCLUSIONS .....	158
<b>CHAPTER NINE: MIGRATION NARRATIVES AND THE RELATIONAL LENS AS RURAL TRANSCENDENCE? .....</b>	<b>160</b>
9.1 INTRODUCTION.....	160
9.2 HERE: THE STORY OF NOW AND THE FIRST "KNOCK" AT THE RURAL DOOR .....	161
9.3 RURAL AND HOME .....	166
9.4 CONCLUSIONS .....	175
<b>CHAPTER TEN: CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>176</b>
10.1 GENDER MIGRATION PATTERNS: YOUNG RURAL WOMEN AND MEN MOVE SIMILARLY BUT CIRCUMSTANCES AND OUTCOMES VARY.....	179
10.2 LEAVING: A NORMAL ASPECT OF RURAL YOUTH TRANSITIONING BUT NOT NECESSARILY IMPERATIVE .....	180
10.3 RETURNING .....	182

10.4 MOVING IN .....	182
10.5 MOVING AWAY AND STAYING AWAY .....	183
10.6 STRUCTURE AND AGENCY: RECONSIDERING THE ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK .....	184
10.7 COUNTERING THE RURAL MIGRATION META-NARRATIVE AND DISCOURSES OF RURAL DECLINE..	187
10.8 FUTURE DIRECTIONS .....	190
<b>REFERENCES .....</b>	<b>193</b>
<b>APPENDICES</b>	
A: CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH .....	211
B: INTERVIEW SCHEDULE AND QUESTION CHECKLIST .....	213

## TABLES AND FIGURES

Figure 1: Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation Logo .....	xii
Figure 2: Smith's Disjuncture in a Rural Context.....	xvi
Figure 3: Rural to Urban Gradient .....	57
Figure 4: Gendered Comparison across Select Migration Trajectories .....	69
Table 1: Five year migration paths (from 1989 to 1994) for females born between 1970 and 1974 .....	59
Table 2: Five year migration paths (from 1989 to 1994) for males born between 1970 and 1974 .....	60
Table 3: Fifteen year migration paths (from 1989 to 2004) for females born between 1970 and 1974 .....	61
Table 4: Fifteen year migration paths (from 1989 to 2004) for males born between 1970s and 1974 .....	62
Table 5: Five year and fifteen year gross and net migration rates into and out of rural and small town areas, Canada .....	63
Table 6: Male and Female Migration Patterns 1989-2004 (in %) .....	64
Table 7: Select Trajectories by Select Socioeconomic Characteristics (%) .....	66
Table 8: Rural/Urban Trajectories by Select Socioeconomic Characteristics (%) .....	71
Table 9: Study Area Population Change (1996-2006) .....	86
Table 10: Rural Participant Classifications .....	88
Table 11: Post Secondary Education Paths (n=45) .....	104
Table 12: Women Returners to the Lewisporte Area (n=27) .....	133
Table 13: In-migrants to the Lewisporte Area (n=6) .....	140



Table 14: Leavers from the Lewisporte area (n=8).....	148
---	-----

### Preface: Foucault's Rural: A Play in Three Acts

In this doctoral dissertation, you will find fusions of science, art and creativity. My work and my writing have been heavily influenced by arts-based research (Denzin, 2003; Knowles and Cole, 2008; Ellis, 2004), performative writing (Jones, 2006; Pelias, 2005), and writing as a method of inquiry (Richardson and Adams St. Pierre, 2005). When one considers the use of migration biographies and narratives throughout this work, expressing research as a piece of theatre does not seem like a stretch. It is not (see Gallagher and Booth, 2003). Below is a short three-act play I wrote in the early stages of analyzing the qualitative interviews of my research. It is an introduction to my thinking about studies of migration in a rural context. It ruminates on reflexivity, sociological theory and methodology. It is, in short, a synopsis of my dissertation. Aspects of this play are reincorporated throughout this piece of work, thus solidifying the dissertation's narrative.<sup>1</sup> I write this recognizing that while narratives of migration are presented here, including my own, the dissertation itself is also a narrative.

The play *Foucault's Rural* presented below draws upon the work of Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith and French philosopher Michel Foucault. It is set in a classroom. Its performance is meant to simulate the traditional classroom environment in a dramatic style. PowerPoint is used to project the images referred to throughout the play.

#### *Act I*

---

<sup>1</sup> I credit Sean McCann for this reference. His work in improvised theatre and his teaching of improvisation is based upon the premise of reincorporation. In other words, themes must thread and reappear to create narrative continuity and provide reward to engaged audiences attentive to such threads.

*(Light is on the narrator as she sits in the front row with the audience. On the screen is Magritte's (1926) pipe. She holds a poster up which says ACT 1: The Pipe. She puts it down. She looks at the pipe and looks back around to the audience).*

I was staring at the Pipe. You know, the Pipe—that pipe *(pointing to the screen)*.

The “this is not a pipe” pipe. I was thinking of how it’s connected to the problem I had encountered. It pains me to say that this *is* a pipe or even surrealist Rene Magritte’s painting of the pipe. This philosophical pain has less to do with my impending doom and more to do with French philosopher Michel Foucault’s essay on the same subject *(She gets up and walks over to the screen)*.

So my boyfriend enters the room and he looks at the screen *(She looks at screen)*. Then he looks at me *(She looks at audience)*

And he asks me what are you doin’ lookin’ at a pipe? I laughed and laughed. Honestly, I couldn’t stop laughing. Then he says I thought you were working on a paper. I tell him that I am. So he says this has nothing to do with your paper. And then I minimized the pipe *(She clicks to the next slide which reads this is not a pipe either)*

Yes it does, I tell him, but it would take all morning to explain and you wouldn't get it anyway (*She turns to the audience*). The thought of rendering Foucault at that precise moment was simply not enticing, much less to an uninterested audience. So he looks at me, tells me it must be the twisted sociology humour and leaves the room.

I laughed again, like it was an inside joke (*She looks at ceiling with finger to mouth*).

I guess it kinda is; but the pipe does remind me of something else (*She clicks to the next slide which is a logo of the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation-Figure 1*)

I'm on the board of a not-for-profit organization. It has a logo that looks like this (*Pointing to Screen*). So I ask my self why am I looking at a logo and my self replies that it is not just a logo. It is the Logo of the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation (Figure 1). It looks like a farm on letters to me, my self replies (*She moves closer to the screen*).

**Figure 1: Logo of the Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation**



Source: Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation, n.d.

I look closer. It is a farm. Well darnit all if that ain't rural (*She pauses*). Rural (*She pauses again*).

I wonder why this bothers me so. And it strikes me as I'm rushing to a seminar room at Memorial University to catch a presentation on migrant labourers from Newfoundland. On my way I see a recruitment poster for research participants and it said this: Interested in discussing your rural work experiences. Oooh oooh ooohh That's me! That's me, I think. I have worked in rural for the past year, in central Newfoundland.

Wait a minute (*She pauses*). If farm equals rural, then that is not me (*She clicks to the next slide with reads Rural=farm=?*).

But I *am* from rural, aren't I. I know this to be true. Don't I? This has now become a problem. What is rural? (*She clicks to the next slide which reads rural followed by a question mark*).

## Act 2

(Narrator is lying on a table as if on a couch in a therapist's office talking to the therapist. She holds up a poster with ACT 2: The Problem written on it)

My problem, if you will, began at Interview ONE. Does rural mean anything to you? I ask her--the interviewee. She pauses, thinking about it. I ask again, not letting the silence sit long enough. Does the notion of rural mean anything to you? (*She turns to the*

*audience*). You must never do this, ask a question the second time but in a slightly different way. NEVER.

Not really. She says. I have never really given much thought to it I guess. Like, when I think about rural, I probably don't think about this town (*She sits up*). You don't? I look at her in disbelief. I start to panic. Her rural and my rural are not the same. This town is NOT rural? She doesn't even think of rural. GASP. I feel my PhD slipping through my fingers.

No, not really, she says to me. Like I don't know why but maybe it's because I've seen the other aspect. Like the other towns around, I would call those rural.

Phew, so she does *think* of rural on some level.

Now I'm not saying that we're city-like, she then says to me, but I guess we're a step up from that.

What is *that*?—I ask her and she laughs.

You know like really small communities that have very limited resources in them. She tells me that these are places where there are very few businesses, and the doctor has to travel to visit. Even the nurses don't live there. But it's not like that here she says.

I feel my conceptual walls crumbling. And the more women I interviewed, the worse it became. I don't consider this town to be rural; I don't think about rural; I get rural and urban mixed up. I never think about it (*She puts her hands over her ears as if to drown out the sound*). AHHHHH! (*Lights flicker.*)

And then the light bulb went off (*She clicks to the next slide which shows a light bulb*).

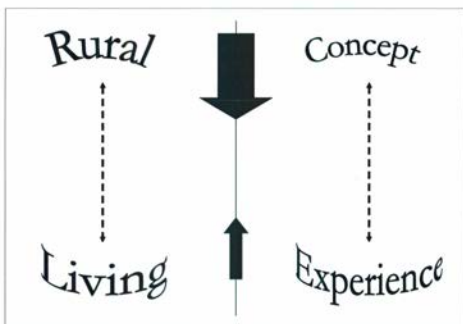
### **Act 3**

(*The narrator is still sitting on the table at centre. She holds up a sign that says Act 3: The Potential*)

The *problem* became clearer. It wasn't really a problem at all (*She stands up*). It isn't really a problem at all! Suddenly, I was inside the head of Canadian feminist sociologist Dorothy Smith. I knew exactly what she was talking about when she spoke of disjuncture. It suddenly all made sense (*she sings operatically with her arms out*).

And it looked like this (*She clicks to the next slide showing an illustrative diagram of disjuncture, Figure 2*)

Figure 2: Smith's Disjuncture in a Rural Context



The disjuncture is the divide and this is the break between the conceptual framing and the experiential (*She goes over to the diagram and explains it with her hands*). The concepts push down, overpowering the experiential (*Jumping up and down*) I

FUNDAMENTALLY UNDERSTAND DOROTHY SMITH. I FEEL THE ESSENCE  
OF HER SCHOLARSHIP! (*Reading an excerpt from Dorothy Smith*)

Thus the practices of thinking and writing that are of special concern here are those that convert what people experience directly in their everyday/every night world into forms of knowledge in which people as subjects disappear and in which their perspectives on their own experience are transposed and subdued by the magisterial forms of objectifying discourse (Smith 1990:4).



*(She closes the book and clicks to the next slide which reads What?)* So what is this conceptual rural; that which subdues experience?

*(With a nasally voice)* Rural is the negative juxtaposition of urban. It is falling down, it is dying. It will not survive. The people are leaving, there is no one left. IT IS DEATH.

Interview one comes back to me.

She tells me that she thinks the town is thriving. People say this town is dyin', she tells me. It's a retirement town, everything like that. But I don't really see it from that perspective *(She clicks to the next slide which reads who?)* But if it is not she who sees it this way, then who? Who is defining this rural? From whence did the dying truth come? Who framed the parameters of this debate?

It is the government...It is the media...It's also you and me...And it is up to us to change it *(She gets up on a chair)* because the representation of rural is political. What is understood as rural does not always fit, nor is an accurate reflection of people's experiences and their beliefs. We must speak to the discrepancies, because if left unquestioned, public discourse will not change. The parameters of the debate will remain undisturbed *(She clicks to the next slide which shows the pipe again).*

Ah yes the pipe. Who said this was a pipe anyway? *(She stands with a questioning look on her face and the lights go out)*

## Chapter One: Introduction

I am a "rural" woman. I was raised in a small community along the northern coast of central Newfoundland. This community is Lewisporte, one of the communities in which the qualitative portion of my research takes place. My migration biography was one of leaving. I was socialized to leave Lewisporte, both because I was in a small place and because I was a woman. I was recognized by my parents, my teachers and my peers as an *overachiever*. I also knew from a young age that overachievement should be my goal, and that such overachievement, aided by a university education, would lead me to a good career. I was told that it would also lead me to become an economically independent woman. Overachievement was endorsed by both of my parents for different reasons. My father wanted me primarily to succeed. My mother wanted me to succeed as a woman. Neither of them had a post-secondary education.

If I were to locate myself on a socioeconomic scale, I would probably be in the middle part of the rural middle class. Of course, this is an arbitrary distinction. My father was a claims officer for the Canadian National Railway Company and my mother had a varied career in the service sector, but eventually worked as a nursing aid, or what is known as a Personal Care Attendant, at Lewisporte's long-term senior care facility. We were certainly not well-to-do. New cars were never parked in our driveway, nor did snowmobiles or ATVs sit by the door. You might say that this is insignificant as a point of reference for class. It seems significant to me. We did not take big family trips to exotic places. I was not able to participate in all available extracurricular activities. It would have been impossible from a time perspective and more importantly, it was too

expensive. I was allowed to do one thing, so I chose the piano. My parents paid for lessons and bought me the instrument. In hindsight, perhaps I should have just chosen the guitar and asked to play hockey. In the end though, we had a nice house in a nice neighbourhood and my parents were intellectually encouraging. I associated with people of a similar class. Many of them have gone on to pursue post-secondary education and have become professionals.

This is one tiny speck of my narrative and I am, metaphorically speaking, 'a speck in the ocean,' to quote Ray Guy (2008[1968])). I draw upon this piece of Guy's writing for two reasons: it is a commentary about migration and Newfoundland in the 1960s, and it speaks to the significance of people: one person *as* a person, and the importance of one person's actions. Writing in 1968, Guy comments that more than half of the people that he went to school with have gone to Toronto where, with only a grade eight education, you could earn \$85 per week. Those people who leave will get used to it, he writes, because it is Canada, after all, and not another country.

But it is not Newfoundland. The thing that might strike you about Toronto is that it is so big and you are so small...You can't climb up on a hill and see where the city ends and the trees begin ... You will ride back and forth to work every day very easily on the buses and subways because they run them very well ... It is very easy to live in Toronto because they have it all arranged ... One funny thing about Toronto is that you might not feel so much like a real person as you do in Newfoundland. There are so many people, you see. You are a speck in the ocean. Helpless to do anything. Helpless to change anything. Everything is put before you (and well laid out, it is) and you take it or leave it and you change to fit....It is easy to live in Toronto. It is not so easy to live in Newfoundland (Guy, 1968: 139).

And there it is really. Leaving and staying, but leaving in particular, are etched into our collective consciousness and are part of our heritage narrative (Maines and Bridger, 1992). One need only look at a recent publication by Stephen Nolan (2007) entitled *Leaving Newfoundland: A History of Outmigration* for evidence of the narrative. Nolan begins his book by lamenting the loss of Newfoundlanders and the familiar “heart-rending scene of a loved one leaving home” (2007:1). But it is not our fault, he goes on to argue. We must leave to find work and to make a living (Nolan, 2007).

As a rural female Newfoundlander who *has* learned to leave (see Corbett, 2007), I have found myself caught up in this community narrative. As a sociologist, I realize that I am not just a speck in the ocean. I am, pardon this metaphorical continuity, a speck *of* the ocean. It is therefore not surprising that I would choose to study gendered migration patterns and specifically, the migration experiences of young rural women in Newfoundland. This research is driven partly by my interest in knowing whether and how women migrate differently from men and, if so, I want to explore the nature of these differences. Likewise, I want to know if my experiences were similar to those of other women who grew up in a rural area in this province. This doctorate has provided me with the opportunity to explore these things. Furthermore, I think it is safe to say that I have fulfilled both my parents’ expectations, and have perhaps surpassed their dreams for me to leave and achieve. I did migrate, first from Lewisporte to Ottawa to study journalism at Carleton University. I decided journalism was not for me. I moved to Montreal and then to Manitoba, pursuing both post-secondary education and various romantic relationships. I returned to Newfoundland for doctoral studies. Like the other women in this study, I too have a migration trajectory and a migration narrative.

My research is guided by an interest in people's actual movement, the stories they tell about their migrations and the way in which these migration patterns and stories converge and diverge in the broader discourse on rural migration as produced and perpetuated by particular institutional actors such as those found within the academy, the mass media and the state. Narratives, stories and representation are central to this work. As Cresswell writes: "To understand mobility without recourse to representation on the one hand or the material corporeality on the other is, I would argue, to miss the point (2006: 4; also cited in Milbourne, 2007). I now introduce the theoretical and methodological issues involved in the migration literature and in migration discourse.

The movement of people into and out of rural areas is influenced by a multitude of factors. Migration is age-specific; it is influenced by class, related to gender, and wrapped up in socialization processes. The *framing* of migration, however, depends upon discourse, power and knowledge. Processes of rural migration are often posed in popular discourse as structurally contingent. In other words, migration is framed as a result of problematic issues in rural areas, often economic in nature and associated with depopulation and decline. Rural migration studies, on the other hand, tend to display an essential tension. They teeter between focusing on structure and its impact on agents; or agents in the context of structure. While rural sociological studies of migration cover a range of issues associated with the causes, consequences and effects of migration, they tend to concentrate on "rural communities" as the units of analyses as opposed to individual migrants.

This problematic positioning is the starting point for my dissertation on rural migration patterns in Canada, and the migration narratives and biographies of rural

Newfoundland women. My dissertation floats between acts of migration and their discursive framing in a rural sense. It explores, in Dorothy Smith's (1990) terms, the disjuncture between discourses and peoples' lived reality. It therefore borders, in a dialectical sense, between material reality and ideology and argues that discourses on rural migration tend to remain in economic terms and largely at the community level.

The call for a non-economic orientation to migration has come with hopes that such an orientation will lend to alternative meta-narratives of rural migration (Halfacree, 2004; Milbourne, 2007). This dissertation is an attempt to contribute to an alternative meta-narrative that challenges the discourse of rural decline by not privileging community economic structures or rural restructuring as the entry point for migration analysis. It does this first as a longitudinal quantitative study of rural and urban migration flows based on Canadian taxfiler data and then as a qualitative study of the migration biographies of 45 women between the ages of 25 and 34 who are living in, or are from, one particular rural area in central Newfoundland referred to as the Lewisporte Area.

Newfoundland is the island portion of Canada's eastern-most province known as Newfoundland and Labrador. The Lewisporte Area is rural by virtue of its demography. It comprises a number of villages and towns that vary in size. Collectively, they do not exceed a population of 10,000. The total population of the Lewisporte Area is approximately 8,800 people. The area includes the town of Lewisporte, which is the largest town in the area. Thirty-seven of the 45 interviews took place in the Lewisporte Area. The eight remaining interviews were conducted with women from the Lewisporte Area who are now living in the St. John's Area, the islands' main urban centre, which is located on its easternmost peninsula.

In Canada and among countries of the western world, internal migration has historically been, and continues to be, framed predominantly in terms of the economy and development. This is especially true for rural areas that are often discursively positioned as economically inferior to their urban counterparts. Although I am a sociologist, my research has had to rely upon the work of migration geographers working mainly in the British Isles and Australia who advocate a biographical approach (Gabriel, 2002; Halfacree, 2004; Ni Laoire, 2000; Stockdale, 2004). While other areas such as the United Kingdom and the United States have concentrated on meta-narratives associated with counterurbanization (Halfacree, 2008; Milbourne, 2007), Canadian rural migration literature has in recent years, with a few exceptions (see Mitchell, 2004; Mitchell, Bunting and Piccioni, 2004), remained predominantly entrenched in an examination of outflows of people from rural areas. This is especially true in the Atlantic Provinces and in Newfoundland and Labrador since the 1992 cod moratorium, an event which essentially paralyzed one of the main resource economies of the province. I do not wish to suggest that all research has focused on outmigration in this province. This is not the case. As the review below will demonstrate, return migration and non-migration have been the subjects of inquiry in the Newfoundland and Labrador literature. However, I feel it fair to say that outmigration looms large on the collective conscience of this area of the country. Commenting on Nova Scotia specifically, Corbett writes about the interconnections of a "socioeconomic narrative of a dying fishery, distressed rural communities, widespread poverty and despair, and massive out-migration" (Corbett, 2004:453). Conceptually, the overarching questions that guide my work are as follows: what can be learned by approaching rural migration from a non-economic point of entry?

Second, what can be added to this perspective if we focus on women's lived reality? In other words, if we look at migration and migration decision-making from women's perspectives, does this change how we think about and conceptualize migration in a rural context? Furthermore, can it in fact lead to an alternative rural migration meta-narrative?

The dissertation has nine chapters and a conclusion. In the following chapter, I examine discourses as they relate to rural migration. I draw upon media and bureaucratic discourses in particular to illustrate their role in framing migration. I then situate the interplay between discourse and reality through the rural-migration nexus<sup>2</sup> in light of the broader rural and international migration literature. In the third chapter, I examine the migration research of Newfoundland and Labrador and compare it to national migration studies. Finally, I pay particular attention to the gendered lens in both these literature bases. I argue that additional gendered work can be done in the Canadian context. This leads into an original analysis of migration patterns in Canada using data from Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Administrative Databank. This analysis examines individual migration behaviour across different geographical points at five-year intervals spanning a 15-year period. While some bivariate relations are explored, the nature of the data does not permit a more comprehensive picture of the complexity of migration decision-making, individual migration biographies or migration narratives. The findings from this analysis allude to interactions among space, place and gender but are unable to further account for the specificities of these interactions. To address this, the fifth chapter establishes an analytical framework for the current study based upon the duality of

---

<sup>2</sup> I adopt this nexus label via the migration-development nexus which I will later discuss.



structure and agency and the biographical approach to migration. Chapter six introduces the methods associated with the qualitative study of 45 women in Newfoundland which was designed to complement the statistical analysis and elaborate on the "unknowable" life circumstances in between the data points. The chapter also introduces the analytical strategy employed for organizing the interview data. Interview findings are presented and then discussed.

This dissertation locates migration against a rural backdrop but it does not necessarily contextualize migration in light of rural restructuring or rural change. I do, however, speak to how this contextualization has affected our approach to migration in rural settings. My dissertation unpacks it. My work contributes to the rural migration literature by *not* privileging rural places and rural restructuring in particular. It avoids discursive representations of the rural, either negative or positive, as points of arrival and departure. Rather, it starts with people's lives and their conceptualizations of the world. This is done initially by establishing a quantitative contextualization and then a complimentary qualitative study. The quantitative portion is a new longitudinal study of Canadian migration patterns and trajectories among men and women based on secondary data analysis. The qualitative study in Newfoundland contributes to the growing body of humanist-inspired migration literature. It suggests the importance of a relational approach to migration research. From a sociological perspective, this type of migration work requires more attention in Canada so that the complexity of migration and the balancing of a plethora of factors associated with agency in migration are not overlooked or dominated by economic considerations. In Granovetter's (1985) terms, it makes the case for a balance between oversocialized and undersocialized perspectives on migration

research by starting with a humanistic approach informed by individuals' lived reality, and situating this reality within its respective contexts.

The humanistic, and thus individual, starting point provides a place from which to "check-in" on our knowledge to-date about rural migration in Canada. My findings are congruent with much of the rural migration work in the industrial world, especially the research on women. In this study, it is clear that the women who return to rural areas do so for relational reasons. Economic relations are among those considered, although they are not paramount. They are included within a relational matrix of migration decision-making that occurs primarily at the household level. Most of the women in the qualitative portion of the research were married. The dominance of these professional, married and educated women with children in the qualitative study provides evidence for the cultural production and reproduction of contemporary rural and urban life in Canada. I address this in the conclusions of the dissertation. As will be seen in the data, some things have changed over time, yet others remain the same. The similarities across migration trajectories, and within migration narratives, support the notion that the economics of place associated with rural and urban areas are not necessarily at the core of understanding migration. Instead, relations, including those of an economic nature, flow throughout the narratives. I argue that this relational point of view is more able to express the complexities of people's lives than one which emphasizes structure at the onset, as is the case for many studies focused upon rural change and rural restructuring. I refer to some of these studies in Chapter 2.

## Chapter Two: Orders of Discourse and Rural Migration

### 2.1 Introduction

Migration literature is vast. It stretches across disciplines and geographies. It is by no means exclusive to sociology; and is interdisciplinary. It focuses usually on scales that are either international or internal. My focus is Canadian rural internal migration and migration in the context of the Canadian province of Newfoundland and Labrador in particular, although some mention of and reference to international migration work in developed and developing countries will be made. Through both the quantitative and qualitative analyses, I compare stayers, leavers, return and in-migrants from their late teens until the age of 34. As a result, this is largely a study of young people's migration choices and migration patterns over a portion of their lifecourse.

I conceptualize migration as movement from one geographical location to another *to live*. This is therefore a study of residential change. Seasonal migration and labour commuting are not considered within the scope of the current study even though all of these fall under the larger umbrella of mobility. Increasingly, mobility is favoured as a means to approach migration as it emphasizes fluidity and is suggestively more dynamic (see Cresswell, 2001; 2006; Sheller and Urry, 2006; Urry 2000a; 2000b). This is in contrast to a more static view of migration that has concentrated on "sender" and "receiver" communities (Fitzgerald, 2006). Whatever term is chosen to encapsulate either the permanent or temporary movement of people within or across countries, several frameworks to explain such movement exist. These frameworks are contingent upon the purpose(s) of the inquiry. In other words, the actors inquiring about migration, their

respective institutional connections, and their inquisitional intent are as important as the migration act itself. I write this realizing that this particular mode of thinking is connected to power, discourse and knowledge and therefore reflective of Michel Foucault's scholarship. Foucault's body of work threads itself throughout this dissertation, both implicitly and explicitly, by virtue of the underlying questions of power. This includes power inherent in migration decision-making and power in the framing of migratory acts.

As the discussion below will show, research has explored and continues to argue for the non-economic elements of migration (Milbourne, 2007). Despite this, rural migration studies continue to be undersocialized in Granovetter's (1985) terms and the metanarrative, for many rural Canadian communities at least, is predominantly one of economic decline and population loss. Connected to this economic embeddedness and as a result of it, our understanding of rural migration tends to be problematic such that individual choices and migration decision-making are often in conflict with notions of community well-being.

This section explores reasons why an economic framework continues to dominate internal migration discourse by adapting the notion of the migration-development nexus (Sorenson, Van Hear and Engberg-Pederson, 2002) to *rural* environments. The migration development nexus reflects a discursive relationship between flows of people and the respective success or failure of development efforts. As a result, it is primarily a policy concern. The "actors" involved in defining the parameters for rural migration discourse are of particular importance here. Discourses of migration will be explored from popular, bureaucratic and academic perspectives in this review (see Jones, 1995). I reserve lay

discourses, or the discourses of the migrants themselves, for the migration narratives of the 45 women in Newfoundland that are found within the analysis section of the dissertation. I begin by exploring two major discourses of mobility that are in competition and are important to consider. These include what Tim Cresswell refers to as sedentary metaphysics or fixedness, juxtaposed with mobility discourse, as envisioned by Urry (2000).

## **2.2 Sedentary Metaphysics and Mobility**

Paul Milbourne opens the 2007 special issue of *The Journal of Rural Studies* with a contemplative piece on the need for repopulating rural migration studies with a focus on migration, movements *and* mobilities. He argues that researchers of rural population change should “engage more critically with discourses of mobilities” (Milbourne, 2007: 382) and citing Cresswell (2006), he argues that this should involve engagement with inter-connected empirical realities, representations and everyday practices. Cresswell admits that mobility has remained somewhat unspecified. The thrust of his work and its uptake in Milbourne’s writing is that mobility concerns the movement of physical bodies *and* how these movements are discussed. In sum, Cresswell’s work focuses on the realities and representations of mobility. Writing in 2001, he examined the social construction of the tramp in America as an example of the delineation between moral geographies of mobility and place (Cresswell, 2001:14). In other words, Cresswell examines the social construction of the tramp as a threat to stability, structure and the idealization of rooted place. Using the work of Malkki (1992) as inspiration, Cresswell refers to sedentary metaphysics as a pervasive aspect of modern life. Sedentary

metaphysics is the assumption that people should be rooted in space and place (see Malkki, 1992). In the rooted imagining of the world, mobility (and likewise migration) is constructed as abnormal. This is despite the fact that the reality of most people's lives in contemporary contexts is that it *is* mobile.

In general terms, place, in its ideal form, is seen as a moral world, as an insurer of authentic existence and as a centre of meaning for people. As it's opposite, mobility is often the assumed threat to the rooted, moral, authentic existence of place (Cresswell, 2001: 14).

Cresswell's work, and likewise that of other mobility theorists in the social sciences (Scheller and Urry, 2006; Urry, 2000a; 2000b) emphasize that a sedentary metaphysics does not, in fact, accurately reflect our historical or current reality. In light of these considerations, the framing of and discourse around migration processes become particularly important, especially as they relate to rural youth. Before discussing the implications for rural youth in particular, I will first outline my conceptualization of discourse and the four discursive levels under consideration in this dissertation

I draw upon the notion of discourse for several reasons. First, it is essential to both understanding and critiquing social constructions of reality. Second, discourse and action are interrelated. As my analytical framework will explain, agency is a key element of the conceptual framework for this dissertation. Third, migratory acts are embedded in structures and framed by discourses that, through agency, continue to shape our understanding of and approach to migration. As the structure-agency framework implies, these structures, which include discourse, continue to influence the acts themselves. This is the essence of both Ni Laoire's (2000) body of work emerging from Ireland and that of Corbett (2007) in Nova Scotia. I later review this literature and other rural migration

work that is attentive to issues of discourse, structure and agency. My research will also demonstrate this interrelatedness.

### 2.3 Discourse

As a means to describe speech, discourse is nothing new. In its social scientific sense, however, it has increasingly gained popularity for both understanding and explaining social life largely through insights drawn from the work of Michel Foucault. Foucault synthesized the relationship between power and knowledge through an analysis of discourse and spent much of his writing exploring its manifestations. In his attempt to explain and build upon Foucault's work, Flyvbjerg (2001) articulates that power is fluid and multiple in its origins. Through discourse, power and knowledge are interconnected but power is dynamic. It is a process rather than a possession. For Foucault, truth is also fluid. It is non-reductionistic, as truth cannot be found *per se*. Rather truth is about the battle over claims about truth, who is involved in these battles and where they take place (cited in Flyvbjerg, 2001).

Truth claims are especially important when considering the status and future of rural communities, their discursive reality and migration. The words rural and rurality conjure up constructed meanings of existence. Beyond definitional debates of rural according to population counts (see du Plessis *et al.*, 2002 for a Canadian discussion), rurality is contested as a construct (Little and Austin 1996; Pratt 1996). Pratt (1996) argues that rurality is open to multiple interpretations *because* it lacks specificity. He writes:

Though we may not be able to point to a "true" rurality, it may be possible to identify certain discourses about rurality that serve to enable and support the reproduction of particular uneven social relations, economic distribution and social stratifications (1996:70).

Situating himself somewhere between critical materialism and post-structuralism, Pratt argues that we need to look at structural elements of rural areas, but we must also focus on the ideological view of rurality and its discursive account. This framework is applicable to the reality and representation of migration as it applies to rural contexts.

#### **2.4 Popular Discourse on Rural Migration in Canada**

Corbett (2004) uses Foucauldian discourse to describe how rural communities are presented by popular media and statistical studies in Canada. Media representations of disadvantaged rural communities are numerous. *Globe and Mail* columnist Margaret Wente has described rural Newfoundland as a "welfare ghetto" (January 6, 2005:A19). Earlier examples from the *Globe and Mail* following the release of 2001 Census statistics feature the exodus from Newfoundland communities, such as Trepassey on the Avalon Peninsula's south coast. They convey the message that without an economic base dependent on the fishery, people are leaving, the town is shrinking and basic events and structures can no longer be maintained (Cox March 13, 2002). Cox's article headline sends a message that going west is "still the best advice" (March 13, 2002: A7). Mahoney's (March 13, 2002) article in the same issue compliments this message. She discusses the west as a choice destination and Alberta's oil development as an attractive alternative for Newfoundlanders who have to leave their home communities in search of work. The message here is that rural Newfoundlanders cannot and should not stay in rural



communities that are dying and have few employment options. The same messages could be found in the national media leading up to and following the 2006 Census where CBC online reported that outmigration was still "gutting" Newfoundland communities (March 29, 2006).

Similar messages of rural decline via population loss can be found elsewhere. *Time Canada* has detailed the slow death of rural communities (Catto October 13, 2003) and *Maclean's* covered the conflict between residents of rural landscapes and the urban sprawl (Gillis November 29, 2004). Features on Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula in the *The Telegram* (Hilliard August 27-30, 2004) and in *Maclean's* (Gatehouse, June 14, 2004) discuss how many small communities are dying as a result of a declining economy and a shrinking population. Gatehouse (June 14, 2004) writes that on the Northern Peninsula, moose may outnumber people and paints an image of abandoned homes with boarded windows. Hilliard (August 28, 2004) writes of residents' claims that there is no future for them in these small communities unless there is substantial change. These authors highlight tourism as glimmer of hope for some communities, although it is clear that the majority of tourism development appears to be occurring in St. Anthony, a larger service centre on the peninsula's northern tip.

Journalists tell people's stories, albeit through a filtered lens. Jones (1995) would classify the stories portrayed above as popular discourse. This includes discourse which is produced and disseminated through cultural structures such as art, literature and the media. He describes three other types of discourse. These include professional discourse, which is usually produced by political and bureaucratic actors. Professional discourse is distinguished from academic discourse which studies the object of discourse. The final

classification, which for Jones is perhaps most important, is lay discourse. This is the intentional and incidental communication people use in their everyday lives through which meanings of the rural are constructed (Jones, 1995).

I adopt Jones' rural discursive typology as a lens through which to examine the social constructions of rural migration. In the following discussion, I focus specifically on the case of popular and bureaucratic discourse about rural youth outmigration in Newfoundland and Labrador associated with the province's recently developed youth retention and attraction strategy. I use this as a means to introduce the tension between youth migration and rural places, and go on to explain why this tension is wrapped up in a migration-development nexus for rural areas and problematic rural policy by drawing upon international migration literature.

## **2.5 Bureaucratic Discourse on Youth Outmigration in Newfoundland and Labrador**

The previous section dealt with popular discourse on migration. I now briefly turn to bureaucratic discourse as it relates to Newfoundland and Labrador youth expressed through the province's Youth Retention and Attraction Strategy, announced in the April 2008 provincial budget. Overall, the budget thematically focused on building a sustainable future for the province. The announcement of a Youth Retention and Attraction Strategy can be found within the "Working" section of the budget speech. In the discussion below, I focus on the Budget speech, press releases and other report material relevant to this particular strategy. The discussion is not exhaustive but rather illustrative of the role of bureaucratic actors in shaping the discourse around migration,

and helps to highlight how migration is viewed through and with an economic lens in their discourse.

With the exception of the current global recession, it is important to note that the economic climate in Newfoundland and Labrador has shifted since the 1990s and early 2000s. The 2008 budget speech was decidedly positive in terms of the economic future of the province, largely as a result of recent prosperity that can be attributed to increased oil revenues. In 2007, real GDP increased, personal incomes were on the rise, unemployment rates were down and residential construction increased (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008a). Despite this, outmigration was recognized as a particular problem faced by the province:

Anyone familiar with the history of Newfoundland and Labrador knows that out-migration has been part of us for a long, long time. All of us have felt the sense of loss as loved ones moved away to find work, often sacrificing a better quality of life in the bargain. We are about to turn a new page in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador. Never in the history of the province has there been greater opportunity for young people, especially those with post-secondary education, and, in particular, those with skilled trades (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008a: n.p.)

This excerpt echoes the sentiments found in Nolan's (2007) text on the history of outmigration in Newfoundland and Labrador in which he begins with a passage indicating loss and lament over the necessity to out-migrate. These messages are accompanied by the recognition that people of this province are contributing, through their mobility sacrifices (i.e. the sacrifice associated with labour migration and the seemingly inevitable emotional stress of leaving one's homeland), to economic growth elsewhere. This is evidenced in the following:

Newfoundlanders and Labradorians are among the most industrious people in the country. The same enterprising attitude that enabled our own communities to endure for hundreds of years has helped to build economic miracles across Canada in places like Toronto, Cambridge, Fort McMurray and far beyond. Now we need people with that same enterprising attitude to help us build an economic miracle here at home. We are issuing a clarion call to local residents young and old, to our expatriates and to immigrants from far and wide to join with us as we prepare to step up to a new plateau of economic activity (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008a: n.p.)

These two passages demonstrate a discursive link between migration and the economy; and likewise contribute to Newfoundland and Labrador's migration meta-narrative outlined in the introduction to the dissertation. While an invitation has been made for all people to play a role in growing the province's economy, a decided emphasis has been placed on youth. In the budget speech, the responsibility to "forge meaningful solutions that advance the interests of young people" remains with communities and their capacity to attract youth (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008a: n.p.). It is unclear whether this refers to geographical communities or communities of interest. It is most likely the former. From a rural perspective, this suggests that the onus is on communities themselves. If rural communities in the province are not able to retain or attract youth, this line of thinking suggests that the community, and therefore the rural area, has failed. This echoes Thornton's (1985) writing on this subject, which I later discuss.

In a press release to announce the start of efforts to develop the strategy and the related tendering of the Canadian Policy Research Networks (CPRN) to carry out a dialogue project with youth living both within and outside the province, the premier's

sentiment was that the province should find ways to help young people stay here (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008b). Further to this, a youth advisory panel was established and CPRN researchers engaged in dialogue sessions with 484 participants aged 18 to 30 throughout the fall of 2008 with the purpose of understanding what would help youth stay, live and work in Newfoundland. Researchers also explored what it would take to attract new migrants and expatriates (CPRN, 2008).

It is not my intention to discuss the report in detail here, suffice to say that the research has been conducted and that while the youth participating in the dialogues clearly indicated factors beyond employment and economics as crucial to their migration choices, the framing of the research is decidedly economic. The report and the task of developing policies associated with the Strategy are now in the hands of the Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment within their Labour Market Initiative (LMI). According to the LMI web site, the strategy will include:

bold policies and actions to make Newfoundland and Labrador a province of choice for young adults to live and work, including those living in the province, in other parts of Canada and other areas of the world [and] measures to build the province's strengths and address key challenges, including the long-term trend of youth out-migration (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2008c, n.p.).

Discourses surrounding the Strategy relate to questions regarding the nature of the relationship between rural places and individual migrants. It also begs the question of how we make sense of popular and bureaucratic discourses associated with rural migration, how these discourses relate to the reality of migration and what they suggest about the contradiction between individual interests and community futures.

## 2.6 Academic Discourse on youth migration internationally

Studies of rural migration help make sense of the interplay between discourse and reality by highlighting an important tension in rural studies, namely that between individual choices and community viability. I use the term viability in a broad sense, but recognize that viability is most often equated with economic viability. I wish to draw first upon several studies conducted in the United Kingdom and Australia to illustrate this tension and then explore the international migration literature to discuss why this tension exists.

In a study of rural Scotland, Stockdale (2004) highlights the interplay of individual migrant experiences and the consequences of migration for “donor” communities. Her work provides an extensive review of studies concerning rural migration and points out how out-migration has become a measure of the decline of rural communities. Her framework is specific to the topic of rural development, and endogenous development in particular. I note here that in recent decades, an endogenous rural development approach has gained attention in the literature because of the European Union’s LEADER program (see Ray, 1999). Endogenous development focuses on development from *within* communities as opposed to the external or imposed development that has historically occurred (Ray, 1999). As such, it relies on conceptualizations of social and human capital (Coleman, 1988; Flora, 1998; 2001; Putnam, 1996) as they relate to community capital and capacity (see Reimer, 2006 for an explanation of this framework in a rural Canadian context).

Stockdale also recognizes and makes the case for the role of migration in the life of the individual migrant, rather than just from the perspective of the community. She writes that with respect to rural policy-making and efforts to stimulate rural growth, the

underlying principle is “an acceptance of the problematic nature of rural economies *and* out-migration” (2004: 171, italics added). Thornton (1985) makes a similar argument in her historical work on migration in Atlantic Canada. Stockdale goes on to write that despite the acknowledged negative consequences for rural communities, migration is regarded as a benefit to the individual migrant. With particular reference to labour markets in “more economically advanced countries”, rural restructuring has led to a “distinctive migration of professional and managerial persons to core economic regions, at the expense of rural and peripheral areas” (Stockdale, 2004: 171). I should note that similar trends have been noted in Canada following government restructuring and devolution in the 1990s (Alasia and Magnusson, 2005). In the Scottish context, Stockdale also shows that this out-migration is connected to education and a cultural emphasis on higher education for rural youth as a means to secure a better life. Her findings indicate a greater propensity for youth to out-migrate, predominantly for educational purposes. Likewise, those from “better-off” households are more likely to leave (Stockdale, 2004).

Stockdale’s (2006) subsequent work continues to explore the tension between community and individuals with respect to migration. She argues that while the prospect for additional endogenous rural development may occur *through* out-migration, as people leave to acquire additional employment skills, work experience and education, the fact that there are few return migrants or new in-migrants is problematic.

Gabriel’s work in rural Tasmania points out similar tensions between community development and individual migration decision-making. An initial review of media discourse reveals two predominant narratives (Gabriel, 2002). One is that of a nostalgic desire to keep young people at home and retain rural areas as they were; and the other is a

lamentation of the loss of the “best and brightest” from such areas. Gabriel argues that this tends to define those who have left as the “desirable youth” who are necessary for rebuilding the community and are potential contributors to developing collective human capital. Those who stay behind are defined as undesirable others who are believed to be less likely to contribute to community development (Gabriel, 2002: 212). Subsequent findings of research conducted in Tasmania (Easthope and Gabriel, 2008) extend these arguments and examine rural youth’s migration decision-making within the context of a migration society. This is connected to the earlier discussion of mobility and the constructed abnormalization of migration from places. Easthope and Gabriel (2008) make the point that it is necessary for youth to leave rural places as part of their lifecourse and that the potential for this movement is a normal element in the transition into adulthood. Ni Laoire (2001) makes similar arguments. This supports the case for the normalization of rural youth outmigration because this perspective focuses on the individual migrant’s point of view. It also counters the constructed rootedness of social life outlined by Cresswell (2001; 2006). A culture of migration *not* framed by sedentary metaphysics or rootedness, but one based on upward mobility through migration also reformulates people’s conceptions of place among those who leave, return and remain (see Easthope and Gabriel, 2008).

Gabriel’s (2002) work on discursive representations of desirable and undesirable youth from the perspective of community managers demonstrates these reformulations and again points to the tension between individual and community approaches to migration. It is also important to consider Ni Laoire’s (2001) research on men and masculinity in rural Ireland. Men are encouraged to stay because of their associated



responsibilities in rural places that include the “economic opportunities and duties of family farming and a male-dominated local labour market” (Ni Laoire, 2001:223). Here, the gendered component of the individual and community tension comes to light. Ni Laoire explains that there is an emphasis on young women’s mobility, but that this is not true for young men. For young men, this contributes to a devaluation of staying behind, even though the encouragement to stay has occurred (Ni Laoire, 2001: 224). She asks:

Why do we use the term to ‘to stay *behind*’? This implies being left behind, while the world carries on somewhere else. Implicit in this term is a modernist discourse of rurality, which opposed a traditional, backward rurality to a modern and progressive urbanism (Ni Laoire, 2001: 224).

As this discussion indicates, internal rural migration processes and discourses are positioned, either explicitly or implicitly, as tensions largely between individual decision-making and community viability, and do not necessarily include considerations at the household level even though the household is recognized as a crucial element in the migration-decision making process. Migration then becomes viewed from the position of either the individual or the community. This is particularly important when the community or communities at issue are rural in nature.

## **2.7 Discursive Collisions: The Rural Migration-Development Nexus**

The discursive connection between individual migration and community viability can be explained through what Sorenson *et al.*, 2002 refer to as the migration-development nexus. While theirs is an international focus, this nexus reflects an interrelationship that poses questions about the migrants themselves, the nature of their movement and the effects on sender and receiver communities (Sorenson *et al*, 2002: 50) that is also

relevant for internal migration. In other words, the migration-development nexus primarily reflects policy concerns and therefore is strongly influenced by professional and bureaucratic discourses. Where individual migrants are considered, the level of concern remains largely at the community level.

In the international literature, the nexus is reflected primarily in the naming of policy logics or regimes associated with migration and development which include such elements as closure and containment, selectivity and liberalization. Closure and containment are policy measures aimed to control out-and-in migration. Selectivity is slightly more flexible in that it recognizes a moral responsibility to diasporas, particularly refugees. The third policy logic of liberalization:

seeks to balance the aspiration for freedom of mobility – that people should be able to move by choice and not of necessity – with the need for people to live in communities that are economically, politically, socially, culturally, and ecologically sustainable. Among other things, this means that communities should be able to determine to a reasonable extent who to admit, in line with their resources and the nature of their society (Sorenson *et al.*, 2002: 63).

Sorenson *et al.* (2002) discuss both remittances and loss of human capital (i.e. brain drain) as outcomes of migration and development. A similar discussion occurs in the work of Raghuram (2009) who offers a critique of the nexus and focuses on its “unpacking”. In this unpacking, remittances and brain drain are positioned in opposition. In the first instance, development can occur as a result of migration; in the second, development is increasingly difficult. Raghuram points out that the migration-development nexus has been increasingly characterized by calculation. He writes that:

"a range of surveying institutions, econometric calculations and analytical methods has been deployed to count and make visible the relationship between migration and development" (Raghuram, 2009: 108). In these measurement schemas, some people are accounted for while others are not. Raghuram uses migrant sex workers as an example, because their remittances cannot be calculated into the development model. According to Raghuram (2009), power is crucial to unpacking the measurement of, and the discursive relationship between, migration and development. Here, he draws upon Foucault's notions of governmentality and biopolitics. Governmentality and biopolitics essentially demonstrate the control of the state over people through people themselves. As the label suggests, biopolitics operate such that bodies are the sites where this control is manifest. He argues that this power mechanism can be seen through migration. For Raghuram, the supposed free movement of bodies described in the liberalization policy argument above, and envisioned in the cosmopolitan argument that people are free to move at will (see Bauman, 2000; Beck, 2000), is actually double-edged in a developmental sense. Bodies need to be both accounted for and managed. The migration-development nexus, Raghuram writes, depends upon and fosters:

the moral sentiment that is a sense of commitment to a collective group – those who can be developed elsewhere. This sense of responsibility to a community is activated through the migrants' bodies...The mobile governable subject of migration–development, in this reading, is both required to move in order to strategise their human capital, but also to act morally for the collective good of a distant place/community (2009: 109-110).

Raghuram points out that what is problematic about this is that migrants become the answer to developmental disasters, and are expected to make the sacrifices for

communal improvements. In this conceptualization, he adds, individual betterment is not really considered. The migrant is not viewed as anything other than a means for redistribution and wealth maximization.

It is seemingly impossible to escape the underlying economic considerations in migration when working within this matrix. Economic development becomes the main framework for understanding movement and this framework is designated and perpetuated through power: power in its definition and power in the discourse. Gilmartin reminds us that a focus on migrant identities, romanticized notions of mobilities and hybridities (as emphasized in the cosmopolitanism literature) “detracts attention from...the political economy of migration” which includes considerations of state, capital, elites, power and class (2008: 1838).

Within the nexus, migrants and migration continue to be considered in an economic sense, and are approached in this way as a result of the role of the state in development. This dissertation is not about whether and how state policies do or do not affect internal migration flows but rather how actual migration decisions compare to the discourses discussed above. I acknowledge that policy impacts individuals’ lives in terms of their movement choices. This includes considerations of health care and social service provisioning policies, hiring policies across sectors and employment insurance policies (see MacDonald, 1999; McBride, 1999). The interplay between policy change and rural restructuring is documented in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador (MacDonald, Neis, Murray, 2008; Sinclair, MacDonald and Neis, 2006). I should note that in Canada place-based policies (i.e. ones of rural development and fiscal policy based on equalization) have not been found to have a significant impact on people’s migration

choices (Bakhshi *et al.*, 2009). Rather, these authors argue that people-based policies, which they conceptualize as worker-based policies such as wage subsidies, are much more significant in terms of their impacts on migration decision-making (Bakhshi *et al.* 2009). They write that their results suggest that:

people-based policies (tax reductions, wage bonuses, etc.) are more likely to generate the correction for unequal revenue bases across subnational units than unconditional equalization policies directed at subnational governments (Bakhshi *et al.* 2009: 262).

The question still remains as to what we *can* know from a non-economic point of entry into migration that is not reliant on a concern with rural community futures, for example, and their associated development discourses, but rather with the individual migrant and his or her lifecourse from his or her perspective.

## 2.8 Conclusion

Popular, bureaucratic and professional discourses on rural migration demonstrate a tension between desirable and undesirable migrants who stay, leave, return or move in because of a *rural* migration-development nexus. Indeed, while the migration-development nexus is critically portrayed at an international level in both the work of Sorensen *et al.* (2002) and Raghuram (2009), it is also relevant for internal migration where it has received less attention. Raghuram argues that in both academic and bureaucratic discussions on migration and development, we are returning to paradigms of modernization and the associated “scalar emphases on the nation” (Raghuram, 2009: 112). In other words, despite globalization, the nation continues to be the container within

which migration is framed. This framework remains connected to development and, as Raghuram (2009) argues, must be challenged.

I argue that we must be attentive to the discourses that operate around rural migration and in particular, we must note their interconnectedness with notions of and prospects for development. This includes discourse across bureaucratic, academic and popular levels. I am in agreement with both Raghuram (2009) and Munkejord (2006) that bureaucratic and academic approaches are often, but not always, in tandem. We must ask what is being missed in internal migration studies because of the discursive migration development relationship and its dominance, how we might go about uncovering these missing or overlooked pieces and what they might contribute to alternative understandings of migration. I argue that one approach is through a gendered embodied lens. I now consider the internal migration literature of Newfoundland and Labrador along with that of Canada in light of this perspective.

## Chapter Three: Migration Patterns in Newfoundland and Labrador and Canada

### 3.1 Introduction

Having worked on rural Newfoundland issues for most of my academic career including cohesion in post-moratorium Newfoundland (Walsh, 2002a), expatriate Newfoundlanders in Montreal (Walsh, 2002b), agency and new development in a fishing community (Walsh, 2004) and the impact of bridges on islands in the province (Walsh and Jones, 2006), I am embedded in a particular perspective that sees rural communities as changing, often in decline and for the most part, in need of support.<sup>3</sup> I do not wish to suggest that all rural communities are in decline or are doomed. However, the underlying construction of rural as marginal and disadvantaged is present and has been historically so. One need only look at how rural policy has been and continues to be framed (see Fairbairn, 1998; Savoie, 1992; 2000; 2003).

Academic literature sometimes reflects this "rural as disadvantaged" perspective via theoretical approaches aimed at explaining why rural communities have emerged as resource-dependent, single industry areas. Such is the case with Innis' staples thesis (Barnes, 1993; Hayter and Barnes, 1990). Innis' work represents a core/periphery dualism in much the same way as McCann's (1998) Heartland-Hinterland approach or Matthews' (1983) dependency theory. More recent work on rural Canadian communities has focused on the issue of globalization and its impacts on rural restructuring (see Epp and Whitson, 2001; Winson and Leach, 2002). Approaches such as these often

---

<sup>3</sup> This perspective has been largely enforced in other areas of my previous work at the Rural Development Institute in Brandon, MB and as a research assistant with a large project focused on the new rural economy.

unintentionally perpetuate urban biases, and suggest that rural areas are constantly in receivership of misaligned economic, social and cultural circumstances.

This has often been the case for approaching research in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador because of its isolation, coastal location, reliance on primary resource industries and its marginalization. The province is no stranger to academic, popular and bureaucratic commentary on the subject of migration as previously indicated. Even though Newfoundland and Labrador has been and continues to be a mobile society, extensive academic attention to migration is, however, relatively recent. I now consider this literature, compare it to the Canadian rural migration literature and then critically evaluate it with a gendered lens.

### **3.2 Migration in the Context of Newfoundland and Labrador**

Until the 1960s, a strong academic presence did not exist in the province. Memorial University was formally established in 1949 and attention to the role of post-secondary education in the province's cultural, social and intellectual development intensified as the province itself "modernized" in the 1960s (Walsh and Jones, 2007). People have been migrating for as long as we can account for such movement. Thornton (1985) demonstrates sustained provincial outmigration from 1871 to 1921. Likewise, Reeves (1990) examined the outmigration of Newfoundlanders to the Boston States prior to Confederation. Thorne's (2004; 2007) work with expatriate Newfoundlanders in Virginia Beach and Cambridge reflect the continuous movement of the local population, as does Martin-Matthews (1974) research with migrant Newfoundland wives living in Ontario.



Dealing with a much more recent time period (1972-2000) Sinclair (2003) demonstrates, with a few exceptions, the persistent net outmigration of young people aged 18 to 24. He writes that "Moving away, especially by young people, has long been characteristic of rural Newfoundlanders" (Sinclair, 2003: 294). Similarly, Reeves writes that "out-migration has always loomed large in the Newfoundland consciousness" (1990: 34).

The question remains as to why people have always been moving. If we are to take the approach that migration occurs as a result of the push-pull economic model such that problematic origin communities push people out and destination communities pull people in (Thornton, 1985)<sup>4</sup>, then the historical evolution of the Newfoundland society and economy leading to today would support such an argument. As Thornton points out (1985), this is predominant in a Canadian Maritimes context. This perspective suggests that the region has economically failed and therefore cannot hold its people.<sup>5</sup> Within this theoretical frame of reference, she asks whether outmigration can be seen as a consequence of economic failure or a cause (Thornton, 1985: 5). In the Newfoundland narrative, rural outmigration is usually constructed as a consequence of failed development.

Leading up to and following Confederation, Newfoundland's social and economic history is marked by modernization and industrialization, fuelled by demand (Wright,

---

<sup>4</sup> This economic perspective has been attributed to the work of Ravenstein (1885) and Lee (1966). For a comprehensive review of the evolution of approaches to migration and their economic roots, see Arango (2000).

<sup>5</sup> Interestingly, this conceptualization initially excludes Newfoundland because at that time, a lack of outmigration was thought to be the cause of worsening economic conditions around the turn of the 20<sup>th</sup> century (Thornton, 1985).

1998) and political rhetoric (McBride *et al.*, 2002). As Walsh and Jones (2006) argue, it was a time of catching up. Evidence of this could be seen in widespread infrastructural development in the fishery, manufacturing, health care, education, telecommunications and roads. In addition, regionalization and resettlement dominated the rural landscape (Copes and Steed, 1974). Many smaller island communities were evacuated, with residents moving to larger more regional service centres. Confederation was a time of great promise, but it was equally a time of great change that is not always reflected upon in a positive light. Rather, it has been seen as creating an uneven, dependent and controlling relationship with the Canadian nation-state apparatus. It is not hard to see within this narrative how Confederation and its aftermath can be chronologically constructed to lead us to our current predicament. As we see in later literature (Sinclair, 1988), the state was seen as an important player in the demise of the fishery and thus led popular and academic discourse to see rural economic instability as interconnected with the state.<sup>6</sup>

In the recent Newfoundland migration literature, particularly that which followed the 1992 cod moratorium, we also see an integral relationship between the state and the process of migration. After 1992, a significant decline of Newfoundland and Labrador's population is evident. In the following review, I consider the migration literature of Newfoundland and Labrador that has emerged in the past 25 years. I organize the literature thematically and temporally, and use the 1992 northern cod moratorium as the marker for this organization.

---

<sup>6</sup> I acknowledge that other factors did play a role in the demise of the fishery that eventually led to the 1992 cod moratorium.

### *3.2.1 Outmigration and Return Migration in the Pre-moratorium Period*

Migration research and literature in the 1970s and 1980s predominantly considered return migration to the province (Gmelch, 1983; Gmelch and Richling, 1988; House, 1989).

Richling (1985) surveyed outmigrants, while House's work (1989) considered both outmigration and return migration. Gmelch and Richling (1988) point out that between 1981 and 1984, 60 percent of people moving into the province were native Newfoundlanders moving home. Return migration studies in Newfoundland and Labrador in the 1980s became a point of departure for understanding why, in spite of dismal economic conditions, people moved back to the island. Richling wrote in a related article that: "In view of the conditions encouraging out-migration and deterring return, especially to the outports, it is puzzling that a pattern of return migration to rural Newfoundland occurs at all" (1985:240). In Richling's (1985) work, most people left for employment-related reasons yet they returned primarily for non-economic reasons. This return migration work indicates that most people returned for familial-personal or cultural reasons (Gmelch, 1983; Richling, 1985).

House's (1989) research on return migration to two small communities on the Great Northern Peninsula demonstrates a similar finding. Family was given as the main reason for returning. Like Gmelch and Richling, Sinclair and Felt's (1993) research discovered strong patterns of return migration. They found that family and personal reasons (43.5%) were not quite as important as economic push-pull factors (51%). However, they explained that in contrast to other studies, many of the return migrants they surveyed were returning from other areas of the province rather than outside the province. This is interesting because research shows that most leavers from

Newfoundland and Labrador tend to have urban destinations outside of the province. Rural leavers from other provinces tend to stay within their province of origin (see Dupuy *et al.* 2000).

Following Sinclair and Felt's (1993) work, interest shifted to the migration intentions among rural youth in Newfoundland. Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994) examined the impact of resource economy decline and subsequent rapid economic development and its relationship to migration intentions among young people. They sought to challenge the 'beneficial retention thesis', which asserts that rapid development will decrease the inclination of young people to move away (Seyfrit, 1986). Their work refutes this thesis. They found that despite economic development in Bull Arm related to the Hibernia project, young people were still likely to expect to outmigrate, either temporarily or not. Their work is supported by similar research in Iceland (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson, 2006) which indicates that rural youth are usually not interested in pursuing primary resource-industry employment primarily available in rural areas.

### ***3.2.2 Outmigration in the Post-moratorium Period***

After 1992, migration research focused predominantly on outflows of people. Palmer and Sinclair (2000) described research conducted in three high schools on Newfoundland's Northern Peninsula in 1998. Their work examined the relationship between economic restructuring in the region and students' future plans. In their survey of students, they found that most expected to leave the area (over 80 percent for both males and females) despite the fact that nearly 60 percent of the males and 44 percent of the females indicated a desire to stay. Palmer and Sinclair's results show that students were planning

to leave despite opportunities for land inheritance and potential employment in the fishery. Like Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994), Palmer and Sinclair (2000) found that students were largely uninterested in pursuing fishery-related work. They argue that for young people, the economic push out of the area and the pull of more attractive urban areas offset local attachment, a finding that contrasts with the return migration literature discussed above. These differences are most likely age, place and time related. Bjarnason and Thorlindsson's (2006) research with rural Icelandic youth supports the findings of Palmer and Sinclair. They also found that youth with a stronger attachment to place and strong sentiments of patriotism are less likely to migrate (Bjarnason and Thorlindsson, 2006).

I should also note that the age cohort examined in the work of Palmer and Sinclair (2000) lived through the downturn in the Newfoundland and Labrador fishery and were exposed to messages about the unlikelihood of its future viability. Hamilton, Colocousis and Johansen (2004) demonstrate a relationship between youth outmigration and the fisheries crisis in the Faroe Islands, thus supporting the claim that migration is a direct response to economic restructuring caused at least partly by ecological crisis (Hamilton, Haedrich and Duncan, 2004). In the case of Newfoundland and Labrador rural youth, outmigration today will more likely echo the previous work of Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994) and of Palmer and Sinclair (2000) in that cultural change and youth expectations of life chances and life experiences are much more important than local employment opportunities. These sentiments are, in fact, reflected in recent youth dialogue sessions on the subject of migration and the province (CPRN, 2008).

The bulk of the post-moratorium literature on outmigration and return migration is a result of research done by Sinclair (1999; with Squires and Downton, 1999; 2002; 2003), specifically in the Bonavista Peninsula region of Newfoundland. The research data were collected in 1994 and 1995 and included results from both household surveys and in-depth interviews with residents in the region aged 16 years and older. Age was the defining feature of those who expected to leave. They tended to be younger (nearly 80 percent under 25 expected to leave) and single. This is not to suggest that people in other age groups did not also intend to leave. However, as age increased, the intent to leave decreased. This finding is congruent to Sinclair's subsequent work with Palmer and to that of the Canadian literature (Dupuy *et al.*, 2000). In-depth interviews among those who planned to stay on the peninsula revealed intentions to rely on past strategies for survival including state transfers, employment insurance and informal subsistence (Sinclair, 2002: 306). One staying strategy included seasonal migration, something which has been historically prevalent in Newfoundland. Sinclair (2002) argues that this was not a preferred choice among some of the informants. Sinclair *et al.* (1999) found that leavers tended to have a negative outlook on a life and future in the area but, as other research has shown, many people were not being driven out necessarily by distaste for rural life. Comparing the Avalon Isthmus economy, which supports oil-related development and employment, to the Bonavista area economy, Sinclair *et al.* conclude that "state-sponsored industrial diversification of the Isthmus was effective" based on the evidence that people living on the isthmus tended to demonstrate more positive attributes with respect to the standard of living and employment, and that fewer people between the ages of 25 and 39 were planning to leave the Isthmus (only 14 percent compared to 35 percent

of those living on the Bonavista Peninsula) (1999:74). This finding supports the beneficial retention hypothesis and the findings of Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994) noted previously. Hamilton and Seyfrit's research, however, focussed on high school students, rather than those aged 25 and above. This supports the argument for examining migration decision-making across the lifecourse.

The emerging picture in Newfoundland and Labrador is that planned outmigration is endemic to youth. The literature on return migrants, however, indicates that return migrants tend to be older, married and move back *not* primarily for employment or economic-related reasons. Sinclair (2002) notes that perhaps one of the reasons for high youth mobility is that they are not as entrenched in local rural areas as those of older age groups. Other post-moratorium research since Sinclair's work has examined economic and ecological interactions in the context of demographic change as discussed below. Other work has looked at those who have chosen to stay (MacDonald, Neis and Grzetic, 2006). Staying has been framed in terms of resistance and persistence, despite structural constraints and difficulties through the various employment insurance and development schemas employed to "prop up" struggling rural places in the face of economic restructuring.

### **3.3 Rural Migration Patterns in Canada**

As the following review will indicate, Newfoundland and Labrador's rural migration trend mirrors that of the rest of the country. Currently, our understanding of nationwide migration processes in a rural context is largely shaped by several recent studies based on secondary analyses of Statistics Canada data. This brief Canadian review presents

migration in terms of flows between rural and urban areas of the country and the characteristics of stayers, leavers and return migrants as they relate to such places. Migration is most often framed in terms of rural as the sender place and urban as the receiving place, therefore embedding the stayer, leaver and return migrant in that context. As such, migration becomes conceptualized as outmigration, return migration or non-migration.

The major national migration works emerging in recent years include Tremblay's (2000) population pyramids using Census data (1971 to 1996), and Dupuy *et al.*'s (2000) analysis of the 1991 to 1996 cycles of the Census, taxfiler data and data from the Survey of Labour and Income Dynamics (SLID) from 1993 to 1997. Rural stayers, leavers and return migrants were compared. Other analyses include Audas and McDonald's (2004) SLID analysis from 1993 to 2000. Rural profiles, conducted by the Rural Secretariat of Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, also provide provincially specific analyses. Following from Dupuy *et al.*'s (2000) work, Malatest and Associates (2002) produced a report on rural youth migration, retention and attraction across the country. Finnie (1998; 1999) has also done extensive work on interprovincial mobility using data from the Longitudinal Administrative Databank from 1982-1995. Burbidge and Finnie (2000) have examined the relationship between post secondary education and geographical mobility using the same database. While these studies utilize different data sources and employ varying definitions of "place", there are congruent findings as noted below.



### 3.3.1 Outmigration

In Canada, rural areas are net losers of their youth. Dupuy *et al.*'s (2000) analysis of census and tax data from 1991-1996 revealed that rural teenagers aged 15-19 were nearly twice as likely to leave compared with teenagers from non-rural areas. These findings were confirmed by taxfiler data. Dupuy *et al.* (2000) found that as age increases, rural and urban outflows are similar. Therefore, leaving one's area is not necessarily a rural phenomenon (Dupuy *et al.* 2000). In fact, in both rural areas and cities, youth are the most mobile population. Audas and McDonald (2004) find that young people between the ages of 21 and 25 are three times as likely to move as people in their middle age. Finnie (1999) found that the youngest people in his analysis (20-24) were the most mobile (*i.e.* they had moved at least once) within the time frame of his analysis.

Migrants also tend to be single, more educated (holding at least a high school diploma) and leave primarily for education or employment-related reasons. This is congruent with the previously discussed findings from Newfoundland and Labrador. Finnie (1999) excluded from his analysis those attending full-time post secondary education as he argued that they would have different mobility patterns than the general population. He covers these issues in a separate analysis of National Graduate Surveys (Burbidge and Finnie, 2000). Post-secondary education has emerged as an important factor in mobility patterns. Domina's work in the United States indicates that over a 15 year period (1989-2004), "educational attainment has become the single most important predictor of migration between American metropolitan and nonmetropolitan areas" (2006:385).

Audas and McDonald (2004) provide a labour-centred approach to migration. They argue that people move for employment such that the reasons for a move and the outcomes of moving depend largely on the labour market conditions of the places to which migrants are going (Audas and McDonald, 2004). Likewise the impetus to move is related to employment conditions at the place of origin. This reflects the push-pull approach to migration previously referenced (Thornton, 1985).<sup>7</sup> Recognizing this, Dupuy *et al.* (2000) examine labour market conditions in both rural and urban areas. Not surprisingly, rural labour markets are not as competitive as those in urban areas but as Dupuy *et al.* (2000) point out, this is more important for people between the ages of 20 and 29. Dupuy *et al.* (2000) argue that labour market conditions at the place of origin are not as important to teenagers who are the most likely to move anyway. Of course, if labour market conditions in rural places were good or "booming", it would be interesting to see if and how many rural youth would stay to pursue local opportunities. The literature from Newfoundland and Labrador (Davis, 2003; Hamilton and Seyfrit, 1994; Palmer and Sinclair, 2000) and elsewhere (Seyfrit, 1986; Bjarnason and Thorlindsson, 2006) indicates that rural youth expect to leave regardless of economic opportunities, particularly those available in more traditional industries such as, in the case of Newfoundland and Labrador, the fishery.

As the labour market commentary suggests, studies of migration are framed as place-dependent and reflect the push-pull perspective associated with economic

---

<sup>7</sup> As Arango (2000) explains, the economic approach to migration is pervasive across academic disciplines and can be traced to both Ravenstien's (1885) early work on the subject, as well as to the research of Lewis (1966).

assumptions. Place does not only reflect rural-urban delineations. In Canada, migration studies also show provincial differences. Dupuy *et al.* (2000) find that in all provinces except New Brunswick, outmigration among rural youth (aged 15 to 19 years) is higher than that of urban youth. In the provinces defined as being "relatively rich" (*i.e.* Ontario, Alberta and British Columbia), Dupuy *et al.* (2000:7) find that men and women in their early 20s leave more often from rural areas than from urban areas. This is in contrast to the Atlantic provinces where those aged 20 to 24 years leave rural areas less frequently than their urban counterparts. Dupuy *et al.* (2000) also note that for rural leavers, the main destination is an urban area in the province of origin. The exception is Newfoundland and Labrador where rural leavers tend to move to urban centres *outside* of the province.

### **3.3.2 Return Migration**

Return migration patterns suggest that at most, one in five leavers return after five to ten years (Dupuy *et al.*, 2000). Malatest and Associates (2002) estimated a higher return rate. In their analysis, they found that 37% of former rural youth intend to return to rural areas. Age is positively correlated with the desire to return. Malatest and Associates (2002) also found that those aged between 25 and 29 years possess a greater interest in living in rural areas. Finnie (1999) finds that move and return patterns are highest in Newfoundland and Labrador. In Finnie's interprovincial work, the Atlantic Provinces appear to be an exception in Canada because most returners and even in-migrants must make economic tradeoffs for such a move. As Finnie points out, people generally do economically worse by either moving or returning to this region of the country. He writes that these people

would "include both newcomers willing to take a cut in pay for a preferred 'lifestyle', as well as individuals returning home after making their living elsewhere and being similarly willing to accept a drop in income in order to return to friends, family and a culture they previously knew" (Finnie, 1999:251).

### 3.4 Gender and Migration

I wish now to make the case for an analysis of gendered migration patterns in a rural Canadian context that is attentive to lived reality and migration narratives. I do not suggest that a gendered approach to migration is novel. Contemporary migration scholars point to Ravenstein's 19<sup>th</sup> century study as the first recognition of differences in migration patterns (Donato *et al.*, 2006; Willis and Yeoh, 2000). Ravenstein, touted as the first migration theorist (Donato *et al.*, 2006), found that slightly more women than men migrated, and that they were more likely to migrate to short distances. Donato *et al.* (2006) argue that while Ravenstein's work could have provided the impetus for early differences in migration between genders, it did not. According to the authors, a serious examination of different migration patterns between genders did not occur until after the 1980s when a second wave of the feminization of migration studies was underway (Donato *et al.*, 2006). Morokvasic (1984) argues that a male bias in the migration literature affected what was known about gendered migration patterns. She writes: "Many questions of relevance to the theory of migration remained unanswered simply because they were never asked" (1984:899-900). When discourse finally began on the subject, Donato *et al.*, (2006) argue it was primarily as a result of increased women in academia who had an interest in the topic and were supported in their work.

Donato *et al.*, (2006) identify the 1984 special gender and migration issue of the *International Migration Review (IMR)* as a theoretical and methodological reference point. Numerous publications on the subject have emerged in the subsequent decades. Important among these is Willis and Yeoh's (2000) volume of published journal articles on the subject. *IMR*'s revisitation of gender and migration points to sustained interest within the academic community as reflected in a 2008 issue of the journal *Signs* that features a special symposium on gendered migrations.

In the Canadian context, gendered dimensions of migration are underrepresented in the broader contemporary academic migration discourse. Finnie's (1998; 1999) work shows gendered migration patterns and outcomes. However, in Newfoundland and Labrador, the extent to which gender differences exist in migration patterns is unclear (see Palmer and Sinclair 2000 for a discussion of the gender migration controversy). Men have long been considered migrants, either in search of seasonal, temporary or permanent work. Historically, women have also moved for a variety of reasons linked to both economic and familial circumstances. Sinclair's (2002) analysis of Statistics Canada data for Bonaville indicates that since 1951 there have not been any notable gender differences in migration patterns based upon leaving patterns.

Despite these findings, Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994) propose that there is 'female flight' occurring where young women are "voting with their feet" in terms of rural versus urban lifestyles. Glendinning *et al.*'s (2003) work with youth in rural Northern Scotland indicates that young women were more clear about their plans to leave and were, in fact, more likely to cite wanting to leave. They argued that staying or leaving is a matter of choice and opportunity, especially for young women. In a series of historical data sets of

rural and urban youth's occupational aspirations and expectations in various areas across Canada beginning in 1973, Andres *et al.* (1999) find that women's aspirations have increased over time, while those of males have remained relatively stable. These trends follow general ones within society which point to greater gender equality and opportunity. Statistics Canada (2003) data show that more men and women, and women in particular, are attending post-secondary education institutions (Clark, 2000). With the exception of doctoral enrolments, women outnumber men at the university level (Statistics Canada, 2003).

Results from the 2002 Survey of Approaches to Educational Planning show that most parents surveyed have high educational aspirations for their children, including obtaining a university degree, and that these aspirations are greater for female children (Shipley, Ouellet and Cartwright, 2002). Because the results were not broken down geographically, there is no way of knowing whether differences existed between rural and urban parents. However, this survey does provide an indication of the importance placed on post-secondary education for women. In the current context, it is important to note that for young rural women wanting to achieve their aspirations, chances are they will have to migrate out of their community. Findings that women were more likely to leave than men led Corbett (2004) to hypothesize that outmigration is connected to the pursuit of formal education since more women actually finished high school in his study. Jones also argues that women face both a greater push and pull than young rural men because of the limited employment opportunities for women in rural areas and the emphasis on continued education for young women in particular (2004: 211).

Migration studies attentive to gender have evolved with the growth of feminist research. Willis and Yeoh (2000a) argue that overall, gender has been ignored in much of the history of migration research, and that attention to women-centred perspectives emerged only in the 1980s. They argue that, prior to this, most researchers assumed that migrants were non-gendered or alternatively, that migration was experienced in the same way by all migrants. However, their edited collection of previously published essays from the 1990s demonstrates a gendered analysis of migration, resulting in particular emphasis on women, migration and the division of labour. As a result, theirs is a household approach. We see a similar focus on the household in the Canadian literature of rural coastal communities, particularly when considering work (see MacDonald and Connelly, 1989). MacDonald and Connelly's work is not, however, focused on gender and migration.

There is also particular attention to women as transnational migrant labourers in the international literature on non-industrialized countries. In Barber's (2004) work, these women are migrant labourers who support families back in their home countries while they are working abroad. This household strategy coupled with the gender and development perspective highlights the role of women in the division of labour and household support (Chant, 1998). Rural-urban migration is, according to Chant, female dominated in Latin America, the Caribbean and Southeast Asia, whereas in Africa, the Middle East and South Asia, men are the primary migrants.

Migration in Newfoundland also indicates elements of a household strategy (Martin-Matthews, 1977), but one which emphasizes rural-urban labour migration as a predominantly male phenomenon. Martin-Matthews' (1977) reconsideration of her initial

research using an agency lens refutes this construction, as does the work of Sinclair.<sup>8</sup> In the international migration literature, we see attention to labour-based migration pertaining, for the most part, to any age. Conversely, the rural migration literature of Newfoundland and other industrialized nations arguably focuses much more on age as a determining factor in migration, as opposed to gender. The impact of age on migration is more obvious. Because of this, the attention can either be on migration for employment purposes or migration for educational purposes. As the above discussion demonstrates, the educational aspect of migration is perhaps a more significant factor in migration decision-making for women than men today than it has historically been.

Feminist research, particularly within the discipline of geography, has led to arguments for increased attention to space, place and embodiment in migration research (Silvey, 2006). As a feminist geographer, Massey (1994) has contributed much to our understanding of the relationship between gender, space and place. For Massey, geography does matter to social relations, to gendered constructions of place and to identity. This is especially salient in her work on rural women and rural space, as it relates to the division of labour in rural resource communities in England.

If we look to the literature on rural Newfoundland communities, a similar portrayal of gendered space and a historical gendered division of labour has emerged. This could contribute to an explanation of the "female flight" suggested by Hamilton and Seyfrit (1994). Corbett (2007b) found that women used education (and thus migration) as

---

<sup>8</sup> Interestingly, middle-aged women are moving as well as part of the household strategy in Newfoundland. The *St. John's Morning Show* featured three stories in June 2006 illustrating this current trend, including a particular segment on migrating wives (see [http://www.cbc.ca/thestjohnsmorningshow/interview\\_archives/2006\\_jun\\_w4.html#monday](http://www.cbc.ca/thestjohnsmorningshow/interview_archives/2006_jun_w4.html#monday)).



a means to escape the economic exclusionary environment of a male-dominated fishing industry in his study area of Digby Neck, NS. In Newfoundland, there has traditionally been a sexual division of labour in fishing communities (Porter, 1985a; Sinclair and Felt, 1992). In pre-Confederation times, this was marked by domestic commodity production within the family (Sinclair, 1988). With respect to the fishery, most women worked on shore, salting and drying fish. As the fishery industrialized after Newfoundland's entry into Confederation, fish plants became the norm for fish processing. As Sinclair writes, the "factory replaced the family as the organizational unit for processing as production was increasingly dependent upon large capital investments in new technologies operated by wage labour" (1988:159). Employing hundreds of people, mostly women (Neis and Williams, 1996) at peak production times, industrial processing plants became centres of economic stability in coastal communities (Poetschke, 1984). Porter (1985a) argues that although some women were involved in these crucial aspects of the fishery (*i.e.* processing), the rigid sexual division of labour entrenched in these communities remains. She writes that the "ethos of 'fisherman' is a rugged *male* (italics in original) identity, and it is clamped firmly over the image of outport life" (Porter 1985a:106).

Porter's work supports the argument that rural Newfoundland has traditionally been gender coded as male. Davis' (1983) work recognizes that the introduction of fish plants and wage labour provided women with new opportunities and meaning in life. She found that women found this work rewarding, despite the fact that they were paid less than men. She also indicates that some of the rigidity of women's roles in the family as caregivers and domestic providers relaxed slightly with these new wage-earning opportunities. However, she acknowledges that women's places and spaces in the

community largely remained unchanged. Women's work in voluntary associations continued to be strong, holding together the "recreational and expressive spheres of community life" (Davis, 1983:29). This is confirmed by Porter (1985a). In a study of women's culture and voluntary association along the Avalon Peninsula's Southern Shore, Porter (1985b) found that women's organizational activities were seen as non-political, and thereby labelled, albeit subordinately, as cultural activity. She demonstrates that male political work (*i.e.* involvement in local and provincial politics), was valued highly and was believed to be a space not open to women (Porter, 1985a; 1985b).

The image emerging here, and the one detailed in these studies (Davis 1983; Porter 1985a; 1985b), is that while women have contributed and continue to contribute to the economic, political and cultural life of rural communities, their participation has not been equally recognized. Before fish processing plants, women were not monetarily compensated for their work except indirectly through their access to or control of household income paid to male family members. After the widespread arrival of processing plants, women became wage-earners but not at the same levels as the men in the community. As the fishery changed, they maintained their wage-earning roles, as well as those associated with caregiving and domestic labour. I should note that these studies were conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s. Much has changed in the structure of the fishery since then and women have been vocally involved and politically active in fishing communities, especially communities that have experienced or faced fish plant closures (see Neis, 1995; Robinson, 1995). Despite this, rural fishing communities tend to be spaces dominated by men (Power, 2005). Power's work indicates that few women can gain legitimate access to positions of power in the fishery hierarchy. The perpetuation of

rural masculinities via resource economies are reflected elsewhere in the literature (see Campbell, Bell and Finney, 2006).

Patriarchal social relations and gendered space are fuelled by the myth of a rural idyll that keeps rural areas entrenched in a past way of life (Little and Austin, 1996). As a romanticized, stoic version of rural life, the rural idyll ties rural spaces and places to nature, supports togetherness and is in fact resistant to change (Little and Austin 1996). For rural fishing communities, this would undoubtedly maintain gender relations as they were with a sexual division of labour and with women once again within the domestic sphere.

Referring to Little and Austin's (1996) work on the rural idyll, Matthews *et al.* (2000) argue that it is created for adults by adults. In their study of 633 women in rural England, many of whom were middle-class immigrants, Little and Austin (1996) found that many of the reasons why the countryside is valued reflect and reinforce the traditional place of women in the home. Their respondents saw it as a good place to raise children with women organizing many of their own activities around children's activities. Many of these women gave up employment to care for children and they took active roles in community social organizing. Little and Austin (1996) argue that all the reasons why people would raise their children in the countryside encourage the roles of women as mothers and wives. Furthermore, their study indicates that these women are expected to participate in the community and continue with the woman's role as caregiver of family and community (Little and Austin 1996).

For children, rural spaces also appear to be gendered. Despite the contention by parents that they are safe (Glendinning *et al.* 2003), they are constructed as more

dangerous for girls (Matthews *et al.* 2000). In Glendinning *et al.*'s (2003) study, girls expressed the view that rural life was gendered in favour of males, with girls more likely than boys to say that they felt like they didn't fit in. Through a review of the construction of rural childhoods, Jones (1999) argues that childhood has largely been romanticized and presented through a gendered lens. Boys and nature in the rural countryside are a natural fit and in childhood, girls behave like boys to fit in (Jones 1999). Jones (1999) argues that the adult vision of rurality influences children's lives. Glendinning *et al.* (2003) enforce this sentiment with respect to migration. They argue that the acceptance or rejection of rural areas as a good place to live during childhood and youth impacts young people's decisions to either stay or leave.

Given that rural space is coded and gendered (Massey, 1994), a case can be made for embodied phenomenological migration research in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador. Little and Leyshon (2003) argue in favour of developing geographies of embodiment as they relate to rural studies, something which they argue is currently lacking in our understanding of rural issues. Massey's (1994) work provided a "space" for such discussion. However, her focus was not on the body or embodiment. As Little and Leyshon argue, our understandings of spaces and place must also include ways in which bodies are constituted, contested and challenged (2003: 260). Silvey (2006) argues that such advances in the geographical perspective on space, place and gender should be applied to our understandings of migration. While she does not focus specifically on embodiment, she does argue that issues of movement and the body, particularly women's bodies, should be taken into consideration. This is especially true in the context of what she refers to as "social orders of emplacement". She writes that:

structures of gender, race, and class play into determining whose bodies belong where, how different social groups subjectively experience various environments..., and what sorts of exclusionary and disciplinary techniques are applied to specific bodies...(Silvey, 2006: 70).

The Newfoundland migration literature discussed at the onset has not taken such a theoretical direction with respect to mobility, gender and embodiment. This literature, however, does allude to gendered constructions of space and place. Gmelch and Gmelch's (1995) work on returning does point out that women returning from the city are less satisfied at the beginning because there are fewer employment opportunities for them. Research in 1979 indicated that rates of unemployment were nearly four times as high for women such that ten percent of the male returnees were unemployed compared to 49 percent of women (Gmelch, 1983). Gmelch (1983) argues that for women "accustomed to an active urban life, village and outport life often seems slow, dull and monotonous" and thus concluded that returning was more desirable for men (Gmelch, 1983: 53). It appears as though gendered constructions of space and place were important to this earlier research on return migration, thus enforcing the notion of gendered rural space. Outmigration literature, especially as it relates to Newfoundland's youth, also alludes to gendered space and gendered divisions of labour especially as some of it has examined relationships between parents' occupations and youths' future employment aspirations (see Hamilton and Seyfrit, 1994).

Despite my attention to these issues, I argue that Newfoundland's migration literature has not embraced an embodied phenomenological approach to its full capacity. It also does not and has not used Smith's (1990) work extensively to examine migration. The exception to this, of course, is Martin-Matthews (1977). The same is true for the

other migration literature discussed, even that which is women-centred. Smith's framework has not been applied as a means to understand gendered migration patterns, particularly women's migration patterns and decision-making.

My emphasis on embodiment, however, does not take the body as its analytical point of entry, as implied in the arguments of Little and Leyshon (2003). Rather, I see the body as a vantage point from which to begin, as is indicated in the phenomenological work of Smith (1990), especially as it relates to women and the gendered constructions of space (see Massey, 1994). Smith argues that assuming a standpoint from the place of women situates the inquiry at the site of her "bodily experience" (1990: 28). This is what Young (2005) refers to as "embodiment as lived." Young (2005) also endorses this perspective because she believes it can assist in overcoming the binding aspects of gender codings, and thus dualistic thinking associated with such codings. A lived-body perspective implies that one is experiencing the work and acting according to specific socio-cultural contexts according to the body and its relationship to a given environment (Young, 2005). Young conceptualizes this active arrangement as related to a situation: i.e. the way that the "facts of embodiment, social and physical environment appear in light of the projects a person has" (Young, 2005: 16). Such an embodied approach therefore opens up the possibility to apply frameworks of structure and agency relationships on an even deeper level. Turner (1992) makes this argument in discussing the absence of the body from Giddens' structuration theory, despite the fact that such a body is implied. Giddens, he argues, represents the body's place as somewhat of an absent presence, reminiscent of classical sociological thought (see Shilling, 2003 for reference to this as well).

An embodied approach which recognizes that experience emanates from the body is a fruitful and necessary direction for future migration research in the Newfoundland and Labrador context. It recognizes the material essence of the body, in whatever capacity that may be (see Evans and Lee, 2002 for a discussion of the possible capacities including sexed, racialized, and disabled bodies) and the movement of such a body across space and place..

### **3.5 Conclusion**

Rural migration patterns reviewed here indicate that rural outmigration is prevalent among rural youth. With age, people are increasingly likely to return to rural areas. Migration affects one's personal economic situation. People who leave often fare better economically, while those who return often make personal economic sacrifices. The rural migration literature is, for the most part, embedded in the context of rural economies which are often portrayed as in decline. The rural-migration nexus, if you will, is a complex interplay between rural places and individuals and the disentanglement of the reality and representation of rural migration processes is further complicated by the migration discourse. While gender is a consideration in the migration literature broadly, it requires more attention in the Canadian context. I now turn to a longitudinal gendered analysis of Canadian rural migration patterns.

## **Chapter Four: Gendered Migration Patterns in Canada: A Quantitative Examination**

### **4.1 Introduction**

In this portion of the dissertation, I examine whether and how women and men migrate differently over time and across various geographies in Canada. To do this, I examine data from Statistics Canada's Longitudinal Administrative Databank (LAD). The LAD is a 20% random sample of the taxfiler family file, a yearly cross-sectional file of all taxfilers and their families. Selection for the LAD is based on an individual's social insurance number. Once selected, the individual is given a LAD identification number and is tracked over time, provided s/he continues filing, remains in the country and is still living. Each year, the LAD is increased by a new 20% sample. Currently, the LAD covers the years 1982 to 2004 inclusive.

### **4.2 Method and Analysis for Exploring Gendered Migration: Using the Longitudinal Administrative Databank**

The longitudinal nature of the LAD makes it an ideal data source for understanding migration trajectories. In this case, I used it to track rural men and women stayers, leavers and return migrants born between 1970 and 1974. This particular age cohort was chosen to maximize a longitudinal perspective that extends to the most recently available LAD data (2004). By examining patterns over a 15-year period, a greater propensity for return migration observations exists.<sup>9</sup> The initial sample selection is based on individuals (aged

---

<sup>9</sup> Dupuy *et al.* (2000) incorporated tax records over 10 years for this reason, arguing that the five year data observations available through SLID were not sufficient for an adequate sense of return migration.



15-19 years old) who filed in 1989. While the sample sizes across tables vary slightly based on the time period and geography under consideration (whether a five or 15 year trajectory is examined affects filing incidences) and the presence of adequate observations<sup>10</sup>, the rural and urban longitudinal sample represents approximately 35% of the target Canada-wide population under study (i.e. those born between 1970 and 1974).

Three analytic streams are examined in the current study to identify the migration patterns and trajectories of this particular age cohort. The first examines gender-specific migration paths over five and fifteen-year periods along the rural-urban gradient. This geographical classification incorporates a broad definition of urban and rural based on population size *and* commuter flows.

The gradient is built upon the Rural and Small Town (RST) definition of rural which refers to the population living outside Census Metropolitan Areas and Census Agglomerations. Census Metropolitan Areas have a core population of at least 100,000 people and include neighbouring Census Subdivisions where 50% or more of the employed labour force living in the subdivision commutes to work in the urban core, or 25% or more of the employed labour force working in the subdivision commutes to work from the urban core. Census Agglomerations are classified by the same commuter flows and have core populations between 10,000 and 99,999. The urban-to-rural gradient is represented by four categories of Larger Urban Centres and four categories of Rural and Small Town areas (i.e. the Census Metropolitan Area and Census Agglomeration Influenced Zones [MIZ]) (McNiven *et al.*, 2000). Based on these building blocks, the

---

<sup>10</sup> Cells with less than five reported cases are recorded as 0.

urban-to-rural gradient is outlined below (Figure 3, page 57). For further details, see Statistics Canada (2002).

**Figure 3: Rural to Urban Gradient**

**Larger CMAs:** Montreal, Toronto, Vancouver  
**Medium CMAs:** population of 500,000 to 1,100,000  
**Smaller CMAs:** population of 100,000 to 499,999  
**CAs:** population of 10,000 to 99,999  
**Larger Urban Centres (LUCs) (subtotal):** All CMAs and CAs  
**Strong MIZ:** 30% or more of the workforce commutes to any CMA/CA  
**Moderate MIZ:** 5 to 29% of the workforce commutes to any CMA/CA  
**Weak MIZ:** up to 5% of the workforce commutes to any CMA/CA  
**No MIZ:** no commuters to a CMA/CA  
**Rural and Small Town (RST) Areas (subtotal):** All non-CMA/CA areas.

I also examine migration paths over the 15-year period to develop a typology based on a simple rural-urban delineation. Here, simple means only that it is *not* based on a rural-urban gradient classification. Instead, just the RST definition is employed. The typology delves further into concepts of stayers, leavers and rural returners by tracking their geographical status (either rural or urban) at five year intervals. Returners are not necessarily returning to their RST of origin. Rather, they are coded as a returner if they return to any rural area across the country. Based on the rural-urban delineation, eight migration trajectories are identified over a 15-year period. I report upon only five of them here. Trajectories are presented along select socio-economic variables to examine patterns and potential relationships. Variables chosen include: the presence of children, incidence of marriage and divorce or separation within the 15-year period; presence of

post-secondary education deductions; disposable income change between 1994 and 2004; wages in 2004, presence of employment insurance in 2004 and presence of positive self-employment income in 2004. These particular variables were selected to reflect changes in economic life as they relate to migration decision making, including self-employment, but also to reflect other non-economic circumstances related to family life. Highlighted tables are found within the text.

#### **4.3 Findings: Male and female migration patterns along the rural-urban gradient**

For both men and women in all MIZ's, staying rates are high after five years (Tables 1 and 2; pages 59 and 60). Both tables show that these rates are well over 50%. Higher staying rates, however, can be observed for men in MIZ areas. While staying rates for males and females in urban areas are relatively similar, the gap begins to widen through the MIZ areas, bulging at the Strong MIZ where 64% of the men stayed after five years compared with 54% of the women.

**Table 1 Five-year migration paths (from 1989 to 1994) for females born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989), Canada**

Location in 1989	Location in 1994												
	Did not migrate (1)	Larger CMA	Medium CMA	Smaller CMA	CA	Larger urban centres (subtotal)	Strong MIZ	Moderate MIZ	Weak MIZ	No MIZ	Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	Moved outside Canada	All residents in 1989
	Number of females in the sample who were born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989)												
Larger CMA	21,500	250	375	520	500	1,645	240	190	115	15	560	43	23,800
Medium CMA	10,335	680	290	300	340	1,610	150	215	215	40	620	35	12,600
Smaller CMA	9,490	730	435	365	510	2,040	195	190	185	40	810	23	12,600
CA	8,545	915	700	790	815	3,220	475	355	275	80	1,185	25	12,875
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	49,300	2,575	1,800	1,375	2,165	8,515	1,060	950	790	175	2,975	130	61,540
Strong MIZ	1,940	310	240	260	575	1,385	5	180	50	10	245	10	3,580
Moderate MIZ	3,795	370	410	405	615	1,800	190	35	325	50	600	10	6,205
Weak MIZ	3,670	240	440	375	505	1,560	75	280	40	95	510	15	5,755
No MIZ	560	25	85	65	100	275	20	45	125	10	200	5	1,045
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	9,870	945	1,175	1,105	1,795	5,020	290	540	560	165	1,555	40	16,585
Total	69,690	3,520	2,975	3,080	3,960	13,535	1,350	1,490	1,350	340	4,530	170	78,175
Percent distribution across location in 1994 for each location in 1989 (row percent)													
Larger CMA	91	1	2	2	2	7	1	1	0	0	2	0	100
Medium CMA	82	5	2	2	3	13	1	2	2	0	5	0	100
Smaller CMA	78	8	4	3	4	17	2	2	2	0	5	0	100
CA	66	7	5	6	6	25	4	3	2	1	9	0	100
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	81	4	3	3	4	14	2	2	1	3	5	0	100
Strong MIZ	54	9	7	7	16	39	0	5	1	0	7	0	100
Moderate MIZ	61	6	7	7	10	29	3	1	5	1	10	0	100
Weak MIZ	64	4	8	7	9	37	1	5	2	9	9	0	100
No MIZ	54	2	8	6	10	26	2	4	12	1	19	0	100
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	60	6	7	7	11	30	2	3	3	1	9	0	100
Total	77	5	4	4	5	17	2	2	2	0	6	0	100

(1) Stayed in the same CMA/CA or in the same type of MIZ within a province.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, special tabulation.

Of the No MIZ women movers, the greatest number appear (in five years) in a Weak MIZ (nearly 12%). This is followed by movement to Smaller CMAs (nearly 10%) and then Larger CMAs (8%). Of the No MIZ men movers, they can be seen in five years largely in Smaller CMAs (9%), weak MIZ (8%) and Larger CMAs (6%).

Among MIZ movers, the greatest movement can be seen for women coming from a Strong MIZ in 1989 and appearing in a Smaller CMA in 1994 (16%). For the men, a similar pattern can be observed, although at a slightly lower percentage (13%). Movers to outside Canada tend to be similar for those coming from urban areas. However, if we look at those moving from MIZ areas to outside Canada, we see comparatively more women making this move.

Table 2 Five-year migration paths (from 1989 to 1994) for males born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989), Canada

Location in 1989	Location in 1994											
	Did not migrate (1)	Larger CMA	Medium CMA	Smaller CMA	CA	Larger urban centres (subtotal)	Strong MZ	Moderate MZ	Weak MZ	No MZ	Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	Moved outside Canada
	Number of males in the sample who were born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989)											
Larger CMA	23,110	265	380	460	425	1,530	210	180	120	25	530	30
Medium CMA	11,570	540	250	265	305	1,360	135	155	155	25	470	25
Smaller CMA	10,390	680	435	310	485	1,910	145	190	140	30	505	20
CA	10,130	815	720	730	750	3,015	365	280	265	55	965	25
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	55,210	2,300	1,785	1,765	1,965	7,815	805	805	680	135	2,475	100
Strong MZ	2,845	270	240	260	560	1,330	10	150	65	15	240	0
Moderate MZ	5,235	340	440	375	600	1,755	180	20	325	30	555	0
Weak MZ	4,820	255	440	350	470	1,515	65	250	70	80	465	5
No MZ	735	30	75	60	105	270	20	50	95	10	175	0
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	13,650	895	1,195	1,045	1,735	4,870	275	470	555	135	1,435	5
Total	68,665	3,195	3,880	2,810	3,700	12,685	1,130	1,275	1,235	270	3,910	110
Percent distribution across location in 1994 for each location in 1989 (row percent)												
Larger CMA	90	1	2	2	2	6	1	1	0	0	2	0
Medium CMA	86	4	2	2	2	10	1	1	1	0	4	0
Smaller CMA	81	5	3	2	4	15	1	1	1	0	4	0
CA	72	6	5	5	5	21	3	2	2	0	7	0
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	84	4	3	3	3	12	1	1	1	0	4	0
Strong MZ	64	6	5	6	13	30	0	3	1	0	5	0
Moderate MZ	68	5	6	5	8	23	2	0	4	0	7	0
Weak MZ	71	4	6	5	7	20	1	4	1	1	7	0
No MZ	63	3	6	5	9	23	2	4	8	1	15	0
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	68	4	6	5	9	24	1	2	3	1	7	0
Total	65	4	3	3	4	15	1	1	1	0	5	0

(1) Stayed in the same CMA/CA or in the same type of MZ within a province.

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, special tabulation.

As the above discussion suggests, little or no movement occurred towards more rural areas for either gender in the five-year period. After 15 years, more variation and movement are observed (Tables 3 and 4, pages 61 and 62). More movement can be seen from Larger CMAs, as there are slightly lower percentages of stayers (both male and female) in these areas after 15 years.

**Table 3. Fifteen-year migration paths (from 1989 to 2004) for females born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989), Canada**

Location in 1989	Location in 2004											
	Did not migrate (1)	Larger CMA	Medium CMA	Smaller CMA	CA	Larger urban centres (subtotal)	Strong MIZ	Moderate MIZ	Weak MIZ	No MIZ	Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	Moved outside Canada
	Number of females in the sample who were born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989)											
Larger CMA	17,100	490	845	970	1,045	3,350	570	410	185	25	1,190	370
Medium CMA	7,820	1,075	585	425	530	2,615	375	395	300	55	1,125	260
Smaller CMA	8,945	1,255	790	495	810	3,350	390	330	250	50	1,020	185
CA	5,665	1,335	1,085	1,045	1,240	4,705	760	810	360	80	1,810	145
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	37,530	4,155	3,305	2,935	3,625	14,020	2,095	1,745	1,095	210	5,145	960
Strong MIZ	1,180	410	330	375	685	1,800	20	270	85	15	390	45
Moderate MIZ	2,470	505	585	540	820	2,560	350	40	400	70	860	55
Weak MIZ	2,510	310	625	490	735	2,160	140	440	95	105	780	60
No MIZ	370	30	115	80	140	365	25	70	160	10	265	10
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	6,530	1,355	1,665	1,485	2,480	6,885	535	820	740	200	2,295	170
Total	44,060	5,410	4,970	4,420	6,105	20,905	2,630	2,565	1,835	410	7,440	1,130
Percent distribution across location in 2004 for each location in 1989 (row percent)												
Larger CMA	79	2	4	4	5	15	3	2	1	0	5	2
Medium CMA	66	9	5	4	4	22	3	3	3	0	10	2
Smaller CMA	60	11	7	4	7	29	3	3	2	0	9	2
CA	48	11	9	8	10	38	6	5	3	1	15	1
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	65	7	6	5	8	24	4	3	2	0	9	2
Strong MIZ	36	12	10	11	20	53	1	8	2	0	11	1
Moderate MIZ	42	8	10	9	15	43	6	1	7	1	14	1
Weak MIZ	46	8	11	9	13	38	3	8	3	2	14	1
No MIZ	37	3	11	8	14	36	2	7	16	1	26	1
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	41	8	10	9	16	43	3	5	5	1	14	1
Total	60	7	7	6	8	28	4	3	2	1	10	2

(1) Stayed in the same CMA/CA or in the same type of MIZ within a province.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, special tabulation.

Movement patterns from MIZ zones are similar for both men and women after 15 years. Much movement can be seen for males along the MIZ zones to Smaller CMAs. The same is true for females. Movement can also be seen for both men and women from No MIZ to Weak MIZ areas (13% and 16% respectively). After 15 years, we also see a movement for both men and women from Weak and No MIZ to Larger CMAs.

**Table 4 Fifteen-year migration paths (from 1989 to 2004) for males born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989), Canada**

Location in 1989	Location in 2004											
	Did not migrate (1)	Larger CMA	Medium CMA	Smaller CMA	CA	Larger urban centres (subtotal)	Strong MIZ	Moderate MIZ	Weak MIZ	No MIZ	Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	Moved outside Canada
	Number of males in the sample who were born between 1970 and 1974 (i.e. who were 15 to 19 years of age in 1989)											
Larger CMA	17,830	490	830	890	990	3,200	585	375	185	35	1,180	380
Medium CMA	8,365	1,060	520	455	500	2,535	370	325	250	45	990	215
Smaller CMA	7,150	1,125	910	490	820	3,345	350	345	215	45	955	200
CA	6,070	1,370	1,275	1,085	1,215	4,945	785	510	360	75	1,730	170
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	39,410	4,045	3,535	2,920	3,525	14,025	2,070	1,555	1,010	200	4,830	970
Strong MIZ	1,635	440	400	395	775	2,010	25	275	85	15	400	40
Moderate MIZ	3,385	515	700	590	925	2,730	355	50	405	60	870	40
Weak MIZ	3,040	370	715	500	800	2,385	150	395	115	115	775	40
No MIZ	440	45	125	95	180	420	30	75	150	15	275	5
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	8,500	1,370	1,935	1,580	2,660	7,545	580	795	755	205	2,315	130
Total	47,910	5,415	5,470	4,500	6,185	21,570	2,630	2,350	1,765	405	7,150	1,100
Percent distribution across location in 2004 for each location in 1989 (row percent)												
Larger CMA	79	2	4	4	4	14	3	2	1	0	5	2
Medium CMA	69	9	4	4	4	21	3	3	2	0	8	2
Smaller CMA	61	10	8	4	7	29	3	3	2	0	8	2
CA	47	11	10	8	9	38	6	4	3	1	13	1
Larger urban centres (subtotal)	87	7	6	5	6	24	3	3	2	0	8	2
Strong MIZ	40	11	10	10	19	48	1	7	2	0	10	1
Moderate MIZ	48	7	10	8	13	38	5	1	6	1	12	1
Weak MIZ	49	6	11	8	13	38	2	6	2	2	12	1
No MIZ	39	4	11	8	14	37	3	7	13	1	24	0
Rural and small town areas (subtotal)	46	7	10	9	14	41	3	4	4	1	13	1
Total	60	7	7	6	8	28	3	3	2	1	9	1

(1) Stayed in the same CMA/CA or in the same type of MIZ within a province.  
Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, special tabulation.

After 15 years, more movement of both men and women from MIZ areas to outside the country is also observed. When we look at the flows from Larger CMAs to Rural and Small Town areas, we see the propensity of urban young adults to move to a rural area is higher for those who come from Smaller CMAs rather than those from larger cities. This is the case for both genders and for both 5-year and 15-year periods of observation.

The net migration flows show a 5-year 12% net loss of young adults for 1989 to 2004 from rural and small town areas for both women and men (Table 5, page 63). A 12% net loss of youth over a period of 5 years is the same as the net loss reported for youth by Rothwell *et al.* (2002) using census data. This suggests that the sample of

taxfilers is not biased in the dimension of migration flows. However, more rural women left for urban areas and more urban women arrived in rural areas, relative to the lower rates of migration by men. Over the 15-year period from 1989 to 2004, women again showed relatively larger flows in each direction. The net loss of women was lower, at 11%, compared to 15% for men.

**Table 5 Five-year and Fifteen-year Gross and Net Migration Rates into and out of Rural and Small Town areas, Canada**

<b>Five-year migration rates (1989 to 1994)</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Males</b>
RST stayers (number in the sample)	11,525	15,085
RST out-migrants (number in the sample)	5,020	4,870
RST in-migrants (number in the sample)	2,975	2,475
Gross out-migration rate (percent)	30	24
Gross in-migration rate (percent)	18	12
Net migration rate (percent)	-12	-12
<b>Fifteen-year migration rates (1989 to 2004)</b>	<b>Females</b>	<b>Males</b>
RST stayers (number in the sample)	8,825	10,815
RST out-migrants (number in the sample)	6,885	7,545
RST in-migrants (number in the sample)	5,145	4,835
Gross out-migration rate (percent)	44	41
Gross in-migration rate (percent)	33	26
Net migration rate (percent)	-11	-15

Note: The gross out-migration is the number of RST out-migrants as a percent of the RST stayers plus RST out-migrants. The gross in-migration rate is the number of RST in-migrants as a percent of RST stayers plus RST out-migrants. The net migration rate is the gross in-migration rate minus the gross out-migration rate.

Source: Statistics Canada. Longitudinal Administrative Databank, special tabulation.

There is an important temporal dimension to migration. Five year migration flows are not adequate for understanding the range and amount of migration flow. Observations over time indicate that there is not a large gender differential in movement (Table 2). Among the rural male cohort, there tends to be a higher incidence of stayers after five, 10



and 15 years. Within the male and female cohorts, we observe a rural return rate of approximately 5% after 10 years. After 15 years, we observe an even higher rural return rate in both the male and female cohorts. As Table 6 shows, 11% of women who left a RST in 1989 returned to a RST by 2004. Again, this was not necessarily to the same rural area but to any rural area. This was only slightly lower for men (9%).

**Table 6: Male and Female Migration Patterns 1989-2004 (in %)**

	Women	Men	Differential
Left RST and were in LUC 2004	42	40	2
Left RST and returned to RST by 2004	11	9	2
Stayed in RST	47	51	4

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, Special Tabulation

#### 4.4 Exploring Migration Trajectories

Based on these observations of movement over time, eight migration trajectories can be identified for rural men and women over the 15-year period from 1989-2004. Six of these trajectories are found in Table 7 (page 66) and discussed in the body of this text. Rural stayers (those who have not left since 1989) are among the majority of the sample for both genders. This is followed by rural leavers (those who do not return to rural areas over the 15 years).

If we look along the measures reflecting family life (marital status and presence of children), post-secondary education attainment, earnings, employment status (including self-employment and unemployment), we notice slight variations depending on the migration trajectory. Not surprisingly, the presence of children is high among

women within the staying trajectory (84%) and the trajectory of return between 5 and 10 years (86%).

The incidence of marriage and common-law relationships in the 15-year period under study is high and consistent at approximately 90% in all the trajectories for both genders with the exception of male stayers (83%) and females who have returned after 5 to 10 years away (97%). More variation can be seen when examining the percentages for those who have also been separated and divorced over the 15-year period. Those with a trajectory of returned and left report the highest rate of separation or divorce. Equally 56% of men and women with this trajectory have been married and separated over this time period.

Men and women with the trajectory of leaving and not returning have, not surprisingly, the highest incidence of post-secondary education (PSE) fee deductions at least twice during those 15 years. Not surprisingly, males and females with a staying trajectory have the lowest incidence of two PSE deductions when the trajectories are compared (27% of men and 35% of women report these deductions).

Net income was the measure used to reflect the income levels among individuals in the sample. Women in all trajectories reported average lower after tax deductions than their male counterparts within the same trajectories. Average earning gains between 1994 and 2004 are visible within all trajectories. Men and women with a trajectory of left between five and ten years demonstrate the highest earning differential. Men with this trajectory earned nearly 60% more, while women within this trajectory earned almost 56% more than they did ten years before. In comparison, men and women with a staying trajectory, on average, increased their after-tax income by only 40%.

Table 7: Select Trajectories by Select Socioeconomic Characteristics (%)

Trajectory		N	Children (2004)	Married/ common law	Divorced	PSE deduction (2 years)	Average 1994 net income (\$2005)	Average 2004 net income (\$2005)	Has Wage Earnings (2004)	EI benefits (2004)	Positive self employment income (2004)
Stayer (never left rural)	M	8440	60	83	30	27	19,800	38,900	85	27	14
	F	7070	84	92	36	35	13,800	27,900	75	25	10
Leaver (left rural)	M	2670	59	94	45	51	20,500	50,900	90	14	9
	F	3220	75	95	50	57	16,500	34,800	81	20	9
Left between 5 and 10 years	M	2540	54	92	35	59	17,500	53,200	93	15	7
	F	2100	64	92	40	67	13,500	38,100	84	25	9
Returned and left	M	225	61	96	56	45	18,800	46,200	94	22	5
	F	205	73	94	56	56	13,900	31,600	78	21	11
Returned between 5 and 10 years	M	610	69	93	45	35	20,700	42,800	86	24	10
	F	690	86	97	52	50	15,100	30,300	76	27	11
Returned after 10 years	M	340	61	93	49	40	21,600	47,600	89	17	7
	F	380	79	96	55	47	15,400	28,200	76	18	9

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, Special tabulation

Higher incidences of receiving Employment Insurance can be seen across several trajectories. Twenty-five percent of women and 27% of men with a staying trajectory report having drawn Employment Insurance in 2004. Of those women with a trajectory of leaving and returning between five and 10 years, 27% report having drawn Employment Insurance<sup>11</sup>. Of those males with a leaving trajectory (never returned), only 14% report having received Employment Insurance. Of the women with a leaving trajectory, 20% report having drawn Employment Insurance.

The final trajectory comparison is self-employment. Ten percent of men and 11% of women with a trajectory of returned between five and ten years reported positive self-employment income in 2004. Nearly 14% of male stayers reported a positive self-employment income, and nearly 10% of women stayers reported a positive self-employment income in 2004.

When examining migration trajectories, as I have done here, the picture that begins to emerge is that the circumstances surrounding moves and the outcomes of migration differ according to gender and geography. Using four of the six trajectories presented in Table 7, Figure 4 (page 69) demonstrates this finding more clearly. Women are more highly educated and the presence of children is higher among women in each of the trajectories shown. Women and men report having had wage earnings in 2004 across the trajectories, but a higher percentage of men reported earnings from wages. Men and women similarly report having drawn upon Employment Insurance benefits in 2004, the incidence of which decreases the longer one is away (whether left altogether or returned

---

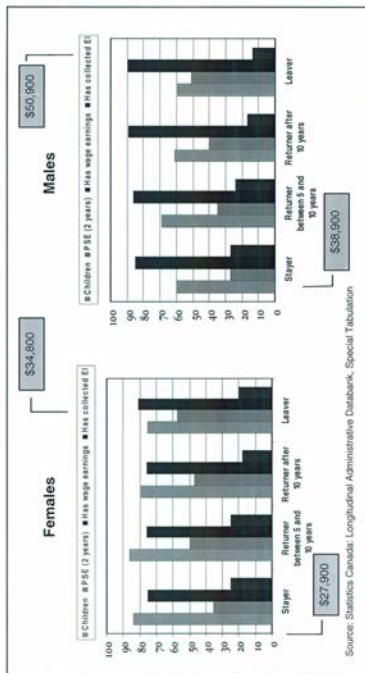
<sup>11</sup> This was 2% higher for women who left between 5 and 10 years and then returned after 10 years (not shown in Table 7).

after 10 years) but again, there are differences between men and women. It is lower for men. It is particularly important to note the differences in net incomes among men and women. For example, women leavers earned \$34, 800 compared to \$50, 900 for male leavers in 2004. Male stayers earned \$38, 900 (more than female leavers) while female stayers earned \$27,900.

The rural urban longitudinal sample represents approximately 35% of the population under study. Tracking a defined age population has its limitations, particularly when the initial sample is dependent on the incidence of filing by a younger age cohort (15-19 years old). To probe potential biases in the sample and explore the explanatory power of the gendered longitudinal perspective presented, the sample was compared with a sample of rural and urban men and women born in 1970-1974 who filed in 1989 and another sample who filed in 2004 (Table 8, page 71).

The data show that urban men (both those who lived in urban areas in 1989 and those who lived in urban areas in 2004) report the highest after-tax incomes and report the least incidence of receiving Employment Insurance. The data show that comparatively fewer rural women report having had wages (i.e. working for pay) in 2004 (78% and 75% respectively), and in both samples, positive self-employment in 2004 was highest for rural men. The data also show that the presence of children was highest among the rural women filing in 2004. While women's incomes are comparatively lower, the data indicate that they are perhaps more educated. Urban women are the group reporting more post secondary education deductions (60% in 1989), although the gap narrows between urban men and women in 2004.

Figure 4: Gendered Comparison across Select Migration Trajectories



Across the samples, the gender differences are notable and mirror those seen in Table 7 and Figure 4. More women are highly educated and more women report having children. More men report having had wage earnings in 2004 and more women report having collected Employment Insurance in 2004. In 2004, men in each category consistently earned more than women. These data demonstrate gender differences across the socioeconomic characteristics as they interact with geography.

#### **4.5 Conclusions**

The data analyzed here show that migration patterns do differ between men and women. These differences are, however, slight. This suggests that the mobility gap between men and women has narrowed and is not as pronounced as previously assumed (i.e. that there is a noticeable female flight from rural areas). We do observe, however, that rural women are slightly more likely to be rural leavers than men. Urban women are more likely to move to rural areas than men. Rural women who leave are slightly less likely to return to a rural area compared to men.

Geography and temporality are important to our understanding of migration, particularly when considering different degrees of rurality. Using the urban-to-rural gradient demonstrates that there is variation in people's movement depending upon the size and commuting characteristics of the area under consideration. With respect to time, it is clear from the data that five-year periods are not adequate for understanding the range and amount of migration flows.

Table 8: Rural/Urban Status by Select Socioeconomic Characteristics (%)

Status		N	Children (2004)	Married/ common law	Divorced	PSE deduction (2 years)	Average 1994 net income (\$2005)	Average 2004 net income (\$2005)	Has Wage Earnings (2004)	EI benefits (2004)	Positive self employment income (2004)
Urban in 2004	M	154690	43	81	32	45	NA	34,100	85	13	9
	F	167805	63	88	37	50	NA	25,400	76	20	7
Rural in 2004	M	32870	55	83	34	30	NA	30,500	82	24	12
	F	34030	78	91	40	38	NA	21,800	71	24	9
Urban in 1989	M	50310	50	85	36	55	18,300	40,900	89	13	9
	F	52955	70	90	44	60	15,900	29,300	82	21	8
Rural in 1989	M	16635	58	87	35	39	19,400	36,100	88	22	11
	F	15040	78	93	42	47	14,400	25,700	78	24	9

Source: Statistics Canada, Longitudinal Administrative Databank, Special Tabulation



My theoretical framework argues for a non-economic point of entry in the examination of migration and one that begins with individuals' lived reality and then examines the structural contexts in which they act. I have applied the same framework to this study by examining gendered migration trajectories along a variety of socio-economic indicators. Examining the selected socio-economic characteristics of individuals by type of trajectory provides the opportunity to examine patterns and occurrences within these trajectories. These trajectories suggest that there are factors influencing migration flows that are gender, age and contextually dependent thus leading to the conclusion that increased or decreased variability in movement is related to, interacts with or is potentially caused by other life factors that are both economic and non-economic in nature. While rural men and women have similar migratory paths, the trajectories suggest that they may move for different reasons, and that there may be different circumstances surrounding these moves.

The trajectory approach used here requires additional information to explain the complexity of migration decision-making. There is little information on what has occurred in between these statistical points. This quantitative study is also incapable of illuminating people's lived realities. It cannot achieve this. It cannot speak to the finding that migration patterns for men and women are similar; nor can it account for, in any great detail, the interplay between differential migration trajectories and socio-economic factors. Finally, I cannot assume that these differential socio-economic factors are causally related to place-based factors. In other words, I cannot simply assume that these gender differences are necessarily a result of whether a place is rural or urban. Making sense of this quantitative data requires a complimentary qualitative approach. Smith

(2007) argues that increased multi-method approaches to rural migration studies are needed. He writes that it is not his intention that the emphasis should be on empiricism only. Rather, he aims to:

spark an impetus for more holistic and comprehensive understandings of the amalgam of new social dimensions of rural change; without losing sight of the valuable contributions which have amassed from the cultural and political-economy approaches. Key here is the need to acknowledge the real value of quantitative data for understanding the geographies of rural social change (Smith, 2007: 280)

In the next chapter, I introduce a complementary qualitative analysis: a lived reality approach that focuses specifically on young women in Newfoundland.

## **Chapter Five: Analytical Framework for the Qualitative Study**

### **5.1 Introduction**

The literature previously reviewed examines migration according to staying, leaving and returning; and is couched in or framed largely according to the economic context of rural change. Positioned this way, rural sites are static focal points of the commentary. While the individual migrant is moving, he or she is moving against a rural backdrop. This creates tension because the underlying question is: are we concerned with rural communities or individual migrants? If the answer is rural communities, then the underlying understanding will most likely always be linked to economics. If both individuals and communities are dual foci of inquiry, then the question becomes whether this analytical tension can be rectified. The analytical framework for the current study addresses this tension but eventually argues that an embodied, lived reality approach must first be employed before any structural elements can be examined. As such, Bourdieu is theoretically favoured in terms of understanding contexts. The embodied agent is the primary lens through which the remainder of the research is approached. This, I argue, is necessary for working toward alternative metanarratives of rural migration.

## 5.2 Structuration, Habitus and the Biographical Approach in Migration Studies

The agency-structure debate emerges out of the tensions of dualism. Dualism, according to Layder (1994), is philosophically concerned with two fundamental and often opposing elements in the world. As such, accepting these dualisms means accepting that social reality is organized in a dichotomized fashion. Layder, however, argues that sociological dualism, when not so dependent on philosophical underpinnings, does provide room for exploring the interconnections between different aspects of social life. Layder's (1994) book deals with three main interconnected dualisms in sociological theory: micro and macro, individual and society, and structure and agency.

Agency, for Layder (1994) refers to the ability of human beings to make a difference (citing Giddens 1984). Structure, on the other hand, is the "objective dimension of the social setting and context of behaviour" (Layder 1994:5). There is, of course, no consensus on what structure and agency might actually be. As Turner (1992) points out, structure could be a set of rules, which relates to Giddens' conceptualization of structure as rules and resources. Or, he argues, it could be objective constraints (Turner, 1992), as Layder's definition implies. Sewell (1992), on the other hand, argues that it is structure that has been ill-defined, to the point of abolition and that as such, it requires rethinking. Agency, however, is reliant on an actor's capacity to reinterpret and mobilize resources originally presented to him or her within structures (Sewell, 1992:19). Emirbayer and Mische (1998) point out that agency is elusive and has not been dealt with as an analytic category in its own right. As a result, they argue, it is conceptually flat and so bound in structure that we fail to see how it is connected to social action (Emirbayer and Mische, 1998:963). For the purposes of this initial discussion, I accept Layder's

account of structure and agency such that it "focuses on the way in which human beings both create social life at the same time as they are influenced and shaped by existing social arrangements" (1994:5).

In terms of approaching the structure and agency dualism, Anthony Giddens has been one of the most cited and leading sociologists in this discussion, along with Pierre Bourdieu (Archer, 1982; Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; Sewell, 1992). Layder (1994) also includes Norbert Elias in this project. In creating structuration theory, Giddens' (1996) objective was how to reconcile structure with the necessary centrality of the active subject. He writes that his attempt to do so is inspired by Marx's "oft—quoted phrase" in *The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Bonaparte*:

Men make their own history, but they do not make it as they please; they do not make it under self-selected circumstances, but under circumstances existing already, given and transmitted from the past (Marx, 1852; n.p.)

Giddens sees Marx's work as the greatest source of ideas to illustrate the problems of structure and agency (Giddens, 1984). Through structuration, Giddens was, however, attempting to get away from traditional foundational modes of thinking, particularly structuralism and functionalism (Baert, 1998; Giddens, 1991; 1996).

Giddens argues that:

in social theory, the notions of action and structure *presuppose one another*, but that the recognition of this dependence, which is a dialectical relation, necessitates a reworking both of a series of concepts linked to each of these terms, and of the terms themselves (1979:53).

Structuration, at its inception, was an attempt to do just that by redefining the parameters of the debate. The structurationist approach, Giddens argues, begins neither with the individual nor society, but rather begins within the recurrent social practices and their transformations (Giddens, 1991:203). In much the same way as Berger and Luckmann (1966) conceived of the processes of objectivation, externalization and internalization, Giddens' structuration concerns itself with how actors interact with structures and systems to recreate them. Giddens, however, asserted that his focus was not epistemological, but rather he aimed to develop an ontological framework for the "stuff of human activities" (Giddens, 1991:201).

Giddens is celebrated for this conceptualization of duality, rather than dualism (Sewell, 1992). Structure and agency, rather than separate concepts *per se* are subsumed under the notion of structuration and he puts the emphasis on processes over entities.

Giddens writes that:

To examine the structuration of a social system is to show how that system, through the application of generative rules and resources, is produced and reproduced in social interaction. Social systems, which are systems of social interaction, are not structures, although they necessarily have structures. There is no structure, in human social life, apart from the continuity of processes of structuration...101" (1996:101).

Giddens aim was not to imply fixedness or stasis. Structuration theory was and is aimed at articulating the continuous flow of society and agency. It includes elements of time and space into such an understanding, which Giddens argues had not been there before (Giddens, 1991).

Through the concept of *Habitus*, largely attributed to Pierre Bourdieu, we see yet another attempt in late 20<sup>th</sup> century theorizing to marry otherwise opposing perspectives and overcome dualistic thinking. Bourdieu, in fact, argues that phenomenological and structural perspectives should be combined, and that such a joining of materialism and constructivism is possible (Wacquant, 1992). Commenting on Bourdieu's approach, Wacquant writes that:

A total science of society must jettison *both* the mechanical structuralism which puts agents "on vacation" *and* the teleological individualism which recognizes people only in the truncated form of an "oversocialized 'cultural dope'" or in the guise of more or less sophisticated reincarnations of *homo oeconomicus* (1992:11, emphasis in original).

*Habitus* is a *method* of seeing the social world (Wacquant, 1992). Interpreted by Hillier and Rooksby, it is a "structural theory of practice which connects structure and agency in a dialectical relationship between culture, structure and power" (2005:21). It is the interface of people and their lives that takes the embodied self into consideration and explores its interrelation with the world. *Habitus* is not just *habitus* alone. *Habitus* works in combination with what Bourdieu calls *field*. *Field* is likened to space, which includes forces or determinations (Bourdieu, 2005:47). According to Bourdieu, *fields* are the sites of agent struggles based on their *habitus*, which relates to personal history and other positions relevant to the actor (here he refers to capital, which of course is not confined to the economic sphere).

Bourdieu not only wants to combine structure and agency (again in different terms), because he sees it as possible. Like Giddens, he wants to change the parameters of debate to rid sociology of counterproductive dichotomies. He argues that it is difficult to

impose such a theory of action as a "scholastic principle" because the "scholastic unconscious" is plagued by an already established series of oppositions including mind and body, subject and object, reflection and action, or reason and emotion (Bourdieu, 2005:48). Bourdieu recognizes that if we are to move forward, theoretically and practically, we must work beyond these terms of engagement. This approach and, to a lesser extent, that of Giddens, echoes Elias (2000) and his proposition of a figurational sociology that overcomes dualisms framed only in our theorizing of them.

Giddens' theory of structuration has, however, been criticized, and most commonly for its lack of definition regarding structure (Sewell, 1992). In fact, as Sewell points out, although structure is important, it is nonetheless elusive in the social sciences. Likewise, he aptly points out that with respect to structure, Giddens remains "frustratingly unspecified" (Sewell, 1992:5). In fact, both Giddens and Bourdieu have been scrutinized on a variety of levels, including their theoretical details and concept definitions (Archer, 1982; Emirbayer and Mische, 1998; King, 2000; Layder, 1994; Sewell, 1992). Layder (1994) argues that of Bourdieu, Elias and Giddens, Giddens holds most promise of a synthetic sociology based on structure and agency.

The above discussion has focussed predominantly on the sociological approach to rectifying dualistic approaches to structure and agency. With respect to migration specifically, Halfacree and Boyle's biographical approach (1993) builds upon these ideas and does so as an interdisciplinary endeavour that straddles determinist and humanist approaches to migration, thus according weight to both the individual actor and the "rural" structure (Stockdale, 2002; Ni Laoire 2000). As one can imagine, the biographical approach is heavily influenced by Giddens' theory of structuration and Bourdieu's notion



of habitus and, in fact, has been linked to both (Ni Laoire, 2000). I suggest that Bourdieu's thinking is more fruitful to the analysis of the situated, embodied migrant in his/her migration context and it has been used to theorize small-scale internal Canadian migration (see Marshall, 2002).

The biographical approach to migration is relatively recent, can be attributed to Halfacree and Boyle and is largely housed in the discipline of geography. Halfacree and Boyle established this approach as a reaction to both the under-socialized (using Granovetter's terminology) and over-structuralized approach to migration. Speaking to this tendency and her own work in migration, Jones argues that agency is often overlooked in migration decision-making because structural disadvantage is more "visible and researchable" (1999:1). I should note that in the geography literature, Gibson and Argent (2008) argue that too much attention has been paid to agency at the expense of understanding structure. Obviously, my argument is that this is not the case in the Canadian migration literature. A biographical approach, as advocated by Halfacree and Boyle (1993), emphasizes the agent within a variety of contexts that span his or her life-course, as opposed to just being premised on the migration act itself. Such an approach has been advocated and adopted in the literature (Munkejord, 2006; Ni Laoire, 2000; Stockdale 2002; 2004). It is also manifested as a life-story approach (see Botting, 2000). In particular, Ni Laoire argues that a biographical approach draws on the strengths of both humanist and determinist traditions in migration studies. Her research on outmigration of Irish rural youth focused on exploring the potential of an approach that would "address the strengths, weaknesses and gaps within the deterministic-humanistic polarization (Ni Laoire, 2000). Likewise, she argues that it is also necessary to

understand the structural frameworks within which migration decision-making occurs (Ni Laoire, 2000: 235). Ni Laoire's approach parallels frameworks that focus on structure and agency as a reciprocal process or dualisms (Giddens, 1984), rather than dichotomies.

### **5.3 Arguing for Humanist Sociology in Migration: Smith's Lived Reality and Institutional Ethnography**

I argue that while the biographical approach leads us closer to overcoming dualisms, it can be augmented. As such, I turn to the work of Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith to make the case for exploring the embodied, gendered agent as the point of entry for migration studies. Smith's work is not widely used in migration literature. This is unfortunate. If Smith's theoretical approach had been generally adopted after Martin-Matthews (1977) usage of it in her work on Newfoundland women and their migration to Ontario, Canadian humanist sociological migration scholarship might have made a bigger contribution to larger discussions of internal migration. I will explore the importance and role of Smith's work here and argue for its reinvigorated use in sociological approaches to migration.

Smith argues that sociological method is actually an ideological practice. In other words she argues that as a discipline, Sociology presents society and social relations largely in the conceptual world, rather than the experiential world. Following from the work of Marx, she argues against thinking that begins with ideological premises (i.e. concepts) and supports an approach that mediates both the conceptual and the experiential. Her approach is dialectical. She writes that we must be careful; we must critique the "conditions of our thinking [and] our conceptual strategies" and base our

work in the living, actual world of people (Smith, 1990: 41). She writes that "to begin with theoretical formulations of the discipline and to construe the actualities of people's activities as expressions of the already given is to generate ideology, not knowledge" (Smith, 1990: 48). She goes on to write that "sociological procedures legislate a reality rather than discover one" (Smith, 1990: 53).

Smith's approach is phenomenological and humanist. It does not begin with structure; it does not begin with agency and it is not about the in between. It begins with the actualities of everyday life or people's lives as they experience them. For Smith, this is an important epistemological shift in the *doing* of Sociology. At its onset, her work not only emphasized the experiential over the conceptual, but also the experiential from women's points of view. Smith argued that because women have been historically excluded from the relations of ruling, they did not and could not have a voice in how Sociology was conducted. This realization led Smith to conceptualize an alternative theoretical and methodological orientation to Sociology that recognizes disjuncture, incorporates standpoint theory and mobilizes institutional ethnography (Smith, 2005; 2006). Through this approach, Smith and her followers deal with structure but only after individuals have articulated this structure from their experience of it. I note that her sociology, while rooted in feminism, is not just applicable to and for women. It is a sociology for all people (Smith, 2005).

#### **5.4 Conclusions**

The biographical approach to migration, traceable to the discipline of geography, is appropriate for exploring the complexity of migration decision-making processes. This

approach is strongly associated with the theoretical tradition in sociology that recognizes duality and includes structuration and habitus. In other words, the biographical approach aims to understand structure and agency in tandem and overcome humanist-determinist divides. The biographical approach also focuses on an individual's life course and therefore looks beyond simply just the migratory act. It takes one's biography and one's life course into account. It must also be cognizant of the narration of one's life at a particular point in time. Stockdale (2004) makes this argument in her migration work.

My research is informed by the biographical approach but goes one step further. It starts with the individual in the migratory process, especially the migrant's decision-making and his/her experiences of such migration. My research is decidedly humanist in that it does not begin with a structural, conceptual imperative. It begins with individuals' lived realities and a narrative retelling of their migration biographies from their own standpoint. I have argued that this is especially important, necessary and appropriate to our understanding of the role of gender in migration and women's migration experiences in particular.

## **Chapter Six: Migration in Newfoundland: Qualitative Method and Analysis**

### **6.1 Introduction**

This chapter outlines the methods used for gathering data based on a lived reality approach previously articulated in Chapter 5. Field research occurred in two sites: a rural area located in the central region of the province (see the definition discussed in the next section) and an urban area. The qualitative portion of the research focuses on women aged 25 to 34. As the literature discussed in Chapter 3 indicates, women are thought to be more intent on leaving rural areas than their male counterparts yet the quantitative analysis conducted in Chapter 4 indicated only slightly different migration patterns by gender. Additional research is required on women's migration experiences and their migration biographies. Related research is particularly weak in the case of Newfoundland and Labrador. While rural women have been the focus of study in the province in recent decades (see Cullum, McGrath and Porter, 2006; Kealey, 1993; McGrath, Porter and Neis, 1995; Porter, 1993), women's lives as they relate to migration here are less understood. As a result, a comprehensive and current analysis of women's migration in Newfoundland and Labrador is required.

Younger women in the 25 to 34 age range were selected for this qualitative component for two reasons. This age range represents a time when many young women have already migrated for educational purposes and are now migratory "free agents" so to speak. Likewise, this age range works well with the quantitative study outlined above, as men and women were tracked in that study up until they reached the ages of 30 to 34.

The longitudinal aspect of this study runs parallel with the ages and time period covered in these women's lives.

## **6.2 The Location**

As du Plessis *et al.* (2002) remind us, definition matters, especially when considering research associated with rural areas. For the qualitative portion of this study, rural as a geographic area remains defined as it was in the examination of taxfiler data: a demographic definition based on population size (a population of less than 10,000). Likewise, MIZ delineations that reflect different degrees of rurality are also taken into consideration and recognized.

As previously mentioned, rural is a backdrop for this study. The rural field site for this research is located in central Newfoundland. It includes the town of Lewisporte, a service community with a population of over 3300 people, as well as eight surrounding towns and three unorganized census subdivisions comprised of several smaller villages. In the analysis section and the discussion of women's migration narratives, these other towns are not specifically named for reasons associated with maintaining respondent anonymity. I refer collectively to these communities as the Lewisporte Area. The total population of the rural study area is 8851 (Statistics Canada, 2006). Within the study site, the town of Lewisporte is considerably larger than the surrounding towns. The town of Lewisporte has experienced a population decline of nearly 11% since 1996, as has the Lewisporte Area (Table 9, page 86). Lewisporte acts as the service centre for the smaller surrounding communities. According to the MIZ classification, this site is moderately influenced by the adjacent Census Agglomerations of Gander and Grand Falls. As a

result, Gander and Grand Falls also act as service centres for Lewisporte and the Lewisporte Area.

**Table 9: Study Area Population Change (1996-2006)**

Area	Population (1996)	Population (2001)	Population (2006)	10-year Population Change (%)
Lewisporte	3709	3312	3308	-10.8
Lewisporte Area	6654	5740	5543	-15.5
St. John's (CMA)	174,051	172,918	181,113	3.9

Source: Statistics Canada, 2006 Census

The urban field site is the St. John's area, one of the few urban areas in Newfoundland and Labrador. Unlike rural areas of the province, this CMA has experienced an increase in population since 1996. As noted in chapter 2, the province of Newfoundland and Labrador has experienced a population decline in recent decades as a result of both net outmigration and declining natural population growth (de Peuter and Sorenson, n.d; Dupuy *et al.*, 2000).

### **6.3 Recruitment**

The women who participated in the research had to be living in the designated study areas (both rural and urban) and be between 25 and 34 years of age. Women living in the urban area had to have been from the rural study area. Recruitment in the rural field site first occurred through advertisements placed in the local newspaper and on the local television cable station in the study area. This was not successful and not surprising as recruitment through local media only is often insufficient (Walsh and Ramsey, 2003).

Only one woman responded to the newspaper advertisement and she was living outside of the study area.

Further recruitment occurred through snowball sampling using various employment and friendship networks in the area. Respondents were asked if they knew of other women living in the study area within the target age-range. These women were then contacted by phone or through email. The snowball sampling produced a variety of respondents living in both the town of Lewisporte and other communities in the Lewisporte Area. Other potential respondents not identified through snowballing were approached in person throughout the community. This was based upon convenience sampling. Many of the women who initially participated were young professional women. As interviewing continued, similar migration narratives emerged. To ensure a greater diversity of perspectives, it was necessary to identify women who did not have similar migration narratives. I therefore sought non-professional women who were working in the service sector in the community at the time. In total, 37 women living in the rural study area participated in the study. This represents approximately 8 percent of the women living in this area between the ages of 25 and 34 according to 2006 Census data.

As per Canada's Tri-Council research ethics guidelines and the ethical requirements of the Memorial University's Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research, before the interview began, each respondent was given a consent form to review and sign. The form indicated the general nature of the research and interview procedures (Appendix A). The women were not initially asked whether they were stayers, returners or in-migrants to the rural area. I did not want to pre-categorize the women as



this would have counteracted the underlying philosophy of a lived reality approach and would have possibly jeopardized the intent of the interview. Discussion of the research instrument further outlines why this was the case. Categorization according to migration status occurred after all the interviews were completed for thematic purposes to remain congruent to the analytical framework put forward in the quantitative analysis (This is explained further in Chapter 8). Twenty-seven of the 37 rural women had returned to the area. Seventeen of these women were living in Lewisporte at the time of the interview and 10 were living in the Lewisporte Area. Six additional women had moved into the area. Five of these women were living in Lewisporte. Finally, four women were considered stayers and one of these women had moved from the Lewisporte Area into the town after high school (Table 10)

**Table 10: Rural Participant Classifications**

Classification	Living in Lewisporte	Living in Lewisporte Area	Total
Stayer	4	0	4
Returner	17	10	27
In migrant	5	1	6
Total	26	11	37

Recruitment in the urban study area occurred through rural respondents and through networks in the area. Rural respondents were asked if they knew of women living in St. John's who were in the target age range. These urban women were contacted by phone and email. Eight women participated in the urban portion of the study. Obviously, the sample in this study is neither systematic nor representative (see below).

#### **6.4 The Women**

As indicated above, the majority of women who participated in the study were living in the rural field site. The women who participated were, with one exception, between the ages of 25 and 34 at the time of the interview. The one woman who was outside of the age range was included because she was a stayer and had not moved from the area.

Because many of the respondents were not stayers, I felt her perspective was important to include. This respondent was 24. Most of the 45 women (32) were married. Only 12 of the 45 women did not have children and of those 12, three were pregnant at the time of the interview. In total, 10 women were pregnant at the time of the interview. Of the 45 women, eight were not employed. Two of these women were on maternity leave. All of the other women were employed and the majority of these were working full-time. As the next chapter will discuss, most of these women had some form of post-secondary education. Only one of the participants did not finish high school.

This "basic" information about the 45 research participants locates them largely as educated working mothers who are married. These women certainly do not represent all women between the ages of 25 and 34 on a national or even provincial level but they do reflect a particular segment of women in Canada and especially in Newfoundland and Labrador. Their characteristics are congruent with those of the women in the quantitative portion of the research. A higher percentage of both women *and* men were married and had children in the quantitative analysis using the national statistical sample. The percentage of those with children was higher among women. In my sample, 80 percent of the women either had or were having children. Census statistics indicate that in the rural

field site, approximately 67 percent of all women are married and 30 percent of all households are comprised of couples with children (Statistics Canada, 2006).

Thirty-seven percent of all women aged 25 to 34 have some form of post-secondary education and nearly 23 percent of all women 15 and over are unemployed (Statistics Canada, 2006). These numbers vary, of course, across the different communities comprising the area. Based on the educational attainment census data, it can be concluded that the 37 rural women interviewed represent a slightly more educated sample than the total number of women in that age group currently living in the area.

## 6.5 The Instrument

Both quantitatively and qualitatively, this research focuses on the individual as the unit of analysis in a rural context. This is especially important for the qualitative portion of the research. As indicated in Chapter 5, I favour a humanist approach to migration using individual biographies and women's lived reality. Beginning with one's lived reality as *the* starting point of investigative reference requires an open-ended flexible set of questions that are not presumptuous and do not pre-categorize the responses by virtue of their framing. I do employ a biographical approach. This begins with people's lived reality as *the* point of reference and examines the world from what Smith refers to as the "everyday experience" of the people living in it. It is not as easy as it sounds. After the process of writing and presenting a formal proposal for my research, and likewise conducting several pre-interviews in the field, I realized that my questions were imbued with preconceived notions and concepts that would make even approaching lived reality largely impossible. I redesigned the questions (see Appendix B) to avoid any upfront

discussions of rural or migration as concepts. These efforts were crucial. They reduced assumption-making associated with the research. First of all, the women were asked the basic information of their birthdates, where they were born, their current place of residence and the places they have lived over their lifetime. This established the context for a discussion of their movement. I then asked them what they were doing here at this point in their lives. I chose this question because it, again, reduced presumptions. It intentionally did not define here and it aimed to show *how* the women initially identified being in that place at that particular time in their lives. What they chose to say was as important as how it was articulated. Their responses were, I argue, a window into the narrative constructions of their migrations, their lives, and their sense of self. In other words, it sought to answer the question: how did these women see or define themselves in terms of their geographic "locatedness"?

After answering this question, I asked the women to think back to their high school days. Since almost all of the women finished high school, I was able to ask them what they were thinking about doing once they had finished. We then discussed what they actually did after high school and the pathways associated with those decisions, as opposed to what they had thought they were going to do. This also led to discussions of movement. Career decisions are intertwined, as will be seen in the data analysis, with migration. For rural adolescents who want to continue with post-secondary education, migration is often not a matter of choice as post secondary institutions are not usually located in rural areas (Looker and Dwyer, 1998).

The interviews continued with a discussion of each of their moves, the elements and decisions associated with moving, as well as the influences and circumstances of

migration. This was largely open-ended and followed from the women's descriptions of moving. In the final section of the interview, I inquired about belonging, rurality and community involvement. I wanted to get a sense of where they felt they were "from," what the notion of rural and home meant to them and whether they were involved, either through volunteer, civic or religious associations, in their communities. This permitted an opportunity to probe attachment to place, particularly rural places and spaces. It was also a means to examine social capital in a rural context and whether notions of the "romanticized small town, middle-class civic life" of the 1950s (Putnam, 1996) are as nostalgically pervasive as they are suggested to be. Here I refer to the counter-urbanization literature and romanticized places as conceptualized, for example, by urbanites moving to rural areas (Halfacree, 2008). I do not report on the civic engagement data here as it is not the intention of this dissertation to delve into discussions of social capital in rural areas.

## **6.6 Data Organization and Analysis**

Data organization and analysis was multi-staged. Interviews were first transcribed with attention to the women's migration narratives. Several organizational parameters initially guided the examination of the data and these worked congruently with the research instrument including what they were doing here at this point in their lives and their post-high school plans. Themes of staying, returning, leaving and moving were then examined, as well as the narratives around these trajectories. Finally, rural, as conceptualized by the women, was examined.

The data were organized thematically but were analyzed during the writing process. The writing acted as a method of inquiry (Richardson and Adams St. Pierre, 2001) and was embodied and reflexive in that it emerged from my own experiences and situatedness *while* I engaged the data. The theatrical piece presented in the preface of this dissertation is an example of this. The initial drafts of the thesis were highly reflexive, narrative and comparable to an autoethnography *about the writing process* and performative writing (Denzin, 2003; Jones, 2006; Pelias, 2005). Autoethnography falls under the ethnographic tradition but is situated at the intersection of the self and culture, and moreover the writing of one's personal relationship to culture (Ellis, 2004). It works to "hold self and culture together...in a state of flux and movement—between story and context, writer and reader, crisis and denouement" (Holman Jones, 2005:764). Autoethnography provides a place to research suffering (see Frank, 1999). It is a place for evocative storytelling, emotion, the self, introspection and therapeutic writing (Ellis, 1999). It is also strongly connected to narrative (see Richardson in Ellis, 2004), strengthening the recognition that narrative and ethnography need not compete but rather complement one another (Gubrium and Holstein, 1999).

The life as narrative (Bruner, 2004) is recognized in sociological inquiry as important, relevant and ripe for analysis (see Berger and Quinney, 2005; Ellis and Bochner, 1996; McAdams *et al.*, 2001). As Bruner reminds us, "life as led is inseparable from a life as told—or more bluntly, a life is not 'how it was' but how it is interpreted and reinterpreted, told and retold..." (1987:708). Likewise, narrative is intimately connected with time (Ricoeur, 1991). The narrative approach to life and to sociology, a

discipline which studies people's lives, is one concerned with subjectivity, temporality and referential points couched within notions of space and place.

Initially, narrative was at the core of writing my research. This narrative writing was inseparable from that of the women's narratives in the research itself. At first, I chose to "write up" the research as a novel about writing a doctoral dissertation on migration. Writing as fiction is by no means new in the academic world. We need not even look to the recently published past for evidence (see Ellis, 2004; Gosse, 2005; Gubar, 2006). Montesquieu's (1772) *Persian letters* and Voltaire's (1991) *Candide* come to mind as autobiographical examples of 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century social commentary as fiction. Despite this, fiction still "struggles for legitimacy in the academy as scholarly writing" (Banks, 2008:160). Writing through fiction, however, is a useful tool for analysis. It places narrative at the height of research because it both embraces and demonstrates meaning-making out of complex and often chaotic interfaces between the self and the social world.

While the women's voices were inserted verbatim in this initial writing, the setting within which their voices were heard was fictitious. I created imaginary characters that represented several voices in my head that "spoke" as I wrote. This was the reflexive element of the work. Reflexivity is central to the autoethnographic project. As Atkinson (2006) argues and the work of autoethnographers to date demonstrates (Ellis, 1999; 2004; Ellis and Bochner, 2006), reflexivity is explicit in autoethnography as personal engagement with the field is expected. Reflexivity has long been part of ethnography (Krieger, 1985). However, it primarily manifested itself as confessional tales (Van Maan, 1988) rather than being integrated into ethnographies themselves. I support the notion

that we are at a time in social research where reflexivity and researcher subjectivity are recognized as a given in the research process. Atkinson (2006) writes that there can be no disengaged observation of a social scene independent of the researcher. Burawoy (1998) argues that the reflexive model of science, as emphasized in his extended case method, embraces engagement with the field rather than detachment as a necessary means to acquiring knowledge. For Anderson in particular, analytic autoethnography is characterized by an analytic reflexivity that is:

A self-conscious introspection guided by a desire to better understand both self and others through examining one's actions and perceptions in reference to and dialogue with those of others (2006:382).

Writing autoethnographically in a fictional setting, or writing performatively (Jones, 2006), created a writing environment based upon reflexivity. I was able to tease out important elements of the research in an extended dialogue format rather than as short vignettes or excerpts to illustrate particular points as is often the case in more traditional forms of interview data presentation. I then took this fictional writing of the data and transferred it to standard dissertational style that, as will be evident in subsequent chapters, often retains the dialogic nature of the exchanges. This includes some of my own reactions.

My moments of reflexivity, in the field and in the writing process, illuminate my role as a narrator and researcher interfacing with a subject matter within which I was also embedded and to which I am strongly connected. As I have stated, I grew up in the community of Lewistown, I am a woman of the same age range as my respondents and I also left this area to pursue post-secondary education. I have an insider status, yet I am



also an outsider (see Bolak, 1996; Halstead, 2001; Naples, 1996; Neal and Walters, 2006). I am an outsider because I am the investigator. I have a different migration trajectory than these women and I have had a different life experience since leaving Lewisporte. I did not, for the most part, identify with many of the women in the research. This realization, combined with the reality of my role as the researcher, resulted in moments of disjuncture (Smith, 1990) as demonstrated in the initial play presented in the preface. As the dialogue in the subsequent chapters will show, disjuncture was normal. Not all of these moments were transferred over to the standard dissertational style, as this style is not based upon an autoethnographical or performative foundation. While the transfer was challenging, it also meant I was less embedded in the reflexive writing and was able to examine the information with slightly more distance. This aided in the verification of findings that emerged in the initial autoethnographic writing.

## Chapter Seven: Choices after High School in a Rural Setting

### 7.1 Introduction

In the qualitative portion of the research, I first asked the women why they were here in the area at this point in their lives (I report upon their responses to this question in Chapter Nine). I then asked them to think back to high school and what they were thinking about doing once they finished. I chose this reference point because it marks the first major transition time that many adolescents face and is the first time they have to decide whether they want to move; and if they are moving for employment or education-related reasons. As Ni Laoire writes: "If migration is part of long-term biography formation, then migration decision making by rural youth must be conceptualized as being bound up with all of the other transitions and decisions that occur during youth" (Ni Laoire, 2000: 234).

In Newfoundland and Labrador today we *can* speak about transitions after high school. High school drop-out rates have decreased steadily in recent decades leading to an increasingly educated populace. Finishing high school has become the norm among most students in the province. This is confirmed in Davis' work (2003), highlighted earlier, on the south coast of the island. Of the 45 women who participated in this research, only one did not finish high school.

Unlike twenty to thirty years ago when leaving rural areas was tied to employment, leaving today is more likely tied to education (Corbett, 2007; Jones, 2004). As Corbett argues, there is an "implicit connection between formal education and out-

migration" (2007:17). Jones (2004) refers to this as post-compulsory education. Corbett's work demonstrates how leaving rural areas for post-secondary education is socially constructed and communicated as an imperative for, among other things, upward mobility and success. Adolescents who wish to pursue post-secondary education often have to leave their respective rural communities because institutions of higher learning are rarely located in these areas (Looker and Dwyer, 1998). Leaving to pursue educational opportunities is equally if not more prevalent for women (Corbett, 2007; Davis, 2003; Lamerbert *et al.*). For 40 of the 45 women in this study (89%), leaving for post-secondary education or at least for the goal of pursuing education after high school was prevalent. In some cases, such a pursuit did not occur directly after high school but did so further along in their biography.

The following examination of choices after high school and migration decision-making is intertwined with post-secondary education. Using data from the Youth in Transition Survey, Tomkowicz and Bushnik (2003) distinguish three pathways for youth after high school. These include participation in PSE directly after high school (right-aways); delayed participation (delayers) and non-participation (no-goers). As indicated in the methods section, most of the women in the study did attend a post-secondary institution. Five did not (no-goers) and six did not finish their post-secondary education studies. In this section, I adopt Tomkowicz and Bushnik's (2003) pathways categorization as a starting point for analysis. The qualitative biographical approach adds to our understanding and richness of the three pathways. The Youth in Transition Survey, like the statistical analysis in this dissertation, is limited and can only provide a quantitative picture. Through the following analysis, I contribute to the larger discussion

of migrant experience with respect to educational choices. The analysis also lends more to the understanding of how post-secondary education is valued in contemporary Canadian society, especially Newfoundland and Labrador.

## **7.2 A Brief Note about Post-secondary Education in Newfoundland and Labrador**

Before beginning the analysis, I feel it is important to speak directly to the case of post-secondary education, and education in general, in this province. Compared to the rest of Canada, Newfoundland and Labrador represents a particular case of educational development as a result of cultural and socio-economic variability. In 1961, illiteracy in Newfoundland was double the national average (cited in Kitchen, 1969); with higher rates in smaller areas. Kitchen attributed this to dialects and the "non-print" environment of small communities.

For many Newfoundland children, steeped in the dialects that are their mother tongues, learning to read and to write English, the formal code of the English-Speaking world, is much the same as learning a second language...Also, in small communities the culture is oral, communication is face-to-face, reading and writing are unnecessary. The medium print is almost without meaning...The child who comes to school, in many a Newfoundland community, enters a fearsome, an awesome never-never-land...It is small wonder that children become timid, shy and dropouts (Kitchen, 1969:4).

I quote at length because Kitchen's work points to an important factor in the social and cultural environment of 1960s rural Newfoundland. Formal education of any sort was not necessary for the particular way of life built around the primary industrial activity associated with the fishery and other resource extraction activities (*e.g.* logging and mining). Likewise, exposure to elements of

"print" and other media, such as television, was rare. This was due in large part to the physical isolation of coastal communities.

The 1960s marked a time of change in Newfoundland and an increased emphasis on development (Walsh and Jones, 2007). Education for Newfoundlanders and Labradorians became part of this development mantra and was linked discursively to economic outcomes, as evidenced in the Royal Commission on Education and Youth conducted in the late 1960s. Summarizing the report, Wilson (1968) wrote that education is important because of technological advances and the corresponding demand for knowledge and skills. At that time, employment in primary industry and "unskilled occupations" was seen as decreasing, while opportunities in professional areas and the trades were increasing. Wilson writes:

It is clear that the less able, or poorly trained worker faces chronic under-employment or complete unemployment. A rise in the educational standards of the working force means technological progress and economic growth for the community at large and a higher earning capacity for the individual worker (Wilson, 1968:1).

At the time, political discourse recognized and emphasized the connection between education and economic development. This message arguably began with its formalization and legitimization through the Commission. It continued through the political messaging of Premier Smallwood and no doubt reverberated throughout the province through the respective state-supported institutions such as schools and institutions like the family. I realize that in making these assertions, I am drawing upon the fundamentals of sociology connected to culture, norms and socialization. I do so

because it is relevant and prevalent. Through my interpretative lens, I see the outcomes of the message by both parents and teachers that post-secondary education is necessary trickling throughout these women's narratives. These are not, and cannot, be enumerated in surveys such as the Youth in Transition Survey.

### **7.3 Right-Away and PSE**

Most of the 45 women were right-awayers. As one of the respondents said, she felt as though she just needed to have a plan. Everyone that she knew was going away to school so she felt the obligation to do the same. She went right away to college, although most right-awayers went to university as opposed to college (I include nursing school in the college designation).

"There was never a question that I was going to university," I42 tells me. That was something her parents and her teachers pushed. "University seemed to be the only option." I prompt her on this. She responds that it was the only option presented to her. Other women in the study expressed similar sentiments when faced with the decision of what to do next. In many cases, university rather than community college was a given. On a number of occasions, I discussed with women the messages they received from either their parents or their teachers about the need to go to university.

"Both my parents went to university," I10 says to me, "and for that reason I don't think there was ever a thought in my mind that I wouldn't go. Like it was always just okay, you guys have gone, my sister went to university, we...the three of us, my sister, my brother and I, did well in school and it is just automatically assumed by your friends, your parents, whoever, that you were going to university."

"Yeah, I don't think I had a choice," I23 tells me.

"No? Why do you say that?" I reply.

"Cause dad was gonna make me go anyways."

"Was he?" I ask.

"No, yeah, I wanted to go anyways. It wasn't a fight, but that was just, in our family...it wasn't really something you talked about: are you gonna go or no. It's what are you gonna do when you go. You know I'm one of four girls and we all went to university," I23 says.

"What influenced your decision to go to university?" I ask I27.

"Um, well I would say good marks and that in high school, and the teachers were always well you knows your gonna go to university kinda thing," she replies.

I33 had a slightly different response, but ultimately shared the same message (i.e. that going to university was an assumed path). "I don't know if I ever actually thought about it," she tells me. "But once I was probably in late high school, I actually thought about it and I just assumed that was what I was gonna do. I didn't really think of any other options ... I just never thought about college or you know, any other degree type program ... I really don't know why, it wasn't that mom and dad talked about it."

"No?"

"No...I guess I was busy doing other things, I was always in a pile of sports and...a lot of after school stuff. I just never stopped I don't think ... so between whenever they start tellin' ya well you need these courses for university, that's probably when I started thinking about it and just did what I needed..."(I33)

"I definitely think that our generation growing up, or my generation, we were very much pressured into post-secondary," I17 says to me. "I felt anyway ... my parents and my friend's parents were very much, yeah you have to have a post-secondary education otherwise there are no employment opportunities you know ... Not that I didn't want to go but ... I would say there was certainly some pressure there that you felt you needed it, otherwise you had no job opportunities." She tells me that it was the same for her husband.

Well like myself in high school, we were both straight-A students. But I think he would probably have gone on and done a trade had he followed his heart and his interest. But because he was a straight-A student, it was like no you should go to university. You should get your degree, you know, you'll have a top notch job. Don't go into trades, you know, and have to work hard your entire life to make a cent...you go and get your degree first (I17).

I38 says she did not consider anything else. "Not going to university was never an option," she tells me. "It wasn't because I was forced to go to university, but it was just in my own mind. Once I finished grade 12, there was no other option. I had a few months off and in September, I was going to university" (I38)

"Oh really?" I ask her.

"It never occurred to me that you wouldn't go," she replies. "It was just ... cause I always did well [in high school] and the next thing was just university. And it wasn't if you go to university, it was *when* you go to university. It was just ... it was just the same thing as going to another grade and to me, there was no choice" (I38).

For the women discussed above, the imperative was to get a university education. From an economic point of view, university degrees have been constructed as the means



to achieve well-paying jobs. Some of the women expressed this sentiment, especially when comparing the choice to go to university over college. Not all of the women chose university as their right-away post secondary education path (Table 11).

One woman told me that she knew she wanted to go into business or office work and so after high school she went on to do a trade. She had no intention of going to university. I asked her why not. She said she just did not like school enough. Some of the women who chose to go to college right away knew exactly what they wanted to do. This was also the case, for example, for some of the women who chose to go right away to nursing school.

**Table 11: Post Secondary Education Paths (n=45)**

	University degree	College diploma	Nursing School	University Unfinished	College unfinished	No PSE
Lewisporte Area	10	12	4	7*	4	5
St. John's	7	1				

\* 5 of these women switched to college and acquired college diplomas

Some of the women who did not go to university expressed remorse. After high school, I20 tells me that she did not want to go to university. She chose college instead. Now she regrets it.

"Oh really?" I ask.

"Yeah, I wish that I had gone to university but I found that there wasn't much encouragement, especially from my parents. No encouragement to go on and get a

university education...looking back, I wish I did. I've said it a thousand times. I said I wish I had gone to university," I20 says.

Another woman said it was not the lack of encouragement from her parents. "I've made a lot of mistakes," says I18. "I could have went to university, but for some reason I just didn't do it. I don't know why ... looking back, being young, and you know, I guess you know, my father always said to me ... go to university, go to university. I got to say, they're the ones who encouraged me to go and I said no."

"Really?"

"They did," she says. "My father wanted...knew I had good marks in school and he said, 'Go to university.' And you know what my biggest fear was?" she asks rhetorically, "Coming out and owing too much money." She tells me her father still asks her why she didn't listen and the teachers she had growing up tell her she was good in school.

The above discussion portrays the picture that many women experienced the imperative to attend post-secondary institutions right away and that this transition was a natural progression from their high school careers. This came largely as a result of socialization from both parents and teachers. University was constructed as the place to go if you were identified as "smart" and if you wanted a "good job". The imperative to go to university did not necessarily reflect parents' education. In other words, it was prevalent among those women whose parents went to university and those who did not. University-educated parents were the exception rather than the norm among these women. In several cases, women mentioned that the reason going to university and

getting one's education were emphasized so ardently was because their parents did not have that opportunity.

#### **7.4 University Right Awayers: What to do once you get there**

I wish to expand upon comments made by the women who went to university. In many cases, they did not know *what* they were going to do once there, only that they were going. This supports the argument that, for these women, university tended to be valued over community college and that what one was going to do at university, or arguably with the rest of one's life, was less important than actually going. This was expressed in this interview:

"Yeah, it was very bizarre," I45 tells me, "When you look back on it, and you think about it, like I always knew I was going to university. I don't know what I'm going to do but I'm going to university. It's really weird."

"Like right from birth it's like you're going to university," I45 says to me. "It was like not even a question. I didn't even question doin' a trade or doing anything like that cause I knew I was going to university."

"Did you?" I say.

"It was like bein' brainwashed" she replies.

"You really think so?" I am interested in the way she describes it.

"Yeah, I'm goin' to university. It wasn't a decision I made really," she then tells me.

It is true that many of the women felt the pressure to go to university, and without certainty about what they were going to do once there. Again, this points to socialization

and messaging around a university degree. Once there, some of these women changed the career path choices they had settled on in high school.

If we look closer at the narratives, we can see that some of the women assumed that they were going to go into sciences and specialized medical professions including pharmacy, dentistry, speech pathology and in some cases, medicine. This, I believe, points toward an emphasis overall on the sciences and especially science for "smart" women. I return to one of the narratives from the beginning of this section to illustrate this point.

I42 told me that she felt pushed, but not in a negative way. It was obvious she was going to university because she had good grades. She was good at science and the teachers recognized it. "Once it came time in grade 12 to figure out your courses you were gonna do, it seemed obvious, at least to my teachers, that I was gonna be studying science." She says she never questioned it. "At least not then."

"No?" I ask her.

"No, I guess I didn't have the rebel in me at that age. It came later."

We laugh. She later decided that science was not the direction she wanted to take her career. I heard a similar story in another interview. She had good grades, her teachers told her that she was going to university and she took the science route but soon realized that it was not for her.

"I had big high hopes in the beginning like to go on and try to get into med school or pharmacy or something like that," I27 tells me. "And then when I got in St. John's and the reality of it, I realized that was probably a little bit too much for me so...it was hard to get into. It was a couple of areas in university that I [wasn't] very strong in like math

and stuff so (she laughs) I put my scope down a little bit and went to nursing school. And I never had no trouble with that."

Another woman told me she was going to do pharmacy.

"I was going to be a pharmacist and ah, like did really well in chemistry and all that in high school, you know 90s or whatever, not that that matters," I45 says.

But anyway ... came in here and started my general studies and did like my chemistry and my physics and all those courses and yeah, started my chemistry course and ah couldn't understand a word that the professor was saying ... I re-evaluated ... and I said you know maybe nursing...I lived with a nurse at the time, or she was in nursing school. So I was like hmmm, that seems pretty interesting. So that's how I ended up getting into nursing school. But originally, I thought I was gonna be a pharmacist (I45).

"OK," I respond.

"So how did you know that? Like how did that come to be?"

I don't know. I think I was just you know. I was in high school lookin' at good payin' jobs and like, professionals, you know what would be interesting and like what courses I was good at in high school right ... I really liked chemistry in high school. Maybe that was cause of [the teacher] ... I thought you know, they make really good money right and ... that would probably be a decent career to go into ... but it didn't take long for me to change my mind on that (I45)

"No?" I ask.

"I'm glad I did though."

"Yeah?"

"Yeah cause well I, where I work in the hospital now you work with pharmacists all the time. I wouldn't want that job."

"No?"

"No. I think it'd be boring."

"Did you know a lot about it at the time?"

"... no. no not really, cause I didn't really, plus for Lewisporte, goin' down to Shoppers and getting your prescription. Like I didn't know any pharmacists right? Like personally to talk to them or anything like that, right? So I'm glad that it did take that turn cause I don't think I would have been happy with pharmacy."

Some of the right-awayers in the study went to university first and then decided it was not for them. I34 told me she started out in Gander and did the university's transfer program.

I did biology, chemistry, math, English, and psych and at that point, I said no I don't think this is what I want, not really the MUN thing. So then I said ah, I was interested in business. So at the same time while I was at the college doin' the MUN transfer program, I looked into this business program, and I said yeah I think I'll try that. And I must say, I really liked the program and soon as I finished school I got work right away in my career. So ah, it worked out good.

She said her parents encouraged her to do whatever it was that she wanted, and encouraged her to try university because, like many of the other women, she said she had the impression in high school that university was the way to go.

"Um, I guess I just generally assumed I'd go to Memorial University," I14 also tells me.

I never thought no more of it than that. I think one of the downfalls is I didn't really know much about what types of jobs there were out there. So you just go to university and once I was in there ah, I think I was halfway through my first semester and I just sort of wanted to focus in on doing something there that I could get a job on. I just realized at that point there was very little you could do at university

and actually get a job with. So then I chose to do dietetics and I got accepted in to do that startin' my second year of university.

Another woman said she felt the obligation to go to university like most of her friends, as college was considered as more for those who were not as smart, but she did not know what to do once she was there. She realized in her third year that it was not for her, but still finished a degree that she knew would not lead to a career. She then went on to college and is now working in a career that she enjoys.

What we also see emerging here is the agency associated with decisions around their future careers once they arrived at university or other post-secondary institutions. This agency was perhaps not as prevalent or possible when these women were living in the socialized environments of the parental home and schools that simply emphasized going away to university. Likewise, as some of the examples showed, these women did not have a lot of role models for what other career possibilities existed for them outside of the ones they were provided with while in high school. Once away from the high school environment and into a more cosmopolitan culture, they could also begin to make decisions about their education as it related to career potential and likewise future places of residence. This applies to nursing. In fact, I24 said she did lean toward nursing for a while. If you look deeper into the choices around nursing and other careers typical or not so typical for women, you also begin to see that these women incorporate their choices into a strategy in terms of what they wanted for their futures. They considered the probabilities of career potential and where they wanted to live jointly.

One woman always knew she wanted to do nursing because it meant she could get a job just about anywhere, travel and, at the time, get out of Newfoundland.

Alternatively, other women chose nursing because it also meant that they could get a job close to home.

"When I was in university...like I kind of played with the idea of goin' away," I1 tells me. "I like the idea of going to another province just to experience something different cause even when I went to university, it was only to Corner Brook. So I didn't really veer that far away from home. But in the back of my mind, I kind of always thought that I would have my family in Lewisporte."

### **7.5 Delayers**

Of the 40 women who attended a post-secondary institution, three did not go right away. Again, following from the pathways framework, these women can be seen as the delayers.

I16 tells me that throughout high school, she always wanted to be a nurse. At the time, her boyfriend was commuting out of province for his work. She says as soon as she graduated, that was where she went for a while. She went to the overnight post-graduation dry party (known as a safegrad), came home in the morning, packed her suitcases and boarded a flight.

"I just wanted to try it out and he was up there. [I] just wanted to go up and be with him and I mean we were together for years and always lived apart ... I knew I would always do something and I knew I was gonna come home and go back to school and do something." She was there until December and then came back. She applied to go to school and was accepted to start in September.



I32 took time off after high school. She said she did not have one thing in mind that she wanted to do. She thought about nursing, but could not get the funding to do the program. So she decided on an administrative program instead. She said she wanted to take time off to think about what she might like to do so that she did not waste money. I asked her if she thought she was definitely going to pursue post-secondary education.

"I knew I was gonna go back and do something. I didn't want to be, you know, stuck in the same rut as bein' just a cashier or whatnot, but at least now I have that [the administration] to fall back on." She added that because of the post-secondary education, she now has more employment opportunities available to her.

I40 had no idea what she wanted to do after high school. She thought about psychology but gave up on it. I asked her why. She said it involved too much school. So she took a break. "I didn't really know what I wanted ... I didn't see the point of goin' back to school when I wasn't ready." She told me her parents had high expectations but that they did not enforce anything in particular. They hoped she would continue on and do something.

All three of these women worked in the service industry during their time away from school. The latter two commented on how they recognized this type of work as "dead-end" I40 had worked as a clerk in the service industry in Lewisporte for three years. She realized that there was no potential in it. "I wasn't going to go anywhere and there was nobody to meet out there. Everybody was gone away." She enrolled in college in St. John's and left.

### 7.6 Interruptions, the unfinished and no-goers

The women in the study did not all fit neatly into the right-awayer and delayer delineations. Another group of women can be classified as the interrupted and unfinished. Seven of the 45 women began post secondary studies but then did not finish. In light of the other interviews and the emphasis on post secondary education, it is necessary to examine the circumstances surrounding these women's narratives, as this ultimately intertwines with their migration decisions. As has been noted, most of the women were right-awayers. The material difference, if you will, between the right-awayers and the delayers is one of time. Because the normal lifepath is constructed as going on and doing post-secondary, time then becomes a marker of deviation from this norm. As one of the right awayers put it, going away to university was like an extension of high school; it was a normal progression. Instead of seeing a year off or the time in between in a positive way, as the delayers did, she viewed it and them, via implication, in a negative light.

I kind of looked at people who didn't go, who took that year off or I kind of looked at it as they were wasting time because...I went to university because I wanted to get out on my own, get a job, have a house, be independent. So I looked at it, by taking that year off, you were just wasting a year before you could achieve that because it took X amount of years in university to reach whatever goal you wanted so why waste a year (138).

Another right-awayer said she simply did not want to wait, she wanted to go and that she did not want to take a year off. Likewise, another woman chose to take a year off from university in the middle of her studies to do a study-abroad program. She describes her parents' reaction in the following quote:

My parents weren't very happy about it because well, again, they were very much on the go to university path or

get your education and they thought perhaps if I had taken this year off of university, that it would either um affect my chances of graduating or I would you know, run away and not ever come back to university and it was so important for them for me to go to university. They weren't entirely supportive of me taking a year off ...

The theme of time, time off and time wasted continues to be important in the narratives of the women who went to post-secondary, experienced interruptions in their PSE experience or did not finish. I opened this section drawing upon the experience of I7. She told me she felt as though she needed a plan, but she did want to take a year off.

"After high school, I wanted to take a year off. I wanted to work and see if that's what I wanted to do or see what else but then it was just, I just decided to go right into it because I really don't know why I just decided to go right into it, I just did" (I7).

While she was not sure exactly what she was going to do, she chose to go to St. John's like many of her friends. She said that in hindsight she probably would have stayed home for the first year, lived with her parents and went to school in one of the adjacent larger towns, and while she was content with her area of study, the post-secondary institution she attended actually closed. She did not finish her diploma. She left and went out of province for several months. This was one of two trips she made there before returning home.

I7's scenario was unusual in that the institution actually closed. For most of the other women who experienced PSE interruptions or did not finish, it was as a result of their actions while in school, their disinterest in the subjects they had chosen and the influences of other people and other places, rather than structural impediments such as the school's closure. I should note that I37's chosen institution also closed. Students

transferred to finish their programs in Grand Falls. She commuted but did not finish. Her story is below and like the others, the theme of time and time off, however, remains important in these narratives.

While I7 gave the impression that the people around her knew exactly what they wanted to do after high school, I12 did not share the same sentiments. I asked her what other people were doing at the time, especially her friends.

"I don't think anybody really knew what they wanted to do. Really. Like I think that when you first gets out of high school you should at least take a year and decide what you wants to do cause you're too young or I don't know. That's what it seems like. Like a few of my friends went to Grand Falls and done office administration. Um, they didn't pass it."

"No?" I ask

"No. well, that was the first year...I guess they weren't, they weren't interested." She said that her parents wanted her to go and do something, especially her father. She did not consider university. She chose to do a college program in Central but did not finish. She then moved out of province with her boyfriend at the time and later moved back to her hometown. She eventually did pass the course.

I15 attended first-year university in central Newfoundland and then took a year off.

I had no idea what I wanted to do so when I left high school, I ended up going to school and I said well I don't know what I want to do but I know I don't want to waste a year. So I went to school and I did basically um first-year university. Like I said, well I can put that towards basically anything ... and then when I was done that, my husband wanted to move away. Well he wasn't my husband then but

my boyfriend. [He] wanted to move away so I decided to take a year off and move (I15)

They moved out of province together. She did not return to post-secondary but she did return.

I30 delayed her start for study. At the end of high school, she described herself as being undecided in terms of what she wanted to do or where she wanted to go. She said she did not apply herself in high school. "Never took a book home," she tells me.

"No?"

"All my books were left in the locker and that's where they stayed. [I] never ever took them home, never ever opened them. Which was weird. And the teachers never ever said nothin'." She passed her courses and after graduating decided to take a year off.

"You might say I spent most of that year partying and stuff right and I think whatever it was, I was talkin' to someone and they said like why don't you go to school or somethin' right ... cause I was only workin' part time, you know, wasn't gettin' any money. And I said yeah, I think I will go to school, get a student loan and I went ... I done two years."

She says she did well in her first year, but went on to describe how in the second year her teacher was a "complete flop". She also commented on the start of a new relationship at that time. She did not complete the course. Her boyfriend moved away and after a period of time, she moved with him. They both returned after a short time.

Two other women did not finish their chosen post-secondary paths. One woman moved away to go to college and after several days, decided that it was not the right choice for her. She and her friend then moved out of province to work for a period of

time. She did return. 137 went right away to college and told me she felt rushed. Her parents wanted her to do something so she chose a program she could complete locally. She did not finish her diploma as a result of failing one of the courses. Again, she refers to time and time off as being an important aspect of that time.

"It was a good course," she tells me, "But no, I didn't really give it my all. If I had to go now, then I'd probably do better cause I'd, I've matured more ... We graduated in June and then I went right in September. Like I just never took a year off just to see really what I wanted to do." She said in hindsight, she probably would have chosen something different and if she had waited a year, she might have changed her mind and maybe moved to St. John's. During that time, she also met her current partner. He moved to out of province for work. She found out she was pregnant, quit her job and moved to be with him. She worked there for four months and knowing that she could not fly toward the end of her pregnancy, they both decided to come back.

I highlight the trajectories of women who did not finish or experienced interruptions in their post-secondary education because these women offer a slightly different perspective to the normalized path of post-secondary education that most of the other women followed, a path that included either attending post-secondary institutions in the adjacent larger towns or either in St. John's or Corner Brook. Most of the women did not attend post secondary institutions outside the island. It is interesting to note that in addition to the element of time, the migration trajectories of the women who did not finish the post-secondary programs included movement outside the island. This is, as will be explored in the following trajectory section, in contrast to the women who did finish a

post-secondary degree or diploma (even those who changed what they were initially studying).

Five of the 45 women did not continue on after high school to attend a post-secondary institution. These women are considered here as no-goers. As with the women who delayed their post-secondary start or who did not finish, time and time-off was again a relevant and repeated theme. I11 said she wanted to attend college or university after high school but she wanted to take time off first.

"I took the first year off," she tells me. "I told mom I was taking the first year off and going away because I didn't really know what I wanted to do and I said ... I didn't want to sink the money into it, get halfway through and say you know what, this is not for me. So I went away and I was gone two-and-a-half years." She graduated in June and went west in August. "I wasn't staying home," she continues to tell me about her decision to move after high school. "I mean if I stayed home I had to get a job and where ya going to get a job in Lewisporte? There was no work for anybody, I mean younger people here really, and I knew I had to do something. I couldn't stay home and live off mom and them so I knew I had to do something." She had family in the West. Her aunt was travelling there alone so she decided to travel with her. She moved several times after that, including a move out west and back east. She eventually moved back.

## **7.7 Conclusions**

A pathways approach to this research indicates that there are similarities and differences among the right-awayers, delayers, no-goers and the unfinished or interrupted. These differences have implications for, and are intertwined with, these women's migration

trajectories. All pathways include reference to, and an emphasis on, post-secondary education. This is as true for the right-awayers as the no-goers and indicates the importance of post-secondary education, both in terms of a material reality and discursive ideology. Education beyond high school normalizes and increases the movement of young women out of their respective communities. For those who finished high school in the Lewisporte Area, moving away was not necessary. The presence of a community college in Lewisporte and the close proximity of colleges in the adjacent Largetowns facilitated women's ability to stay in their respective communities or move a short-distance. This was not the case for women who went to university. Although first-year equivalency years could have been completed in the area, further university-level education could only be done in two larger centres on the island: St. John's or Corner Brook. Most of the women attended university on the island. However, there were a few exceptions.

Among these women, a university-based education was constructed as the more appropriate post-secondary route in their adolescence and leading up to the end of high school. Many of the right-awayers did go to university because of this constructed imperative. For the most part, the right-away women who went to university stayed in university. Many changed their initial program of study. Some of these women, however, switched to college-based programs. This occasionally occurred with an interruption.

Similarities can be noted among those women who delayed their education, did not go or did not finish. Real and constructed time are key here in that these women contemplated both the importance of taking time off to decide what they wanted to do or alternatively, constructed it as time wasted because they were unsure of what they wanted



to do and felt pressured to do something. From a migration trajectory perspective, these were also the women who moved the furthest away. With the exception of one woman (who was also not from the study area), they did not "stay" in their respective communities initially after high school. Nor did they move to other parts of the island. These were the women who moved to destinations in Ontario, Alberta and points further west. Similar to the Youth in Transition Survey findings, women's post high school pathways were geographically contingent, were related to such things as encouragement and exposure to others engaging in post-secondary education, financial resources, and high school performance.

## Chapter Eight: Migration Trajectories

### 8.1 Introduction

The previous chapter examined the interplay between migration and post-secondary education. The following section is organized according to staying, leaving, returning and moving in to the study area. Because I avoided definitional parameters according to staying, leaving and returning at the onset, this thematic organization occurred after the research was complete. While the quantitative portion of this study facilitated an easy comparison of stayers, leavers and return migrants based on their respective geographic codes and taxfiler information, the qualitative delineation hinged much more on the notion of belonging and was therefore more complicated. Before I engage the comparison, I first explore the notion of belonging in this context.

### 8.2 Staying, Returning and Moving in: A Note on Belonging

Classifying the women as a stayer, leaver, returner or in-migrant was contingent upon a negotiation among a variety of definitional parameters. This necessitated an examination of the women's physical presence in the study area throughout their biographies and their sense of belonging to the study area. I was able to gauge their sense of belonging by asking, toward the end of each interview, where they felt they were from. On several occasions, women indicated that they were "from" the study area, yet I did not consider them to be from there. This disjuncture (Smith, 1990) illuminated the difficulty in deciding what classified them as being *from* the area. Likewise, this affected their

migrant classification, especially that of a returner. I draw upon two examples where this became a point of contemplation. The first is I36.

"What about the places you've lived over your lifetime?" I ask her.

"Ah, she says", she starts laughing. "You want to know all the different places I've lived?"

"Yeah," I say.

And she begins. Her father was involved in an occupation that required the family to move around the province. At one point, he received a posting to Lewisporte. Her parents and sister moved there. She stayed on the west coast to complete university. During that time, her sister encouraged her to meet a guy who was living in Lewisporte. They became friends, eventually starting dating and became engaged four years ago. Now they are married, have built a house in Lewisporte and have settled there. Before that, she did move to Lewisporte for a year after finishing her first degree, commuted to Gander and then decided to go back to school to pursue another degree. And so, after having lived in many different places both on account of her father's work and her educational choices, I asked her where she was from.

"Hmmm, I think I'd say Lewisporte now," she says to me.

Earlier in the interview we talked about her parents move to Lewisporte and her first move to the community. She said that when that happened, she felt as though the west coast was still home to her.

"That's where we lived the longest and it was from grade eight to university. So that's where I grew the most, like you know, I know most about my life in that period of

time ... I did call that home. And right up till I moved here like, even while I lived here, I called [it] home."

"Oh really?"

"Yeah, for a little bit ... Well maybe when me and [my husband] first started goin' out, if someone asked me where I was from, I always said I live in Lewisporte, but I'm from [the west coast]."

Later when she told me that she now considers herself to be from Lewisporte, I asked her why she thought that this had changed.

"Just because ... I know I'm here," she says. "I know there's no more, you know, like there's nowhere else to go. There's nowhere else to continue on and finish something."

"Yeah"

"It's just home and this is where I live. And this is where my kids will be and this is where, yeah, this is what we call home now."

The question in this case is whether this woman can be considered a returner. Several of the other women I interviewed had a similar experience of moving as a result of their fathers' work. In the following example, I considered classifying this woman as a returner because of this particular exchange.

"And what are the places you've lived over your lifetime?" I ask I35.

"Oh my God," she says.

"Good," I reply, excited that there are many because I am anticipating the stories that will accompany them. She tells me she moved to different places on the island

because of her father's work and after several education and employment-related moves, they moved "home".

"And home being?" I ask.

"Here in Lewisporte," she says.

"In Lewisporte OK. Interesting that you refer to it as home. Did you ever live in this area in all your moves?" I was not aware that she had, in fact, lived in Lewisporte as she did not allude to it earlier.

"Ah yes, from grade seven to ah, till I finished high school. So that whole high school years was here in Lewisporte," she tells me. I realize then that the years spent in Lewisporte during high school were, for her, formative enough that she considered herself to be from the area. Identifying yourself as being from somewhere is important, and while it does place the significance right back on place, it is necessary to examine movement in these terms especially when considering whether people are "returners" from a non-statistical point of view. In other words, examining it in this way and dealing with the definitional issues makes it such that it is about belonging to a particular place. Given these parameters, I could define the returners in the qualitative portion of the research as those who considered themselves to be from the study area at the point of leaving it to make the first life transition discussed in their biographies (i.e. after high school) as this is the temporal marker for when people will most likely leave. While this may seem appropriate, this definition is complicated by another example.

I13 was living in the study area until she was 13. Her father was transferred out of the community because of his work. She did not want to go but it was not that bad, she tells me. She completed her high school years there, met people, went to university out of

province and then went back there to work. At the time, she and her husband, who also grew up in the study area and moved to Labrador to be with her (they met before she left) started to feel as though Labrador was not the right place for them. She says it was isolated and they both had extended family living in the Lewisporte Area. She sent her resumes out to various places on the island.

"I didn't apply for any particular position," she tells me, "...and then I got an email...saying there was this position here in Lewisporte, which I thought was great. Close to home, well practically, you know, practically is home for us."

"What did you think about that at the time," I ask.

"I was really surprised. When I sent my resume out I thought well, if we're lucky, then maybe you know I'll get something somewhere. I didn't even really think of Lewisporte. I just figured I'd end up somewhere like Gander or Grand Falls. I didn't know why, I just didn't think there would be a position available here. Like that close to where you wanted to end up. Actually this is where we wanted to end up." Even though I13 left when she was 13, she considers herself to be from Lewisporte.

"If someone were to ask me where I'm from, I would say Lewisporte," she says to me. "I usually say Lewisporte cause most people recognize that quicker...but this is where I would call home and if people ask me now ..."

"And why is that?"

"I don't know. I don't really know ... When we would take our summer vacations and stuff, lots of times our summer vacation would be to go home, which was here."

From this example, you can see that where these women consider themselves to be from and that relationship with place is important to the classification of who is a

returner. If I were to rely only on the definition of a returner as someone who was living in the study area at the time of high school, these particular nuances would be missed. Obviously this woman would not fit nor would the other woman who does consider herself to be from here now, even though she had her 'formative years' on the west coast. Furthermore, when you begin to delve into the biographies of these women as they relate to belonging, more definitional complications arise that are outside of the observed presence of the research subject at a particular place in a particular time, as was the case for the Statistics Canada data analysis. Some of the so-called returners may be returners from a "presence" point of view (i.e. based on their presence there at a particular time in the past). But from a belonging and identity point of view, they may not be returners at all.

In the end, I do exclude I36 from the returners and consider her to be an immigrant because her "return" is not congruent with a belonging point of view as I consider it (i.e. returning from having had formative years there and feeling as though one belonged there in the past). The others discussed are perhaps borderline and merited the careful consideration that I gave them. But in the end, I did see them as returners. So therefore I consider a returner not as one who returned if she were present and living there at the time of high school. Being a "returner" in my conceptualization is broader. It is tied to belonging and attachment to place.

### **8.3 Staying**

Contrary to the belief that those wishing to pursue PSE must move away (Corbett, 2007; Looker and Dwyer, 1998), women in this study did have the option to stay in Lewisporte

either to attend PSE there or commute to the adjacent towns of Gander and Grand Falls. Up until the late 1990s, community colleges in the study area offered a variety of programs including Memorial University's first year transfer program. Some of the women did do their first year of university or attended college while also living in the study area.

One woman who pursued post secondary education in the area told me she never really had the nerve to leave.

"When you say ... you didn't have the nerve, what do you mean when you say that?" I ask her.

"Um, I don't know if I, I never really tried it ... it's not like I said OK I'm gonna move away and get an apartment and go to school or whatever. But it's just that I was content. I was always content living home." She never had a reason to leave really, she tells me.

Another woman who stayed in the community tells me she didn't want to go to university. I asked her what her friends were doing at the time when she finished high school. She tells me that they were going to university. Some of them did their first year in the area; others went away.

"Most of my, yeah most of the people I hung around in school went ... I know a lot of them went and did nursing," 18 says.

"Did they?" I ask her, and probed further about why she thought they chose nursing. I was curious, given that it seemed that many of the women I had spoken with did choose nursing. She tells me she was unsure of why they chose that career path. It was not something she would have chosen.



"There might have been a couple of us that went to trades school and everybody else went to university," she tells me. I wondered how she felt about that. I wondered how she felt about the fact that they left and she stayed. I realize that in asking and wondering about this, I had, in fact, "othered" her (See Gabriel, 2002). Gabriel found that those who "stayed behind" in her Tasmanian study were often looked down upon by others in the community as the ones who did not leave to better themselves. Because this woman had not left, I immediately set her apart based on my own experiences. I was not, at that point, true to understanding her lived reality. I saw my own tendency to other. Even though I had anticipated interviewing women who had never left and was interested in that perspective, I saw that at that moment, I too found it strange that someone would want to stay and not leave.

"How did that feel at the time," I ask her. She tells me it did not bother her a lot.

"I mean I was still going out. I had a boyfriend of course and some of them, his friends, they stayed around," she says. "Once you separate like that you make new friends and things right. So I don't know. It was fine. It didn't bother me that they all went off and I stayed here."

At the time of the interview, I realized my own fallacy and felt the need to elaborate.

"For me," I say, "It's interesting cause I always felt like I had to leave right. It was never an option not to leave."

"Oh is that right?" she replies.

"So I find it interesting that you know, I mean, obviously at that time you had the option if you didn't want to leave ... what was going through your mind at that time." I say to her.

I don't know. I knew that I always wanted to do like business, that side of it, but now I knew I didn't want to go to university and spend years and years in there ... So you know I said I'll do this because the trades school was there. It was here in town too ... So that made a lot of difference and I just felt like that was the thing for me too. And if it didn't work out, then in a couple of years I could have went on and did something else or ... So you know I was happy to stay here. And like I said, havin' a boyfriend here probably helped it a bit. Perhaps I would have thought about goin' away, you know. Because I do have a brother [out west]. But to have to go all that way, just for work. The grass is not always greener on the other side as they say.

The fact that she was in a relationship at the time of her decision making about the future was significant. The other woman who had stayed had been with the same partner since high school as well. I asked if that impacted the decisions that she made for her future; and her decision to stay. But she surprised me. She told me in fact, she thought that it was she who impacted his decision to go on and do something else with his life rather than just working in the community. She never gave me the impression that being with him meant that she was staying, and in fact, he now works out of province.

I note that of 37 women I spoke to in the rural study area, only two of them did not move out of the community in which they were raised. A third woman moved to Lewisporte at the age of seven, considers herself to be from there and has not moved since. This echoes the earlier discussion about definition, belonging and identity. The geographic area encompasses more than one community. Thus while there is another

woman who “stayed” in the area, bringing the total to four stayers, she moved within the area, from the Lewisporte Area into Lewisporte. This is important to keep in mind because it does bring geographic scale to light and alludes to the fact that even within the rural study area, there is geographic diversity. This is an important point, and one that I will later address when I discuss rural.

With respect to staying, I also note that there were other women who initially considered themselves as never having left the area. It became clear as we chatted that they had been to other places for various periods of time. At the beginning of the interview after determining some basic demographic information, I asked the women which places they had lived in over their lifetime. Several times, women omitted other places they had lived, both within and outside the province.

On one occasion, a woman who said she had only lived in Lewisporte had actually been out of province working for half a year after high school. After returning, she then applied to attend college in St. John's and spent a year in there, but again did not indicate that she had lived in St. John's for that time, although she did share an apartment with her sister (I16).

Similarly, I spoke with another woman who initially said that she hadn't been anywhere else other than Lewisporte. After additional discussion, she told me of a short time that she had tried living in New Brunswick. She said she and her boyfriend were “only up there like three months” (I30) and another woman, commenting on a short time in Calgary said she was “only up there for eight months” (I32). She also spent a month in Halifax with family looking for work but did not consider that as living there, or mention it as such. It was more in passing. While there are only a few instances like this in the

interviews, they do suggest a continuum in terms of how people conceive of movement as either temporary or permanent based upon the time spent in a particular place.

I asked the woman who went to Alberta if she considered the move as temporary or permanent. She said that she did not know at the time of her move. Once she realized that she was uncomfortable with the living arrangement (she was living with his family), she knew she did not want to stay in that situation with him. He did come back with her, but they are no longer together.

#### **8.4 Returning**

Most of the women I interviewed in the study area had actually left the area for a period of time and then returned (Table 12, page 133). If we look at these returners, we see that their mobility is quite varied. Some women made only one move before returning back to the community from which they came. Others made three, moving from one to another community in the study area. The most predominant first migration destination pattern was to either St. John's or Corner Brook for reasons associated with pursuing post-secondary education as noted in the previous chapter. Some of these women later migrated interprovincially to destinations in the Atlantic Provinces for other educational opportunities. Only one migrated to the Maritimes for work. Her boyfriend was living and working there at the time. For those who migrated outside the Atlantic Provinces, destinations tended to be Alberta or Ontario, which is not surprising. In these cases, these moves were predominantly for reasons associated with a partner working there. Since western Canada, particularly Alberta, is a migration destination for Newfoundlanders and

Labradorians and it is also discussed extensively in the provincial popular discourse, let us take a closer look at those women who have a western migration trajectory.

I4 tells me she and her boyfriend moved out west after she finished school because that's where the jobs were.

"They would take you on young and they would have faith in you and your work. You know, we found here at the time that government and people that owned businesses weren't hiring on people with little experience you know."

"Yeah."

"And they weren't willing to take the chance to train them either." She came back to Lewisporte after finishing up her time in university and headed to Corner Brook for nursing. That is when she met the man who is now her husband.

"And what was he doing at that time?" I ask her.

"He was working away off and on getting his unemployment. He didn't have any training at the time. He worked...in Nova Scotia and I went to school. I think when he came home that Christmas, I encouraged him to go and get a trade, and that's what he did." She tells me he did well with it.

"I'm not sure what he would have done if I didn't say anything," she says. "But I just wanted both of us to have something." He went out first, she tells me. It was August. In July, a classmate went west with his family. They called down, she told me, and said there was lots of work there. They never applied for any work in Newfoundland. He left with his suitcase and she stayed in school until December.

Table 12: Women Returners to the Lewisporte Area (n=27)

Interview no.	Where from	Current Residence	No. of places lived over lifetime	Migration type	Marital Status	Location of partner's work
4	Lewisporte	Lewisporte area <sup>12</sup>	4	Inter	Married	West Coast
35	Lewisporte	Lewisporte area	10	Inter	Married	Central
37	Lewisporte	Lewisporte area	3	Inter	Engaged	Central
11	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte	8	Inter	Married	Extraprovincial
13	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte	4	Inter	Married	Lewisporte
7	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	5	Inter	In a relationship	Extraprovincial
12	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	3	Inter	Single	NA
15	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	3	Inter	Married	Extraprovincial
21	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	3	Intra	Common Law	Labrador
22	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	7	Inter	Married	Extraprovincial
27	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte	5	Intra	Married	Lewisporte
29	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	4	Inter	Common Law	Extraprovincial
31	Lewisporte area	Lewisporte area	5	Inter	Married	West Coast
1	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	3	Intra	Married	Central
2	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	4	Inter	Married	Central
5	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	5	Inter	Married	Lewisporte
6	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	2	Intra	Married	Central
9	Lewisporte	Lewisporte <sup>13</sup>	8	Inter	Single	NA
14	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	5	Inter	Married	Central
16	Lewisporte	Lewisporte <sup>14</sup>	3	Inter	Common Law	Extraprovincial
17	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	4	International	Married	Lewisporte
19	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	2	Intra	Single	NA
20	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	3	Intra	Married	Lewisporte
23	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	2	Intra	Married	Lewisporte
24	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	4	Inter	Married	Lewisporte
30	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	3	Inter	Common Law	Lewisporte
32	Lewisporte	Lewisporte	2	Inter	Married	Lewisporte

\*\*Denotes in transition. I9 was moving out; i16 was moving in.

<sup>12</sup> Lewisporte Area refers to communities in the study area surrounding Lewisporte.

<sup>13</sup> I9 was moving out.

<sup>14</sup> I16 was moving in.

"Boxing day of '97," she says. "I went out with my suitcase just in case. He had a few boxes sent in the mail and by that time he had a place organized for us and we lived there ever since. And, we changed houses up there and went from an apartment to a mobile home to a house we bought two years ago." I asked her if she knew they would be together long term when they left.

She said that because they were an adventurous pair, they just left. When they had their first child, they started making plans to come back "for her sake." She framed it as a trade off. She says they were both making good money up there. She had a great job. He was home every night. She is making the same amount of money here but she is working longer hours. He is working away for ten days at a time. With the sale of their home out West and the fact that they had land given to them to build a house in central, she said they were financially able to make the move back. She tells me she is still unsure about the decision to come back.

"We ask ourselves every day," she says, referring to whether or not they made the right decision. When they first moved back and waited for the house to be built, they lived with her parents.

"But we've got our own place now. So we should start feeling settled again, you know. On the other hand, we were out there this whole time and we still never felt settled either, you know."

"Out west?" I ask.

"Yeah. We loved it out there where we lived but there was still some part of you that said, you know, you can't have the best of both worlds see. Because the ideal place would be for all your family members to be out there with you."

III went directly to Alberta after finishing high school. She was one of the no-goers from the previous chapter. As I noted in that discussion, she moved west because members of her extended family were there. She lived with them for a year, met a man and moved in with him, and then worked for a year and a half. They moved again. Things were not working out in the relationship. When she came back to Newfoundland for a month one summer to attend a wedding, she decided to stay.

"I just [said] you know what, I'm not going back. What am I going to go back for? ... I was ready to end that relationship but I just didn't know it. And I think when I came home that just kind of set it in stone that you know what, it's not going to happen with him. So yeah, so I come home ..."

She tells me she reconnected with a friend she dated in high school. They are now married with two children. At the time, he was attending college in Central. She moved in with her mother at first and drew Employment Insurance for several months. She applied for work, then got a job in Gander and moved there. Once he finished school, they moved for his work. It did not go well. He was offered a position out west and they moved there. She liked it but he did not. She said she would move back there in a heartbeat.

"I do like the city."

"Yeah?" I ask.

"Um. Yep. That's it. We moved to Nova Scotia then."

"How did that happen?"

"I got pregnant."

"Was that planned?"



"No, ah no. I found out. Actually I came home for a funeral. And I thought I might be pregnant, but I mean I didn't say anything to anybody then when I went back, the day I got back, we took the pregnancy test. And I was pregnant." When she found out she was pregnant, he began to apply for positions in Nova Scotia. There was no work for him in Newfoundland. They were on the road by September 12 she tells me.

"It wasn't as much money as he was making [there].. But I mean he didn't want to be out there with a kid either ... We would have had to move because ... you weren't allowed to have kids in the building ... We had no family out there ... We were only young. I was only 22 when I had [my child]. So I mean out there by ourselves with a little baby..." (I11).

They had another child after the move. Another move took them to the West Coast of Newfoundland to be closer again to family, then to Central and finally to Lewisporte. He is not working in the area, but commutes out of province on a rotational basis. She works part time contractually and is close to her family for the times when he is gone. She tells me it is not what they want but it is the situation for now.

Before I go on, I wish to reinforce an earlier finding from the previous education chapter. Increased movement appears to be associated with less post-secondary education. If you compare the two returning narratives that I have just presented, you notice that both are connected to the desire to return for purposes associated with raising children. Both also indicate tradeoffs. However, the first trajectory is fairly straightforward. The second trajectory is more varied. They didn't buy or build a house in Lewisporte at the time of the interview, unlike I4. I4 and her husband built a house, knowing that they would actually lose money if they ever decided to leave.

When I asked I11 if she thought that the move to Lewisporte was permanent, she told me that nothing is permanent with them. "I'm so sick of moving now I said to mom, I've got it down to a science. I don't even have to write on the boxes anymore."

After the post-secondary education institution that I7 was attending closed, she moved around quite a bit. She travelled out of province with her family, stayed with family while there and started working. They all moved back after three months because they did not like it, and she said she felt obligated to move with them. She moved back home and began seeing a man she was travelling with. She got a job in Central and moved to another community in central Newfoundland where he was living, and commuted to work. They broke up and she moved out of province again to work find work. She ended up coming back after a layoff and because a family member was ill.

"I think it was just the fact that she was sick and I wasn't here. It scared me that at any point in time she could die and I wouldn't be here ... I don't know. I just didn't like the thought of not being here when something like that happens ... I was up there for a month after and I got laid off from my job. And I just said, I'm not staying. I'm going home" (I7).

She got back together with her previous boyfriend and she found out that she was pregnant. It did not work. They broke up shortly after the baby was born. After that summer, she started seeing a long-time friend. Her connection with him led her to move to western Canada.

"That's where his first job was," she tells me. "He got a call ... from my cousin...He had a job for him. So we got a ticket and he went up. And he was up there six months and then we (her and her child) went up. And it was, I hated it, hated it...He

didn't like it up there because ... he left at five in the morning and home at ten at night and that was it. And he was cranky and I was cranky because I didn't see him. And I was cranky because I wasn't around family ... It wasn't a good place to be at all ..."(I7).

She came back. He continues to commute out of province.

I12 moved back from the West. Her husband commutes there. She met him while she was in high school. He was in university. When he left the year after she graduated, she left with him. They were both going there to find work. After they had their son, she decided she didn't want to raise him in the city.

"My parents didn't want me to move. But me being like young, I was thinking I just want to get away from Newfoundland. I hate it here. I'm sick of living here. I don't want to be here anymore ... You want your own place and you just want to get away and you're not going to find a job in Newfoundland. Unless you're gonna move to St. John's or something ... I just didn't want to be here at that time. But I missed it after" (I12).

And like I7, familial mortality was on her mind. One of her grandparents passed away when she was away.

I had to fly back home when I was six or seven months pregnant for his funeral so that kinda like really upset me too. And now I'm like thinking like all my grandparents were alive, all four of them. Now there's three of them. And I'm thinking like they're all in their 70s. I mean how much time do you have left ... some of them might have a couple of years left, so I don't want to be away again when something like that happens (I12).

She tells me that aside from wanting to raise their child in Newfoundland, one of the other reasons they came was because they sold their house for twice the price they

paid. This made coming back financially possible and ensured that she did not have to work while her husband commutes.

I have highlighted these narratives because each of the women spent time in the West as part of their migration trajectory, their husbands and partners commute back and forth to Alberta for work and they all indicated that the return to Lewisporte and area is connected to family and children.

The comparative reflection between "there" and "here" (Lewisporte) is that here is more appropriate for raising a family, both from the perspective of close proximity to family as well as safety. Most of the women who spoke about returning in terms of their children contextualized the issue by commenting on safety and the city. This is not surprising, as the perception of safe space is often associated with smaller towns and likewise leads to the notion that they are more suitable for raising children (see Little and Austin, 1996 and a related contestation of this notion in Valentine, 1997).

While the decisions to return were obviously household decisions, it is also obvious that women exercised agency in the decision making process. Likewise, one could also suggest that returning is a strategy for women who have partners working away. Again, by being among family members, potential support networks are greater.

This should, however, be placed in context. Of the 27 returners, five have partners working out of the province, two have partners working on the west coast of the island and five women's partners work in central Newfoundland. I should note that returning was not always causally related to their partners' job location. In other words, some of them returned before working "away" was even discussed with their partners. And in some cases, their partners had worked "away" at various times throughout the

relationship (e.g. I29; I2; I16 and I30). Partners who work away impact both the decision to leave and to return in a variety of ways, depending on the household situation and the presence of children.

### 8.5 Moving in

Six of the 37 women interviewed in the rural study area moved there from other parts of the province (see Table 13).

**Table 13: In-migrants to the Lewisporte Area (n=6)**

Interview no.	Where from	Current Residence	No. of places lived over lifetime	Migration Type	Marital Status	Location of partner's work
3	St. John's area	Lewisporte	4	Intra	Married	Lewisporte
10	West Coast	Lewisporte area	7	Inter	Married	Central
25	Central*	Lewisporte	3	Intra	Married	NA
28	Central*	Lewisporte	12	Inter	Married	Central
33	Burin Peninsula	Lewisporte	4	Intra	Married	Lewisporte
36	West Coast	Lewisporte	8	Intra	Married	Lewisporte area

In terms of their characteristics, the in-migrants are all married; their husbands (with the exception of one) are all working in the area and they all have children. In terms of movement, two of the women have varied intraprovincial trajectories as a result of their father's work (similar to I35) and, with the exception of two, the others made their first move without their parents to pursue post-secondary education. Only two of the women lived outside of Newfoundland and Labrador as part of their trajectories; one moved to the Atlantic region for education and the other moved to west for reasons

associated with a relationship. This, I argue, echoes previously discussed themes and patterns found among those who returned to the study area. I should also note that all in-migrants were born in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The one major difference between the in-migrants and the returners is that among the in-migrants, all of their husbands are also not from the study area. In the return migrant group, only one woman was with a partner (either married or common law) not from the area. One might expect that if women were to be in-migrants, it might be likely that their husbands are from the area and they are secondary movers as a result (see Gmelch and Gmelch, 1995). A secondary mover is also known as a tied migrant. As Hiller and McCaig describe it, the tied migrant moves "because the relocation is assessed in terms of the family's net economic benefit in the male partner's earnings" (2007: 458). In other words, women move with their husbands because of his employment opportunities elsewhere. This was not the case among these six in-migrants. It then begs the question of what has brought these six women to the study area; and likewise what was the role of agency in the decision-making process because given that none of them grew up there or consider themselves to belong there, other circumstances outside of relationships, familial connections, social networks and social support must be at play.

In describing why they came to the study area, one woman said it was a result of her husband's pursuit of post-secondary education; another said it was because of her husband's work; another because of her father's work and then her husband's locatedness; and another moved because of her father's business. One woman came as a joint-work move for her and her husband and the last framed her reason for being there in

a similar manner, but also because the Lewisporte area is geographically central to both her and her husband's family.

"It's the job that brought us to Lewisporte specifically," I10 tells me. "But we both, my husband and I ... wanted to stay in Newfoundland. We're both from Newfoundland ... Central Newfoundland for us is ideal. It's close enough so that my parents can visit; his parents can visit."

"Yeah"

"We're near an airport so that I can go visit my sister and brother ... Besides the job factor (her husband works in Central, she added), the cost of living here is a lot cheaper than [there]. We are outdoorsy people. So like the boating, skidooring, fourwheeler, that kind of stuff is more up our alley than kinda the Grand Falls, Gander scene. You know what I mean? ... We both, we enjoy it here. And for us, Lewisporte is big enough that it's got everything that you need but its small enough that it's not big, you know what I mean? Like small community but it's got all your necessities." This highlights the importance of the size of a place and its respective amenities and attractions. While one could argue that the in-migrants might represent a group of counterurbanites in search of the rural idyll (see Halfacree, 2008), this is not the case for these women. With the exception of one woman, they were not from urban areas in the first place.

I28 came to the area because her father wanted her to run his business.

"I love doing what I'm doing," she tells me. "So I plan on staying in Lewisporte, permanently ... And I've only been in Lewisporte for two and half years. So I'm hoping its going to be permanent." Her husband was still in school when she moved out to the

area. He now has a permanent job and commutes to Central. She tells me that he is more of a hunter and a fisherman. He did not want to settle in St. John's, she tells me.

"So ah, he encouraged me to take the job out here too."

I ask her how she likes the area.

"I love it, I love it now. First when I came here, I found it um, to be nothing to do ... I'm so used to livin' in St. John's and surrounding area. I found it to be, you know, really boring at first. But since then I got my moose license and I've just went salmon fishin' this year for the first time ... I really enjoy it now so there's more things to do and ... well I have a six year-old son who keeps us quite busy. We do a lot of camping around this area so there's great parks around this area. So we love it."

I33 said it was about the work. Two full-time positions came up in the area. "So that was it," she says. "And we've just, nothing else has really come up since to tug us away. But like we have no family; we have no connection other than work." She tells me this initially. And while this is true, they are connected to a religious network.. I include religious involvement in the table on in-migrants (Table 13, page 141) because it appears as though there is a stronger religious involvement and a connection to organized religion among the in-migrants in comparison to the other respondents. Five of the six in-migrants cited regular church attendance. Several of these women were also involved with church-related volunteer activities. None of the leavers cited religious involvement via church attendance, with the exception of one who participated in services because of her work. Among the returners, most of the women did not cite regular church attendance or involvement with the church. This possibly indicates that while the in-migrants have no family networks as such, they do, in fact, have access to and can access social networks



through their religion. Religious connections are not necessarily reliant on particular places, such as that of the study area.

One could argue that connectedness to an organized religion can increase mobility. The women did not explicitly mention these religious connections as a reason to move to the area. However several women did refer to instances when the church network acted as a social network. For example, I36 said she did not know a lot of people from Lewisporte.

I didn't go to high school here, I didn't have connections to anybody my own age and I still don't. Like I don't know many people my own age. [My husband's ] friends became my friends and the people that I met through our church, like that's how I met people... (I36).

I33 referred to a house they rented from a couple who were living in Lewisporte. At the time, I33 and her husband did not want to buy a house. They were waiting to see whether their employment positions were going to become permanent.

"And how did you know them?" I asked, realizing that she told me earlier that neither she nor her husband had any connections in the community.

Ah, through church ...when we first moved here we went to ... church and they came and right away, the first time we walked inside, they introduced themselves and said why don't you come over for supper, tomorrow night or whatever it was ... So they were very friendly. So they kindof welcomed us to Lewisporte I would say ... They were a little bit older...There weren't too many people in the church in the same situation, of say a young couple with no kids. Like there was a lot with kids..." At the time, they did not have any children (I33).

Even though these connections do exist, they are not factors for remaining in the area. I33 also said that even though she is living in Lewisporte, she does not consider it as a permanent move.

"If ... something better came along, I'd take it," she tells me.

Like I feel that I'm always, I'm content to move up. I'm just not content to move down. Not that I've settled for anything less at this point, and that goes for all things, you know like house, jobs, location, like proximity to jobs (I33).

She said that if two positions came up in St. John's, they would go, and she added that now they would have to factor in their two children.

If you remember from an earlier discussion, one woman said they came to Lewisporte because that is where her husband's work is. He was stationed there. She tells me that they did not have a choice in the matter. I25's husband is attending college in the area. They moved from a smaller more isolated area in the province for that reason. She was working in the transportation service industry and he was working at a fish plant.

"That was seasonal work," she tells me.

Most years he didn't get enough to qualify for unemployment ... Well if he could get jobs with other forms of employment, like he did some carpentry work; he ah worked on mussel farm, things like that. But ah, on the end of it, it got so bad for trying to get the hours ... and it was stress on the road for me. It all combined and we just decided to try and find something else (I25).

She told him that they were going to have to do something. So he suggested going to school. She told me that if he was going to go to school, she wanted to do that also because of her own desire to further her education. She was accepted but made the choice

not to go because that meant she would lose her unemployment and accumulate debt. She is working in the retail service industry in the area now.

"And what was it like movin' here?" I ask her.

"I liked it...Where I was to before, it was only a small town, like 200 people so it's like movin from hmm, here to New York City." She laughs. "Yes, you couldn't get anything only frozen foods."

"Really?"

"Your fruits and vegetables were, buy em today, eat em tomorrow kinda thing right? Oh I love it here. Your neighbour ... doesn't know your business." She laughs. "That's what it's like at home it was like. Everybody knows everything ... I hate that (i25)." She said she's tired of packing and unpacking boxes and so when they move the next time, she wants it to be permanent.

"So now where do you think you'll go?" I ask her. "Have you talked about it, thought about it?"

"Oh yeah, well Labrador we're thinking ... I'm not going to Alberta (i25)."

"Why not?"

"Nope. There's enough Newfoundlanders out there now." She laughs. "No I can't raise [my daughter] in Alberta. No, I'd have her lost like that." She snaps her fingers. "We're talking about Labrador. Maybe Hibernia; Come by Chance, right? We've lots of options. I wouldn't mind probably Ontario. Maybe, that's a big maybe, but ah, my husband really doesn't want to go back and forth...he could have done that without even going to school. It's not what we want. Don't want that."

"Understandable."

"We want to, well we've got a little girl. He wants to be around her, wants to see her grow up and be around for things."

Upon closer inspection, attraction to the Lewisporte area as a particular place does not really seem to be a deciding factor for being there. Certainly, the area's close proximity to both Gander and Grand Falls facilitates commuting, for either the immigrants or their partners (should they have one), although none of these women commute. Only two of the six women's partners commute and in only one of these cases did this seem to be important to the decision to move to Lewisporte. In fact, in both of these cases (I28 and I10), it was the women's employment that primarily brought them to the area. However, the fact that their husbands (who they were with at the time) could and do work in the surrounding CAs is important.

### **8.6 Moving Away and Staying Away**

Eight of the women in the study moved away and stayed away from the study area (see Table 14, page 148). Like many of the other women in the study, these women were also married or in common-law relationships. Only one woman was not living with a partner. During the interview, she did mention that she had just begun seeing someone after a recent trip back to the Lewisporte area.

One of the few women in the study who moved away from the island and the Atlantic region to pursue post-secondary education was among the leavers. She moved many times over the course of her life as a result of familial circumstances while growing up and because of her desire to try new things. She told me that she never found it

difficult to make new starts. "Making new starts was pretty much the theme of my entire life," she says.

**Table 14: Leavers from the Lewisporte area (n=8)**

Interview no.	Where from	Current Residence	No. of places lived over lifetime	Migration Type	Marital Status	Location of partner's work
38	Lewisporte*	St. John's	4	Intra	Married	St. John's
39	Lewisporte	St. John's area	5	Inter	Married	St. John's
40	Lewisporte	St. John's	3	Intra	Single	NA
41	Lewisporte	St. John's	2	Intra	Married	St. John's
42	Lewisporte	St. John's	7	International	Married	St. John's
43	Lewisporte	St. John's	7	International	Married	St. John's
44	Lewisporte	St. John's	8	International	Common Law	St. John's
45	Lewisporte	St. John's area	3	Intra	Married	Alberta

She felt that after doing her first year of university in Lewisporte, she knew she had to move away. She had family in central Canada. So she chose to go there. "It just made sense," she told me. "I didn't apply anywhere else."

"No?" I ask her.

"No, just applied and got in."

"Did you consider coming to St. John's at all," I ask her.

"No," she says, "didn't want to. I just attached an importance to being in a university that wasn't on the island." She quickly adds, "not that there was anything bad about Memorial, but there was a pride or something special about going away to get a degree. I don't know why (I44)."

She planned to stay away. She applied for another program there. She met a man back in Newfoundland one year. He applied to study there. She did not get into the program that she wanted. She moved back to the island. Someone asked her what she was going to do next.

"I don't know. I have no idea," she says she told them. Someone suggested that she study teaching, so she applied to Memorial and was accepted. She did not think she would ever *be* a teacher.

"Really?" I ask. "Why would you choose something you didn't think you were going to do?" I muse.

"It didn't really concern me at the time," she says. She was seven-and-a-half years into university but this was not worrisome for her. "I was just like...I'm not gonna be able to do this. I'm gonna have to go on and you know, study for a living." She was encouraged to go into graduate studies. But she applied for a temporary position in western Canada and got it.

"Why there?" I ask. It seemed like an obscure place to go for someone who did not really want to teach.

"Money," she tells me. Someone her father knew through work suggested it. "I don't know if I ever said no to anything that somebody suggested to me when it came to the right thing to do or somewhere to go. After all, it was only for six months." She then says anybody can do anything for six months. She came back and kept teaching. She wanted to develop her career. She went to what she calls "weird places". She moved back to central to teach, and took positions in isolated places. Then she took a permanent

position in the Lewisporte area but decided to leave. Leaving was a career demotion, she admits

"Do you ever think 'I shouldn't have left it?'" I ask her, referring to the move from the Lewisporte Area.

"No. Never. Not once. It wasn't the right place," she tells me. She said she did not want to be out there anymore. She would have stagnated, she explains. She tells me that when she finds herself in communities that do not match her needs, she leaves.

"It's been so easy to move," she says. She feels settled now. "It feels permanent," she tells me.

"Do you think you'd ever move out of here?" I ask, referring to St. John's.

"Sure," she replies. "Sure, why not?"

I draw upon this woman's narrative because while she did recognize that Lewisporte was not the right area for her, she is also cognizant of the fact that she could move out of St. John's as well and that this would also be okay. It reminds me of the fact that certain areas offer particular lifestyles, and that choosing a place to live a particular lifestyle is personal and is also based on relationships. When she was in the Lewisporte area, she was single. She told me she had one friend and she felt that she did not have the intellectual and artistic connections that she needed.

"What was it about there?" I ask.

"Ah, I'm sure if I had a been raising a family, I would have been distracted and busy enough that it wouldn't have mattered and what would have mattered most of all was the fact that, you know, children were in a safe place. And you know, I had some family around me but not all my family is around there anyway." She admits that she felt

the people were different from her. "Not that they weren't, um equals in any way because of course they were, but they were a darn sight different than I was (144)." She added that as a single person, she just did not see many possibilities for herself there to meet a partner.

One of the few leavers who also lived outside Canada expressed similar sentiments toward and constructions of Lewisporte and small town living in general. She met her husband while living abroad. They had intended to move out of province for his work. The opportunity fell through and while they were waiting to hear about it, they decided to spend the summer in a small island community in central Newfoundland. They thought it would be perfect.

"It was the worst spring in 20 years," I43 tells me. "We were icebound. It was cold. We had one nice weekend. It rained."

And she tells me it was difficult to relate to the people there. When I asked her about what rural meant to her, and I continue that discussion below, we carried on the conversation of relating to people. It was here that she brought up an important point.

"I think people who go out and live in [commuter towns] do so because of things. They want to be close to nature and they want to have that quality of life and still have St. John's ... I think it's hard if you've been out of rural Newfoundland. With the exception of like going to you know Fort McMurray or something, I don't think that's really a particularly urban experience. I mean it's also a village...Although there's a lot of people there, they're really transient. So um, a lot of them would come back and still really pine for the real like the house next to mom and the boat and the ATV and all that stuff. But I think it's hard to go back once you've been away, at least my experience is (143)."



"Yes," I say to her. "I remember going to the grocery store in Lewisporte and going, they don't have any brie, what is this?"

"Oh I know," she says to me.

"And how much of a snob am I?" I say and laugh.

That's the thing. I don't think it's snobbish. I guess. And you can totally call me a snob, I would not be terribly offended. But I think it has to do with commonality. You know it has to do with experience," she says. "And if you really like a good bottle of wine and a piece of brie and you can't get that in Lewisporte. And you know, it's not necessarily that difficult. I mean it's just a matter of shipping it, you know, it's in Grand Falls ... Just you know, just you're the only person there because you're the only person that's had it. So somebody likes to have brie and wine, you know, who you gonna go out on Friday night and chat about that with?

I laugh.

"Honestly you know."

"That's so true."

"And it's not that that's any better than havin' fish and brewis and a Coors Light but it's just that's your experience and that probably means that you've had other experiences that make it difficult to only talk about fish and brewis and Coors Light."

"Yeah."

"You know, an ideal situation for me would be to have that house in Lewisporte, you know, forever because it's so amazing and I have really good memories about it... I had a fantastic childhood. I'd like to give that to my son."

"Yeah."

"Or at least a part of that, a part of that real small town rural Newfoundland experience. I mean it's what made us who we are."

"Umhum. It's true. Interesting you should say that."

"He will never be like us. He will never have that. I don't know if it's for good, for better or for worse because I can't imagine us settling in Lewisporte or any place near to it."

"No?"

"No. With almost 100%...surety."

"You can say that?"

"Yeah."

"For any particular reason or just..."

Can't live ... without a lot of things, without a lot of creature comforts....Can't live without sort of stimulating dialogue and discourse. Can't live without imported food and wine and drink and conversation and ah, a bit of art and culture. And those are things, with the exception of you know real Newfoundland culture which has a lot of value, um you don't find in a very small place.

They had to come to St. John's for a wedding, and decided that when they left, they were not coming back.

"We just packed up the car and went," she says. Then she said that if I had asked her if she'd be in St. John's at this point in her life two years ago, she would have laughed in my face. "I would have said not on your life. I will never ever live in St. John's."

"And why would you have said that?" I ask her. The city offered something for I43, but I44 didn't perceive it to be that attractive. I44 tells me she would have thought

there was nothing there for her. This was not, however, the case. She is here now. Her husband is working in the city and at the time of the interview, they were in the process of trying to purchase a house. This demonstrates that there is a shifting reference point in terms of peoples' perceptions of where they *think* they might like to live.

For I42, some of the same things hold true. She told me that obviously she came to St. John's to go to university. When she figured out that she did not want to be going to university there, she went to Corner Brook instead.

"By that time I had had a lot of connections in St. John's. A lot of my friends were here, friends that I grew up with, but also new friends that I met at university, whether they were from St. John's or elsewhere. So I really had a lot of connections now in St. John's. But also, fortunately, or unfortunately whatever, um, right before I transferred to the Corner Brook to go to school, I met the man who is now my husband. So ... even when I went to The Corner Brook, I still really had a focus on returning to St. John's to be with him," she says to me, adding that she has given thought to the moving back to St. John's outside of her meeting him. "I think St. John's is really where there is most opportunity for what I'm doing in my life. So even if I hadn't met my husband I think it's probably likely I would have settled here anyway."

One of the eight women who had left the Lewisporte Area expressed an interest in moving back to Lewisporte. She said she never had an interest in moving away, and by away, she gave Toronto as an example. After she finished her degree in St. John's, she had a child and she said that at that point in her life, all she wanted to be was settled. She worked in the area for a while, and then got a casual position in St. John's in her field.

She and her husband packed up and moved back to the St. John's area. Eventually, she said she got a permanent position with the federal government.

"It's not my preference to where I'd like to be," she tells me. "But right now it's where...the jobs are. So it was the job that brought me into St. John's and it's the job that's keeping me here." She said she did go through some uncertain times in her position. Her husband began working here, and because he was not getting many hours, they relied predominantly on her paycheque.

It was just expensive and we were finding it was just hard in here. You didn't have any family ... Now Lewisporte, the dump, the, you know, the place where I, God why would you want to live there, started to really look good," she tells me. "[My husband] hated it here. He didn't want to be here. There was nothing to do. We liked, like today, on a winter's day if we were in Lewisporte, if we were home, you'd be on skidoo, you'd be going up in the woods and havin' a fire with the kids. And you probably own a cabin, you know, you'd be doing things ... We find here you're just in the house. If you want to go somewhere, well you go to the Price Club (I38).

For most of the other leavers, the choice was to move to and stay in St. John's.

I45 tells me that full time permanent work keeps her here. According to her, it's rare and everybody is "fightin' to get it." She walked into her full-time permanent job immediately after her university graduation.

"They were offering like \$3000 sign on bonuses to stay in Newfoundland," she tells me. I'm surprised. "It was like woohoo!" she exclaims. "You know, not a lot of people came out of university with full-time permanent jobs."

I nod. This is true. And even though she can work anywhere in the world, she is staying here. She tells me that she has thought about going to Alberta. She has family there.

"I can remember talkin' to like the Alberta crowd," she says. "I'm not sure if it was Fort McMurray ... they were sayin' like, I think they were offerin' like a \$40,000 sign-on bonus." I'm in awe. It must show on my face. "Yeah, big money," she says.

"Did it ever cross your mind to go there?" I ask.

"I'm a wuss like that," she says. "Like I got certain friends that wouldn't think twice. They'd be gone," she tells me. Her husband commutes out of province for work. "We could easily move to Alberta right. Easily. He could make his money and I could make my money... We could live up there for probably ten years and clean 'er. But like my friends are here," she says. "And my family."

Some of her friends have moved back St. John's in the last couple of years. "I can't even fathom leavin'," she tells me. She says her friend would lose her marbles if she said she was going. She imitates a reaction. "What do ya mean you're leavin'? I moved all the way back here because you were here." She laughs. "That's what we're like. Really really close. Like we could finish each other's sentences." She says that not everyone would want to stay because of their friends.

"That's just the kinda ... person I am. I love my friends. That's a lot of the reason that keeps me where I am." She tells me her husband does not care where they live. He would work in Newfoundland if there were something right here right now. But that is not the case.

"He hates goin' away. He's not materialistic. So the big money doesn't lure him," she says. I ask how she reflects upon her life since leaving high school.

"There's a little bit of regret," she says. "Sometimes I look back and I think that soon as I graduated [university], I should have went away and just you know, got a feel for what the world is like outside of St. John's; outside of Newfoundland." She adds that at least her friends lived in other places. "They can say well I don't like it or I loved it. They did the Ontario thing. Whereas I haven't," she says. "I've always been here." She tells me that when you graduate, that's when you have no ties. Now she has seniority at her work.

"It's really hard to give something up that you know is not going to be there when you come back and it's not. It's not gonna be there."

This is the case for I39 though. She and her husband moved back from central Canada after having lived there for nine years. He went there to work. She said that after a while, she followed him to finish her post-secondary education there. They both had stable employment there but she said they wanted to come home.

"We wanted to move back home because it's home ... Originally, you know, he couldn't get work here and there was no point in staying. He got more experience bein' away, um, and I further educated [out there] and now we're here and raising a family back in Newfoundland (I39)." She tells me she thought the move out of province would be permanent though.

"I didn't ever think I would come back because going from Newfoundland to [there] was just such a big eye opener. Like the things that was available to you like you didn't have here. Like yes in St. John's you still had movie theatres, which we didn't

have in Lewisporte. But [there], there were basketball games and hockey games ... Like all these different things, different shows downtown, like you know ... Hairspray, the Lion King, whatever. There was always wining and dining and that type of thing and night clubs and just constant excitement (i39)."

"And money was a big issue," she tells me. When her husband started working, he did make more money than he would have in Newfoundland. They were able to do more and own more. These were things that could not have happened, she says, if they had stayed in Newfoundland.

"We just, number one, wouldn't be able to afford it...He couldn't get a job here and number two, we wouldn't be able to afford it if we came back like we are now." She admits moving back has meant some sacrifices and she has been unable to secure a permanent full-time position in her field.

"That didn't pan out as I thought it would," she tells me. "I thought that, you know, you'd get a full-time nursing job anywhere because they're so desperate for nurses. So they say. Um, there are full-time jobs out there. But it's just in areas that no one wants to work and that's why they're there."

## 8.7 Conclusions

The findings among stayers, leavers, returners and in-migrants contribute to the wider literature on these topics reviewed earlier. Most of the women in the study were returners. Of the 37 women interviewed in the Lewisporte area, 27 were returners (72%). This is a high number and was not by design, but could have been as a result of the convenience sampling. For many of the women, leaving to pursue post-secondary education was a

necessity, particularly for those who completed university degrees. Most of the leavers who pursued university education did so in Newfoundland. For those who did not pursue PSE or did not finish PSE paths, leaving extended to destinations outside of the island. Staying was possible for women who wanted to begin university studies while living in the study area and for those who wanted to pursue college-based education because of available and adjacent post-secondary institutions. Six women moved into the study area from other destinations across the island. Eight women who grew up in the Lewisporte Area and who are now living in St. John's were also interviewed for comparative purposes. With the exception of one woman, they expressed the sentiment that they could not see themselves as moving back to the Lewisporte Area.

Examining migration trajectories and their respective narratives outside of a rural economic frame of reference and with an approach that is more people-centered has afforded a greater insight into the importance of a relational perspective on migration that extends over the life course. Women expressed their moves in terms of relations with people, places and spaces and a negotiation among all of these things. Clearly, moving was as a result of agency, both on the part of the women and men in the context of their respective households. In the following chapter, I expand the importance of a relational migration perspective and use additional data from the interviews to make this case. Likewise, I argue that a relational perspective tips the emphasis away from concentrating on rural places in their discursive and perhaps economic constructions and represents a more balanced approach to understanding the complexity of movement against a rural backdrop.



## **Chapter Nine: Migration Narratives and the Relational Lens as Rural Transcendence?**

### **9.1 Introduction**

This dissertation has repeatedly made the case for a renewed humanist perspective on migration in Canada. This follows from other predominantly geography-based work being carried out in the British Isles and emanating from scholars such as Halfacree and Boyle (1993) and Ni Laoire (2000). As Halfacree writes in his continued defence of the biographical approach to migration, which does not prioritize economic development: "broadening our understanding of any one act of migration into plural stories reinforces the need to recognize less immediately instrumentalist goals" (Halfacree, 2004:10). Halfacree has been arguing for the "non-economic issues" that inform migration decision-making to be given priority. I have argued that this has not been the approach to rural migration studies in Canada, and especially those situated in Newfoundland and Labrador. Even though social relations emerge as important in some of this literature, they remain couched within an economic framework.

Like Halfacree and Ni Laoire, I have embraced the biographical approach and borrow from Smith's lived reality approach. As such, my approach is a marriage of cultural geography and sociology. I do not wish to suggest that I am the first to do this. I am not. Even in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador, Botting's (2000) migration work has employed a life history approach and as mentioned earlier, Martin-Matthews early migration work adopted Smith's lived reality approach as a means for illuminating women's agency. What my work has done is reinvigorate this discussion, strengthening

the case for non-economic points of entry, particularly in the case of rural areas. In fact, I have used rural as a geographical definition only and the backdrop against which the women's migration narratives are examined. This has been fruitful. Through using both embodiment and reflexivity in the approach to data collection and the data analysis, the dissertation has emphasized relational contexts and the plethora of factors that occur during migration decision-making and migration biographies.

As a final presentation of the data, I want to demonstrate what can be known about the concept of rural in the absence of an economic development framework to approaching migration and how strongly a social and relational perspective emerges that is neither rural nor economically hinged by default. This supports Halfacree's call for more balanced approaches to rural migration research and demonstrates how this is possible.

## **9.2 Here: The Story of Now and the First "Knock" at the Rural Door**

"So first of all," I say to her, the 20<sup>th</sup> woman to be interviewed in the Lewisporte area, "why are you here at this point in your life? What's that story?" I settle in and get my pen ready just in case I need to jot something down. I love this question. This was the first structured question of the interview and is arguably the most telling in terms of how women frame their migration biographies, thus highlighting the relational lens.

"Well," she replies rather matter-of-factly, "this is where my husband's job is."

"Yeah," I say.

"Family business," she then says.

"That's it," I say.

"No option to move."

"Really?" I ask.

"Really. Yeah. Basically, that's you know...if he's going to continue on in a family business."

"Yeah."

"There's no other alternative."

She wasn't alone in how she defined being there. It became evident early in the interviewing process that many of the women subjectively positioned themselves in terms of their husbands when they initially explained why they were there. Some described this circumstance more contentedly than others.

"I married [my husband] and he wanted to move back to Lewisporte and buy [a business]." She quickly rephrased it by adding her own reasons for being there by prefacing it with the fact that she had children and wanted to raise them in the area, but that it did not necessarily need to be Lewisporte (15).

One woman who recently moved back said that she and her husband, who also grew up in the area, planned to return within five or six years so that he could take over the family business. A job opportunity for him in the region prompted an earlier return than anticipated.

"My husband ended up gettin' a job in central so we saw it as an opportunity to get home faster" (12).

Another woman shared a similar story, although she expressed it somewhat differently. She and her husband also met and had been together since high school. They remained in the area, however, to pursue post-secondary education opportunities and

circumstances led her to working in the family business, which they eventually took over. While she said they might have moved elsewhere in the region (to Gander or Grand Falls), working in the family business solidified the reason for staying.

These responses are important, not only because they portray these women's realities in terms of their husband's work, but also because this work is rooted in familial relationships and family businesses. Several women, however, saw themselves as being there as a result of their own work in family businesses. One woman said that after going to university and getting her degree, she thought that she would rather work for herself in the family business than for someone else. She and her husband, who also works in the business, moved to the area and "settled in" (I23). While she framed her work in terms of her autonomy, another woman working in a family business chose to focus more on the permanency aspect of her work.

"I'm here because I got a permanent job," she tells me. "[My husband] got a permanent job; we got a little boy; both of our families are here. It just worked out perfect. No other reason why we would want to move (I6)." Her husband, also from the area, is working in his family's business. The closeness to extended family, especially while raising children, was particularly significant for some women's realities.

"I'm just very content here now with the two kids," I7 says. "I'm very content with the way they're being raised because it's not just me. It's me, mom and dad. They've got their great grandmother right? They've got their great aunts up here and they've got so much family around them and that's how I wanted them to be raised...It's all here and that's what I like." She added that she didn't want to raise the children out west where her partner is currently working because there would be no family around.

For several of the women, being close to family is particularly important as their partners or husbands are working away for weeks and months at a time. One woman (I11) said that while living in Lewisporte was a result of her husband's desire to participate in leisure activities that he enjoys in the area (snowmobiling, fishing, etc) and the fact that he was unhappy in the job he held elsewhere on the island where they were living at the time, the close proximity to her family is important. It is, as she put it, her support system as her husband now works away.

Another woman said she and her husband reached a phase in their family life. "My family were all living here in Lewisporte at the time, everyone except my younger [sibling] ... My husband's mom was here in Lewisporte and ... we found we spent most of our free time wishing to be here in central or driving back and forth from St. John's to central" (I17).

Two of the women explained that they had come home initially to provide support for their families when a parent became ill, and they ended up staying. One woman said she moved back home after her father was diagnosed with cancer. "I've had a job here ever since, kinda got comfortable ... and stayed (I19)". That was over 10 years ago.

Examining the responses as a subjective positioning, I argue, leads one to understand how women frame living in that particular area at that time in their lives and could possibly point to whether they see their locatedness there as positive or negative. It speaks directly to their narrative reconstruction of being there or here in terms of their biography; and the relationship among space, place and time with respect to that biography. In some instances, there was a temporal and not a place-based reference.

From these responses, we see that these women defined the reality of being here

initially in terms of their familial relationships, conjugal or otherwise, their children, their extended families and the interrelatedness of all of these. Most of the women chose to pose their responses in terms of the subjective positioning I, and not surprisingly many also answered in terms of we, or my husband. The situatedness remained largely the same for most of the 37 women living in the Lewisporte area. They predominantly positioned the response in terms of here, i.e. the community or the area. Some juxtaposed a here and there comparison in terms of locatedness, and this was dependent on their referential point. In other words, if women had lived "away", especially if they lived off of the island, they positioned in terms of I was there, then I came here (the study area). Some of the women also moved within the study area. In that case, the there and here refers to those communities. For those living in St. John's, many of them (5) positioned it terms of there (the Lewisporte area) and then here (St. John's area).

For the in-migrant group of women, their reasons for being there, however, followed many of the same themes as the ones outlined above: one woman said she and her husband moved there because they were both able to find permanent full-time work in their professions; another said that she and her husband moved here primarily for her work, but also because the area is centrally located between their respective families living in other areas of the province. Two women indicated they moved there because of their husbands; one for work and the other for his post secondary educational activities.

Examining being here in terms of these women's lived realities and without rural necessarily as the point of entry demonstrates that these women *do not* frame being there necessarily in terms of rural. Some of their chosen reasons were associated with rural places (such as perceptions of safety, small towns, etc) but their initial responses, void of

any migration delineations (i.e. stayer, leaver, returner or in-migrant), highlights social relations and relationships as the primary drivers of their locatedness.

### 9.3 Rural and Home

For the 37 women living in the Lewisporte area, not one of them framed the reason for being there in terms of "rural." None of these women, in fact, mentioned the word rural in response to what they were doing here, nor did they mention the word urban. Only two out of the 37 women juxtaposed Lewisporte and the city as a reason for being here, while a third implied this juxtaposition at first and then later elaborated. Two women framed the juxtaposition in terms of not wanting to raise their children in an urban area. However, only one referred to this in terms of the "city". The third juxtaposition had nothing to do with children. It is also a contrast to the perspective put forward by i39 who saw moving to Newfoundland as a trade-off in terms of the entertainment and leisure opportunities of larger places.

"Tell me about why you're here at this point in your life," I ask her, i14.

"Okay, so ah basically I went away to school and lived in cities and that. And ah up until probably the past few years, I thought I wanted to live in a city but ah, I realized I didn't do anything in a city that warranted living there. So I just decided to move to a smaller place."

"OK, really? So what changed? You didn't like the city?"

"Well I find that when you live in bigger places, you can...there's more to pick from say with theatres, or ah going out to fancier places to eat. You know there's more activities and that to do, but I just find that by the time I come home from work I don't

want to do anything anyways...And I'd rather just go out of town for the weekend, maybe to a bigger spot ... It's fine living here, I don't do anything anyway."

Out of 37 women, only three chose to answer the question of why they are here at this point in their lives in a way that would reflect the representation of rural as negative, lacking, or as somehow disadvantaged when juxtaposed to urban. In the third instance, the things normally associated with or constructed as a positive element of city life, particularly with respect to leisure activities were, in fact, not important to this woman's day-to-day living. With only two exceptions, the word rural did not emerge as a topic of discussion in *any* of the 37 interviews until I asked about it. It happened in a discussion with i34 when I was asking about what home means to her.

"Well to me," she says referring to home, "it's just where I grew up and where, where my family is to and it's just, it'll always be home no matter where I moved or where I worked...If anybody asked me, I'm like proud to say I'm from Lewisporte and a lot of times, people sometimes make fun, poke fun, because it's like rural communities, and just makin' jokes about it here and there. Like it's not going to survive and this and that, but I'm just always proud to say I'm from here. I've just never had any problem with the place ... (i34)."

"Interesting you should say rural communities cause my next question is when someone says the word rural to you, what comes to mind?" I ask.

She laughs. "To me when somebody says rural, I more or less look at you're, I know it's all a part of the district of Lewisporte and this area, but to me rural would be more like um [communities outside Lewisporte] ... I think in this area, Lewisporte is the



central, central area and all those people in those communities tend to flock to Lewisporte for work and even for like groceries and whatever else right."

"Yeah"

"But then you go to Gander or Grand Falls...and people think rural communities, like you're from out around the bay," she laughs again. "Right? But Lewisporte is like out around the bay. But not necessarily makin' fun I guess but just I guess Gander and Grand Falls being more, what's the word, I don't know, busier and just fast paced than Lewisporte. And it's like out around the bay (she laughs again) but then I look at the smaller communities down the line and to me, that's, that would be more rural than what we have here."

"What makes them rural and Lewisporte not [rural]?" I probe.

"Um, maybe just because they don't have access to what we would have other than driving here, like I mean, the family medical clinic and the grocery stores, convenience stores, restaurants, all that type stuff right. But then again, like I said, you go outside Lewisporte and, especially St. John's, but even Gander and Grand Falls, and Lewisporte is out around the bay..."

I35 also mentioned rural before I asked about it. We were chatting about how she felt when she moved to Lewisporte with her family when she was younger, having come from predominantly smaller communities.

"I was happy," she says. "Because it was...bigger than what I've ever lived in, like it was like a city to me cause it was all these conveniences right that you don't get in these little tiny rural places. And there was a lot of friends, I was content. I enjoyed it (I35)."

Toward the end of each interview, each woman was asked the same thing; what comes to mind when someone says the word rural to them or if the notion of rural meant anything to them. While some immediately said Lewisporte and mentioned some of the expected elements associated with the concept such as slower-paced life, less amenities, and people knowing one another's business; surprisingly more of the women, like I34 and I35, said that Lewisporte was, in fact, not rural.

I have to draw upon the following example. It shows that this woman does not equate Lewisporte with rural, and it also shows my own surprise at this fact. This demonstrates my conceptual biases and my revelation that this was the case for her. Also evident in this passage is the break between her reality and the defining of rural by those outside that reality.

"When someone says the word rural to you, what comes to mind?" I ask her, I8.

"Not Lewisporte."

"No?"

"I don't consider Lewisporte rural. I consider Twillingate or ...somewhere like that rural but I don't consider Lewisporte rural...I don't know, I just never did."

"Why not?"

"I don't know. I just never did and...I guess we kind of are but I've never considered us rural Newfoundland and I don't know why I wouldn't but..."

"So you say like Twillingate ... what is it about those places that make it rural?"

"Just far ... away from the highways, you know like you got to travel a nice ways to get there whereas to me Lewisporte is only a hop skip and a jump from, you know, the highway. To me rural is somewhere on out by the coast somewhere..."

"And Lewisporte's ..."

"To me don't, I'd never say we live in rural Newfoundland."

"Never once over your lifetime you thought that's where we lived?"

"No."

"That is so interesting ..."

"No I don't. I know that we probably are in the eyes of you know, the government and stuff like that but I would never consider us rural."

The break between their lived reality and discourses of rurality was again articulated in the following quote from a woman who was responding to whether the notion of rural meant anything to her. She framed it in terms of the issue of commuting and that as a result of this it was not that important to people's lives.

"I understand the need for urban and rural or whatever if you want to define places," I17 says to me. "But I certainly don't think there's any difference in people necessarily."

Another woman discussed her frustration with the notion of rural in terms of the work that she does. She said the word rural reminds her of a fishing village with no running water and very outback, as she put it. While she said that Lewisporte could be considered as rural, the idea of rural acts more as a stigma.

"Lewisporte is classed as rural Newfoundland and Gander is classed as small town," I20 says to me, describing the textual realm of her work environment. "And well then, St. John's is a big city, or well not big city but city for Newfoundland and Labrador ... but it's just, I don't know. It's just like a stigma. When you see this, when they send faxes in. Like you're rural Newfoundland. I don't know, it just makes you feel, it makes

me feel like I said, like you're back, like an outport, like your back years and years ago ... the word, I just don't like the word."

Continuing on with this theme, it is important to note that four women responded that rural really had no meaning for them; two of these and an additional woman said that they had not even thought about it much. Another woman admitted that she gets rural and urban mixed up, largely because she also never really thinks about them.

While the word "rural" is not necessarily part of these women's everyday lives or used as a means to account for their experiences (and as a word identified in the context of their migration decision-making), it is clear that for some of these women "rural" does have a meaning. As the discussion below indicates, it is contingent upon their point of reference and their own experiences. .

"To me, Lewisporte is rural compared to Gander, I'd say." I4 tells me this when I ask her the question.

"Yeah?"

"You know, we go to Gander or Grand Falls to do ninety per cent of your shopping and stuff like that and that's rural, to me, is out here."

"Yeah. But Lewisporte itself is rural you think?"

"Yeah."

"Yeah, OK", I say. "I've heard some people say it's not and I think how strange. For me it's rural."

"Yeah, but it depends," she says. "If you've lived in Lewisporte your whole life and you depended on the stores there your whole life and you get by quite fine then you don't know any different."

"That's true," I say.

"You know, they would consider [outside Lewisporte] rural then." She then says to me it depends on your point of reference. Some of the women considered Lewisporte to be rural, and some did not. Whichever route they choose, there was usually a different point of reference that they used. So, in cases when Lewisporte was not considered rural, other smaller places surrounding Lewisporte or even other smaller places across the island were considered as rural. The women who did not consider Lewisporte as rural usually considered things such as availability of amenities as important (i.e. grocery stores; fast food restaurants; a mall), although some did point out that clothes shopping was a little more difficult in the community.

I asked I23 what she thought of when she thinks of Lewisporte.

"Oh, big city," she says and laughs. "Probably just a town, a small town you know but I, we're not lacking anything in Lewisporte. We have Tim Horton's, we got fast food restaurants, we don't have shopping. I mean that's one thing. We don't have much shopping for clothes and stuff, right? But I don't have to leave town for anything other than buy my clothes, and that's not too bad. I can do that online." She laughs again. "I guess when I think of rural, I think of communities that have challenges because of where they are. And I don't think we got too many challenges in Lewisporte because of where we are (I23)."

"To me I don't consider Lewisporte rural," I28 says. "I'd consider [outside Lewisporte] rural ... But for some reason, Lewisporte, I don't feel like I'm living in a rural area."

"Oh yeah, why is that you think?"

She sighs. "I don't know, I don't know if it's McDonalds, Tim Horton's. You know rural to me is like nothing. Little grocery store, you know a place that ... doesn't have job opportunities to me is considered rural. Places that are; could be extinct ... I'd see Lewisporte as growing; people moving from rural to come to Lewisporte. That's how I feel about Lewisporte. I think Lewisporte is gonna grow. But places like [the Lewisporte Area], and these small communities that [don't] have job opportunities I don't, I guess that is why I see them as rural (I28)."

When Lewisporte was considered rural, it was usually considered so in terms of other larger places around it, such as Gander, Grand Falls, and St. John's. And these other places were looked upon as having the things that Lewisporte did not.

"Yeah, well rural to me is Lewisporte, Gander or Grand Falls," I5 says to me. "It's not like, I suppose you could look [places outside Lewisporte] but Lewisporte to me and Gander, Grand Falls are rural. Even probably St. John's could be a bit rural (I5)."

"So when, okay so now you, when you think of rural; when you're determining it, what does that mean?"

"Just small communities with not much to offer. Because really, think of it, Central Newfoundland don't really have a lot, it don't. I don't think it do. You might. I don't think it has much."

"A lot of what?" I ask.

"Well I mean, God there's only, when you think of it, in Gander, Grand Falls and Lewisporte, there's only one movie theatre and that's the shifts (I5)."

Another woman began her response by saying that she did not mind rural. She continued by prefacing it with the fact that she did not like it when people said outports. I probed her further on her disdain for the outport label.

"When somebody from Ontario says, oh you're from an outport town in Newfoundland. Then they automatically go to everybody here fishes and everybody here, if they don't fish, then they're gone to Alberta. And like you're all walking around with like two teeth in your mouth and rubbers on and your camouflage vest and stuff. And that's not us at all. And I hate that. Oh God, don't I hate that when they say outport communities and stuff like that. But rural is just, I don't know. Like, I know rural and I know that this is rural but, yeah, anything that's not St. John's or The Corner Brook (17)."

For her, there was awareness that it was most likely rural. She did not, however, like the association between rural and outport. She did not like what that association suggested to others about the way people are there. This was *not*, to her, an accurate representation of reality.

Another woman began defining rural and stopped.

"Yeah like the rural part of Newfoundland," she began and continued. "Like where is the rural part of Newfoundland?" She laughs. "Like what would you consider rural? Really? You know. I don't know ... would you consider like say little outports the rural part and then why can't St. John's be considered it. I mean they're an outport as well. Right so it's, I don't know."

"What about Lewisporte?" I ask her. "How do you think about Lewisporte?"

"Lewisporte is just home."

Home emerged as an important component of the discussions in the interviews. When asked about what home meant to them, it was less about a particular place, such as Lewisporte, and more about relationships. Even when a particular place, such as the town itself or a house, was referred to as home, it was done so from a relational perspective.

#### **9.4 Conclusions**

Ending the data analysis section of this dissertation with a discussion of rural and home as it relates to women's lived realities is an important point of departure. Women's responses for being *in* particular places, whether rural or urban *were* decidedly relational. Relationships with husbands, spouses, children, places and spaces could all be noted from their immediate reaction to why they were there. The finding that they rarely referred to "rural", especially as a reason for moving to the rural study area, I argue, helps to question associations of rural and migration positioned within the migration-development nexus discussed in Chapter 2. In the concluding chapter, I comment more upon this relational perspective and link it back to the analytical framework that I have employed, with particular reference to the work of Bourdieu.



## Chapter Ten: Conclusion

I began this dissertation with the conceptual understanding that rural and migration, and rural migration studies, continue to be understood and conceptualized in economic development terms despite the persistent call for approaches that include non-economic dimensions. I argued that this is a result of thinking that focuses on economic indicators as barometers of economic health downplaying the important of larger social processes. This is salient for rural areas as they are often negatively juxtaposed to their urban counterparts in this research and related policy, especially when considering economic characteristics. I argued that the national and economic perspective inhibits a more comprehensive understanding of migration and individual agency in migration decision-making processes. Following from the migration literature emerging from the British Isles (Halfacree and Boyle, 1993, Ni Laoire, 2000), I advocated a biographical approach to migration in a Canadian context. I then posed the following question at the onset: what can be learned, if anything, by approaching rural migration from a non-economic point of entry and through a perspective that emphasizes women's lived realities in particular? In other words, if we look at migration decision-making and migration biographies from women's points of view, does this change how we think about and conceptualize migration in a rural context. The answer to this question is congruent with my expectations and congruent with those of others in the field (see Halfacree, 2004). The biographical point of entry was not intended to pit the economic against the social, or vice versa. As the embeddedness literature indicates, particularly that of Granovetter (1985) and that of Polanyi (1957) and Marx before, the social and the economic are

intertwined. My argument here was that the economic, particularly the macroeconomic perspective of the changing nature of rural resource economies, should not take precedence as the means with which to frame and understand migration, as is suggested by the academic, bureaucratic and popular discourses reviewed earlier. Granovetter argues (1985) that perspectives should be neither oversocialized nor undersocialized. Economic change is a factor that affects people's migration decision-making because it affects employment opportunities, but this does not mean it is the most important factor in the migration variable mix.

Approaching migration research as a people-centered endeavour illuminates relations. This includes people's relations in places, with other people and their relations with places and spaces, to borrow from the geography terms (see Cresswell, 2004; Tuan, 1975). It includes spatial, cultural, gender, social and economic relations; and their interconnectedness. It is a perspective that is neither undersocialized nor oversocialized (Granovetter, 1985) because it extends beyond just human-to-human relations to include feelings of belonging and attachment to place. Furthermore, such a perspective does not attribute migration to and from rural areas to anything necessarily and negatively rural.

Perhaps the emergence of a relational approach to migration may not seem new. This is because it is not. Relations and relationships, as well as their negotiation, are at the core of migration decision-making. While not referencing migration specifically, Bourdieu's (1998) work is premised upon a relational perspective to all social life. This could be seen in my research. What is new or needed is the conceptual acceptance of such a positioning in mainstream migration discourse, especially mainstream rural migration discourse. Here, a balanced relational approach to migration has not yet

achieved its full potential, despite the encouragement of and call for such a perspective (Halfacree, 2004). This is particularly true in Canada and in the province in which this research took place.

While the biographical approach has been and is currently in use in some of the European migration research (especially that generated from the British Isles), a similar commitment to such a perspective has not taken place with any great force here in North America. This is perhaps because a different rural migration meta-narrative exists in Canada. As chapters two and three demonstrate, the Canadian approach to and attention to migration in a rural context is largely one of leaving. Although outmigration is not exclusive to rural areas and rural areas have experienced in-migration and sometimes population growth (Bollman, 2006), outmigration remains the way in which we envision the rural Canadian landscape. This is particularly true for the discourse on rural Newfoundland and Labrador. My research commits to a relational approach and shows the importance of such an orientation. It also takes the biographical approach seriously. It engages people and goes further to use peoples' lived reality as the point of entry for understanding migration. While the overarching analytical framework for this dissertation has been guided by the relationship between structure and agency, Smith's work has allowed the emphasis to shift to agency and the individual. As such, my work is more closely aligned with Bourdieu rather than that of Giddens.

It could be argued that what emerges here is a mapping of people lives as they are lived. I have been careful not to make assumptions about those lives as they are experienced by people in relationship to rural. I have been especially cognizant of any

presumptions associated with “rural” that may strip women of their agency when exploring the topic of migration, migration-decision making, and migration narratives. Because this research concentrates largely on migration trajectories and migration biographies, it is about people’s individual lifepaths and the stories they tell. The quantitative portion of this work establishes the stage for these stories, if you will, and establishes the context for the intertwining factors that bring these events—these factors of individuals’ lives as points on graphs—to light. The quantitative work cannot, however, bring all the aspects of agency and structure to light. I now discuss several key findings to highlight the interrelatedness of the qualitative and quantitative work.

#### **10.1 Gender Migration Patterns: Young Rural Women and Men Move Similarly but Circumstances and Outcomes Vary**

The statistical analysis of taxfiler data indicated that there were only slight differences among rural men and women in terms of their migration patterns. Men and women left rural and small town areas at similar rates (although women were slightly more likely to leave than men). For those who returned, this predominantly occurred after 5 years. Women were also slightly more likely to return. Overall, while nearly 50% of men and women in the statistical sample did stay in rural areas, it was slightly higher for men (51%) than for women (47%). When examining the trajectory data, however, there are increasingly more differences between men and women along income, education and familial characteristics. This suggests that while these men’s and women’s migration patterns are similar, the circumstances surrounding migration decision-making vary and the outcomes of those decisions are different according to gender. The statistical analysis

could not, however, determine temporal causality. In other words, the trajectory information could not indicate whether a woman moved because she had children, or that the decision to move came first and then the children came later. The same is true of the other variables considered along the trajectories. The qualitative data assisted in answering some of these questions and complimented the statistical analysis because of the biographical approach and the focus on women's migration patterns over time, as well as their migration narratives.

### **10.2 Leaving: A Normal Aspect of Rural Youth Transitioning but not Necessarily Imperative**

The statistical analysis indicated that both men and women left, particularly when considering the five-year interval. This is consistent with the literature previously discussed that demonstrates rural youth's migration patterns. The women in the qualitative sample predominantly left their home community after high school, either for reasons associated with work, post-secondary education, a relationship or a combination of these factors. Most of the women did, in fact, initially leave. In most instances, this leaving was associated with post-secondary education. This supports the notion that women are leavers and that this leaving is connected to educational opportunities. This reflects the educational literature previously reviewed. I cannot, however, say whether the flight of women is or was higher than that of young men. I suspect that young men and women "flee" rural areas equally for education and employment-related reasons but that initially leaving for employment is predominantly associated with young men, and that all of these things are tempered by class. Those who leave must have the means to do so.

Again, this confirms that class, gender and age are important to migration patterns and supports the previous research in this area.

Leaving among the qualitative sample was normal. Most of the women expected to leave the study area. This supports the previous work of Ni Laoire (2000), for example, who illustrates that leaving for rural young people is part of their lifecourse. Leaving, however, was not imperative. Because post-secondary institutions were available in and nearby the study area, the women desiring to pursue education could do so and remain "at home". Some chose to do this and have stayed in the area since that time. If we look again to the statistical analysis, leaving is not the rule necessarily.

For the women who did stay in the rural study site, that reality was not "abnormal" for them, nor did they give the impression that they were treated differently because they stayed and many other people left (see Gabriel, 2002; Jackson *et al.* 2006; Ni Laoire, 2001). In fact, in terms of agency, one could argue that these women demonstrated more agency than others because they *chose* to stay when most other people were leaving. Staying could be seen as a form of resilience (MacDonald *et al.*, 2006). Leaving is normal for rural youth as they transition into adulthood, but as my study shows, leaving is not a default for rural youth. The choice to stay is possible among those who have access to local available resources for the pursuit of career and employment opportunities. I write this realizing that this is not the case for all rural areas, and certainly perhaps not most of them.

### **10.3 Returning**

Many of the women in my qualitative sample were young professionals with families. Most were married, had children or were having children. This is consistent with the quantitative sample across the trajectories that were considered. Most of the women in my qualitative sample initially left the rural study site and returned; and some planned this trajectory. This confirms that people do return to the rural areas in which they were raised, and that this return is related to local employment opportunities, family connections, the presence of children and attachment to place. Returning is also associated with age. Again, this supports and reflects the literature previously reviewed. Returning among the women in my sample was also highly possible because many of the returnees were partnered with men also from the study area. This meant that both partners had extended families in the area, thus pointing towards the importance of networks and kinship in rural societies.

### **10.4 Moving In**

Extensive research currently exists to account for counter-urbanization and in-migration to rural areas. Often, counter urbanization is related to rural amenities. Mitchell, Bunting and Maccioni (2004) have also explored counter urbanization as a movement of artists who choose to live in work in rural areas. This is also connected to the presence of rural amenities. I have previously noted that Halfacree's (2008) work, in fact, makes the call for less counterurbanization work in the UK and more consideration of outmigration. This is again related to the particular meta-narratives generated from these countries. I should note as well that in-migration is connected to the subject of rural immigration

involving people from other countries (Bollman, Beshiri and Clemenson, 2007; Reimer, 2007). There were no immigrants in my qualitative sample. My qualitative sample included six women who moved into the area. These women did not have partners who grew up in the area, which indicates that they had no familial connections to draw them there. These women therefore represent an anomaly in terms of migration to rural areas; and while they moved there for personal or spousal employment or educational reasons, what is interesting about these women is that they have an established religious network in place in the community with which they could and did connect. In fact, these women were more religiously involved than any of the other women in the qualitative sample. Because of the insular nature of many communities, and rural communities with intricate kinship systems in particular, being connected is important. While these women and their families were not necessarily connected by family, they became connected via their faith. Interestingly, they did not discuss this connection as being an important component of being there. I suggest that this indicates that they perhaps take this aspect of their life for granted as a normal part of living there, yet it is perhaps crucial to choosing to stay in the area.<sup>15</sup>

### **10.5 Moving Away and Staying Away**

The urban comparative group, though small, permitted a biographical lens through which to view leaving and staying away. Given the high number of returners in the study, I was left with a sense of just how connected they were to this particular area and how that

---

<sup>15</sup> I write this because some of my informal conversations with similar young women who had moved into the area (and were not connected via faith or through their partners) expressed a feeling of exclusion and disconnectedness from the area.



connectedness was associated with family, households and their attachment to place. The same was not true of those who left and stayed away. While they were connected in St. John's via relations, the nature of these relationships was different. They did not express the same relationship with the rural space as those who returned; nor did they necessarily have a desire to be close or raise their families in a rural environment. Here, I draw upon Richard Florida's (2008) book entitled *Who's Your City* to help summarize this finding. Florida makes the case for the primacy of urban dwelling for cultural, social and economic reasons. The discourse surrounding this text is that urban is the place to be. I argue that the place to be is not just about the qualities, size of a place or its indicators of attractiveness. Rather, it is about a relation to place that operates in a nexus of other relations that are layered, stacked and interacting. For the women living in the urban site, they were there because of a set of circumstances that included a multitude of relations *and* their desire to live in that particular space. Only one of the urban dwellers had a desire to return to the rural study site to live (for amenity-related reasons) but expressed that she could not because of a lack of employment opportunities.

#### **10.6 Structure and Agency: Reconsidering the Analytical Framework**

The analytical framework employed here demonstrated, much like the earlier work of Martin-Matthews (1977), the continued agency among these women's lives in terms of migration decision-making. Contexts, however, cannot be ignored. This is why it is necessary to consider Bourdieu's work in tandem with the theoretical approaches of Smith. Agency provides a humanist view but agency does have to be viewed in the context of structures. I prefer the word context over structure, as structure (in its

traditional determinist sense) implies constraint. The women in this study did not necessarily speak of the circumstances of their lives and the contexts of their migration decision-making as constraints upon their lives. They were active participants in the decisions, particularly when their own households were under consideration. There are, however, fields within their habitus, to borrow from Bourdieu, throughout their lives that shape how they exert their agency.

First of all, it is important to note that their agency did not occur in gender neutral environments. While the earlier framework discussions of both Giddens and Bourdieu indicate the capacity for agency within structures or habitus, it is important to recognize, as Leach (2005) argues, that these structures are gendered in and of themselves. Leach writes that:

Both men and women try to anticipate the future by imagining what it might be like, but in imagining futures for their (real, imagined, or fictive) daughters and reflecting on their own gendered experiences of the past and the present, women can rarely avoid confronting gendered forms of inequality, no matter how hard they try. Freedom for their daughters, then, rests on a capacity to imagine a future free of (the effects of) gendered inequalities. Imagination thus spurs gendered action (Leach, 2005: 6)

This was perhaps most visible in terms of their paths immediately following high school. In terms of these women's lives, agency in migration-decision making could not and was not exercised to its full extent upon leaving high school. Although the time leading up to and leaving high school is constructed as a time of choices for both men and women, what came through in my interviews was not necessarily choice but pressure, especially for those women who felt they *had* to do something.

In some cases, these decisions reflected the pressure for women to choose traditionally "male-dominated" disciplines such as science and medicine. University was also constructed as the best and sometimes only option for these women. This is, I argue, connected to parental and educators' expectations of women, particularly rural women, as well as to the socio-economic and cultural circumstances in Newfoundland at the time they left high school. As the data show, many of the women exerted increased agency after going to post-secondary institutions. They changed both their institutional and career directions (i.e. some went to college instead and others went into different disciplines). Some of these women also eventually chose to pursue careers in professions where women have historically been overrepresented (e.g. health care and education).

There are other gendered structures which influence women's agency and these need to be considered in terms of women's migration decision-making, particularly in terms of the decision to return. Many of the women expressed reasons for returning that reflect the gendered nature of rural spaces as outlined in Little and Austin (1996). This included reasons associated with being mothers and caregivers. In my study, kinship and connectedness to kin emerged as an important context that influenced their migration patterns, as did the circumstances of the household at each move. Cooke argues that "family is a central component of migration" that should, in fact, be at the centre of discussions about migration (2008:262). Even though I began with individual women's points of view, my research highlights relationships with people, especially family, as important elements of migration decision-making.

Most of the women I interviewed did not explicitly acknowledge any gendered and constraining dimensions of their lives, which suggests that the gendered production

and reproduction of rural space goes unchallenged, particularly by women who choose to return to these areas. In fact, one could argue as Little and Austin (1996) have that their return contributes to a perpetuation of gendered rural space via the rural idyll, which is also gendered.

Obviously, employment opportunities are important contexts to consider. The availability of employment, either for the women or their partners, is necessary for raising a family and supporting the household. Most of the women in the study experienced opportunities in terms of employment, as did their partners. And, if local employment opportunities were not available for the partner, he did commute. As I have been arguing, however, employment and rural economies are obviously not the only context to be considered and as my research has shown, they are certainly not always or exclusively the most important factors in migration.

### **10.7 Countering the Rural Migration Meta-narrative and Discourses of Rural Decline**

In much of the rural Canadian literature and rural discourse in Newfoundland and Labrador in particular, we have focused and continue to focus on leaving. This is particularly true for young people who leave and women who vote with their feet (Hamiton and Seyfrit, 1994). We have come to see leaving as a normalized. In other words, we expect young people to leave rural areas, and they do, for predominantly education-related reasons. Yet, their leaving remains discursively constructed as problematic for rural areas. This was precisely the point of the discussion in Chapter 2. This creates contradictory messages and, as I explained, relates back to issues associated

with units of analyses; and whether we are concerned with individuals or communities and similarly rural economic development.

My research supports the notion of leaving as part of a normal lifepath for rural youth, and points out that the rural youth who are connected to place and desire to return to rural places will do so if the circumstances are favourable. Returning was possible for many of the women in the study because they chose careers that are available in rural areas, or at least the rural study site under consideration. It should be noted that there are opportunities available in these careers as well.

My research demonstrates that decline is not inevitable for all rural communities and that decline is not necessarily and always part of the lived reality of those who choose to live in rural areas. Specifically, the women in my qualitative study did not reflect upon issues of decline and despair, or negative health outcomes, for example, associated with rural restructuring and the post-moratorium period in Newfoundland and Labrador (see Dolan *et al.*, 2002; Jackson *et al.*, 2006; Jackson *et al.*, 2007; Martin and Jackson, 2008 for examples). I note that the use of the metropolitan influenced zones as a unit of analysis in my analysis of taxfiler data also lends support to a layered understanding of rural areas that is cognizant of their different industrial, social and economic compositions. In other words, rural areas with a high number of commuters, and rural areas that are predominantly service-based, such as the rural study site of Lewisporte and the Lewisporte Area, will look quantitatively and qualitatively different from more isolated, remote and smaller rural areas that *are* and have been experiencing intense periods of restructuring (in fishing or mining, for example).

My findings support the argument that there are different rurals, (Pratt, 1996) both as realities and representations (Halfacree, 1993). In Chapter 2 of this dissertation, I discussed popular, bureaucratic, and academic discourses of rural migration as per Jones' (1995) framework. While these discourses are not always unified, they are often similar (Cruickshank, 2009; Gabriel, 2002; Munkejord, 2006), working in tandem to create a particular approach to governance in rural areas (Cruickshank, 2009). This governance, or structuring, based upon power, including voices which are heard the loudest. As my dissertation shows, lay discourses on "rural" may sometimes reflect the dominant representations of rural as lacking or as negatively juxtaposed to urban. But this is not, as these women have indicated, necessarily the case. If it were, then their migration narratives and reasons for being in Lewisporte and the Lewisporte Area might look starkly different. Perhaps all of them would have chosen to move away and stay away.

This research shows that there multiple rural realities and this must be taken into consideration, particularly when considering and challenging discourses that portray one picture of what is occurring in contemporary rural Canada and contemporary rural Newfoundland and Labrador in particular. This is especially true for the consideration and representation of rural realities as viewed through the lens of migration. I should point out that rural discourses are not the same as a discourse of rural decline via migration and development. I see these as two distinct but interrelated things. My research challenges the discourse of rural decline, it challenges discourses of outmigration and it provides evidence of people's lived realities in rural places in a way that can help support these people and others who may wish to return.

### 10.8 Future Directions

Obviously, there is additional room for research at the end of a dissertation. My research was limited by the fact that I could not compare men and women at the local level within the qualitative sample. This research has resulted in an interest to consider rural men's lives from a lived reality perspective. In the effort to bring women's voices to the fore in a way that accounts for their agency, we cannot ignore the lived reality of the men who are also involved in the household decision-making concerning migration. While I have made the argument that men have often been considered the primary movers, and that the rural migrant who moves for employment reasons is often assumed to be male (or at least is gendered male from a discursive point of view), these gendered migration assumptions do not lend to a deeper understanding of how men are involved in migration decision-making. Future work should look at both men and women from a lived reality perspective.

Although the women demonstrated agency in migration decision-making, and clearly agency that facilitated the possibility to return (for the returnees) via their respective career choices (i.e. education and health care), it could be argued that these women also participated in a reproduction of rural gendered space as discussed in the analytical framework section (Chapter 5). Yet, these were women who were also working and raising families. Additional research and commentary is required on the production and reproduction of gendered rural and urban space in contemporary Newfoundland and Labrador.

Additional work is required, particularly in the context of Newfoundland and Labrador, on discourses of rural decline. We require a deeper understanding of how we

have come to know ourselves as leavers and outmigrants. While I used this as a platform to initiate this dissertation and to frame the discussion, it was not an exhaustive research endeavour into discourse analysis. This work needs to be done so that we understand the disjunctures between representations of mobility and the reality of migration (see Cresswell, 2006) in people's lives in this province.

We need to continue to add to our understanding of where rural youth go after high school, what the circumstances surrounding their decisions are and what supports they require along the way. Rural Newfoundland and Labrador is in a constant state of change. It is not only economically changing, but the cultural changes underfoot are profound and we have not yet begun to understand how these changes have been affecting and will continue to affect the lives of youth and their choices. Again, youth will leave but we need to ask what their needs are in that process and how they can be supported. Should they desire to return to their home communities, we need more information to know how this can be facilitated and how they can be supported once they arrive. Longitudinal work that follows youth over their lifecourse would provide this insight. My longitudinal analysis was able to address this but a longitudinal qualitative study would have facilitated more depth. And, as Stockdale (2002) notes, when asking people to reflect upon their lives after their migrations, there is always the issue of narrative reconstruction. My research was no exception and while I embraced migration narratives, I realize that they are tempered by time and memory.

Finally, I would like to make a comment more directed toward policy. If we want to know what would attract people to rural areas, as is often the question of policy-makers, comparative work is essential. We need to continue to focus on the people who



are living in rural areas, the ones who have stayed and the ones who have returned. After all, they are the ones who want to be there.

## References

- Alasia, A. and E. Magnusson. 2005. "Occupational skill level: The divide between rural and urban Canada." *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin* 6(2). Catalogue no. 21-006-XIE.
- Anderson, L. 2006. "Analytic Autoethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35(4): 373-395.
- Andres, L. et al. 1999. "The persistence of social structure: cohort, class and gender effects on the occupational aspirations of Canadian youth." *Journal of Youth Studies* 2:261-282.
- Arango, J. 2000. "Explaining Migration: A Critical View." *International Social Science Journal* 165:285-296.
- Archer, L. 2004. "Re/theorizing "difference" in feminist research." *Women's Studies International Forum* 27:459-473.
- Archer, M.S. 1982. "Morphogenesis Versus Structuration: On Combining Structure and Action." *The British Journal of Sociology* 33:455-483.
- Atkinson, P. 2006. "Rescuing Autoethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35:400-404.
- Audas, R. and T. McDonald. 2004. "Rural-Urban Migration in the 1990s." *Canadian Social Trends* (Summer): 17-24.
- Baert, P. 1998. *Social Theory in the Twentieth Century*. New York: New York University Press.
- Bakhshi et al., 2009. Do Local Residents Value Federal Transfers?: Evidence from Interprovincial Migration." *Public Finance Review* 37(3): 235-268.
- Banks, S. 2008. "Writing as Theory: In Defense of Fiction." Pp. 155-164 in *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Methodologies, Examples and Issues* edited by J.G Knowles and A.L. Cole. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Barber, P. G. 2004. "Contradictions of Class and Consumption When Commodity is Labour." *Anthropologica* 46:203-218.
- Barnes, T. 1993. "Knowing Where you Stand: Harold Innis, Staple Theory and Local Models." *Canadian Geographer* 37(4):357-360.

- Beck, U. 2002. "The Cosmopolitan Society and its Enemies." *Theory, Culture and Society* 19:17-44.
- . "The Truth of Others: A Cosmopolitan Approach." *Common Knowledge* 10:430-449.
- Beck, U. and N. Sznaider. 2006. "Unpacking cosmopolitanism for the social sciences: a research agenda." *British Journal of Sociology* 57:2-23.
- Berger, L. 2001. "Inside Out: Narrative Autoethnography as Path Toward Rapport." *Qualitative Inquiry* 7(4): 504-518.
- Berger, P. L. and T. Luckmann. 1967. *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. New York: Anchor Books.
- Berger, R. J. and R. Quinney. 2005. "The Narrative Turn in Social Inquiry." Pp. 1-12 in *Storytelling Sociology: Narrative as Social Inquiry*, edited by R. J. Berger and R. Quinney. Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, Inc.
- Bjarnason, T. and T. Thorlindsson. 2006. "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Migration Experiences Among Youth in Icelandic Fishing and Farming Community." *Journal of Rural Studies* 22:290-300.
- Blunt, A. 2007. "Cultural geographies of migration: mobility, transnationality and diaspora." *Progress in Human Geography* 31:684-694.
- Bochner, A. P. and C. Ellis. 1996. "Taking over Ethnography." in *Composing Ethnography: Alternative Forms of Qualitative Writing*, edited by C. Ellis and A.P. Bochner. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Bolak, H. C. 1996. "Studying One's Own in the Middle East: Negotiating Gender and Self-Other Dynamics in the Field." *Qualitative Sociology* 19(1): 107-130.
- Bollman, R. D. 2006. "Historical and Demographic Overview of Rural and Small Communities in Canada: Drivers and Riders of the Changing Context." Paper presented at the *Canadian Rural Revitalization Foundation Rural and Small Community Futures Session*, Township of Lanark Highlands, ON. October. 28.
- Bollman, R. D., R. Beshiri and H. Clemenson. 2007. "Immigrants to Rural Canada." *Our Diverse Cities* 3 (Summer): 9-15.
- Botting, I. 2000. "Getting a Grand Falls Job: Migration, Labour Markets, and Paid Domestic Work in the Pulp and Paper Mill Town of Grand Falls, Newfoundland, 1905-1939." Unpublished PhD dissertation. St. John's: Memorial University of Newfoundland.

- Bourdieu, P. 2005. "Habitus." Pp. 43-52 in *Habitus: A Sense of Place*, edited by J. Hillier, and E. Rooksby. Hants: Ashgate.
- . 1998. *Practical Reason: On the Theory of Action*. Cambridge: Polity Press.
- Buttimer, A. 1976. "Grasping the Dynamism of Lifeworld." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66:277-292.
- Burawoy, M. 1998. "The Extended Case Method." *Sociological Theory* 153: 4-33.
- Burbidge, J. and R. Finnie. 2000. "The Inter-Provincial Mobility of Baccalaureate Graduates: Who Moves and When." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* XXIII(3): 377-402.
- Bruner, J. 2004. "Life as Narrative." *Social Research* 71:691-710.
- Campbell, H., M. Bell and M. Finney (eds). 2006. *Country Boys: Masculinity and Rural Life*. Pennsylvania: Pennsylvania State University Press.
- Canadian Policy Research Network (CPRN). 2008. *Synthesis Report: Making Newfoundland & Labrador a Province of Choice for Young People*. Online at [http://www.cprn.org/documents/50726\\_EN.pdf](http://www.cprn.org/documents/50726_EN.pdf).
- CBC. 2006. "Rural Reality Check: With its Population Dwindling, How can Rural Newfoundland and Labrador survive?" October 17. Online at <http://www.cbc.ca/nl/features/ruralrealitycheck/>.
- . 2007. "N.L. Braces for Prosperous Future - and Consequences that Come With It." December 27. Online at <http://www.cbc.ca/cp/national/071227/n122704A.html>.
- Catto, S. 2003. "A Slow Death." *Time Canada* October 13:50-57.
- Chant, S. 1998. "Households, Gender and Rural-Urban Migration: Reflections on Linkages and Considerations for Policy." *Environment and Urbanization* 10:5-21.
- Clark, W. 2000. "100 of Education." *Canadian Social Trends* (Winter): 2-7.
- Coleman, J. S. 1988. "Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital." *American Journal of Sociology* 94: S95-S120.
- Cooke, T. J. 2008. "Migration in a Family Way." *Population, Space and Place* 14: 255-265.
- Copes, P. and G. Steed. 1975. "Regional policy and settlement strategy: Constraints and contradictions in Newfoundland's experience." *Regional Studies* 9(1): 93-110.

- Corbett, M. 2003. "Rural Education and Out-Migration: The Case of a Coastal Community." *Canadian Journal of Education* 28:1-21.
- . 2004. "'It was Fine, if You Wanted to Leave': Educational Ambivalence in a Nova Scotian Coastal Community 1963-1998." *Anthropology and Education Quarterly* 35:451-471.
- . 2007a. *Learning to Leave: The Irony of Schooling in a Coastal Community*. Halifax: Fernwood Publications.
- . 2007b. "All kinds of potential: Women and out-migration in an Atlantic Canadian coastal community." *Journal of Rural Studies* 23(4):430-442.
- Cox, Kevin. 2002. "'Go West' Still the Best Advice." *The Globe and Mail*, March 13, A7.
- Cresswell, T. 2001. *The Tramp in America*. London: Reaktion Books.
- . 2004. *Place: A Short Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- . 2006. *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World*. New York: Routledge.
- Cullum, L., M. Porter and C. McGrath. (eds) 2006. *Weather's Edge: A Compendium of Women's Lives in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Killick Press.
- Cruikshank, J. A. 2009. "A Play for Rurality—Modernization versus Local Autonomy." *Journal of Rural Studies* 25: 98-107.
- Davis, D. 1983. "The Family and Social Changes in the Newfoundland Outport." *Culture* 3:19-32.
- . 1995. "Women in an Uncertain Age: Crisis and Change in a Newfoundland Community." Pp. 279-295 in *Their Lives and Times: Women in Newfoundland: A Collage*, edited by C. McGrath, B. Neis, and M. Porter. The City: Killick Press.
- . 2003. "In the Beginning: Region, Crisis and Occupational Choice among Newfoundland's Youth." in *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland* edited by R. Byron. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Denzin, N.K. 2003. *Performance Ethnography: Critical Pedagogy and the Politics of Culture*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Dolan, H. A. et al. 2005. "Restructuring and Health in Canadian Coastal Communities." *EcoHealth* 2: 195-208.

- Domina, T. 2006. "What Clean Break? Education and Nonmetropolitan Migration Patterns, 1989-2004." *Rural Sociology* 71:373-398.
- Donato, K. M. et al. 2006 "A Glass Half Full? Gender in Migration Studies." *International Migration Review* 40(1): 3-26.
- du Plessis, V. et al. 2002. "Definitions of 'Rural'". Agriculture Division, Statistics Canada no. 21-601-MIE—no. 061. Ottawa.
- Dupuy, R., F. Mayer and R. Morissette. 2000. "Rural Youth: Stayers, Leavers and Return Migrants." Analytical Studies Branch, Statistics Canada no. 152. Ottawa.
- Easthope, H. and M. Gabriel. 2008. "Turbulent Lives: Exploring the Cultural Meaning of Regional Youth Migration." *Geographical Research* 46(2): 172-182.
- Elias, N. 2000. *The Civilizing Process*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Ellis, C. 2004. *The Ethnographic I: A Methodological Novel about Autoethnography*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Ellis, C. and A.P. Bochner (Eds.). 1996. *Composing Ethnography: Alternative Forms of Qualitative Writing*. Walnut Creek: AltaMira Press.
- Ellis, C., and A.P. Bochner. 2006. "Analyzing Analytic Autoethnography: An Autopsy." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 35:429-449.
- Emirbayer, M. 1997. "Manifesto for a Relational Sociology." *American Journal of Sociology* 103:281-317.
- Emirbayer, M., and A. Mische. 1998. "What is Agency?" *American Journal of Sociology* 103:962-1023.
- Epp, R. and D. Whitson. 2001. *Writing off the Rural West: Globalization, Governments and the Transformation of Rural Communities*. Edmonton: University of Alberta Press.
- Evans, M., and E. Lee (Eds.). 2002. *Real Bodies: A Sociological Introduction*. Houndmills, Basingstoke: Palgrave.
- Finnie, R. 1998. "Interprovincial Mobility in Canada: A Longitudinal Analysis." Ottawa: Human Resources Development Canada.
- . 1999. "Inter-Provincial Migration in Canada: A Longitudinal Analysis of Movers and Stayers and Associated Income Dynamics." *Canadian Journal of Regional Science* 22:227-262.

- Fitzgerald, D. 2006. "Towards a Theoretical Ethnography of Migration." *Qualitative Inquiry* 29:1-14.
- Flora, J. 2001. "Community Capitals." Presentation made to the New Rural Economy researchers, April 30, Sackville, NB. Retrieved February 19, 2004 ([http://nre.concordia.ca/powerpoint\\_presentations.htm](http://nre.concordia.ca/powerpoint_presentations.htm)).
- . 1998. "Social Capital and Communities of Place." *Rural Sociology* 63(4):481-506.
- Flvbybjerg, B. 2001. *Making Social Science Matter: Why Social Inquiry Fails and How it Can Succeed Again*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Foucault, M. 1971. "Orders of Discourse: Inaugural Lecture Delivered at the College de France." *Social Sciences Information* X-2:7-30.
- Foucault, M. 1972. *The Archeology of Knowledge*. London: Tavistock Publications Limited.
- Foucault, M. 2001. "Truth and Power." Pp. 41-47 in *Orientalism: A Reader*, edited by A.L. Macfie. New York: NYU Press.
- Gabriel, M. 2002. "Research Report: Australia's Regional Youth Exodus." *Journal of Rural Studies* 18:209-212.
- Gallagher, K. and D. Booth (eds). 2003. *How Theatre Educates: Convergences and Counterpoints with Artists, Scholars and Advocates*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Gibson, C. and N. Argent. 2008. "Getting On, Getting Up and Getting Out: ? Broadening Perspectives on Rural Youth Migration." *Geographical Research* 46(2) 135-138.
- Giddens, A. 1984. "Hermeneutics and Social Theory." Pp. 215-230 in *Hermeneutics: Questions and Prospects*, edited by G. and A. Sica Shapiro. Amherst: The University of Massachussets Press.
- . *Modernity and Self-Identity: Self and Society in the Late Modern Age*. Stanford: Stanford University Press.
- . 1991. "Structuration Theory: Past, Present and Future." In *Giddens' Theory of Structuration: A Critical Approach*, edited by C.G.A. Bryant and D. Jary. London: Routledge.
- . 1996. *In Defense of Sociology: Essays, Interpretations and Rejoinders*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

- Gillis, C. 2004. "The War Between Town and Country." *Maclean's* November 29: 50-59.
- Gilmartin, M. 2008. "Migration, Identity and Belonging." *Geography Compass* 2(6): 1837-1852.
- Glendinning, A., M. Nuttall, L. Hendry, M. Kloep and S. Wood. 2003. "Rural communities and well-being: a good place to grow up?" *The Sociological Review* 129-156.
- Gmelch, G. 1983. "Who Returns and Why: Return Migration Behavior in Two North Atlantic Societies." *Human Organization* 42:46-54.
- Gmelch, G., and S. B. Gmelch. 1995. "Gender and Migration: The Readjustment of Women Migrants in Barbados, Ireland, and Newfoundland." *Human Organization* 54:470-473.
- Gmelch, G., and B. Richling. 1988. "'We're Better off Here': Return Migration to Newfoundland Outposts." *Anthropology Today* 4:12-14.
- Gosse, D. 2005. *Jackytar*. The City: Jespersen Publishing.
- Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2008a. *Budget: Securing a Sustainable Future*. Online at <http://www.budget.gov.nl.ca/budget2008/>.
- Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2008b. "Province to Develop a Youth Retention and Attraction Strategy." Executive Council, Human Resources, Labour and Employment. June 5. Online at <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2008/exec/0605n08.htm>.
- Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. 2008c. *Youth Retention and Employment Strategy*. Labour Market Initiative, Human Resources, Labour and Employment. Online at <http://www.lmiworks.nl.ca/yra/>.
- Granovetter, M. 1985. "Economic action and social structure: the problem of embeddedness." *American Journal of Sociology* 91:481-510.
- Grezetic, B. 2004. *Women Fishes these Days*. Black Point, NS: Fernwood Publishing.
- Gubar, S. 2006. *Rooms of Our Own*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press.
- Gubrium, J. F., and J. A. Holstein. 1999. "At the Border of Narrative and Ethnography." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 28:561-573.



- Guy, R. 2008. *The Smallwood Years*. Portugal Cove-St. Phillips: Boulder Publications.
- Hayter, R. and T. Barnes. 1990. "Innis' Staple Theory, Exports and Recession: British Columbia, 1981-86." *Economic Geography* 66:156-173.
- Halfacree, K. 2008. "To revitalise counterurbanisation research? Recognising an international and fuller picture." *Population, Space and Place* 14:479-495.
- . 2004. "A utopian imagination in migration's terra incognita? Acknowledging the non-economic worlds of migration decision-making." *Population, Space and Place* 10:239-253.
- . 1993. "Locality and Social Representation: Space, Discourse and Alternative Definitions of the Rural." *Journal of Rural Studies* 9(1): 23-37.
- Halfacree, K. H., and P. J. Boyle. 1993. "The Challenge Facing Migration Research: the Case for a Biographical Approach." *Progress in Human Geography* 17:333-348.
- Halstead, N. 2001. "Ethnographic Encounters: Positions Within and Outside the Insider Frame." *Social Anthropology* 9(3): 307-321.
- Hamilton, L. C. 2003. "Fisheries Dependent Communities: Propositions about Ecological and Social Change." Pp. 49-61 in *Arctic Economic Development and Self-Government*, edited by G. Duhaime and N. Bernard. Quebec: GETIC.
- Hamilton, L. C., C. R. Colocousis, and S. T. F. Johansen. 2004. "Migration from Resource Depletion: The Case of the Faroe Islands." *Society and Natural Resources* 17:443-453.
- Hamilton, L. C., R. L. Haedrich, and C. M. Duncan. 2004. "Above and Below the Water: Social/Ecological Transformation in Northwest Newfoundland." *Population and Environment* 25:195-215.
- Hamilton, L. C., and O. Otterstad. 1998. "Sex Ratio and Community Size: Notes from the Northern Atlantic." *Population and Environment* 20:11-22.
- Hamilton, L. C., and C. L. Seyfrit. 1993. "Resources and Hopes in Newfoundland." *Society and Natural Resources* 7:561-578.
- Hillard, W. H. 2004. "Banking on the Past." *St. John's Telegram* August 27: A1; A4.
- . 2004. "Steady Exodus." *St. John's Telegram* August 28: A1; A4.
- . 2004. "Fishing for Tourists." *St. John's Telegram* August 29: A1; B1.

- . 2004. "A Personal Journey." *St. John's Telegram* August 30: A1; A3.
- Hillier, J. and E. Rooksby (Eds.). 2005. *Habitus: A Sense of Place*. Hants: Ashgate Publishing Limited.
- Holman Jones, S. 2005. "Autoethnography: Making the Personal Political." Pp. 763-793 in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, edited by N.K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- House, J. D. 1989. *Going Away...and Coming Back: Economic Life and Migration in Small Canadian Communities*. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research.
- Hiller, H. H. and K. S. McCaig. 2007. "Reassessing the Role of Partnered Women in Migration Decision-Making and Migration Outcomes." *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships* 24(3): 457-472.
- Innis, H. A. 1956 *Essays in Canadian Economic History*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Jackson, L. A. et al. 2006. The Forgotten Population?: Power, Powerlessness, and Agency among Youth in Coastal Communities." Pp. 222-447 in *Power and Restructuring: Canada's Coastal Society and Environment*, edited by Sinclair, P.R. and R.E. Ommer. St. John's, NL: ISER Books.
- Jackson, L.A. et al. 2007. "Community Restructuring and the Emotional and Social Health of Youth: A Study of a Small Coastal Community in Newfoundland, Canada." *Canadian Journal of Community Mental Health* 26:71-89.
- Jones, G. 1999. "The Same People in the Same Places"? Socio-Spatial Identities and Migration in Youth." *Sociology* 33:1-22.
- Jones, G. W. 2004. "A Risky Business: Experiences of Leaving Home among Young Rural Women." *Journal of Youth Studies* 7:209-220.
- Jones, G. 1999. "The Same People in the Same Places"? Socio-Spatial Identities and Migration in Youth." *Sociology* 33:1-22.
- Jones, K. 2006. "A Biographic Research in Pursuit of an Aesthetic: The use of arts-based (re)presentations in "performative" dissemination of life stories" *Qualitative Sociology Review* 2(1): 66-85.
- Jones, O. 1999. "Tomboy Tales: the Rural, Nature and the Gender of Childhood." *Gender, Place and Culture* 6:117-136.

- . 1995. "Lay Discourses of the Rural: Developments and Implications for Rural Studies." *Journal of Rural Studies* 11(1):35-49.
- Kealey, L. (Ed.). 1993. *Pursuing Equality: Historical Perspectives on Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Institute for Social and Economic Research.
- Kitchen, H. W. 1969. *Educational policy for the seventies for Newfoundland*.
- Knowles, G. J. and A. Cole. (Eds). 2008. *Handbook of the Arts in Qualitative Research: Methodologies, Examples and Issues* edited by J.G Knowles and A.L. Cole. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications.
- Krieger, S. 1985. "Beyond "Subjectivity": The Use of the Self in Social Science." *Qualitative Sociology* 8:309-324.
- Lambert, M., Zeman, K. and Allen, M. (2004). "Who pursues postsecondary education, who leaves and why: Results from the Youth in Transition Survey." Statistics Canada/ Catalogue no. 81-595-
- Layder, D. 1994. *Understanding Social Theory*. London: Sage Publications.
- Leach, B. 2005. "Agency and the Gendered Imagination: Women's Actions and Local Culture in Steelworker Families." *Identities: Global Structures in Culture and Power* 12:1-22.
- Little, J. 1987. "Gender Relations in Rural Areas: the Importance of Woman's Domestic Role." *Journal of Rural Studies* 3:335-342.
- Little, J. and P. Austin. 1996. "Women and the Rural Idyll." *Journal of Rural Studies* 12(2): 101-111.
- Little, J. and R Panelli. 2003. "Gender Research in Rural Geography." *Gender, Place and Culture* 10:281-289.
- Looker, E. D., and P. Dwyer. 1998. "Education and Negotiated Reality: Complexities Facing Rural Youth in the 1990s." *Journal of Youth Studies* 1:5-23.
- MacDonald, M. 1999. "Restructuring, gender and social security reform in Canada." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34(2): 57-88.
- MacDonald, M., B. Neis and B. Grzetic. 2006. "Making a Living: The Struggle to Stay." Pp. in *Power and Restructuring: Canada's Coastal Society and Environment*, edited by P.R. Sinclair and R. Ommer. St. John's: ISER.

- MacDonald, M., B. Neis and G. Murray. 2008. "State Policy, Livelihood Protection and Gender on Canada's East Coast." *International Journal of Canadian Studies* 38.
- Mahoney, Jill. 2002. "Where the Jobs are: For Many." *The Globe and Mail*, March 13, A6.
- Maines, D. R. and Jeffrey C. Bridger. 1992. "Narrative, Community, and Land Use Decisions." *Social Science Journal* 29:363-380.
- Maines, D. R. 1993. "Narrative's Moment and Sociology's Phenomena: Toward a Narrative Sociology." *The Sociological Quarterly* 34:17-38.
- Malatest, R. A. and Associates. 2002. *Rural Youth Migration: Exploring the Reality Behind the Myths. A Rural Youth Discussion Paper*. Online at <http://dsp-psd.pwgsc.gc.ca/Collection/A22-272-2002E.pdf>.
- Malkki, L. 1992. "National Geographic: The Rooting of Peoples and the Territorialization of National Identity Among Scholars and Refugees." *Cultural Anthropology* 7(1): 24-44.
- Marshall, J., and N. Foster. 2002. "'Between Belonging': Habitus and the Migration Experience." *Canadian Geographer* 46:63-83.
- Martin, D. and L. Jackson. 2008. "Young Woman in Coastal Newfoundland and Labrador talk about their Social Relationships and Health." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 23(1): 61-77.
- Martin-Matthews, A. 1974. "Up Along: Newfoundland Families in Hamilton." Unpublished Master's Thesis, McMaster University.
- . 1977. "The Newfoundland Migrant Wife: A Power versus Powerless Theory of Adjustment." *Atlantis* 2(2): 152-166.
- Marx, K. 1852. "The Eighteenth Brumaire of Louis Napoleon." New York.
- Massey, D. 1994. *Space, Place and Gender*. Cambridge: Polity Press
- Matthews, R. 1983. *The Creation of Regional Dependency*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- McBride, S. 1999. "Towards permanent insecurity: the social impact of unemployment." *Journal of Canadian Studies* 34(2):13-30.
- McBride, M, G. S. Kealey and S. Cadigan. 2002. "Jobs at Any Cost: The Political Economy of Development in Twentieth-Century Newfoundland." Pp. 265-288 in

*The Resilient Outport: Ecology, Economy and Society in Rural Newfoundland*, edited by R. Ommer. St. John's: Institute of Social and Economic Research.

- McCann, L. 1998. "Interpreting Canada's Heartland and Hinterland." Pp. 1-18 in *Heartland-Hinterland: A Regional Geography of Canada*, edited by L. McCann and A. Gunn. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall Canada.
- McGrath, C, M. Porter, and B. Neis (Eds.). 1995. *Their Lives and Times: Women in Newfoundland and Labrador*. St. John's: Creative Publishers.
- McMahon, F. 2004. "Rural Development, an Oxymoron." *Time Canada* October 13: 59.
- McNiven, C., H. Puderer and D. Janes. 2000. "Census Metropolitan Area and Census Agglomeration Influenced Zones (MIZ): A Description of the Methodology." Geography Division, Statistics Canada. 2000-2. Ottawa.
- Milbourne, P. 2007. "Re-populating Rural Studies: Migrations, Movements and Mobilities." *Journal of Rural Studies* 23:381-386.
- Mitchell, C. J. A. 2004. "Making sense of counterurbanization." *Journal of Rural Studies* 20(1):15-34.
- Mitchell, C.J.A., T. E. Bunting and M. Piccioni. 2004. "Visual Artists: Counter-Urbanites in the Canadian Countryside?" *The Canadian Geographer* 48(2): 152-167.
- Montesquieu. 1772. *Persian Letters*. New York: Garland Publishing Inc.
- Morokvasic, M. 1984. "Birds of Passage are also Women." *International Migration Review* 18:886-907.
- Munkejord, M. C. 2006. "Challenging Discourses on Rurality: Women and Men Immigrants' Constructions of the Good Life in a Rural Town in Northern Norway." *Sociologia Ruralis* 46:241-257.
- Naples, N. A. 1996. "A Feminist Revisiting of the Insider/Outsider Debate: The "Outsider Phenomenon" in Rural Iowa." *Qualitative Sociology* 19(1): 83-107.
- Neal, S. and S. Walters. 2006. "Strangers Asking Strange Questions? A Methodological Narrative of Research Belonging and Identity in English Rural Communities." *Journal of Rural Studies* 22: 177-189.
- Neis, B. 1999. "Familial and Social Patriarchy in the Newfoundland Fishing Industry." Pp. 32-54 in *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*, edited by D. Newell and R. E. Ommer. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

- Neis, B., and S. Williams. 1996. "'Women and Children First: Fishery Collapse and Women in Newfoundland and Labrador.'" *Cultural Survival Quarterly*:67-71.
- Ni Laoire, C. 2000. "Conceptualizing Irish Rural Youth Migration: A Biographical Approach." *International Journal of Population Geography* 6:229-243.
- . 2001. "A matter of life and death?: men, masculinities and staying 'behind' in rural Ireland." *Sociologia Ruralis* 41(2): 220-236.
- Nolan, S. 2007. *Leaving Newfoundland: A History of Outmigration*. St. John's, N.L. : Flanker Press.
- Palmer, C. T., and P. R. Sinclair. 2000. "Expecting to Leave: Attitudes to Migration Among High School Students on the Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland." *Newfoundland Studies* 16:30-46.
- Porter, M. 1985a. "'She was Skipper of the Shore-Crew:' Notes on the History of the Sexual Division of Labour in Newfoundland." *Labour* 15:105-123.
- . 1985b. "'The Tangly Bunch': Outport Women on the Avalon Peninsula." *Newfoundland Studies* 1:77-90.
- Power, N. G. *What do They Call a Fisherman? Men, Gender, and Restructuring in the Newfoundland Fishery*. St. John's: ISER.
- Pratt, A. C. 1996. "Discourses of Rurality: Loose Talk or Social Struggle?" *Journal of Rural Studies* 12 (1): 69-78.
- Putnam, R. 1995. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6(1):65-78.
- Raghuram, P. 2009. "Which Migration, What Development? Unsettling the Edifice of Migration and Development." *Population, Space and Place* 15:103-117.
- Randall, J. E. and R. G. Ironside. 1996. "Communities on the Edge: An Economic Geography of Resource-Dependent Communities in Canada." *The Canadian Geographer* 40(1):17-35.
- Ray, C. 1999. "Endogenous Development in the Era of Reflexive Modernity." *Journal of Rural Studies* 15:257-267.
- Reeves, W. G. "Newfoundlanders in the 'Boston States': A Study in Early Twentieth-Century Community and Counterpoint." *Newfoundland Studies* 6.1 (1990): 34-55.

- Reimer, B. 2006. "The Rural Context of Community Development in Canada." *Journal of Rural and Community Development* 1: 155-175. Online at <http://nrc.concordia.ca/ftp2004/reports/jrdc/JRCD-2005-31.pdf>.
- . 2007. "Immigration in the New Rural Economy." *Our Diverse Cities* 3(Summer): 3-8.
- Richardson, L. and E. Adams St. Pierre. 2005. "Writing: A Method of Inquiry." Pp. 959-978 in *The Sage Handbook of Qualitative Research*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. Edited by N. K. Denzin and Y.S. Lincoln. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications
- Richardson, L. 1990. "Narrative and Sociology." *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 19:116-135.
- Richling, B. 1985. "'You'd Never Starve Here': Return Migration to Rural Newfoundland." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 22:236-248.
- Robinson, J. 1995. "Women and Fish Plant Closure: The Case of Trepassey, Newfoundland." Pp. 163-174 in *Their Lives and Times: Women in Newfoundland: A Collage*, edited by C. McGrath, B. Neis, and M. Porter. St. John's: Killick Press.
- Rothwell, N., R. Bollman, J. Tremblay and J. Marshall. 2002. *Recent Migration Patterns in Rural and Small Town Canada*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Agriculture and Rural Working Paper Series Working Paper no. 55. Retrieved September 15, 2003 [www.statcan.ca/english/research/21-601-MIE2002055.pdf](http://www.statcan.ca/english/research/21-601-MIE2002055.pdf).
- Rye, J.F. 2006. "Leaving the Countryside: An Analysis of Rural-to-Urban Migration and Long-Term Capital Accumulation." *Acta Sociologica* 49(1): 47-65.
- Savoie, D. J. 2003. "Reviewing Canada's Regional Development Efforts." Pp. 147-183 in *the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place in Canada*, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Retrieved September 15, 2003 at [www.gov.nf.ca/royalcomm/default.html](http://www.gov.nf.ca/royalcomm/default.html).
- . 2000. *Community Economic Development in Atlantic Canada: False Hope or Panacea?* Maritime Series. The Canadian Institute for Research on Regional Development.
- . 1992. *Regional Economic Development: Canada's Search for Solutions*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sewell, W. H. 1992. "A Theory of Structure: Duality, Agency, and Transformation." *American Journal of Sociology* 98:1-29.



- Seyfrit, C. L. 1986. "Migration Intentions of Rural Youth: Testing an Assumed Benefit of Rapid Growth." *Rural Sociology* 51:199-211.
- Sheller, M. and J. Urry. 2006. "The new mobilities paradigm." *Environment and Planning A* 38:207-226.
- Shepard, B. and A. Marshall. 2000. "Career Development and Planning Issues for Rural Adolescent Girls." *Canadian Journal of Counselling* 34:155-171.
- Shilling, C. 2003. *The Body and Social Theory, 2nd Edition*. London: SAGE Publications.
- Shipley, S. Ouellette and F. Cartwright. 2002. "Planning and preparation: First results from the Survey of Approaches to Educational Planning (SAEP)." *Education, skills and learning – Research papers*. Statistics Canada Catalogue no. 81-595-MIE2003010. Ottawa.
- Silvey, R. 2006. "Geographies of Gender and Migration: Spatializing Social Difference." *International Migration Review* 40:64-81.
- Sinclair, P. R. 1999. "Industrialization and Rural Development: Contrasting Labour Markets and Perceptions of the Future on the Bonavista Peninsula and Isthmus of Avalon, Newfoundland." *Newfoundland Studies* 15:55-77.
- Sinclair, P. R. 2002. "Leaving and Staying: Bonavista Residents Adjust to the Moratorium." in *The Resilient Outport: Ecology, Economy and Society in Rural Newfoundland*, edited by R. E. Ommer. St. John's: ISER.
- . 2003. "Moving Back and Moving in: Migration and the Structuring of Bonavista." in *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland*, edited by R. Byron. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sinclair, P. R., and L.F. Felt. 1992. "Separate Worlds: Gender and Domestic Labour in an Isolated Fishing Region." *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology* 29:55-.
- . 1993. "Coming Back: Return Migration to Newfoundland's Great Northern Peninsula." *Newfoundland Studies* 9:1-25.
- Sinclair, P. R., H. Squires, and L. Downton. 1999. "A Future without Fish? Constructing Social Life on Newfoundland's Bonavista Peninsula after the Cod Moratorium." in *Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries*, edited by D. Newell and R. E. Ommer. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.



- Sinclair, P. R., M. MacDonald and B. Neis. 2006. "The Changing World of Andy Gibson: Restructuring Forestry on Canada's Great Northern Peninsula." *Studies in Political Economy* 78.
- Sinke, S. M. 2006. "Gender and Migration: Historical Perspectives." *International Migration Review* 40:82-103.
- Smith, D. 1987. *The Everyday World as Problematic: A Feminist Sociology*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- . 1990. *The Conceptual Practices of Power: A Feminist Sociology of Knowledge*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- . 2005. *Institutional Ethnography: A Sociology for People*. Lanham: AltaMira Press.
- Smith, D. (Ed.) 2006. *Institutional Ethnography as Practice*. Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, Inc.
- Smith, D. P. 2007. "The changing faces of rural populations: "'(re) Fixing'" the gaze' or 'eyes wide shut'?" *Journal of Rural Studies* 23:275-282.
- Sorenson, Marianne and Jennifer de Peuter. 2005. *Rural Canada Profile: A Ten Year Census Analysis (1991 - 2001)* (Ottawa: Rural Secretariat) ([www.rural.gc.ca/research/profile/index\\_e.phtml](http://www.rural.gc.ca/research/profile/index_e.phtml))
- Sørensen, N., N. Van Hear, and P. Engberg-Pedersen. 2002. "The Migration-Development Nexus: Evidence and Policy Options." *International Migration* 40:49-73.
- Statistics Canada. 2003. "Update on Education." *Canadian Social Trends* (Winter): 19-22.
- Statistics Canada. 2006. "Canada's Population." *The Daily Online* at <http://www.statcan.ca/Daily/English/060927/d060927a.htm>.
- Statistics Canada. 2002. *2001 Census Dictionary* (Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Catalogue No. 92-378) (<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/census01/Products/Reference/dict/index.htm>)
- Stockdale, A. 2002. "Towards a Typology of Out-Migration from Peripheral Areas: A Scottish Case Study." *International Journal of Population Geography* 8:345-364.
- . 2004. "Rural Out-Migration: Community Consequences and Individual Migrant Experiences." *Sociologia Ruralis* 44:167-194.

- . 2006. "Migration: Pre-requisite for Rural Economic Regeneration." *Journal of Rural Studies* 22:354-366.
- Thornton, P. A. 1985. "The Problem of Out-Migration from Atlantic Canada, 1871-1921." *Acadiensis* 15:3-34.
- Thorne, C. 2004. "Come from Away: Community, Region and Tradition in Newfoundland Expatriate Identity. Unpublished PhD Dissertation. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania.
- . 2007. "Gone to the Mainland and Back Home Again: A Critical Approach to Region, Politics, and Identity in Contemporary Newfoundland." *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies* 22(1): 51-73.
- Tomkowicz, Joanna, and Tracey Bushnik. 2003. "Who goes to post-secondary education and when: Pathways chosen by 20 year-olds." Ottawa: Statistics Canada.
- Tremblay, J. 2001. *Rural Youth Migration Between 1971 and 1996*. Ottawa: Statistics Canada, Agriculture and Rural Working Paper Series, Working Paper no. 44. Retrieved August 29, 2003 ([www.statcan.ca/english/research/21-601-MIE/21-601-MIE2001044.pdf](http://www.statcan.ca/english/research/21-601-MIE/21-601-MIE2001044.pdf)).
- Tuan, Y. 1976. "Humanistic Geography." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 66:266-276.
- Turner, B.S. 1992. *Regulating Bodies: Essays in Medical Sociology*. London: Routledge.
- Urry, J. 2000a. "Mobile Sociology." *British Journal of Sociology* 51:185-203.
- . 2000b. *Sociology Beyond Societies*. London: Routledge.
- Van Maanen, J. 1988. *Tales of the Field: On Writing Ethnography*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Valentine, G. 1997. "A Safe Place to Grow Up? Parenting, Perceptions of Children's Safety and the Rural Idyll." *Journal of Rural Studies* 13:137-148.
- Voltaire. 1991. *Candide or Optimism, 2nd ed.* New York: WW Norton & Company, Inc.
- Wacquant, L. J. D. 1992. "Toward a Social Praxeology: The Structure and Logic of Bourdieu's Sociology." Pp. 1-60 in *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology*, edited by P. Bourdieu and L.J.D. Wacquant. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

- Walsh, D. and D. Ramsey. 2003. "'If it came in the mail, I wouldn't have even looked at it': Contact Triangulation as a Means to Increase Response Rate." *Prairie Perspectives: Geographical Essays* 6: 191-207.
- Walsh, D. 2004. "Reopening Twillingate's Fish plant: Agency in a Rural Newfoundland Community." Unpublished manuscript. Department of Rural Development, Brandon University, Brandon, MB.
- . 2002a. "Somebody's got to go and light a fire underneath": Social Cohesion and Consensus Building in a Newfoundland Fishing Community." Unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology, Concordia University, Montreal.
- . 2002b. "'Newfoundlandness' and the Migration of Cultural Identity: Migrant Newfoundlanders in Montreal" Unpublished manuscript. Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Concordia University, Montreal.
- Walsh, D. and M. Jones. 2006. "Finding the Links: Structure and Agency on Twillingate and Fogo Islands." In *Bridging Islands: The Impact of Fixed Links*, edited by G. Baldacchino. Charlottetown: Acorn Press.
- Wente, M. 2005. "Oh Danny Boy, Pipe Down." *The Globe and Mail*. January 6:A19.
- Wiborg, A. 2004. "Place, Nature and Migration: Students' Attachment to their Rural Home Places." *Sociologia Ruralis* 44:416-432.
- Willis, K., and B. Yeoh (Eds.). 2000. *Gender and Migration*. Cheltenham: Edward Elgar Publishing, Inc.
- Wilson, I. 1968. *Report of the Royal Commission on Education and Youth: Summary*. St. John's: Canadian Association for Adult Education, Newfoundland Division.
- Winson, A. and B. Leach. 2002. *Contingent Work: Disrupted Lives: Labour and Community in the New Rural Economy*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Young, I. M. 2005. *On Female Body Experience: "Throwing Like a Girl" and Other Essays*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

## Appendix A: Consent to Participate in Research

My name is Deatra Walsh. I am a graduate student at Memorial University in the Sociology Department. Please read the following carefully before deciding whether or not to proceed with this interview.

**Aims:** This research is for my doctoral dissertation in Sociology. The research aims to contribute to our understanding of why young women stay in, move to and/or leave particular places. I am also interested in how their decision-making about moving relates to their experience in these places.

**Interview Process:** You are being asked to participate in an interview. The interview will touch on several themes related to moving but will, I hope, be like a conversation or open discussion about these themes. Your participation is voluntary and you may end the interview and withdraw from the research at any time. You may refuse to answer any particular question. All information you provide will be treated in strict confidence and your real name will never be released or appear in any report. With your help, I would like give you a pseudonym. If I believe that there is any chance that you can be identified despite our precautions, I will obtain your permission before making use of the information in reports or publications based on this work.

I see no possibility of harm to you as a result of you agreeing to be interviewed. Apart from your contribution to knowledge as a result of the information you provide, this research will bring you no personal benefit.

I would like to audio-tape this interview to help ensure that I capture completely and accurately the information that you provide. If you agree to audio-taping, you may ask at any time for the tape-recorder to be turned off. The information on the audio-tape will be transcribed in whole or part, and used in my thesis, academic talks and publications. After the interview has been transcribed, the audio recording itself will be erased. The transcript will be kept in a locked filing cabinet accessible only to me for at least 10 years.

If you agree to the interview but not to the audio-recording, notes will be taken and retained under the same conditions as for transcripts. With your permission, any discussion not audio-recorded will also be considered usable information. It is my hope that these assurances of privacy and confidentiality will allow you to provide answers that are as complete as possible.

Please feel free to ask any questions about the research or the interview process. If you have any concerns that cannot be answered by me, you may contact my thesis supervisor, Dr. Peter Sinclair, at 737-4020 or Dr. Stephen Riggins, Head of Sociology, Memorial University at 737-4592. The proposal for this research has been approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland. If you have ethical concerns about the research (such as the way you

have been treated or your rights as a participant), you may contact the Chairperson of ICEHR at [icehr@mun.ca](mailto:icehr@mun.ca) or by telephone at 737-8368

Thank you in advance for your help with this project.

Sincerely,

Deatra Walsh  
Doctoral Student  
Department of Sociology  
Memorial University  
Phone: (709) 541-4242  
Email: [deatraw@yahoo.com](mailto:deatraw@yahoo.com)

1) I agree to be interviewed.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_ Date: \_\_\_\_\_

2) I agree / disagree that the interview will be audio-taped.

Signature \_\_\_\_\_

## Appendix B: Interview Schedule and Question Checklist

### Background information

Birthdate  
 Birthplace  
 Current residence  
 Places you have lived over your lifetime

### Now: Current Circumstances

1. Tell me about why you are here in this area at this time in your life? What is that story?

### Then: High School

2. I'd like for you to go back to your high school years, what were you thinking about doing once you finished high school.

### Between then and now

3. After "that" time, what happened next...until current day using same question streams in

### Future

4. Have you ever thought about moving again? Under what circumstances? Why?

### Check list Questions 2-4:

- When was this?
- What was happening in your life?
- What were you doing?
- What were you thinking about doing?
- Where were you thinking of going? Why?
- Who was involved in that decision? (network, actors)
- Where did you go?
- What did you do?
- How did that happen?
- Why? (resources, reasons, structure)
- What was that like? (other people, network, place; temporary/permanent)
- How did you feel about that at the time?
- How do you feel about that now?

**General**

5. If I was to ask you where you are from, what would you say? Would your answer be the same whoever asked you the question? i.e. someone from Alberta versus someone from Lewistown? Why?
6. What about home? What does that mean to you? Where is your home?
7. When someone says the word rural to you, what comes to mind?

**Other Information**

8. Are you involved in any community groups? Which ones? What kinds of activities?
9. Do you attend church? Which one, how often?

**Conclusion**

10. Do you have anything else to add, remind them what the research is about, ask them to think back over the interview – given the topic of the interview- is there in their opinion- anything important to their experience of moving that we have not touched upon – that stands out to them as particularly important for them – any other thoughts on the interview. Remind them about anonymity and confidentiality and right to withdraw from the research...







