The Maritimer Way? Mobility Patterns of a Small Maritime City

by

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Dedication Page

To my family and friends who helped to make this finished work possible.

Table of Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

This anthropological, ethnographic study investigates the mobility patterns of Maritimers within Canada, with a focus on political economy. Specifically, I have analyzed the links between mobility, livelihood and identity within Miramichi, New Brunswick, as indicative of broader mobility patterns. This analysis is based on ethnographic data gathered over the course of two sessions of fieldwork in Miramichi itself, phone interviews with people who had moved away from the area, and extensive research of the historical regional political economy.

I argue the historical and global context of the political economy and predominance of natural resource-based industries in the area are intricately related to mobility decisions. These contexts have also influenced understandings as to what work is available in the area and what is considered to be "good" work. Local understandings of livelihood are intricately linked to mobility decisions, which take many different and complex forms. I formulate a typology of the various mobility patterns which emerged from the data collected. Out-migration takes place largely for two reasons: for education and for work. Commuter migrants leave the community for work purposes, at varying distances, but maintain their household or home in Miramichi. In-migration takes place with the two main categories: retirees, many of whom lived in Miramichi during their youth and have "come back"; and educated people in-migrating for employment.

This work also contributes to the greater understanding of the potential role communal ties, attachment to place and sentiments contribute to mobility decision-making. My analysis of social sentiments surrounding mobility in relation to notions of community, drawing on the concept of structures of feeling, lead to the formulation of the concept of *nostalgic resilience*. The nostalgic remembrances of the community past can lead to collective ideas that it was resilient and thus would persist, and even thrive, in the future. In arguing the Miramichi area has ongoing patterns and understandings of mobility, though, I am careful to note that there are negative lived realities in connection with these patterns. Nor are the nostalgic notions of community resilience without negative aspects.

List of Abbreviations Used

ARDA- Agricultural and Rural Development Act

BC- British Columbia

CFB- Canadian Forces Base

CUSFTA- Canada-United States Free Trade Agreement

EI- Employment Insurance

FRED- Fund for Rural Economic Development

GDP- Gross Domestic Product

HCT- Human capital theory

NAFTA- North American Free Trade Agreement

NBCC- New Brunswick Community College

NGO- Non-governmental Organization

UNB- University of New Brunswick

WCCM- Woodsmen and Concerned Citizens of the Miramichi

indebted and I thank you all for your ongoing support. Perhaps most importantly, I would like to thank the people I interviewed for this research and those people in Miramichi who befriended me. This research would not have been possible without the generosity of Miramichiers.

While the above people have helped to guide me through the writing of this doctoral dissertation any mistakes or omissions are my own.

Chapter One: Introduction

This ethnography explores, from an anthropological, critical political economy lens, how migration decisions are made, and the effects these have for both the people who move and those who choose to stay. This is a topic of personal interest for many reasons, as someone who left their hometown to pursue education and employment elsewhere and also, perhaps more importantly in some respects, as a person whose identity is rooted in New Brunswick and more broadly the Maritime region of Canada. As such, this is more than a study of migration or mobilities, it is at its center an exploration about how identity and attachment are negotiated and used within mobility decision-making processes, as choices relate to much larger scales of context, particularly global capitalism. This tension between local and global political economies is explored and forms the basis for a critique of neoliberal policies and restructuring in relation to the Maritime region.

My initial goal in this research was to conduct my study on a community in New Brunswick experiencing prevalent out-migration. I chose to do my research specifically on the small city of Miramichi, New Brunswick. I made this choice after several conversations with former provincial government employees, who were very knowledgeable about the political economy of the province. The Miramichi area had experienced an economic downturn in the forestry sector the decade prior to my research. The downturn, with its related mill closures, was indicative of economic difficulties in the Maritime region in general. Outmigration was also taking place from the Miramichi area, and as a small community, people were concerned for its welfare. Thus Miramichi was an

excellent place to investigate migration patterns, as well as possible interconnections with the volatility of natural resource-based economies found in many rural areas.

The political economy of Miramichi parallels the issues faced in other Canadian (and more broadly Western) communities that rely predominantly on natural resources. This ethnography follows in footsteps of the works exploring other such communities and the changing interconnections between local communities and the global capitalist context. Studies of the changing political economy of the fisheries are particularly relevant within the context of the Canadian Maritime region. The mid-1990s crisis of the Atlantic Canadian fisheries, with the collapse of the cod stocks and the resulting moratorium on fishing (which continues to this day) led to several insightful books detailing the political economy of the fisheries and the social effects of the collapse (see Apostle *et al*., 1998 and Apostle, McCay & Knut, 2002). Sider (2003) writes about the fisheries of Newfoundland from an historical perspective detailing how, "the characteristic "boom and bust" cycles of capitalism, so often characterized by locational volatility (develop here today, abandon and move to there with something else tomorrow) will turn out to have locally produced, and locality-specific, dynamics" (pp.2-3). This is particularly evident in natural-resource based political economies. The fluctuations in Canadian mining are yet another example, of which the deterioration of coal mining in Nova Scotia speaks to the Maritime regional emphasis on natural resources. As Barber (1990) notes "like all resource based industries, both mining and fishing have experienced fluctuations in production tied to problems in market activities, management strategies and state policy" (p. 23). Global capital restructuring (from the 1970s onwards, as detailed further in later chapters) has not just impacted resource based industries, and

the communities that depend on them, but also the manufacturing industries (see Winson & Leach, 2002). Drawing inspiration from these works I connect an analysis of the political economy of Miramichi as resource-based, with complex relationships between local and global contexts, to the patterns of mobility taking place localized around the community.

My study developed around the four following research questions: What are the ongoing relationships between out-migration from Maritime communities and historical notions of livelihood and identity? Why and to what end do people choose to migrate? How do people from the city of Miramichi conceptualize migration? Does Miramichi, New Brunswick have a "culture of migration"? In order to address these questions I moved to Miramichi, New Brunswick, for two three month periods, one in the fall/winter of 2009 and the other in the summer of 2010 (see Appendix: Methodology for details). I also conducted telephone and in-person interviews with people who had left Miramichi during 2010 from my home in Halifax, Nova Scotia. These 48 interviews, evenly split between those still living in the city (referred to as stayers or current Miramichiers) and those that migrated away (out-migrants), as well as ethnographic data collected from my time spent living in Miramichi, and extensive research on the regional historical political economy, comprise the original research for this dissertation.

The study of the province of New Brunswick reflects a number of regional concerns, with the province having the smallest percentage of positive population change from 2001 to 2006 compared to other Maritime provinces (Statistics Canada, 2007a). Census data reveals that the "net population growth has been at its lowest level since Confederation" (Marquis, 2009, p. 100), although the province did see increased growth

between 2006 and 2011, predominantly due to immigration and decreased interprovincial out-migration (Statistics Canada, 2012a). New Brunswick has consistently been a 'have not' province, receiving Federal government transfer payments (Ibid). The specific site of my study, Miramichi, New Brunswick, a smaller community, experienced population a 2.0 percent loss between the 2001 and the 2006 Censuses (Statistics Canada, 2007b).[1] This population loss continued, though to a lesser degree, at 1.8 percent, between 2006 and 2011 (Statistics Canada 2012b). Miramichi city, with a current population of 17, 811 (as of the 2011 Census), was created in 1995 (City of Miramichi, 2009). The city was formed through the amalgamation of the former towns of Chatham and Newcastle, as well as the villages of Douglastown, Loggieville, Chatham Head and Nelson-Miramichi, and several unincorporated rural areas (City of Miramichi, 2009; Beaudin, 1999, p. 82). This is a predominantly English speaking area (City of Miramichi, 2002) and, as such, English and bilingual speakers were interviewed for this study. It should also be noted that though Miramichi city may be predominantly English speaking, it is situated within a predominantly French speaking region of the province. The issue of language is noted in relation to historical identity in the next chapter.

Wider Relevance

The following dissertation details my ethnographic study, providing an example of a historically marginalized community, buffeted by global forces, and yet resilient. What follows is a discussion of mobility patterns, global capitalism and the importance of community identity and place. These broad theoretical themes provide insight into what

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[1] See Figure 1 for a map of New Brunswick indicating the city of Miramichi.

has happened in Miramichi. The macro level themes are enriched by the ethnographic details of this study.

Focusing on the intersections of identity (gender, sense of community, life stage) and class, broadly considering socio-economic status (employment and education), through the lens of mobility patterns, individuals' decisions also provide insights on national and global mobility trends, and the theories used to contextualize and understand them.

Mobility Decision-making and Patterns

In studying the movement of people I draw on concepts and theories from the academic literature on migration and mobility. I employ these terms throughout this dissertation, as related, overlapping and yet distinct understandings of movement. My use of the term migration is rooted in the anthropological literature of immigration, particularly, transnational theory. Migration, as the term is used in anthropological and other social sciences, generally refers to longer distance movements between communities and as such is used here in reference to these larger geographical movements. In migration literature these larger scale movements are often described in terms of directionality, such as circular migration and communities are described as senders or receivers. I endeavour to complicate these conceptions of migration, as the reality in Miramichi is much more fractured.

I use the term mobility in order to both problematize current conceptualizations of migration and discuss the full range of movement occurring in relation to Miramichi. Drawing from the "new mobilities paradigm" which has emerged from works on the

geographies of mobility, it is used to refer to the practiced, embodied and experiential movement of people in their daily lives (Cresswell, 2006). Thus mobility is used to encompass the entire scale of movement practiced by people, including those small in scale, such as daily commutes, and those large scale movements, such as international immigration. Mobility is also conceptualized as non-directional and as such can be used to refer to complex or fractured movements. Thus throughout this dissertation I use the term mobility to refer to the full complex range of movement practiced by people.

With the above in mind, the focus of this dissertation is an exploration of mobility decision-making and patterns, in reference to a specific locale. I contribute to Canadian research on internal migration through the deployment of an ethnographic methodology. The majority of studies on this topic have focused on quantitative data, hence there is a need to further our understanding of internal migration from qualitative perspectives. The ethnographic data I collected particularly gives voice to the lived experiences of migrants, as well as those who choose to not move, allowing for comparison and detailed insight into the decision-making processes. I also develop a mobility pattern typology based on the various kinds of mobilities discovered in my research. The use of Miramichi as a focal point allows for greater understanding and contrast of the different types of mobility that take place. Drawing on research exploring transnational migration, the types of mobility are used to inform understandings of internal migration, as shaped by some of the same global forces.

Transnational theory was pioneered by anthropologists using ethnographic methods (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 42). This theoretical understanding of migration holds that immigrants are part of the processes of creating and sustaining multiple social

relationships which link the societies they travel amongst (Basch, Glick Schiller, & Szanton Blanc, 2003, p. 7). These processes of interconnection also exist regardless of whether it is national, regional, provincial or community boundaries that are crossed. While international migration requires that further consideration be given to the difficulties in long distance travel and the bureaucratic nature of nation-states, the complex elements of social relationships spanning geographic spaces are something that also need to be considered in studying internal migration. My research findings confirm the emphasis of social aspects of migration processes. This focus also provides a means of furthering academic scholarship on the social dimensions of internal Canadian migration, which, as noted, have concentrated on quantitative findings. I critique the perspective that migration decisions are purely rational economic endeavours. In studying a specific locale as a focal point, my findings are also a critique of the idea found in some works on migration (see Appadurai, 1997) that boundaries and cultures are becoming more fluid. Historically, Miramichi has experienced waves of migration (both in and out), changes to its political boundaries (becoming an amalgamated city), and yet my ethnographic data shows a strong sense of place. This demarcation of place is expressed through the attachment to place which was prevalent in my findings. Place, in this way, can be conceptualized as "a center of meaning—we become attached to it, we fight over it and exclude people from it—we experience it" (Cresswell, 2006, p. 3). The place-making and mooring narratives of people regarding Miramichi starkly contrast with theories of fluidity. Miramichi can be conceptualized as a mooring, from the perspective of the new mobilities paradigm in which "relative immobility provides the mooring for mobility" (Adey, 2006, p. 87). These Miramichi moorings are also historical, particularly

for older residents, and yet are often used socially as a way to frame the community as resilient, a concept I refer to as *nostalgic resilience*.

Global Capitalism and Work

In situating individual mobility decision-making processes, it is both necessary and illuminating to relate the particular to the broader political economy context, at the community, provincial, national and global levels. The current political economy situation locally, regionally or even globally needs to be understood as interconnected, and part of broader historical patterns (Roseberry, 2002; Wolf, 1997). A key theme throughout this dissertation is this interconnection, providing further evidence "migration and capitalism are entwined in a relationship of complexity and inextricability" (Barber & Lem, 2012, p. 1). Global capitalism is both an economic and social system impacting and responding to local contexts (Harvey, 2006). The spread of global capitalism can be considered what is described as globalization (Harvey, 2011, p.157). These interlinked levels (global, national, regional and community) of life and analyses need to be understood as such. The study of Miramichi contributes to knowledge about the lived experiences of individuals and communities relative to global capitalism.

Neoliberalism is a feature of current modalities of global capitalism, underlying the financial centres of global capitalism (Harvey, 2005, p. 119). This can be defined as "a theory of political economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey, 2005, p. 2). In practice, neoliberalism deviates from the above

utopian ideal, and instead results in the further consolidation of class power on local and global levels (Harvey, 2005, p. 119). The above processes are important to consider as they contextualize economic status at both the macro and micro levels. Specifically, there have been job losses in the resource industries of Canada due to global trends (Epp & Whitson, 2001; Millward, 2005, p. 195). This is extremely relevant because, as discussed in detail below, the city of Miramichi and surrounding area are economically dependent on resource industries, and have recently suffered economically in this sector (Huras, 2009; Penty, 2009). Neoliberalism has also been connected to contemporary migration trends, as "the restructuring of capitalist economies across the globe in the era of post-fordism and the realization of neoliberal doctrines that increasingly embed societies in market relations have both contributed to the intensification of migration within, as well as between nations" (Barber & Lem, 2012, p.1). The Canadian context of this pattern becomes evident throughout this work. The concept of post-industrial society (Bell, 1976) is useful in understanding how economic changes and restructuring relate to those of work and the labour market. Given the role work plays within decisions concerning mobility, restructurings are important considerations. The concept of post-industrial society is most usefully conceived of as layered on previous socio-technological dimensions and fluid, keeping in mind changes to manufacturing have in some cases progressed slowly (Bell, 1976). The historical and ongoing changes to work culture relate to mobility in complex and at times contradictory ways. Ideals of "good work" do not necessarily reflect changes to industries or the availability of work. For example, in the case of Miramichi forestry sector, work in this area has historically been

valued, but is recognized as no longer reliable due to its volatility. In contrast, service industry work is abundant in the area, but not valued.

Identity: Community, Place, and Nostalgic Resilience

This dissertation contributes significantly to the argument that place matters with regards to people's mobility decisions and that community, while a debated concept, is an important aspect of identity. Community, or identification with community, relates to place-making, or attachment to place. They are a powerful consideration for many people with regard to mobility decisions. Place and community also inform individuals' lived experiences of shifting global capitalism.

The role which perceptions of place and community have for individuals is influenced by the social and cultural interactions of these groupings. The rurality of community and place has been historically associated with strong social attachments (Williams, 1973). Rural areas in western countries face particular challenges with regards to global capitalism, and shifts in political economy historically, which in turn have influenced the mobility patterns and decisions taking place in these areas. Miramichi, while considered a city, is made up of amalgamated rural areas and towns, and thus provides insight with regards to migration patterns in these non-metropolitan areas. The attachment to community and place found in Miramichi is informed by its not too distant rural roots.

An attachment to community and place found in Miramichi is linked by interviewees to the history of the area in a nostalgic manner. This social sentiment of nostalgia for the community, while referencing the past, is also connected to ideas of the

future. I term this *nostalgic resilience*, as the nostalgic remembrances of the community past can lead to collective ideas that it was resilient and thus would persist, and even thrive, in the future. I offer the concept of *nostalgic resilience* as a contribution to the literature on nostalgia and mobility decisions, intended to account for the sentiments of attachment to community.

Chapter Organization

      I begin this dissertation in, **Chapter Two: The Importance of History- The Early Years (Colonization to 1979),** by detailing the beginnings of the province of New Brunswick, and the area of Miramichi in particular. This initial chapter provides the historical context for the current political economy. The roles that both Miramichi and New Brunswick have played within the broader provincial, regional, national and international contexts during colonization, Confederation and afterwards allow for further understanding of the current political economy, as they are directly informed by this history.

      The early history of Miramichi shows the sustained importance of forestry related industries, particularly relative to the global context. The history of migration locally, provincially, and regionally details the ongoing mobility patterns and provides a context for the concept of a "culture of migration" and its impacts. There is evidence that migration, at the provincial level has been both an effect and cause of economic instability. During the early history of New Brunswick this variation was related to the uneven processes of industrialization. Towards the end of the time period covered by this chapter, there was growing concern about population decline at the regional, provincial

and local levels. Population decline remains a concern, particularly on a regional level, as national political power is linked to population levels.

Throughout this period in history there were times of prosperity which are used as reference points for nostalgic sentiments held by current Miramichiers. It informs their perceptions of community *nostalgic resilience*, a concept detailed in Chapter Seven in which past community successes and failures are seen to inform conceptions of the community as resilient to economic downturns.

Chapter Three: Recent History (1980s to Present) and the Rise of Neoliberalism, explores a period defined by the rise of neoliberalism globally, within Canadian policies, and in relation to the local Miramichi political economy. The impact of the uneven rise of post-industrial society is also detailed in relation to available employment and labour market segmentation. Historical, gendered, conceptions of "good work" have persisted for some, particularly within the forestry industry, in resistance to post-industrial notions of work. The ideas of "good work" have not remained stagnant, but refer in large part to the shift of some forestry related work in pulp and paper, as well as in saw mills, both sites offering unionized, secure, middle class paying positions, with pensions and benefits. The large scale changes of post-industrialization also relate to changes in mobility patterns during the time period of this chapter. Miramichi's history is indicative of how rural areas, which are economically dependent on natural resources, other than petroleum, have had turbulent relationships with increasingly global capital markets.

Mobility patterns in this chapter are linked to differential education levels. While the relationships between mobility and education are complex, certain kinds of

postsecondary education are only available outside of Miramichi, and one has to move in order to obtain it. Those with lower education levels are also mobile, yet function as a surplus labour source and, therefore, are more likely to have fluctuating mobility and unstable work. Educational attainments, and related mobility patterns, are also gendered, with more women pursuing higher levels of postsecondary education.

Concerns about population decline, initially noted in Chapter Two, continued and to some extent have become even more pressing, from the 1980s onwards, particularly at the provincial level. Politically, during this later period, when neoliberalism prevails, the issue of population decline becomes linked with the notion of New Brunswick as not having been "self-sufficient", and thus it is determined to be in need of policies to induce population sufficiency.

Chapter Four: Who's on the Move? uses ethnographic findings to argue that migration decisions are complex, and the choices about what types of mobility to take part in involve differing motivations and sentiments. These decisions are informed by consideration of class, familial needs, wants, and community attachments. Mobility patterns also show the complex interconnections between shifts in political economy and the local relationships to these.

From the ethnographic evidence collected, I was able to construct a typology of mobility patterns. Out-migration takes place largely for two reasons: for education and for work. Commuter migrants leave the community for work purposes, at varying distances, but maintain their household or home in Miramichi. In-migration takes place with the two main categories: retirees, many of whom lived in Miramichi during their youth and have "come back"; and educated people in-migrating for employment. This

group of educated in-migrants are often "from away", in that they have no familial or personal historical connection to Miramichi.

In contrast to those people who are mobile, there are segments of the population who remain in Miramichi. Particularly of interest are those young men, predominantly without post-secondary education, who are nostalgic for the "good work" of unionized pulp and paper mills, or forestry related work generally to return to its heyday. For the broader group of workers wishing to stay in the community, there is limited access to labour market information with which to make informed decisions regarding what would be practical training to gain employment, beyond those entrance positions not requiring any further education. However, my findings reveal that people wishing to stay and work in the community can be very flexible, even across gendered ideals about "good work".

Miramichi has experienced the social and cultural consequences of historical migration. Those same global economic forces which have created the necessity of transnational remittances, received by many migration dependent communities in the global South, have also created the circumstances by which Miramichi is also a destination of remittances and a sending community for commuter migrants.

Building on the ethnographic findings detailed in the previous chapter, **Chapter Five: Understandings of Migration,** details the theoretical underpinnings to understanding the mobility patterns witnessed in Miramichi. Taking the point of view that theories of transnational migration and mobilities are helpful to explore and explain shorter movements within provinces and Canada. The global economy and its relationship with mobility patterns are also explored, along with the impacts of neoliberal policies.

The historical works in Canada on internal migration have primarily been based upon quantitative data and, as such, this work hopes to provide detail about the decision processes and forms of mobility which may be difficult to study otherwise (such as commuter migration). I critique the notion of purely economically-based migration decisions.

Given the importance of the forestry sector to Miramichi, **Chapter Six: Shifts of Natural-Resource Based Communities,** details the impacts of natural-resource based economies on mobility in Canada, and particularly the Maritimes. The forestry sector provides a detailed case in point. The rurality of Miramichi is discussed, as well as how rurality is linked to mobility. This leads to a discussion of perceptions from interviewees and academic works about forestry work as a gendered form of "good work", and how this can be linked to place, identity and mobility.

The complicated nature of mobility decisions in relation to understandings of community identity and place are discussed in **Chapter Seven: Community Identification, Nostalgia and Resilience**. This chapter argues that how people feel about their community, and their place in it, importantly informs migration decisions. There was a common expression of nostalgia by community members, past and present. This nostalgia had differing foci, as it related to the multiple viewpoints of heterogeneous community members, informed by their identities generally and class specifically. However, there were commonalities in connection to ideas of identity, community, livelihood and resilience. Nostalgia, which in this case can be understood as a manifestation of attachment to community and place, with an historical influence, can act as counter influences (or part of the decision-making process) to migrate. *Nostalgic*

resilience, as an idea, captures the sentiment of many Miramichiers that the community history of overcoming economic downturns and out-migration will continue. As such, these sentiments provide important sources of hope for the future of the community, as they embody some accurate perceptions of the cyclical nature of natural-resource based employment and migration. These nostalgic sentiments and nostalgic resilience are understood using William's (1977) concept of structures of feeling as social experiences of "affective elements of consciousness and relationships" (p. 132). Such subjectivities provide complementary evidence to be used with works exploring economic considerations of migration decisions.

I also argue that community plays an important role as part of the social process of identity, in which kinship is nested. That is, community is emotionally charged and nuanced, with distributive understandings of belonging. Migration can change understandings of identities and kinship, as shown by the strong and persistent identification as a Maritimer by some out-migrants. Identification at the regional level is often based on social remembrances and, at times, stereotypes. It is, however, a significant identification taken up by migrants that symbolizes their continued and ongoing connection to the region. While yet other out-migrants still consider themselves as continuing to belong to the community of Miramichi, from a distance.

In the **Conclusion** I note how the changes to Canada's Employment Insurance policies will potentially impact mobility decisions. The idea of a "culture of migration" is also explored, both theoretically and from the perspective of interviewees. While there may indeed be a culture of migration in Miramichi, this perception has particular ramifications. With the continuing population challenges of New Brunswick, and

Canadian rural areas generally, this study provides insight into the difficulties being

faced, and the complex mobility decisions undertaken by individuals.

Chapter Two: The Importance of History- The Early Years (Colonization to 1979)

While exploring Miramichi city during my first couple of days living there in October of 2009, I noticed that the downtown areas of the former towns of Newcastle and Chatham had a low skyline--the buildings were not tall and the streets were narrow, with one-way streets through the middle of both areas. Looking out onto the Miramichi River, I could imagine tall ships sailing through, as I had seen pictures of in history books of the area. There was a quiet feel to the downtowns, on either side of the Miramichi river, and so close to the sea that at times the wind smelled salty, with salt water in the air. On my walks I was always greeted with nods, often a "hello" or small talk if I sat down on a public bench with others around. The quiet mood came, I believe, from the people seeming to take their time both walking and driving; there appeared to be no rush and no sights or sounds of hurry. The effect was quite relaxing and welcoming. People were willing to take the time to have a chat, even with a stranger, which was so helpful in gathering information about the area.

I began to realize a couple of weeks into living in the area that history was important to Miramichiers and referenced during daily conversations. These historical references always come into play when asking for directions, which inevitably were given while using landmarks from the past or explaining what the desired location was formerly. However, historical knowledge was also used by people to contextualize current economic events when I asked about migration from the city. Many people I spoke with had insight into the political and economic trends of the area dating as far back as its settlement, and theories as to how this related to current circumstances. As

someone who does not have this knowledge about my own home-city this seemed remarkable (and still does), and made me consider further how important the historical context is to understanding ongoing Miramichi city migration patterns. The following chapter reflects this local knowledge of historical political economy by discussing the history of New Brunswick generally and Miramichi, connecting it to migration trends. The roles both Miramichi and New Brunswick played within the broader provincial, regional, national and international contexts during colonization, confederation and afterwards, allow for further understanding of the current political economy locally and provincially, as they are directly informed by this history. These local histories are further intertwined with national and international historical political economy trends; globalization is particularly emphasized. There is a related emphasis on forestry economic endeavours (which have been part of globalization trends), in which Miramichi has been heavily involved. This chapter also addresses Maritime migration trends, providing the means to contextualize the idea of a "culture of migration." I argue that there is evidence migration historically, was both an effect and cause of economic instability, as related to the uneven processes of industrialization. Towards the end of the time period covered by this chapter there was a rise in concern about population decline regionally, provincially and locally. Population decline remains a concern, particularly on a regional level as national political power is linked to population levels.

Throughout this history, there were periods of prosperity which are used as reference points for nostalgic sentiments held by current Miramichiers. It informs their perceptions of community *nostalgic resilience*, a concept detailed in a later chapter in

which past community successes and failures inform conceptions of the community as resilient to economic downturns.

The Early Years: The Formation of New Brunswick and its Entrance into Confederation

The area of Canada now known as the province of New Brunswick was originally inhabited by Maliseet and Mi'kmaq First Nations groups before colonization brought Europeans to the area (Soucoup, 2009). The first Europeans to the area were from France; they named the Saint John River in 1604 (one of the major waterways in what would become New Brunswick), however the first ongoing settlement was founded in the Annapolis Basin (found in what is now Nova Scotia) (Ibid, p. 9). In 1755, territorial battles in the area between France and Britain led to the expulsion of the Acadians (French settlers) from the initial settlements, and the British claiming those areas (Ibid, p. 10). One interviewee could trace her family roots in Miramichi to this time period, back to "a sea captain...one of the early immigrants that we have on my mother's side. We have all our history since 1765." Many Acadians were shipped to American colonies, however some (approximately 2000), "escaped into the St. John River Valley, the Miramichi, and the Restigouche region, as well as to Quebec and Île Saint-Jean (Prince Edward Island) where they faced many hardships" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 10). By 1763, despite the waning of France's colonial power in the area, the Acadians were gradually allowed to return to the area of Acadia, but only to settle on the least productive lands (Soucoup, 2009, p.10). This period of history set the tone for the treatment of Acadians into the twentieth century and is arguably the roots of continuing divisions between

Acadians (or French-speaking individuals, as the current debates are framed) and English-speaking (referring here to mother tongue and cultural background) New Brunswickers.

There was another distinctive population that also entered the area that would become New Brunswick; at the end of the American Revolution those loyal to Britain in America (referred to as Loyalists) fled to British territory (Soucoup, 2009, p. 11). The influx of Loyalists (approximately 14, 000 people) had a significant impact on the area, with the majority of them settling in the St. John River Valley "instantly creating the city of Saint John, the town of Fredericton, and the villages of Kingston and Gagetown" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 11). In conversations about the history of Miramichi, with people from there, the category of Loyalist was often used and still holds certain connotations. For those non-Loyalist descendants there is a belief Loyalists were given an advantage when arriving in the area of Miramichi, and this remains a source of resentment. The Loyalists appear to have historically occupied higher class positions.

New Brunswick, as a province, was created in August of 1784 (Soucoup, 2009, p. 12). The first elections took place the following year. However, only men over 21 could vote and non-whites were not allowed to vote; this latter category included black, First Nations and Acadians (Ibid). Acadian Catholic men (for religion was quite divisive) were not given the right to vote until 1830, and black men were not given full citizenship, including voting rights, until the 1840s (Soucoup, 2009). All adult First Nations peoples did not gain the right to vote provincially until 1963 (three years after federal suffrage was achieved) (Moss & Gardner-O'Toole, 1991).

The timber industry has been fundamentally important to the area of New Brunswick, even prior to being officially a province of its own, although the majority of early residents were farmers by necessity (Wynn, 1981, p. 3). The French started the timber industry in the area around 1700, using local wood to make ship masts and exporting them back to France (Soucoup, 2009, p. 14). The British continued what the French had started. Initially "[a]t the beginning of the nineteenth century, New Brunswick was a sparsely settled, largely forested, and relatively unimportant outpost of Great Britain" (Wynn, 1981, p. 11). The mast industry along the St. John River grew over time and became important to the British (after they took control of the area) during the American Revolution and when Baltic lumber resources were cut off by Napoleon (Soucoup, 2009, p. 14). Clearly at this point the prosperity of the New Brunswick timber trade was tied directly to the British market for wood (Wynn, 1981, p. 6). Forestry then became the primary industry in New Brunswick early on, before it was a province (Soucoup, 2009, p.14); the timber trade was the foundation of the area's economic growth, bringing in foreign capital and produce (Wynn, 1981, p. 4). Some have characterized New Brunswick during this early high point of the timber trade, as "a staple economy par excellence" (Ibid, p. 4). In fact the timber trade distinguished New Brunswick from the other Maritime Provinces, which had a concentration in farm products (Ibid, p. 8). However, with little regulation on logging during this early period, availability of trees in certain locations became scarce (Soucoup, 2009, p. 14). Some forests became heavily depleted by early forestry activities, "[b]y 1810, the St. John River valley had been stripped of large pine and the vast Miramichi became an important timber source" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 14). Miramichi prospered during this time, "[a]t its

peak in 1824, the thriving Miramichi exceeded Saint John in timber exports with yearly

shipments of over 140,000 tons of squared timber" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 15). In terms of

ship traffic, Miramichi had approximately three hundred vessels transporting wood sail

from the area in the 1820s (Wynn, 1981, p. 4). However, it is important to note that

"[l]umbering was rarely a sole and lifelong occupation" (Wynn, 1981, p. xii). The salmon

fishery was also an important part of the early economy along the Miramichi (Curtis,

1988).

In 1825 the Great Miramichi Fire tragically burned almost one-fifth of the entire

province over ten hours due to the forests being so dry (Soucoup, 2009, p. 15). Most

settlements along the Miramichi were destroyed, along with many of the 150 vessels

anchored in the river at the time (Ibid). Despite this tragedy, many businesses recovered

quickly in the Miramichi area, with local timber barons expanding on their previous

business and by 1830 had the largest sawmills in the province (Soucoup, 2009, p. 15).

This boom time of both timber trade and shipbuilding at the mouth of the Miramichi also

increased local rivalry, especially between Newcastle and Chatham (Curtis, 1988, p.

100).

A key issue in the timber/forestry industry of New Brunswick has historically

been who has access to Crown lands[2]. This was an important issue even in colonial times

(Soucoup, 2009, p. 17) and continues to be contentious. The Lieutenant-Governor and the

Executive Council had control of Crown Lands and the revenue from access charges was

used to fund local patronage in the province until 1837 (Ibid). At this point, the provincial

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[2] Crown land refers to land that is not privately owned and instead managed by government. At one point
the "Crown" in the Canadian context referred to the British monarchy. However, currently in New
Brunswick, Crown lands are managed by the provincial government, in particular the Department of
Natural Resources (Department of Natural Resources, 2010). These Crown lands are to be managed "in the
best interest of the people of New Brunswick" (Ibid, p. 1).

assembly took political control of Crown Lands in order to appease the very vocal opposition to the previous system (Soucoup, 2009, p. 17). As detailed below, this move did nothing to benefit small entrepreneurs. However, responsible government was not fully implemented in the province until 1848, by Lieutenant-Governor Sir Edmund Walker Head, on orders from the British government (Soucoup, 2009, p. 19).

It has been argued that the economic golden era for the Maritime Provinces was approximately 1800 to 1866: "they experienced substantial growth from 1800 to Confederation, based on a trading system that linked the region with the West Indies, New England, and Britain" (Savoie, 2006, p. 19). This has been referred to as the era of 'wood, wind and sail' and staples such as timber and fish were economically important, as previously noted (Savoie, 2006, p. 19; Brookes, 1981). The 'sail' part of the above saying refers to the "spectacular growth in shipbuilding" (Savoie, 2006, p. 19) that the entire Maritime region experienced from 1815 to the 1860s. However, even during this growth, there were periods of boom and bust, that is economic instability, in the timber trade, which some have linked to the British debates about Adam Smith's idea of free trade versus the system of mercantilism being used (Wynn, 1981, p. 10). These debates created uncertainty in the New Brunswick timber trade which increasingly favoured those entrepreneurs who had enough capital to ride out the economic lows; thus, the timber trade increased socioeconomic differentiation within the province, as smaller owners declined and formal contracts increased between large merchant wholesalers and workers (Wynn, 1981, p. 10).

This was particularly evident in Northumberland county where, during the 1830s and 1840s the timber trade was dominated by a handful of people: Joseph Cunard (based

in Chatham), on the one hand, and Gilmour, Rankin and Company on the other (they

were also based on the opposite side of the Miramichi River) (Wynn, 1981, p. 134).

These two groups struggled for dominance not only in the timber trade but also were

rivals socially and politically, supporting opposing election candidates and dividing

people's loyalties (Wynn, 1981, p. 134). It is clear that the rivalry between Chatham and

Newcastle, which still exists today (despite amalgamation into the city of Miramichi), has

a long history.

Crown regulations also encouraged this type of domination of the timber trade by

a few enterprises with large amounts of capital; "[l]and sales, reserves, long-term

licenses, the disposal of timber berths by auction, the practice of offsetting the lumberer's

annual cut against the total entitlement of all his licences, all offered the large, well-

capitalized lumbering venture advantages that were not available to the small independent

concern" (Wynn, 1981, p. 149). As discussed further on in this chapter, the catering to

large ventures has now encompassed large international corporations. The shift by Britain

in the 1840s to free trade was met with foreboding in New Brunswick, which had

depended on protected markets under the mercantile system. However, the timber trade

survived relatively unscathed and, in fact, found new markets to the south (Wynn, 1981,

p. 53). The province of New Brunswick did remain tied to the fluctuations of the market

for this staple product though, which clearly remained problematic.

During the aforementioned golden era, the Maritime provinces experienced

significant population growth. For example, New Brunswick went from a population of

20,000 in 1803 to 252,000 by 1861 (Savoie, 2006, p. 19). Prior to Confederation,

Maritime communities were quite insular, despite the fact that they were dependent on

trade economically speaking, more so than the colony of the Canadas (Savoie, 2006, p. 21). Most people in New Brunswick were somewhat isolated in that "life turned around the villages and small town of the colony" (Wynn, 1981, p. 8). However, the population growth would suggest that people living in New Brunswick during this time period were satisfied with their lives there, and not moving elsewhere. This points towards strong community ties and culture, which I believe is reflected in current understandings of community found when talking to people from Miramichi.

During this time (1847), the Irish Famine led to many Irish immigrating to New Brunswick; the ports of Saint John and Miramichi were often used (Soucoup, 2009, p. 18). Further, the town of Chatham had already been largely settled by Irish immigrants during an earlier influx, at the beginning of the 1800s (Curtis, 1988, p. 152). This new wave of immigration led to conflicts, as "[t]he influx of destitute Catholics escaping poverty and famine, combined with a downturn in the province's lumber trade, set the stage for violent confrontations between these new citizens and the existing Protestant workers, farmers, and tradesmen" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 18). The violence between these two religious/ethnic groups took place throughout the province during the mid-1800s, in some cases leading to death (Soucoup, 2009, p. 18-19). In the second half of the nineteenth century this ethnic and religious division led to informally segregated areas, and was also characterized by extreme economic and social stratification (Brookes, 1976, p. 34). The geography itself of the Maritimes was related to these internal divisions; "[t]opographical and transportation barriers further heightened fragmentation among groups as distinct as Ulster Orangemen and Highland Catholics, and to most, the family and kinship ties remained strong within the local frame of reference" (Ibid, 1976, p. 35).

What is now the city of Miramichi had a clear geographic ethnic division at this time, with Newcastle regarded as Scottish and Protestant based, and Chatham as Irish and Catholic, with Acadian communities nearby along the Gulf of St. Lawrence. These ethnic divisions in of the area were repeatedly mentioned in particular by older interviewees. These interviewees discussed how rigid these divisions were historically, as described by their parents, but also well into the twentieth century.

The ethnic divisions in the province have continued to be influential, particularly the struggle of Acadians (initiated when they were able to be elected to the provincial legislature) for linguistic rights as French speakers and recognition of their cultural distinctiveness. The issue of language continues to be divisive within the province to this day.

It is important to note that "the 1864 Charlottetown Conference was originally called to discuss Maritime union" (Savoie, 2006, p. 3), which had widespread support. In contrast, Confederation was the subject of heated debate in the Maritimes and not well supported (Savoie, 2006, p. 24). New Brunswick was persuaded strongly by forces outside of the province, and only a few within, that Confederation was necessary, and in Britain's best interest (Savoie, 2006, p. 24). When Confederation came about in 1867 it was greeted by all in New Brunswick, with the exception of some politicians, with negative resignation (MacNutt, 1984, p. 459). The results were that, "[f]or a long time to come, the consequences of Confederation would appear baneful to all but the most optimistic" (MacNutt, 1984, p. 461), from a New Brunswick perspective. Much has been written about Confederation and how the Maritime or broader Atlantic provinces fared versus those of Central and Western Canada (for example see Forbes & Muse, 1993).

Despite an initial increase in the industrialization of the Maritimes in the 1880s, the trend was not maintained and within a decade some of these new enterprises were economically troubled, "by the turn of the century most of the major New Brunswick manufacturers were in the hands of Montreal capitalists" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 31). The National Policy put into place after Confederation, in 1879 (Brookes, 1976, p. 28), resulted in "the transfer and consolidation of Canada's manufacturing facilities in Central Canada by 1910" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 32). These manufacturers, in the Windsor to Quebec City corridor, also benefitted from tariffs on imported goods, giving them predominance in the Canadian market (Savoie, 2006, p. 28). The age of sail had come to an end and old Maritime trade routes were changing (Savoie, 2006, p. 23); after Confederation "[o]ver time, economic protectionism and the National Policy forced producers in the Maritimes to ship their goods on expensive rail routes to central Canada rather than on ship to their traditional export markets in the New England states and elsewhere" (Savoie, 2006, p. 28). The National Policy also encouraged US branch plants to set up; however, due to east-west trade patterns (also induced by the National Policy), very few of these plants were set up in the Maritimes (Savoie, 2006, p. 29). With an increasing population outside the Maritimes, political power in the country shifted westward, as the Maritimes lost political representation: the region went from 18 percent of seats in Parliament in 1890 to 13 percent in 1914 (Soucoup, 2009, p. 35).

In terms of population growth the Maritimes were on par with the Canadian average until Confederation, but from 1891 on there was stagnation (Savoie, 2006, p. 32). In New Brunswick population decline began in the 1860s (Brookes, 1976, p. 28). Northumberland county, to which the towns of Newcastle and Chatham belonged, and

other "[o]lder, well-settled counties that had been heavily involved in the 'wood, wind and sail' economy were among the early losers in the 1860s" (Brookes, 1976, p. 31). It is clear that post-Confederation, "[a]s time passed, Maritimers saw their economy whittled away and their political influence wane" (Savoie, 2006, p. 29). It is also evident that concern about Maritime population levels is not something new and is in fact a long-standing topic of concern.

In the Maritimes, industrial maturity fell behind the rest of Canada, along with urban structural development, the latter of which many economists have linked to economic vitality, or in this case, the lack thereof (Savoie, 2006, p. 32). While at the turn of the twentieth century the Maritime region was on par with urban development in the rest of Canada, within three decades it had fallen well behind in terms of increasing urbanization, as well as industrialization (Savoie, 2001, p. 22-24).

Between 1860 and 1900 the Maritime region, as with many other Western countries/regions, experienced internal rural to urban migration, and out-migration from the region as a whole (Brookes, 1976, p. 33). New Brunswick had an increase of 10 percent in its urban population from the 1861 to the 1901 enumerations (Ibid). Out-migration is thought to have included people from a wide variety of ages, occupations, ethnic origins and religions, across all three Maritime provinces (Brookes, 1976, p. 37). Significantly, a subset of out-migrants stands out:

> it is a striking facet of the exodus that as economic events were destroying
> the traditional 'wood, wind and sail' economy and way of life in the
> Maritimes, opportunities in Wisconsin forests and Boston craft shops were
> simultaneously offering a chance to continue the old pattern of existence. A
> significant proportion of the out-migrants from the Maritimes emigrated to
> preserve their 'wood, wind and sail' way of life—not to find a new
> existence in a different 'promised land' (Brookes, 1976, p. 47).

Some New Brunswick out-migrants with lumber related livelihoods moved to Maine and other states, in part, for the lumber opportunities (Brookes, 1976, p. 52). Maritimers were moving within Canada but also beyond, particularly to the northeastern states in the US, with which there were close trade ties, including Massachusetts and Maine (Ibid, p. 42). This period in history provides context for what can be described as waves of mobility in the forestry related industries of Canada, discussed elsewhere. Mobility is in fact thought to have been a continent-wide characteristic of the 1860 to 1900 time period (Ibid, p. 38). This fascinatingly echoes current calls by those studying contemporary migration that it is now "an age of migration" (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 4). I discuss the salient features of contemporary global migration trends in a later chapter, but am careful to note the importance of historical trends in contextualizing these.

Significantly, "the most commonly held view is that out-migration was (and indeed still is) a *consequence* of the failure of the region to industrialize successfully" (italics in original, Thornton, 1985, p. 3). While economic theories of migration (particularly internal migration) are discussed and critiqued in a later chapter, Thornton (1985) convincingly argues, with particular reference to the period of the 1860s to 1920s in the Maritimes, the out-migration of people was both a cause and effect of the lack of industrialization and its potential employment. This refutes a simplistic notion of people leaving an area, such as the Maritimes, strictly due to an economic downturn. The out-migration of people would have also made it difficult to have high levels of industrialization due to the effects of people leaving; thus, a vicious downward cycle would ensue. As argued throughout this dissertation, the larger socioeconomic context of the particular time played a significant role in this cycle:

> This wider context both fuels the process of migration and is in turn affected by it. In 19th century Atlantic Canada the structural context was the industrialization of North America with its concomitant integration of regional economies into one national or even continental economy, involving in turn the concentration and centralization of investment (Thornton, 1985, p. 31).

My work answers Thornton's (1985) call for the study of local particularities and individual lived experiences regarding the consequences of out-migration.

New Brunswick and Miramichi in the Twentieth Century

1900s to 1970s

In the time after Confederation, despite the political and economic issues detailed above, regional loyalties became less influential in federal politics and instead partisan politics took hold (Savoie, 2006, p. 30). However, there was a near collapse of the Maritime economy during the early 1920s which caused the people to react with the formation of a protest movement that pushed for the defence of regional interests (Soucoup, 2009, p. 34). Railway shipping rates and the move of the national railway head office from Moncton to Montreal in 1918 were contentious issues for people of the Maritimes (Soucoup, 2009, p. 34-35). The railway shipping rates, at one time favourable to the Maritimes, were raised significantly at the end of WWI. This, combined with a worldwide recession, and Central Canada switching to hydroelectric power from Maritime coal, led to the closure of many major Maritime industrial enterprises (Soucoup, 2009, p. 35). Also, in addition to the above, WWI and WWII manufacturing was set up almost exclusively in Central Canada, through the creation of Crown Corporations (Savoie, 2006, p. 30, 33). The federal government was concentrating on nation building without thought to how specific regions would be affected. Further, in

terms of votes, it made strategic sense to cater to Central Canada (Savoie, 2006, p. 31).

The wartime manufacturing sector (and its post-war legacy) led to "the migration or the 'assignment' of skilled labour to war industries in central Canada [which] made it very difficult for the region to promote its own manufacturing sector in the postwar years" (Savoie, 2006, p. 31). During the period of 1920 to 1926, with the decline of manufacturing jobs in the Maritimes, approximately 150,000 people left the region (Savoie, 2006, p. 33). Here we can see the beginnings of what has become the "expected" route of Maritimer migration west to other provinces. In fact, the manufacturing sector never did gain momentum in the Maritimes, remaining stagnant for most of the twentieth century (Savoie, 2006, p. 31).

National policies historically have been economically damaging to New Brunswick (Savoie, 2001, p. 8). Economic development was concentrated in "the Quebec-Windsor corridor, in the oil and gas producing provinces of Western Canada, and in resource-rich British Columbia" (Savoie, 2001, p. 16). As noted previously, there are compelling arguments that entering into Confederation itself was negative for New Brunswick and from that point there has been a downward trajectory to its economic state (Clow, 2005; Savoie, 2001). In the 1920s a non-partisan Maritime Rights Movement, mentioned above, was formed in reaction to the poor economic situation and feelings of alienation in the region with regard to the national centrist political and economic interests (Savoie, 2001, p. 29). The movement did have a federal political influence, however the results were few, although a royal commission was appointed to research the economic issues (Savoie, 2001, p. 29-30). The Duncan Commission, as it was called, like many Royal Commissions, was not mandated to actually take action and as such little

action was taken by the federal government. The commission was also not mandated to investigate issues surrounding trade and tariffs, which were central issues (Savoie, 2001, p.31). Royal Commissions, as in this case, are sometimes used by government to pacify the public while evading taking action because commissions cannot force the implementation of recommendations. This was one of the few instances where the Maritime region voted strategically to push for a federal response to regional issues. Unlike the West and Quebec, the regional discontent of New Brunswick has never manifested itself in the formation of new political parties (such as the Reform Party and the Bloc Quebecois, respectively) (Savoie, 2001, p. 31). However, as discussed later in this chapter with regards to the pulp and paper industry, there has been a history in the province of forming local organizations (not political parties) in protest.

Even after the Second World War, with Keynesian economic policies in place to forestall a postwar economic depression, as happened with the First World War, New Brunswick was falling economically behind the nation, as was the Maritime region in general (Savoie, 2001, p. 25). The Keynesian policies were nationally based and did not take into account regional differences; in fact, it has been argued that they further solidified central Canada as economically favoured (Ibid). However, these policies were emphasizing support and intervention in order to maintain high employment and build the social welfare state (Ruggeri, 2003. p. 33). The economic issues of Atlantic Canada and other regions of Canada were meant to be addressed when "the federal government introduced in 1957 the equalization program which offered provinces with below-average fiscal capacity unconditional grants to raise their fiscal capacity to the average of the two top provinces" (Ruggeri, 2003. p. 5). As a result, New Brunswick has been receiving

equalization payments from the national government since the implementation of the program (Savoie, 2001, p. 7). The New Brunswick economy has been perceived as performing below that of the rest of the country and this has been an historical perception. It "has long been classified as a have-less province" (Savoie, 2001, p. 15). This classification comes from the relatively low earned per capita income, high unemployment rate and economic disparities between the politically and economically stronger Southern New Brunswick and the predominantly rural Northern part of the province (Ibid, p. 6).

To put the economic situation of the Maritime region in perspective, those provinces "emerged from the Second World War with a per capita income 24 percent below the Canadian average. By 1955 it had dropped to 33 percent" (Savoie, 2001, p. 6). At the same time there were waves of outmigration from the Maritimes to central Canada, mainly to manufacturing jobs that were opening up there (Ibid). Clearly, this formed a negative feedback loop which made economic growth and recovery difficult for the Maritime provinces (similar to the previously discussed early wave of migration). Eventually per capita income of the Maritime provinces reached the national average (by 1976), but this is partially but significantly attributed to federal transfer payments to individuals (Savoie, 2001, pp.25-26). It is not surprising then that the Atlantic Provinces also had the highest unemployment rates nationally from the 1950s to the 1970s (Savoie, 2001, p. 26).

Northumberland County is considered to be part of the region known as Northeast New Brunswick (also including the counties of Restigouche and Gloucester) which "has been recognized as a distinct socio-economic entity ever

since the first federal-provincial development agreements (ARDA and FRED) were

negotiated in the early 1960s" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 13)[3]. At that time the region was

considered to be falling behind the rest of the province economically and socially,

with chronic unemployment, the lowest education rates in the country and

practically no entrepreneurship (Ibid). Through these development agreements,

there was an effort made to bring the Northeast region up to the economic and social

standards of the rest of the province, with an emphasis on accessing the benefits of

the abundant natural resources (Ibid).

In 1977 the Economic Council of Canada, "attributed underdevelopment in the

Atlantic region to a combination of factors – natural resource endowment, shortage of

capital, low level of urbanization and industrialization, as well as the lack of skilled

labour, entrepreneurship and management skill, and , of course, a lack of aggregate

demand." (Veltmeyer, 2005. p. 21). The current situation within the Atlantic region does

not support the argument that part of the cause of regional disparities is the lack of

entrepreneurship or skilled labour (Ruggeri, 2003), if this ever was the case. While the

complex initial cause of regional disparity within Canada is not the focus of this work, it

is important to consider the history of these disparities and the studies of them, as these

have no doubt influenced local Maritime cultural understandings of the economy.

In terms of the forestry sector specifically, the lumber market crashed in 1921,

further showing the instability of resource based economies (Sandberg, 1992, p. 4). This

time period saw the transition of the industry in New Brunswick from an emphasis on

lumber and local sawmills to pulp (Sandberg, 1992, p. 6). There was a rise "to hegemony

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[3] ARDA refers to the Agricultural and Rural Development Act, while FRED stands for the Fund for Rural
Economic Development (Blake, 2003).

of the pulp and paper industry" (Sandberg, 1992, p. 6) at this time, along with discrimination against sawmillers in the province. In fact it has been argued that "[i]n the decades immediately after the [first World] war, the expansion of the pulp and paper industry facilitated rather than slowed the massive rural depopulation of the province by paying artificially low prices for pulpwood" (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, p. 22). The New Brunswick provincial economy clearly went through substantial changes during the first half of the twentieth century. The shifted emphasis to the pulp and paper industry affected more than local sawmills: "[b]eginning around 1900, the modern pulp and paper industry had begun to develop through the use of hydroelectricity, but New Brunswick was late to manufacture these new forest products due to lack of hydro development" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 36). As hydroelectric development took place in the province, it was monopolized by pulp and paper manufacturers, to the detriment of other industries or the possible attraction of other industries. In fact, in 1925 the provincial government of the time, despite having invested in the development of the first large scale hydroelectric project (under different leadership), gave control of this project (Grand Falls Station) to the private pulp and paper industry along with "huge tax concessions, unlimited water rights, and fifty-year timber leases" (Soucoup, 2009, p. 37). Here we can see the continued emphasis by the provincial government on large scale forestry industry, to the detriment of small entrepreneurs, which, as discussed in the previous section, was also a trend in the previous century. By 1930 the pulp and paper industry became the economic engine of the province and with the access to Crown Lands in the hands of a few international pulp and paper companies, along with control of the major source of industrial electricity, it is not surprising that other industries remained undeveloped

(Soucoup, 2009, p. 37). The provincial government, through the New Brunswick Electric

Power Commission, did not regain over control of the Grand Falls Station until 1959

(Soucoup, 2009, p. 37). This period leads up to what has been termed the productivist

phase of restructuring in the Canadian forestry industry (Bullock, 2012, p. 272). The

productivist phase in forestry (1950 to mid-1980s) "refers to the modernization and

industrialization of systems of production, which led to increases in efficiency, labour-

saving technologies, low resource rents, large-scale leases, mono-cropping, and Fordist-

style factory processing" (Bullock, 2012, pp. 272-273).

Mining was also a significant industry in the province, particularly the north; for

example, Heath Steel Mine began production in 1957 (Soucoup, 2009, pp. 39-40)

(located near Miramichi). It is of note because this mine employed many people from

Newcastle, Chatham and surrounding area. This natural resource industry however was

subject to volatility as well, as discussed in the next section, the mine struggled to keep

operating and ultimately failed.

In the 1960s there was yet another recession that affected the forestry sector in New

Brunswick, as the world paper market took a downturn (Parenteau, 1992, p. 110). The

response to this was that "[f]armers, small pulpwood contractors, truckers and woodlot

owners throughout New Brunswick began to protest against the low prices they were

receiving for their forest products" (Parenteau, 1992, p. 110). These protests were not

just formed in response to the issues with forest product pricing, but also larger issues

surrounding larger structural changes to the marketing of woodlot products and the rural

farm economy (Ibid). The organizations that formed during this time around these issues

were

laden with appeals to save the farming communities and the rural way of life. Many people who relied on the forest for their livelihood placed blame for the deteriorating economic and social conditions in rural communities of New Brunswick squarely on the pulp and paper companies of the province. (Parenteau, 1992, p. 110)

Unfortunately, there were few changes or gains addressing the concerns of independent forest workers resulting from these protests (Parenteau, 1992, p. 110). In the 1970s there were further protests during yet another industry recession, and these took a more cohesive form, leading to the New Brunswick provincial government reluctantly implementing a pulpwood marketing system (Parenteau, 1992, p. 139). While this did lead to a significant increase in the price paid for pulpwood, it did not resolve the underlying structural power differential between independent wood producers and large pulp and paper companies (Parenteau, 1992, pp. 139-140). An example of a persistent and militant protest during this time was in 1978, with the formation of the Woodsmen and Concerned Citizens of the Miramichi (WCCM), which called for the companies operating in the area to stop using mechanical harvesters and instead hire unemployed forest workers (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, p. 26). This group went so far as to shut down the building in the provincial capital of Fredericton that housed the offices of the Department of Natural Resources in order to force a meeting with the Minister of that Department (Ibid). However, while a few concessions were made, the WCCM did not achieve the ban on harvesters it wished and left disappointed (Ibid). After this meeting, a group of forest workers went to the site of the contested harvesters, with the intent of blocking the road when the morning shift arrived (Ibid). However, before the morning shift workers showed up, the frustrations of the forest workers took the form of destroying one of the harvester machines and damaging two others (Ibid). While there

appears to have been no one arrested in relation to the incident (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, p. 26), it does show the profound level of anger and resentment that unemployed forest workers had towards the large pulp and paper companies.

This period in history shows how closely tied the political economy of New Brunswick and Miramichi has been throughout its histories to natural-resources, and, in particular, forestry. The volatility of forestry historically has impacted these economies. In part this volatility has been due to the global nature of the forestry sector, from its colonial roots to this day. Also of significance has been the governmental support given to increasingly large and non-local forestry businesses. Specifically, the rise of the pulp and paper industry importantly informs the current forestry sector in New Brunswick.[4]

The history of migration to and from the Maritime region and New Brunswick is linked to the processes of nation-building and industrialization during this early period. As argued above, the low level of industrialization of New Brunswick is likely both cause and effect of out-migration. This lack of industrialization then informs the next period of history, in which provincial governments continue to woo pulp and paper companies, while moving toward the implementation of neoliberal policies.

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[4] A very influential family within the forestry industry (as well as others) in New Brunswick are the Irvings. Although the numerous companies owned by the Irvings were not directly in the forestry industry in Miramichi their "dominance in fields such as forestry and media industries has become a recognized feature of the political landscape" (Mellon, 2001, p. 94). It is important to note the Irving involvement in the provincial political economy.

Chapter Three- Recent History (1980s to Present) and the Rise of Neoliberalism

This period of history covers the rise of neoliberalism globally, including within Canada.

Relevant, implemented, neoliberal policies are detailed in their relation to the local

Miramichi political economy. The impact of the uneven rise of post-industrial society is

also outlined. The large scale changes of post-industrialization are evidenced in mobility

patterns changes during the time period of this chapter. Mobility patterns in Miramichi

are also linked to peoples' differential education levels and social identities.

Concerns about population decline, initially noted in the previous chapter,

continue and become even more pressing, particularly at the provincial level. Politically,

the issue of population decline becomes linked with the notion of New Brunswick as

having not been "self-sufficient", and thus in need of policies to induce population

sufficiency.

1980s and 1990s

Canadian and Regional Political Economy Overview

In the early 1980s the national economic policy changed towards a neoliberal

focus, one which remains intact. Canada also pursued global trade agreements which,

coupled with domestic policy changes, led to the nations' increasing foreign exposure

(since 1990) (Ruggeri, 2003, p. 34). Ruggeri (2003) defines foreign exposure as the

amount of Canadian exports as a share of the country's GDP (Gross Domestic Product),

and notes "the share of exports in GDP rose by over two-thirds almost reaching 40% in

1998" (p. 34). Of these foreign exports, those to the United States have grown steadily

over the last four decades, no doubt due to agreements such as NAFTA (the North

American Free Trade Agreement) (Ruggeri, 2003. p. 34) and the Canada-United States

Free Trade Agreement (CUSFTA) (Coulombe, 2005). These international trade linkages

appear to have "produced a positive and significant long-run effect on the level of per-

capita GDP of the Canadian provinces" (Coulombe, 2005. p. 3). In particular, Coulombe

(2005) characterizes the increased trade between Canada and the United States, due to

trade agreements, as "one of the most spectacular economic developments for the

Canadian economy in decades" (p. 4). However, not all would consider the outcome of

the trade agreements to be wholly positive or even positive at all. One current

Miramichier I interviewed was particularly adamant that globalization and in particular

NAFTA did not benefit Miramichi,

> …the reality is that the Northeastern part [of New Brunswick] has
> traditionally been...hewers of wood and fishers of fish and the economy has
> changed. And one of the big triggers to this fallout has been when we went
> global and you can thank Brian Mulroney for that, with NAFTA and the rest
> of it. So from our point of view, from my personal...opinion, globalization has
> not been good to this part of the country…When they went to Free Trade,
> Brian Mulroney and the States, I can vividly remember there was a lot...of
> discussion for and against.

It is important to note that these international agreements have had varying affects

on the regional and local levels; as well, individuals are quite aware of how these

impact their lives.

An important consideration in an analysis of globalization, among many, is the

amount of international and interprovincial trade that takes place in each province,

relative to its economic growth. All provinces had increases in their international trade

shares, but the Atlantic Provinces had a reduction in their interprovincial trade shares

from 1982 to 2000 (Coulombe, 2005, p. 4). Interestingly and significantly, Savoie (2004,

p. 116) argues that the Atlantic region is the least economically integrated through trade with the rest of Canada.

Atlantic Canada has embraced globalization and the neoliberal agenda (Workman, 2003, p. 29). In the year 2000 there were positive reports about the Atlantic Canadian economy from the media, Statistics Canada and the Atlantic Provinces Economic Council, despite the fact that the income inequality ratio (the discrepancy between upper and lower income families) had risen in the entire region during the 1980s and 1990s (Workman, 2003, p. 36). In effect, Statistics Canada reported that "the benefits of globalization have been 'trickling up' over the last two decades across Atlantic Canada" (Workman, 2003, p. 36).

There has been a seventeen year, from 1984 to 2001, downward trend in the real GDP per worker for the Atlantic region (Workman, 2003. p. 26). Also using personal income per capita, in order to get a more meaningful comparison in living standards, Atlantic Canada has steadily increased with the rest of Canada, but has stalled at 84 percent of the national average since 1996 (the study went to 2001) (Workman, 2003, p. 28). Minimum wages have been driven down and kept low in Atlantic Canada, in keeping with neoliberal policies (Workman, 2003). The real minimum wage for all of the Atlantic Provinces declined between 1976 to 2000, and "increases in the minimum wage in Atlantic Canada have not been keeping pace with the rate of inflation" (Ibid. p. 82). In conjunction with low minimum wages Atlantic Canada has historically had higher unemployment, usually 2 percent higher than Canada in general (Ibid. p. 106). The low minimum wages of the Atlantic Provinces continue to affect more women than men, even in consideration of ongoing gender differences in rates of pay (Ruggeri, 2003; Workman,

2003). Significantly more women than men hold jobs paying minimum wage within the Atlantic region, given the growth of the service sector, this is not surprising.

The Atlantic Canadian economy by the year 2000 had 67.1 percent of its jobs in the service producing sector, with a unionization rate of 31.8 percent (Workman, 2003, p. 41). The goods producing sector at that time consisted of 19.4 percent of the Atlantic economy, of which 31.2 percent were unionized jobs (Ibid). Within the region, Nova Scotia and New Brunswick had the most manufacturing jobs (Ibid). The economic trends found for Atlantic Canada during the 1990s are "consistent with historic employment trends in the twentieth century, trends that saw declines in agricultural employment and relative rises in manufacturing over the first half of the century and unprecedented growth in the service sector in the last half of the century" (Ibid. p. 40). Workman (Ibid. p. 43) argues that the low unionization rates have not changed in the last twenty years, which is consistent with neoliberal processes and globalization. Also, the rates of unionization are stratified for each province along sector lines, with those service industry workers outside the public sector unionizing at a rate of 11.1 percent in Atlantic Canada in 2001 (Ibid).

Bell (1976) identified and predicted this rise of the service sector as a feature of what he termed post-industrial society. According to Bell's seminal work on this societal shift from industrial to post-industrial two large dimensions of the shift are the increasing centrality of theoretical knowledge and, the above noted, expansion of the service sector (1976, p. xix). The Atlantic region, as of 1995, reported that 13 percent of private sector GDP was due to the technology/knowledge industry (Savoie, 2004). By 2000 the international export of products synonymous with the knowledge based economy equalled 11 percent of the total exports for the region, as compared to 47 percent for

Canada (Ruggeri, 2003. p. 54). Not surprisingly, given the region's history, the international exports from the Atlantic provinces, as of 2000, consisted mainly of natural resources and livestock (Ibid). Clearly, the Atlantic region had entered into the global knowledge based economy in a limited way during the 1990s. This is an area that could be expanded, although it is questionable that the Atlantic region has the "capital fixity" (Sassen, 2001, p. 262) such as infrastructure or facilities necessary to currently do so. This is discussed further in the next section with regards to the city of Miramichi's foray into a creative economy.

The New Brunswick Context

The Northeastern area of New Brunswick (which includes Miramichi) faced significant challenges,

> [i]n a period of scarce resources and changing patterns of consumption, each region is seeking to adapt its industrial structure, until now based on mass production, to one that is more rational, diversified, and flexible—and oriented towards differentiated and higher value-added products and services. (Beaudin, 1999, p. 14-15)

By 1999 the attempts to develop the Northeastern area of New Brunswick (which includes Miramichi) had been moderately successful, as the area had been a focus due to its "under-development" (Beaudin, 1999). Specifically there was progress made in terms of higher education levels, infrastructure (including roads and urban-industrial), entrepreneurship and growth of the tourism sector, as well as the modernization and local control of the fisheries (Beaudin, 1999, p. 13). Despite the above improvements, structurally the region at the time continued to fall behind the rest of the province (Ibid). The main concern of the region was the "economic base that has been seriously shaken

by the restructuring that is occurring in all predominantly resource-based economies"
(Beaudin, 1999, p. 14). National politics have moved away from regional development,
expecting that regions will deal with the effects of economic globalization and reduced
social transfers (Ibid). This is in accordance with a neoliberal focus in national policy.
The Northeast region of New Brunswick is not the only area in Canada to experience this
form of restructuring due to a reliance on natural resources for economic growth and
government help in development; other areas that have experienced this are other regions
of the Maritimes, Newfoundland, and Quebec (Ibid). For the forestry sector this is
referred to as part of the post-productivist phase of restructuring (mid-1980s to present),
which followed the productivist period discussed in the last chapter (Bullock, 2012, p.
273). The post-productivist phase of forestry "is characterized by reduced outputs,
withdrawal of state subsidies, increasingly competitive and globalized markets, and
increased environmental regulation" (Ibid).

In 1996, the New Brunswick provincial government stated that the province "has
one of the highest rural non-farm populations in Canada" (Province of New Brunswick,
1996, p. 12). The provincial government also noted in a working paper on demographics
that the wide dispersion of population impacts the provision of services (Ibid, p. 5). At
the time there was a return to rural areas, and the urban New Brunswick populations
declined from 1976 to 1991; the percentage of urban population dropped from 53.3
percent in 1976 to 47.7 percent in 1991 (Ibid, p. 12). From 1986 to 1996 there was a
larger rural than urban population in New Brunswick (Ibid). This is an important example
of the ebb and flow of people to and from rural areas that defies the commonly held belief
that rural populations have experienced steady decline. To put the above information into

context, "[i]n 1991, just under 91% of New Brunswick census subdivisions had a population of less than 5000 people" (Province of New Brunswick, 1996, p. 12). So truly it can be said that the New Brunswickers at that time predominantly lived in small communities (Ibid), contrary to urbanization taking place in other parts of Canada. In fact, while 52.3 percent of New Brunswickers lived in rural areas in 1996, nationally, 23.4 percent of Canadians lived in rural areas (Ibid, p. 32). However, this New Brunswick trend was not representative of what was happening in other areas of Canada. By 2001, the rural and small town population in New Brunswick had experienced a substantial decline, and dropped to making up 47.7 percent of the province's total population (de Peuter & Sorensen, 2005, p. 6). Even with the drop of rural population in 2001, the percentage of people living in rural New Brunswick exceeded the Canadian average of rural population (20.6 percent) (Ibid).

The New Brunswick government recognized global economic restructuring had changed essential features of the provincial economy by 1996, and that these shifts acted to constrain the actions of the government (Province of New Brunswick, 1996, p. 1). The government of the day, under the leadership of Frank McKenna and the provincial Liberal party, initiated a Select Committee of the legislature "to examine the public policy implications of demographic changes on New Brunswick as it enters the twenty-first century" (Ibid). Interestingly, and quite importantly, this concern with the demographic situation in New Brunswick was followed up by succeeding governments, which will be discussed at length in the next section.

At the time of the 1996 discussion paper, released by the New Brunswick Province on demographic issues, there was concern about slow population growth

(Province of New Brunswick, 1996, p. 2). The fertility rate in the province decreased

after the "baby boom" between 1947 and 1966 (Ibid). However, unlike other provinces,

there was no "echo boom," that is children born to baby boomers in the early 1980s and

1990s (Ibid); "[t]he result was that the birth rate in New Brunswick remained at an all

time low, while several Canadian provinces were experiencing a surge in births" (Ibid).

This lack of an "echo boom" is thought to be related to interprovincial out-migration by

people from the baby boomer generation in the late 1960s and 1970s (Ibid, p. 10). The

paper noted, if low birth and fertility rates continued, there would be a need to rely on

interprovincial migration and immigration in order to increase or even maintain the

population (Ibid, p. 3). Clearly this advice has been heeded by successive governments,

as immigration has become a policy priority, discussed further in Chapter Four. As of

1996, New Brunswick's share of the national population had declined from the 1951 high

of 3.7 percent to 2.7 percent (Ibid). The New Brunswick government in the early 1990s

foresaw the hard times that the province was headed towards;

> Many economists and demographers believe the present slow rate of
> population growth in New Brunswick could have significant consequences.
> This, coupled with the anticipated changes in our fiscal arrangements with the
> Federal Government, and the deep restructuring of our global economy, will
> likely provoke economic and social challenges of some magnitude. (Ibid, p. 6)

 During this time the province was still struggling to deal with lingering effects of the

1991 recession, particularly with regards to reduced employment of youth and women

(Ibid, p. 24).

     Out-migration of youth aged 15 to 24 had been a problem since 1985 through to

the mid-1990s (Province of New Brunswick, 1996, p. 26). This was problematic as it led

to fewer younger people contributing to the maintenance of the province. The provincial

government believed this ongoing trend was due, in part, to "the perception of better employment opportunities that exist in other provinces" (Province of New Brunswick, 1996, p. 26). The above gives insight into the official political attitudes towards migration, which emphasize economic pull factors. This perspective has been a political issue since the mid-nineteenth century.

The 1990s labour market was quite competitive, because there were proportionally more people of working age in the Northeast region of New Brunswick (Beaudin, 1999, pp. 30, 32). Added to this, "the pressure is all the stronger because the region's economic structure favours early entry into the labour market (a consequence of the importance of resource-related activities)" (Ibid, p. 32).

The Northeast region also had a high level of seasonal employment (32 percent as of 1999) in many sectors, and this is problematic in terms of the economic vitality of the area, given that so many people are considered to be underemployed (Beaudin, 1999, p. 51). Another issue for the region is education levels, which are linked to labour market indicators and used as a measure of the labour force quality (Ibid). This region has had persistently higher rates of people not achieving a grade 12 level of education, compared to the province on average, and the Maritime provinces as a whole (Beaudin, 1999, pp. 52-53). This is problematic because "[a] better-educated labour force generally has more employment opportunities, suffers fewer layoffs, and, as a result, generates higher incomes" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 54).

There was a decline in employment levels from 1991 to 1996 for the Northeast region which can, in part, be attributed to "the closure of the Canadian forces base in the

Miramichi and the reduction of jobs in the mining, paper, and fish-processing industries"
(Beaudin, 1999, p. 56). With the closure of CFB Chatham in 1995, approximately 1000
jobs were lost, which clearly was a huge blow to the local economy (Ibid, p. 81). Many
people that I spoke to, particularly those who were adults at that time, mentioned the
profound impact they felt this had on Chatham and the surrounding area (since this was
prior to the formation of the city of Miramichi). One person interviewed noted that the
loss of tax income for the town of Chatham from the base was significant; it "was a great
economic engine for the Chatham region." From a more personal point of view, another
person who owns a business on the Newcastle side of the river said, "Well they had their
own schools there [at CFB Chatham] but there were the teachers that were employed
there from here [the former Newcastle] that were out of jobs...it made a huge impact I
would say on business and everything." Many people felt the closing of the base was an
economic and population loss that the area never had a chance to recover from, because
subsequent to that there was a severe downturn in the forestry industry.

Miramichi city is considered one of three Northeast regional centres (the
others are Campbellton and Bathurst) (Beaudin, 1999, p. 22). The city of Miramichi,
as stated in Chapter One, was formed in 1995 through the amalgamation of the
towns of Newcastle and Chatham, as well as surrounding villages/areas. Warnings
were issued in the mid-1990s about the newly formed city, stating the city "must
come to terms with the loss of its military role and its high degree of dependence on
the old technologies of logging and mining if it is to prosper" (Beaudin, 1999, p.
22). Unfortunately, as discussed below, the city has suffered economically since this
time.

In terms of income, New Brunswick's level as of 1996 was 83.5 percent of the national average (Beaudin, 1999, p. 59). In 1996, Miramichi's income level was 95.4 percent of the New Brunswick average level (Beaudin, 1999, p. 60). According to a 1999 study there is "a much higher degree of dependence on employment insurance in Northeast New Brunswick than in the other regions" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 64). This region was affected by the adoption of a new Employment Insurance Program in the 1990s. The associated reduction of funds had a negative effect on the local economy, given that EI has been an important source of income for people in the area (Beaudin, 1999, p. 65).

An important point about income came out of a study conducted in the mid-1990s that found "over the years, semi-skilled workers in the area were often paid wage rates in excess of norms in other industries because of international competition" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 81). These semi-skilled workers were generally without much postsecondary education. The report warns that such workers did not realize the precarious nature of this work, and that in the future it would likely not exist (Beaudin, 1999, p. 82). This in fact has occurred in the time since that report, as is discussed in detail in the section below entitled *Present Day*. However, I suspect from Miramichiers I spoke with, some of the workers in similarly well paid semi-skilled positions, with little education, did know that their work was precarious. As well these people were aware of how lucky they were to have such positions, particularly considering how economically depressed the Miramichi area was generally.

During the time that McKenna was premier (from 1987 to 1998) there was a wide spread perception that economic development rested on the attraction of large businesses

from outside the province (Beaudin, 1999, p. 84). McKenna also focused on trying to build up the information technology sector in order to move away from the province's reliance on natural resource extraction (Mellon, 2001, p. 98). It was through this focus that the call centre industry developed, with government support in the province, certainly one of the lasting legacies of this time (Ibid, p. 99). This industry is part of the service sector, as "[c]all centres are centralized locations from which services such as sales, reservations, information provision, technical support and banking are delivered to customers remotely" (Larner, 2002, p. 133). The creation of call centres as a provincial government economic focus has come under question, as subsequent governments have continued to try to attract international companies to set up centres in the province (McFarland, 2009). The issue is that the very nature of call centres is precarious; it is based on provincial incentives given to corporations, lower wages for workers (than elsewhere in Canada), opposition to union organization of workers, and little job security due to the mobility of corporations (Ibid, p. 50). Clearly, call centres have not proven to be the solution for the provincial economic woes.

By the late 1990s, the strategy of trying to attract large businesses had shifted to focusing on developing local entrepreneurship in the hopes businesses would be likely to stay in the area (Beaudin, 1999, p. 84). However the hopeful tone in a 1999 report (Beaudin, 1999) on the economic status of the Northeast region of the province sadly did not reflect what occurred over the next decade. Diversification was taking place, during this time, within the economy, trying to move away from its dependence on natural resources, and also trying to implement value added processes to the lumber sector (Beaudin, 1999, p. 87). As becomes

apparent in the section entitled *Present Day,* this is now more necessary to the local economy than ever, and yet is difficult to achieve.

In the last century there have been major shifts in the nature of employment, which have affected the historical base of the rural economy. The agricultural sector has lessened significantly, going from the largest employer in 1911 with 38.3 percent of the labour force to 2.1 percent in 1991 (Province of New Brunswick, 1996, p. 35). Also, fishery and forestry related employment dropped from 6.0 percent of the labour force in 1911 to 3.2 percent in 1991 (Ibid). However, it is essential to note that "[t]he forestry sector has always played an important role in the province's economy and continues to do so today" (Savoie, 2001, p. 6). Historically, in the province, the forestry industry has transitioned from an emphasis on timber and shipbuilding to pulp and paper mills (Savoie, 2001, p. 6). As noted above this was a national shift, and one that is becoming increasingly globalized.

The Northeast region of New Brunswick has abundant natural resources, and these resources make up a large part of the economic base of the region (employing approximately twenty-seven percent of the labour force in 1996) (Beaudin, 1999, pp. 35, 36). In particular, Northumberland County, has historically been resource-based, including forestry, mining and fishing, with little diversification until the 1990s (Beaudin, 1999, p. 81). Forestry in particular makes up a large part of the economic base of the region, and has been argued to be "the major cornerstone of industrial employment in the region" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 90). In 1996, forestry was very diversified, as not only was there the timber industry, inclusive of pulpwood, but also paper mills and furniture manufacturing (Ibid, p. 81). At that time, the region had "seventy-seven manufacturing

plants in the wood sector, which employ approximately five thousand workers" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 81). Timber, and pulp and paper sectors, have undergone major restructuring, even in 1996 there had been a reduction of employment (Beaudin, 1999, p. 35). At this time, Miramichi had an extremely modern facility in the Repap plant where high quality paper was produced for advertisements and magazines (Ibid). There seemed to be a hopeful tone to a report about the economic state of this sector at the time, that "[a]lthough the timber industry is still dominated by the large paper companies, it is gradually diversifying into the production of new by-products (wood-shavings panels, plywood, and specialized construction products)" (Ibid).

The reality is that "[l]arge foreign transnational pulp and paper corporations dominate the life and politics of many resource towns in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia" (Sandberg, 1992, p. 1). These corporations also dominate the pulpwood markets in these provinces, and historically this pulpwood has been the lowest priced in Canada (Ibid). It is recognized that resource based economies have a difficult time maintaining stable development over the long term (Sandberg, 1992, p. 4).

At one point in 1992 Miramichi Pulp and Paper in Nelson-Miramichi and Newcastle (before amalgamation) was one of six large transnational corporations that were dominant in the New Brunswick forestry industry and leased Crown lands (Sandberg, 1992, pp. 6-7). These mills have held a huge amount of power in the communities in which they are situated, such as Miramichi, particularly since there have been historically few work opportunities at the relatively high rate of pay (which was brought about through unionization) (Sandberg, 1992, pp. 10-11), with

high school level education. It also needs to be noted that the employment in the pulp and paper industry is very gendered. According to people I spoke with, administrative employment was predominantly female, while the other employment opportunities (at higher rates of pay) were almost all male dominated.

Given the power these employers have, it is not surprising that "the large, mostly foreign, pulp and paper mills are political capital instrumental in the electoral success and survival of the provincial governments" (Sandberg, 1992, p. 11). The set up of the pulp and paper industry also favoured the unionized and well paid mill workers over those contractual forest workers (doing such work as logging the trees), and this created tension which was "a condition exploited by capital" (Sandberg, 1992, p. 17). Another source of contention has been the use and mismanagement of the forests of New Brunswick; Crown lands have been leased to large pulp and paper companies with little regulation (Sandberg, 1992).

After the year 2000, the pulp and paper industry went through a significant downsizing throughout the province, which has led to "growing concerns for the survival of the pulp and paper sector" (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, p. 14). As noted above, the pulp and paper industry has gone through cyclical downturns, which continued in the 1980s and 1990s, leading to industry reliance (since the late 1960s) "on significant public support in the form of grants, tax breaks, infrastructure, technical assistance, research and development service, exemptions from environmental laws, and guaranteed loans" (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, p. 14). Specifically, in the Miramichi region, both federal and provincial governments spent significant amounts of money on the Repap Enterprise's mill

complex in the late 1980s and early 1990s (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, pp. 20-21). Montreal-based private investors, under the subsidiary name of Miramichi Pulp and Paper Company, bought both the Nelson-Miramichi mill (in 1974) and the Newcastle mill (in 1985), with a plan to create a paper complex, with the addition of another mill (Ibid, p. 21). However, the building of the paper complex was heavily subsidized by federal and provincial government grants (Ibid). Despite this and later loan guarantees by both levels of government, the company over-extended itself and "was billions of dollars in debt and financially ruined by the end of the 1990s" (Ibid).

Another resource based industry, mentioned in the last section, which at one time employed many people from the Miramichi area, was mining. North of Miramichi there was once a lead-zinc mine; it is no longer operational. In 1999 the Noranda Heath Steel mine had 250 employees; it closed down following eight years of production that was preceded by a shutdown of approximately eight years (Beaudin, 1999, p. 94; Bissett, 2010).

Present Day

As noted previously, New Brunswick is on the receiving end of federal equalization, and it has been argued that over the last 100 years only marginal economic progress has been made in a few sectors, and that "many of the gains in per capita income and in high-quality public services that have been achieved over the last forty years or so in New Brunswick can be directly attributed to federal transfer payments" (Savoie, 2001, p. 15).

There have been ongoing attempts to move away from this economic dependence on federal money by New Brunswick governments. In particular, Liberal Premier Frank McKenna (who came into power in 1987) made it part of his mandate to promote economic self-sufficiency (Savoie, 2001). This theme was taken up again with the election of Liberal Shawn Graham in 2006. His government put together a document entitled *Our Action Plan to be Self-Sufficient in New Brunswick* in 2007, which laid out a plan for the province to achieve self-sufficiency by the year 2026. This created interest among local academics to explore the idea of self-sufficiency through a conference which then became the basis for publication of an edited collection of articles entitled *Exploring the Dimensions of Self-Sufficiency for New Brunswick*. Many of the authors in this book took issue with the government plan/document because having an action plan to be self-sufficient "implies that New Brunswick does not, and never did, exhibit any of these characteristics" (Boudreau *et al*, 2009, p. 1). This is clearly not the case, as it underestimates the many negative structural trends the province has faced.

The federal equalization payments mentioned continue to this day, although at lower levels, as regional development has been the subject of cutbacks (Sacouman, 2005). However, some argue that "the remaining disparities in various indicators of per-capita income and human capital across Canadian provinces are structural and determined mainly by the (stable) relative degree of urbanization across the provinces" (Coulombe, 2006, p. 3). Coulombe (2006) investigated regional disparities by modelling possible "convergence towards the national average (absolute convergence) or different steady-states (conditional convergence)" (Ruggeri, 2003, p. 28). However, there are several problems with these types of studies; one of the most fundamental being that the

analytical and statistical models used in these studies cannot incorporate the extremely complex economic and political patterns that affect regional disparities (Ruggeri, 2003, p. 30). For this reason, the results of convergence studies should be interpreted with caution. It has been argued that these structural disparities between provinces are maintained through the interprovincial migration of educated youth to urbanized rich provinces from those less economically successful (Coulombe, 2006, p. 3). This becomes a problematic cycle in which there is brain drain away from the provinces that make up the Maritime region, which will be explored with regards to out-migration.

The emphasis on urbanization within globalization and economic discussions seems myopic. Indeed, globalization has been linked to "the continued decline of agriculture everywhere as a site for accumulating value" (Verdery, 2003, p. 7), which is incredibly detrimental because as people are further alienated from the land and means of production there is an increased dependency on wage labour (Workman, 2003, p. 38). Considering the depressed wages in Atlantic Canada this emphasis is problematic. It is short-sighted to concentrate economic development in urban areas, and to diminish agriculture or other natural resource-based sectors of the economy as a viable economic activity.

In terms of an overview of the labour markets, in the past 25 years the Atlantic region has seen the dissolution of Cape Breton's coal and steel industries, the reduction of petty producers such as the fisheries, farming and woodlots, as well as the downsizing of the public sector (Sacouman, 2005). Even so, public service jobs represent 28.5 percent of the total employment for the region, as compared to 23.8 percent for the rest of Canada (Savoie, 2004, p. 120). The emerging economic sectors for the Atlantic region,

according to Sacouman (2005), are tourism, casinos, oil and gas, the cultural industry, which is inclusive of television, movie and comedy productions, as well as the unstatistically verified marijuana production industry, that is clearly part of an informal and illegal industry.

With the loss of many resource related jobs, particularly in the forestry, early entry level positions, and all others, have become scarce. The majority of interviewees noted that there were no longer "good jobs" available to young men, in particular, out of high school, those that would have entered the forestry industry, likely following the example of male family members.

According to 2006 Census information New Brunswick has significantly improved the proportion of people completing high school; however, the province had the smallest percentage of postsecondary graduates (among people aged 25 to 64) (Statistics Canada, 2009). This lack of postsecondary graduates has been linked to a large number of them leaving the province, without replacement by those moving into the province (Ibid). This link between higher education and migration is taken up in the next chapter, as this is a general trend; those people with post-secondary education are generally more mobile.

Tellingly, the former CFB Chatham housing has been developed into a retirement community (Beaudin, 1999, p. 101). The city of Miramichi promotes itself as a retirement destination (City of Miramichi, 2011). Many of the retired people that I spoke to living in Miramichi noted that the area did indeed seem to attract people at that stage in life. One retiree was emphatic on this point,

> The reality is this, people born in the Miramichi regardless of whether they work
> away all their lives or not, 9 out of 10 of them on retirement move back. It's
> really scary, they say 'once a Miramichier, always a Miramichier'. This actually
> is true, I know dozens, upon dozens, upon dozens of people that worked away all

their life--40 years, 45 years--away and they would move back. And because
they have family here, or had family here, they've got their childhood memories
here. This is where they want to lead a more relaxed type of life.

However, the above individual was also adamant that there needed to be economic

strategies far beyond being a retirement community, and that young people needed to be

targeted for retention. This potential transition into a city of retirees is further explored in

the next chapter, and at a later point delves into the socio-emotional component of this

conception of identity by retirees. However, people I spoke with of all ages reflected the

opinion above: while there could be some economic benefits to this type of retirement in-

migration, it should not be overstated.

The 2010 rate of unemployment for the Statistics Canada area of Campbellton-

Miramichi (Statistics Canada use a different division of region) was 16 percent, and this

was the highest rate in the province (Statistics Canada, 2010). While the unemployment

rate is not the same as the number of people receiving employment insurance, noted in

the previous section for the 1990s, it does provide a useful measure of the economic

situation of the area.

Tourism has been a focus of development for the Northeastern region and

province generally since the 1990s (Beaudin, 1999, p. 88). In particular, the city of

Miramichi is known for its festivals. It has a series throughout the summer months, as

well as a pond hockey tournament in the winter. The summer festivals include Rock'n

Roll Festival Miramichi, Canada's Irish Festival on the Miramichi, Bay du Vin Summer

Survival and the Annual Miramichi Folksong Festival, to name a few (City of Miramichi,

2008). The current Miramichiers interviewed that mentioned any of the festivals stressed

their economic importance to the community, and some festivals in particular were

considered culturally important. The relation of the historical identities of people in the region to the festivals will be considered later in this work, in relation to nostalgic sentimentality. However, despite the numerous festivals, current Miramichiers interviewed were sceptical about the tourism industry being sustainable or ever moving beyond its current state of being predominantly a summer activity. Some interviewed were hopeful that tourism in Miramichi was on an upswing, and could become an increasing part of the economy. As one person noted,

> …the advertising of it and the promotion of it by the city has definitely improved a hundred fold over the last 15 years. I mean, the interpretive centre for Beaubears Island is state of the art, with touch screens, you know. It's just fantastic. But it's to get the advertisement out there to draw more, yeah.

However, Miramichi suffered the loss of its airport, in 1999, specifically in terms of public use, with the stoppage of commercial flights (Gowan, 1999). This loss was particularly significant as the closest airports are two hours away by car, which is problematic for tourism. The airport facilities, which were at one time part of the armed forces base, remain there and in the summer of 2010 there were announcements made by both the federal and provincial governments that they would receive economic support (Shingler, 2010). However, the economic plans for the Miramichi airport do not seem to include having commercial flights. Nevertheless, part of the deal with the province is the provision of pay for an economic development officer to find businesses for the airport (Ibid), which may include commercial flights. A few people I interviewed were hopeful about the proposed development of the airport, "[a]nd they're working here to do something with the airport and this type of thing. We're hoping, they're hoping that they can entice people to come, industry to come in and this type of thing, but you know it's very slow." Also, in terms of transportation and access, Miramichi port facilities have not

been in use since 2007, when UPM- Kymmene closed (detailed later in this chapter), as

they were the only customer at that point, using the port storage facilities (Martins, 2010).

As of the summer of 2010, the Port of Miramichi was being put up for mortgage sale

(Ibid). Several people I interviewed saw this disuse of the port as problematic to

attracting and retaining industry. As one person said, not having a functioning port is part

of a larger problem,

> you know like business is business but in order to bring the people to go to the
> business you need infrastructure, you need your railroads, you need your
> roads, you need water, our ports done anyway, and you need possibly an
> airline or an air strip. Well we've lost the airstrip, we've lost the port, we
> don't have up to date roads and we're possibly ready to lose our rail line…

He points out that it is difficult to try to attract industry without the proper

infrastructure in place. Many other people I interviewed echoed this sentiment and

were convinced that another large company was needed in the local economy, and

that it would likely be resource based.

In contrast to the above point of view, there are those that I spoke with who saw

possibilities of economic diversification with the animation and technological sectors.

The New Brunswick Community College in Miramichi set up animation and technology

courses and there was a successful local animation business, Fat Catz Studios for several

years (Bruce, 2010). The three levels of governments became involved in trying build up

the animation sector and a "creative economy" (Bruce, 2010). However, to date, there has

been limited success, particularly given the closing down of Fat Catz Studios.

The tele-administration and telemarketing areas grew in all of New Brunswick

during the 1990s. The federal gun registry was set up in Miramichi, and also private

sector call centres have been set up in the city (Beaudin, 1999, p. 107). When I spoke

with people about the local private industry call centres, without fail they considered

them poor places to work, citing low pay and unrewarding work.

In terms of the public sector "the health and education systems are major

employers in the Northeast region" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 117). In fact, the majority of

people interviewed thought that the health and education sectors were the only ones that

were hiring consistently and had good jobs. They felt that if someone wanted to stay in

the Miramichi area targeting the education necessary to get a job in one of these sectors

would be prudent. As one former mill worker who, after being laid off, went back to

school to become a nurse, and was then hired at the local Miramichi Regional Hospital,

explained,

> Really the education thing works obviously, there were 11 of us on one of the
> floors [at the hospital] the other day, [former] mill workers. We weren't all
> nursing, some of us were LPN, some of us were nurses, there was a janitor,
> there was a stores guy, there was an instrument guy, electrician, but we were
> all mill workers. So obviously educating yourself right will give you gainful
> employment in your home community if you chose the right line of work…

This opinion was expressed by many people I spoke with: choosing strategic

education was imperative to being able to work at a "good job" in Miramichi. This

is explored further in the next chapter with regards to how employment

considerations relate to decisions to migrate.

In the year 2000, a world leader in the forestry industry, a Finnish company called

UPM Kymmene bought the Miramichi facility from the failing Repap Enterprise (Morris,

2009). The Finnish company also owned two sawmills in Bathurst and Blackville, as well

as woodlands operations (Ibid). UPM Kymmene shut down one of the mills down in

2004, with a loss of approximately 400 jobs to the local economy, and the other went

through shutdowns, to be finally closed for good in 2007 with a loss of approximately 650 jobs (Bissett, 2010). The shutdown of the mill in 2007 by UPM occurred despite concessions made by the unionized employees, who agreed to a wage rollback in 2006 (The Canadian Press, 2006). After the final mill was closed, UPM initially refused to sell either mill because they did not want to sell to a competitor who would just add to the volume of the market; instead, they removed most industry equipment (Bissett, 2007). This enraged the former employees, 150 of whom took to the streets of Miramichi, demanding that the government step in to force UPM to sell the mills intact to another company. The government took no action, claiming that there were no legal grounds to do so (Ibid).

In speaking with some former mill workers and others in Miramichi there was widespread disgust at what they saw as the wasting of good mills. Some went so far as to state they thought that UPM Kymmene never had any intention of staying in the area; they were only concerned with putting a competitor out of business and not allowing any other company to buy the facilities. While others I talked with called this last viewpoint a conspiracy theory, all agreed that international companies were not likely to stick through poor economic times. This was also the case with the Weyerhaeuser, a US based company, which closed its oriented strand board mill in 2007, with 140 jobs lost (Bissett, 2010). However, in 2012, the Weyerhaeuser mill was bought by a Quebec company, Arbec Forest Products, which is planning to reopen fully in the spring of 2013 and hire more than 100 workers (CBC News, 2012).

While the use and lease of Crown lands to pulp and paper companies has been an issue of ongoing tension in New Brunswick since their rise to prominence, community-

based forestry has not been allowed to take place with Crown lands, despite plans to do so presented to the government (McLaughlin & Parenteau, 2009, p. 25). This has become even more contentious, considering paper companies have closed down mills, yet keep their allocation of Crown land; "anger in struggling communities is kept fresh by regular government exemptions that allow these absentee companies to export unprocessed wood from their Crown allocations" (Ibid). This was the case with UPM Kymmene who, after closing its pulp and paper mills and sawmill located in Blackville, continued to have forestry licences to Crown lands until March 2009 (The Canadian Press, 2008). Several people I interviewed spoke about this specific situation, and found it disgraceful that the provincial would not better safeguard Crown resources. They also said that this was proof of the government catering to big business, expressing concern that these companies would be allowed to take raw forest product out of the province with minimal value added. These concerns with the pulp and paper industry echo the historical ones that were discussed earlier in the chapter. However, increased globalization has only intensified the situation. In fact, McLaughlin and Parenteau argue that "[t]he recent (late January 2009) extension of cutting rights to the pulp and paper industry into Crown land conservation areas confirms that the failure to adopt the community forest model utilized in other political jurisdictions stems from a lack of political vision and courage." (2009, p. 29).

There are no signs that this governmental pattern is changing. In fact, UPM Kymmene did finally sell the mills, woodland operations and two sawmills to UMOE Solar AS of Norway in 2009 (The Canadian Press, 2009, January 16). The plan put forward by UMOE Solar was to use one of the mills to possibly build solar panels and also they expressed interest in the forestry industry (Morris, 2009). While UMOE went

ahead with demolishing the Miramichi mill (they were in the process of this while field research was taking place), the company pulled out any construction and subsequent production plans for the site in the summer of 2010 (Gibbens, 2010). This news came about while I was in Miramichi, and people reacted with disappointment, feeling that the project had at least offered the hope of building up the local economy. Others expressed cynicism, considering UMOE Solar is still continuing its forestry operations, but with little value added to these products before they leave the country. UMOE fully pulled out of all business in Miramichi, after I had left the field, and after some legal wrangling the province was left owing the company approximately $11 million dollars (Miramichi Leader Staff, 2012). This resulted from the province having signed a development deal with UMOE which stated the province was obligated to buy back all Miramichi assets and lands if the development plan fell through (Ibid). No doubt this only fuelled cynicism about foreign investors. The province has now signed an agreement with the federal government to rent out some refurbished former UPM Kymmene office building to train and house new Federal Pay Centre of Expertise employees (McDavid, 2012). The federal government is expected to have 550 new staff in this Centre by 2015 (Ibid).

Another company that closed in the recent past was the Atcon group, the key difference being that this was in fact a Miramichi based company started by an area local, Robbie Tozer (Bissett, 2010). This group of companies had varied interests including construction, manufacturing and environmental services (Ibid). Most people I spoke with mentioned that Atcon was a company that had tapped into the Alberta oil sands boom, having contracts with oil companies to provide heavy machinery operators (Ibid). People said the pay for such jobs through Atcon was very good, and that many men (as it was

apparently quite gendered) were willing to spend the time away from family to get said

good pay. This type of work migration will be discussed further in the next chapter.

When Atcon had five of its companies in receivership in March 2010, those companies

had 329 people employed, so again this failure was a major blow to the local economy

(Bissett, 2010). Also, the opinions I heard expressed by people I interviewed, and in

casual conversations, were that the closing of Atcon Group was significant because it had

been started locally. However, since leaving the field the former premiere of New

Brunswick Shawn Graham has been found guilty of having a conflict of interest when

Atcon was given three loan guarantees worth 50 million dollars in 2010 (CBC News,

2013). Graham's father was, at the time, a director of a Swedish subsidiary of Atcon's

(Ibid).

However, there is a small positive note to the above mentioned closures of mills

and mines, which is the impact that it has had on the Miramichi River. Northumberland

County is well known for the Miramichi River that runs through it (Beaudin, 1999, p. 81)

(and clearly runs through Miramichi City, dividing the former towns of Chatham and

Newcastle). The Miramichi River is "reportedly one of the best salmon-fishing rivers in

the world" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 81). There is a network of fishing lodges and related

businesses that have grown out of this renown (Ibid). This tourism fishing industry has

benefited because, as of 2009, the river system has shown a marked improvement in

water quality and clarity (The Canadian Press, 2009, July 4). The improvement in the

Miramichi River water was mentioned by a few people I interviewed. They said that,

while they did not like the fact that so many people lost their jobs, they had health

concerns related to the pulp and paper industry. This is an example of the divisions in the

community between those that worked in the mill and those that did not. There were also people I spoke to that said they did not feel sorry for the unionized mill workers who lost their jobs because they were being paid at too high a level in comparison to other people in the community. Also, some thought unionized mill workers "acted superior" to other people in the city and this was a cause of resentment. Clearly there have been longstanding class divisions in Miramichi that have now been shaken up, considering the mill closures.

While agriculture does not contribute strongly to the Northeast regional economy, there is an active dairy industry, particularly the Northumberland Dairy in Miramichi. It is a large co-op dairy processing plant that buys milk from the surrounding area (Beaudin, 1999, p. 99). Interviewees mentioned that they suspected Northumberland Co-op was now one of the major employers in the area and that they had diversified beyond milk products. Another employer which was frequently referred to was that of the Atlantic Institution, a maximum security prison, which opened in 1987, located in Renous, New Brunswick (Correctional Service of Canada, 2013). The penitentiary is located approximately a 30 minute drive from Miramichi and considered to be a good place of stable employment.

The primary issue with being a natural resource based economy regionally, and for Northumberland County is that it has been unable to sustain itself. Therefore the area needs to further process primary resources; this addition of value is what will create jobs (Beaudin, 1999, p. 83). While this sounds like it could potentially be quite simple, it has in fact not happened in any sustained way, and this is connected to the fact that "prices for these commodities are set on the international market and cannot be controlled by

New Brunswickers" (Ibid). As shown in the forestry industry, it would take difficult changes to the current system to accomplish this, ones that successive provincial governments seem unwilling or able to make.

Livelihoods

     As noted, according to the geo-political boundaries, Miramichi is considered a city, but, it is in fact an amalgamation of rural and non-rural areas, and hence the differences in access to resources, livelihoods and conceptions of community need to be recognized. Livelihood as deployed here references Halperin's concept of multiple livelihood strategies, which to simplify includes the combinations of economic activities (both subsistence and cash-generating) that people use in order to make ends meet (1990, pp. 19-20). Many people I spoke with used a variety of economic activities to provide their income, and certainly most families depended on all adults having employment. Childcare often involved the unpaid work of multiple family members. Barber (1990) also discusses comparable livelihood strategies in 1980s Cape Breton.

     Through a stretching of spatial scale, facilitated by the concept of transnationality, livelihood strategies can also be conceived to include internal migration (White, 2009, p. 556). Also relevant here is acknowledgement of the importance of culture, which the literature suggests shapes livelihood strategies and therefore the assessment of migration as an acceptable strategy. Livelihood as a concept helps to explore the idea of a 'culture of migration' because "livelihood is not just acquiring material resources, but also acting out expectations of what is considered locally appropriate" (Ibid, p. 557). Therein lies the theoretical connection between livelihood and identity, as it is "a shaper of livelihood

expectations and trajectories" (Ibid). Some academics conceptualize identity as a

necessary *part* of livelihood, broadening the definition to include those necessary social

relationships (that make up identity) used to obtain and perform productive, life-

sustaining tasks (see Wallman, 1984, pp. 22-23). This chapter clearly shows that

historically the forestry industry has been viewed as an appropriate livelihood (and

"good" jobs) for those people, predominantly men, not seeking postsecondary education.

However, given the current forestry industry recession there is now a reformation of what

is a good livelihood and what is acceptable.

The concept of livelihood also corresponds to that of pluriactivity used by

Narotzky and Smith (2006),[5] who found that the heterogeneity of occupations among

individuals, households and localities produced social and cultural differentiations (p.

33). The earlier homogeneity of occupations in Miramichi clearly was problematic (with

the pulp and paper mills being the major employers) given the loss of all mill jobs.

However, the response to this loss has been varied, with some incorporating different

forms of migration as a means of pursuing their livelihoods. Also, migration has been

used by successive generations in search of postsecondary education and various other

livelihoods.

Taking a holistic view of work and occupation through the use of the concept of

livelihood allows for a more nuanced and detailed understanding of the connections

between migration and life sustaining tasks. Furthermore, the concept of livelihood, as

defined by White (2009), creates an opportunity to study the connections between

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[5] For Narotzky and Smith (2006), pluriactivity, in relation to the region of Spain where they did their research, refers to income seeking activities, not auto-provisioning for the household (such as baking their own bread or building their own houses) (p. 50).

identity and the acceptability of migration as a livelihood strategy. These connections are further explored in the next two chapters, as migration is not only an economic strategy.

How This Influences Mobility

This chapter has economically and politically situated Miramichi, New Brunswick. From this historical perspective, it becomes clear that there have been ongoing economic challenges to the province since Confederation, setting up structural economic issues that continue. Globalization has also not been kind to the province, despite political attempts to attract international corporations. Specifically, Miramichi has suffered major economic setbacks, particularly in the last 20 years. Yet despite this history there is a resilient attitude in the city. While some have surmised that this is merely "a growing survival mentality among the population" (Beaudin, 1999, p. 114), I would disagree. In a later chapter I discuss further this idea of resilience, but in doing so I do not wish to convey the idea that Miramichi is not in need of government attention and nurturing.

Migration, though, is another idea that has historical precedence in Miramichi, and it is further explored in the next chapter. It is not just former mill workers who are on the move; the migration patterns of Miramichi are complex, connecting issues of education, identity, and employment.

Chapter Four: Who's on the Move?

Livelihood, as a complex notion capturing multiple forms of employment, formal or otherwise, is a helpful concept in understanding the lived experience of many people, including those in Miramichi, New Brunswick. The political economy is intricately linked to the idea of livelihood, in that, and as noted earlier, the shifts in local economy are dynamically related to the immense scale of international trade and companies. This in turn has repercussions on the livelihoods of local people and their mobility decisions. Migration is not usually a simple choice, as argued below; it is in fact complex with regards to motivation, the decisions made and sentiments involved. This chapter demonstrates there are complex interconnections between the political economy detailed in the previous chapter, and the different forms of migration taking place in and around Miramichi. My ethnographic data emphasizes this complexity of migration decisions and types of migration that occur.

In order to contextualize the following information about migration I detail some of the attributes of the people I interviewed. In addition, I gained information through daily interactions with the local people.[6] The focus was on attaining in-depth information from a broad range of people. It is important to keep in mind that this ethnographic study was not predicated on attaining a representative sample of the population. Throughout this chapter my interview information will be further contextualized, when possible, by available academic and government works, with the purpose of presenting as complete a picture as possible about migration trends in this area. Finally, I believe it is important to note that I am discussing *all* interviewees initially (i.e. including both those living in and

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[6] Complete details on the methodology used for this study are contained in the Appendix: Methodology.

away from Miramichi), in terms of their attributes. This is necessary to contextualize the information these interviews provided, which included the decision and migration patterns of people they knew, including family members, as well as key insights regarding what they believe the effects of these migration patterns are having on the community.

In total I interviewed 48 people, 24 that currently lived in Miramichi and 24 that at one point in their lives had lived there. Those interviewees who did not currently live in Miramichi were residing: elsewhere in New Brunswick (9), Nova Scotia (3), Ontario (6), Alberta (5) and outside of the country (1).

Twenty-five of those interviewed were women and 23 were men. This group included a broad range of ages from as young as 23 to as old as 76, with an even distribution across age groups. In this way, the perspectives of different life stages are represented and this proved to be very valuable in highlighting a variety of mobility types. These types included stayers, those who migrated to the community, those that migrated out of the area, and commuter migrants. The vast majority of those I interviewed were married (38/48), with only a few who were single (5) or engaged (5). While the overall group includes those who are not migrants, marital status does affect migration decisions, as discussed further on in this chapter. Considerations for moving become more complex when the needs of two people have to be met by the move.

The education levels of the interviewees were quite diverse, ranging from Grade Eleven to a Doctorate degree, thus providing a variety of perspectives. However, the majority had some college or university education (28/48). This is reflective of the strong trend since 1990 towards increasing educational attainment in New Brunswick as a whole

(Post Secondary Education, Training and Labour, 2010, p. 41). The theme of education was very prominent in the data, and is therefore discussed at length in a later section.

The diversity in the levels of education attained by the interviewees is also matched by a variety of occupational statuses; there were a few who were unemployed at the time of the interview (3/48) and some who were retired (8/48). This small group of unemployed people interviewed is not representative of the relatively high unemployment rate found in the community. In July 2010 the Northeast region of New Brunswick had a 15.3 percent unemployment rate, compared to 9 percent for the province as a whole at that time (Ibid, p. 6). In fact, from October 2008 to July 2010 the region lost 7, 100 net jobs, a 10 percent decline, while every other region in New Brunswick gained at that time (Ibid).

The retirement sub-group of interviewees was the largest of the occupational status groups, reflecting the increasingly aging population but may also be an artefact of people of this age and status having the time to take part an in-depth conversation with a relative stranger (or had the time to take out of their day). Following closely to the retirees were those working for government, or an NGO (7/48), and those working in education (7/48). It is also important to note that the vast majority of interviewees have a working partner in their household or one that was retired (40/48).

Also of note is the fact that I interviewed six former mill workers (I will not specify which mills in the interest of anonymity) and two spouses of former mill workers. From these interviews I obtained an insider perspective on the effects of the mill closures and the different paths taken to deal with the loss of employment, many of which have entailed different types of mobility. In conjunction with these insider perspectives are

those of the other interviewees, many of whom know former mill workers and their work situations. Former mill workers are, of course, a group of interest due to their relatively large numbers in the community and the concerns expressed by the community at the overall downturn in the forestry industry. The mill workers provide examples of strategies that have been employed to adjust to these conditions and the role of mobility within these structures.

The Variety of Mobility

Alex (30 years old) and Janice (28 years old) told me two typical stories of migration by young people for education and employment. They are a young married couple currently living in Ontario, both of whom are originally from the Miramichi. Their series of moves began after completing high school. Alex initially went to a community college in Moncton, the fall after graduating from high school. However, this initial foray into post-secondary education only lasted four months. At winter break, after the first term, he moved back to Miramichi. The next fall Alex enrolled at the New Brunswick Community College in Miramichi and studied there for two years, which he really enjoyed.

However, by that time he was dating Janice, who, following her family's advice, and friends, was attending the University of New Brunswick (UNB) in Fredericton. She moved to Fredericton the fall after graduating from high school, visiting Miramichi when possible. Janice also moved back to Miramichi to work in the summer, for the early years of her undergraduate degree. Her summer work consisted of a service job at a local store. Meanwhile two years into his college education in Miramichi, Alex decided to move to

Fredericton to go to college there. However, the decision to move to Fredericton was mainly to be nearer to Janice and his friends. While he did not enjoy the program as much in Fredericton, socializing with the numerous friends living and going to school in Fredericton made the move worthwhile.

When Janice graduated from UNB in Fredericton with her degree, she and Alex moved back to Miramichi for a year. While she applied to graduate schools they both worked, Alex getting a job at a local call centre and Janice working in a retail store. They were both unhappy with the work they were doing, but recognized it as a short term solution while they decided where to move. The mills at this point (the mid-2000s) were still active and Alex and Janice did not have any problems getting their service industry positions. They only worked for a year in Miramichi before both moving to Ontario, Alex following Janice as she pursued a graduate degree. In Ontario, they both found work in fields they found rewarding and were content with the city they moved to. They still felt connected to the community of Miramichi and visited regularly. Despite this emotional connection to place, they both felt it was unlikely they would ever move back to Miramichi, except perhaps for retirement. However, they were considering a move back to the Maritimes to be closer to family, and they missed Maritime culture (which they described as the friendliness, pace of life and historical heritage).

Alex and Janice's story of migration was typical of those I heard through interviews and chatting with people in Miramichi. It was typical of younger people who pursued post-secondary education, following the suggestions of their parents and the movements of their peers to nearby institutions. Also, they maintained ongoing connections with Miramichi, supporting their postsecondary education costs by working

in the city and moving back in order to plan the next stage of their lives together. The work they obtained during the year after graduating from postsecondary education is indicative of the entry level positions available during the mid-2000s. The service industry was the most accessible to them. Another commonality of Alex and Janice's narrative to those of other migrants was the continued attachment to the Miramichi community and Maritimer identity, as well as a consideration of a move back to the region. This was despite living 'away' for an extended time (at the time of the interview they had lived away for six years), and being fairly satisfied with their work and other aspects of life in Ontario. The fact that Janice was the partner who was pursing higher levels of education, is consistent with research suggesting women from rural communities are more likely to leave for education and not return (Corbett, 2007). Interestingly, many of the married people I interviewed had married someone from the Miramichi area.

In contrast to the narratives of Alex and Janice is that of Bryan (age 45), a former mill worker who decided to get postsecondary education, retraining before re-entering the workforce. Bryan started work at the local paper mill soon after graduating from high school, and worked there for twenty-two years. He really enjoyed his work at the mill, working his way up to a very good hourly wage and having a close social group made up of co-workers. When the mill went through initial layoffs, Bryan remained hopeful that there would be a resurgence in the market and the company would go back to full staffing. Even after the mill shut down there was a small element of hope felt by Bryan and some of his co-workers that the mill might reopen, possibly under new ownership. In the meantime, many of the people who had worked at the mill decided to retrain,

pursuing postsecondary education in the hopes of making themselves more attractive on the labour market. Other friends of his who were former mill workers decided to leave town (most temporarily, through contract work) to work in northern Alberta. Bryan decided to join some friends retraining at the community college in Moncton. He had a family to consider, a wife and two young children, and felt that the lucrative contract work out west involved too much time away from his family (often up to six weeks away during contracts).

So Bryan went into a program at the community college in Moncton that he felt was complementary to the skills he had from his mill work. He and several other friends car pooled for the commute to Moncton daily during the week. During the two years it took to complete the program Bryan was relatively absent from family life and was disheartened by this. His wife and extended family saw to the daily running of the household. While Bryan had some money from the mill shutdown in terms of settlement and unemployment, financially there was a big adjustment, and he felt fortunate that his wife had a stable relatively well-paying job.

After graduating from his program Bryan had a very difficult time finding work. His age seemed to be problematic, and the lack of experience in his new field led to job offers at the entry level. These entry level jobs were not in Miramichi and Bryan felt that if he commuted to them in the south of the province it would not make financial sense. After some time he did get a contract that made financial sense to accept, in Fredericton. This led to a year where he paid for a room in Fredericton, working there during the week and commuting home on the weekends. Bryan became increasingly dissatisfied with how

this arrangement was affecting his family; he missed his family. Economically the commuting was very costly as well.

When his contract was not renewed Bryan moved back to Miramichi, and while happy for the time with his family, there continued to be little work available in his field in the area. It seemed likely that Bryan would once again have to take work outside of the Miramichi, and commute to see his family. However, he and his wife were considering moving the family to where he could get work. Bryan was hesitant about this. He did not want to leave the community he felt very attached to, where he knew people and the pace of life was slow. Also, extended family took care of Bryan's children while he and his wife worked, which made a big difference to the family economically (not having to pay for childcare). The last time I spoke to Bryan while I was doing fieldwork he was still unemployed, but hoping to hear back from some jobs he had applied to, none of which were based in Miramichi.

Bryan's narrative is an example of the conflicted situations many former mill workers found themselves in after the closure. Many people were initially optimistic the mill would be reopened in some capacity. However, when I did fieldwork it was being torn down, and the UMO solar plant plans had been scrapped for the foreseeable future (as discussed in the previous chapter). With these hopes dashed, retraining was an option many former mill workers took. However, with little direction as to what the best labour market options were, not all chosen education routes would lead to employment in Miramichi. For many people, employment in the area was the goal of retraining. However, this also led to intense competition for any positions that opened in Miramichi. All of this contributed to many workers being in a similar situation to Bryan--unable to

find work at home, and commuting to jobs elsewhere in the province (or outside of the province in some cases).

These narratives show the generational differences in migration patterns for both education and employment. The sections below are divided into discussions of migration based on the reason for it, the two main ones being education and employment. While these divisions are necessary from a theoretical point of view, the personal narratives of Alex, Janice and Bryan show the lived complexities of migration patterns and the reasons behind them.

Education Migration

One of the main themes from my interviewees was that of the connection between seeking higher education and mobility. The majority of interviewees noted that the post-secondary schooling options for people remaining in Miramichi were limited to the offerings of the New Brunswick Community College (NBCC) campus in the city. St. Thomas University was situated in Chatham (before the amalgamation) from 1910 to 1963 (St. Thomas University, 2011). Originally, the institution was called St. Thomas College, a boy's college providing secondary and junior college level education, run by the Catholic Church (Ibid). The institution began to grant degrees in 1934 and in 1960 it became St. Thomas University, with high school courses eliminated from the curriculum the next year (Ibid). Through an agreement with the University of New Brunswick in 1963, St. Thomas University moved from Chatham to Fredericton, opening there in 1964 (Ibid).[7] The loss of the university was seen as important to all the surrounding

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[7] The decision to move the university was made by the Catholic Church diocese of Saint John, which ran the institution (Fraser, 1970, p. 93). This decision was made in response to the recommendation of the

communities by older residents, particularly retirees. A 70 year old former educator, retired and living in Miramichi explained the significance:

> We had lost St. Thomas University in the late 60s. Up until then, a great many young people got degrees who never ever would have been able to get them otherwise and up until that time it was very true that they got the degree and stayed here as much as possible. After St. Thomas closed that became less true…

He went on to say that those not going on to post-secondary education were, until recently, likely to stay in the area because of the prevalence of employment available with natural resource companies, particularly woods related work. In terms of locally available post-secondary education though, St. Thomas University now offers courses in collaboration with the NBCC. While the course selection is limited, it does allow people to stay in Miramichi and possibly with their parents, particularly for the first year of university. The majority of interviewees were very positive about being able to do first year university while in Miramichi, "…I did my first year in extension at Miramichi, at the NBCC campus so I was able to…take my first year courses there while I bartended at a local bar to make extra money and pay for my tuition." This quote is from a 30 year old man, currently living in Fredericton, who emphasized the affordability of the St. Thomas extension courses.

However, many students who currently go on to pursue postsecondary education move to attend schools outside the community. There was an emphasis among the people I interviewed with universities in New Brunswick, and Maritime universities generally. Many people initially stayed quite close to Miramichi, going to school at such universities as the University of New Brunswick (with campuses in Fredericton and Saint John, New Brunswick), St. Thomas University (also in Fredericton) or Mount Allison

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move by a provincial Royal Commission on higher education (Ibid). The Miramichi communities attempted to block this move but were unsuccessful (Ibid).

University (in Sackville, New Brunswick). Some people explained that there were family

connections with certain local universities, and so they were encouraged to go to these

particular universities. These included many in Nova Scotia as well. Interestingly, there

was no mention of this type of family connection with universities outside of the

Maritimes. As one 28 year old woman, now living in Windsor, Ontario put it, in terms of

deciding to where to go to university after high school,

> I guess at home a lot of people seemed to go to UNB and [I] guess my mother had
> mentioned UNB the whole time I was growing up so…I just always assumed I
> would go there. I didn't really think a whole lot about where I would go, so I just
> went there.

Although youth moved away to go to university they also generally came "home"

to work for the summers. In a very real sense, the community supports these young

migrants. Also, it is interesting to note that at one time the mills provided really well paid

summer jobs for the children of workers; it was a stated policy that preference would be

given to those with relatives working at the mill. This preferential policy led to

resentment by some in the community towards mill workers, and this will be explored

later in the chapter.

It is also important to contextualize this current emphasis on education. This has

been the case for more affluent individuals for quite some time, those who had the means

and opportunity to access post-secondary education. However, there is now an increased

emphasis for all students to go on with their schooling. This was clearly explained to me

by a 30 year old man currently living in Fredericton, as he reflected on outmigration from

Miramichi,

> ...the people who are in their 40s are really having a difficult time because they
> got in at the ground floor on things like the mill and the other kinds of economic
> drivers and then when it went away they had few options. They had…to go back to

school or totally retrain, so people my age kind of knew…they were able to avoid it by going into postsecondary…if you were 40 and you're from Miramichi you didn't have to go to university to get a job...if you were willing to work there were all kinds of opportunities but nowadays people my age…growing up it seemed to be stressed that it was almost [as if] we had to do some postsecondary education to guarantee those kinds of jobs.

At one time, some people in the community, particularly young men, did not need to be concerned about education levels if they wished to work in the natural resource sector. This sector was widely perceived as an area that usually had good paying work. However, as discussed in the previous chapter, this conception does not acknowledge the historical volatility of the natural resource sector, and the ebb and flow of jobs in such areas as forestry, the fisheries and mining. When interviewees did acknowledge the volatility of this sector, they tended to gloss over the uncertainty in nostalgic remembrances, emphasizing these jobs as lucrative. This seeming contradiction of nostalgia for certain livelihoods, and the current low of the resource-based economy, are explored further in Chapter Six. In fact, interviewees knew of unemployed people (mostly men) who were currently waiting to see if the sector would take an upturn, or some employment similar to the mills would become available (such as the failed UMO Solar plant). This volatility is linked to the ongoing historical patterns of outmigration from the Maritime provinces, in general, and New Brunswick in particular. This will be linked to the broader Canadian and international context in Chapter Five. However, in part, the above attachment to this particular type of working class livelihood, shying away from education, can be explained by the classic research about education and labour by Willis (1981). He argues that situations such as this "can be understood as a form of cultural reproduction which helps to contribute towards social reproduction in general" (Ibid, p. 185). This also allows for a ready, local, supply of working class labour available

for the flexible needs of capital. This labour has been sustained by government employment programs, although, as discussed in the Chapter Eight changes to these further impact working class labour. As previously noted, and discussed throughout this work, neoliberal restructuring now compels laid off and unemployed workers to be resourceful and mobile in particular ways.

As I noted above, for most of those seeking post-secondary education, leaving the Miramichi area was necessary. This is generally the case for youth in the area, as this is the life stage when pursuit of post-secondary education is most likely. However, with the closing of mills and the downturn in the forestry sector (and natural resources in general), some of those workers who lost their jobs have gone back to retrain later in life. These people are good examples of how education has now become important in finding work, and also demonstrate the adaptability of individuals to their changing life circumstances. From the ethnographic information I gathered, their decisions about whether to retrain for a different job and where to get that education were not simplistic, economically rational choices. Rather, those decisions were complex and included considerations, often times, about spouses, children and community. When I asked one former mill worker whether he had given thought to applying to work in Alberta he responded,

> …I thought about it but the education seemed like a stronger hold for the future because the other stuff can die out, the flame can fizzle as quick as it can light up with the out West work. So the schooling, although it was a tougher route, it seemed to be more concrete and it would allow me to stay here with my Mother and Grandmother there, so that was a big factor for me. Because I'm the only child and both ladies are widowed, so they have...only me, and my wife obviously but as far as family, they have me and that's all they have in their world, so [they are] fairly dependent on me for everything.

The importance of family was a common theme for the motivation to stay in Miramichi. These strong family connections are also linked to the deep sense of community in the area.

People who retrained from lost mill jobs were also flexible, and some quite shrewd about what they went on to train for. A very telling example is that several former mill workers retrained as practical nurses through the two year course available at the local NBCC. While they may have been drawn to the occupation out of interest, and certainly invested considerable time and effort to gain the education necessary, it was also a very practical strategy in terms of gaining employment in Miramichi. The regional hospital in the city is a major employer and considered by most people I spoke with to be one of the few places now hiring consistently. The move from the heavily male-dominated work of the mills to the female-dominated occupation of nursing speaks to the flexibility and will of these men to stay in the community. No one who spoke to me about these men had anything but respect for them and the effort they had made to retrain, as well as gain employment in the community. This is an example that goes against the commonly held notion that gendered work or cultural sanctions enforcing gendered work are perpetuated in such rural areas.

The focus on further education for youth, in particular, and the overarching discourse that this will necessarily mean leaving the community and not likely coming back (for university education particularly), is certainly not unique to Miramichi. Particularly relevant to this discussion is work done by Michael Corbett (2007) on rural society and education. Corbett's (2007) study of Digby Neck, Nova Scotia, analysed the connections found between formal education and out-migration from the region. He

effectively argues for the importance of education systems and their relationship with local cultural practices in the making of migration decisions (Corbett, 2007). He states educational policies informed by the needs of global capital are pervasive and as such "schools are concerned with severing the attachments of individuals to particular places and making young people adaptable, flexible and mobile" (Ibid, p. 251). This is certainly reflected in the way my interviewees speak about education and its links to migration. The rhetoric of the flexible, unattached worker is also part of neoliberalism. In this way it is clear how neoliberalism is integrated, to various degrees, within Canadian political economies, policies and local cultural practices. Corbett's work includes a discussion of identities and the attempted regulation of these by the provincial education system, which created local unease (2007). He brings these cultural tensions and resistant identities to the forefront of his work through an analysis of social relationships, contextualized by broader provincial and national political, economic and cultural contexts (Ibid). The resistant identities and discourse surrounding community resilience will be discussed in detail in Chapter Seven and the Conclusion, relating to the themes of resilience and nostalgia I found in relation to Miramichi discourse surrounding migration.

Migration for Employment

The idea of moving for employment directly corresponds to migration for education, as discussed above, because as many of the interviewees explained, those educated or highly educated people could then not return because there was no appropriate work for them in Miramichi. It was believed by many I spoke to that youth

(or others) often educated themselves out of the employment available in the community (reflecting the findings of Corbett, 2007).

In conjunction with the above ideas about being "overly educated," many of the interviewees noted that the social connections (or networks) made during the time of education away from the community often lead to the likelihood of using that social capital to find employment (for a theoretical analysis of social networks and social capital see Chapter Seven). Social capital expresses the latent or overt value of social networks. In Bourdieu's work social capital refers to social networks (those networks of social recognition) and social obligations that can be institutionalized or maintained through symbolic exchange and are also convertible to economic capital in certain circumstances (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 103). This employment could be in the place where they were educated, or another location, but through using those networks/social capital gained during their education, rather than those based in the home community. One 68 year old mother of three, two of whom still lived in the city, detailed why the youth of the city in general moved away,

> Simply for the reason of the employment and for education. Once they move away for education then they get involved where they are and they find their work there…They always seem to come home for visits. I don't know of anyone who moved away because they simply didn't like it here.

Of course, some people said that they moved away from Miramichi and New Brunswick because they simply wanted to travel and experience living elsewhere. A twenty-three year old man said to me, "…there were jobs at home for me, but…I wanted to travel, I like travelling." He had recently moved to Edmonton, Alberta after obtaining employment with a company upon graduating from university in New Brunswick.

However, his way of speaking about the motivation to move was quite different from most of the people I spoke with, but is likely related to his stage of life. He went on to say that of the people he knew in high school "that went to college or university, I found that they all...come back [to visit]...but they all got jobs elsewhere." This echoes the mother quoted above who had explained people who leave for schooling may visit, but generally find work outside of the community.

Of the people living outside of the Miramichi I spoke with, ten were living with family nearby their new location. Social networks are involved in the migration of people out of the community, in terms of decisions as to where they move. While some were following family, others were influenced by social contacts, such as friends. One 30 year old teacher I spoke with explained that her decision to move to Grand Prairie, Alberta, was influenced by her friend already living there, and informing her that jobs were available in teaching. She said that there was actually a large group of people from Miramichi living there, and that they had not all known each other previously, but now form a close social group. Interestingly, she said that many of them had recently bought houses, but felt comforted knowing that others of the social group had bought houses because "…if people are leaving it's going to influence whether we're here too..." She told me that she would not consider moving back to Miramichi because of the lack of job stability there,

> To go back home and not have job stability, well that's what we came here
> for, to make a living,…back home you can't, especially in Miramichi.
> What would I do in Miramichi? How am I going to teach when everyone's
> moving out because there's no industry anymore?...I look at it like…I
> would be demoted in life in general, really.

This woman, as well as many other migrants I spoke with, said they were very up to date about the goings on in Miramichi because current technologies such as Skype, email and texting allowed for cost-effective communication with family members and friends.
In contrast, many migrants interviewed did not mention people being from Miramichi as influencing where they moved; rather, for many employment or social opportunities were motivations for migration. An interesting point made by a 56 year old man currently living in Fredericton was that there would always be people like himself who felt, from the time they were young, that Miramichi was too insular and isolated for them. As he said, "I knew that I needed a bigger community and I knew that I needed to set out on my own." He remains close to the siblings that he left behind, and owns a cottage in the Miramichi area, but would never consider moving back, even after retirement. However, he believes that the majority of people who leave the community currently are forced to do so for economic reasons.

Of those out-migrants I interviewed, most said that they would not move back to Miramichi (19/24), with a few speculating that they may move back at some point in the future (5/24), although most of those were discussing this idea in the context of retirement, which was a significant time away. Many (10/24) of the out-migrants still felt like they were part of the community, despite not living in Miramichi and not thinking about moving back. A thirty-one year old woman, living in Fredericton spoke to this feeling, "…Miramichi is very endearing and I'm always drawn there because, well I have so many good friends there and my family's there and that's where all my childhood memories are…" For her, living within a two-hour drive of Miramichi was a benefit of living in Fredericton, and an important consideration. This strong feeling of community

identification and its importance for mobility decision-making is further discussed in a later chapter. The consideration of sentiment within migration is often overlooked in studies of Canadian internal migration, as critiqued in detail in Chapter Five.

There also are perhaps those people who do not have access to local social capital and thus must leave the community, although this was never mentioned specifically by interviewees. There certainly were quite a few comments that it was who you knew that was very important in getting employment. However, this is disputed somewhat by the discussion, in the *Moving In* section of this chapter, detailing the experiences of those moving to Miramichi and successfully attaining employment. The issue of local social capital was particularly relevant to new immigrants, also detailed in the next section of this chapter.

There is an emphasis throughout the interviews that generally one has to leave the community to get a "good" job. Yet I noted that there were jobs available, during both of my stays in the city. There were advertisements for service industry jobs, as well as other types of jobs in the local newspaper and in stores. Several people I spoke with also stated that the private call centre industry locations in the city were always hiring people because they could not maintain full staffing. This type of employment, the service and call centre industries, was viewed by most people I spoke with as 'not good' and considered a last resort for employment. In speaking to some former call centre workers, they stated that they did not like the work, one interviewee stating, "call centres are horrendous." When I asked her what in particular she disliked about the work she said,

> …the work itself, I mean I was fine at actually doing it. It's an inbound call centre so it wasn't the same pressure as those poor people who have to do outbound but it's just really unstimulating and not just for me because I like school…You're just sitting there in a chair, and I find the atmosphere

in the call centre...was very, I don't know, 'toxic' might be too harsh a word, but almost toxic, a lot of negativity and … just a lot of unhappy people in one place. So it didn't make...a very great work environment.

Also, it was suggested by many people I spoke with, both casually and in interviews, that the wages paid at private call centres in the city were not what they considered a living wage.

So while there are those that move out of the community in search of employment and with the idea that they will not return, it is not the mass exodus to a western destination like Alberta, or Fort McMurray specifically, as has currently become the generalized migration stereotype that is often espoused when talking to people in general about migration. Typically this discourse is used not by those in Miramichi but outside of the area, in urban centres not experiencing population loss. However, there were those I interviewed, that when asked what the current trends in people moving away were, said that people seemed to be moving out west for work. In talking about my research over the past years, I have often heard from those living in urban Maritime areas and other parts of Canada the viewpoint that well, of course, people are all moving out west to Fort McMurray. Many have even suggested that my research was not necessary because it was so obvious that this was the migration taking place. This opinion generally went hand in hand with the idea that Canadian rural areas have always lost population due to the move for employment, so why bother researching it? However, I am arguing clearly that these sentiments do not reflect the complex reality of both current and historical migration.

According to Hiller (2009), while the Atlantic provinces have historically experienced outmigration to destinations such as the 'Boston' states, Toronto and the western provinces generally, there has also been return migration (p. 247). It is this

closely following return migration to the Atlantic provinces that is quite unique within Canada; "the evidence is that out-migration and in-migration in all four Atlantic provinces follow each other much more closely than is the case elsewhere in the nation" (Hiller, 2009, p. 247). Also, in Hiller's analysis of the migration exchanges between Alberta and New Brunswick, from 1972 to 2005, this relationship can clearly been seen, as return migration has historically tended to balance out migration from the province (Ibid, p. 248). The highest spike historically in migration from New Brunswick to Alberta was in fact in 1980 (Ibid). These statistics contextualize and somewhat deflate the stereotype that 'everyone' is moving to Alberta, while providing evidence that the province certainly has become an internal migration destination. However, Hiller (2009) also cautions in his work that not all migrants to Alberta had positive outcomes or achieved the success they were looking for. In a study of out-migration from the Strait Region of Nova Scotia to other provinces it was found that "while out-migrants earned more money than their counterparts in the Strait Region, they were at a greater risk of falling into poverty" (Phyne & Harling-Stalker, 2011, p. 23). Migration can be a risky proposition, this is an important consideration to keep in mind.

The only people that I interviewed who actually lived and worked in Fort McMurray, now calling it home, also maintained their house in Miramichi for use during vacations there. This former mill worker and his partner explained to me that they were of the much smaller group of people that moved to Fort McMurray permanently, and that this was possible because their children were grown and out of the house, allowing them the freedom to make this risky choice. The partner said explicitly "...if our children had been small, in school, it probably would have turned out completely different." This

couple also had first hand knowledge of the slow down of jobs in Fort McMurray noting

between 2008 and 2010 (when this interview took place), "…there's not as many jobs at

Fort McMurray as there was two years ago when we went, it's not as easy to get a job

there." They enjoyed living in Fort McMurray, but were obviously still very connected to

Miramichi.

There are also those people who participate in what I call commuter migration,

some former mill workers are particular examples of this type of migration. These people

did not want to move, for a variety of reasons, but primarily so as to avoid uprooting their

families. This is where individuals (all but one I spoke with or heard about were men)

maintained households in Miramichi, but gained employment in cities or towns in New

Brunswick, and as far away as Halifax, Nova Scotia (approximately a four hour drive

away, in good weather). These people generally rented places to live where they worked

(but importantly did not consider them home), and stayed there during their work week

(the length of this depended on the type of employment). On the weekends, they would

drive home to Miramichi to be with their families. There was also mention of those

people, again generally men, who worked out in Alberta or in Canada's far North, who

would fly home regularly, maintaining the household in Miramichi. One former

commuter migrant (to a city in New Brunswick) explained the situation that his

neighbour found himself in working out west,

> My neighbour goes out west. He's got three kids, probably be about 11, 11
> to 13 years old, and he goes for 5, 6 months at a time…he's home now,
> he's home for at least a month but I don't know how he does it, you know.

Interestingly, one interviewee, a 31 year old woman living in Fredericton, did not think

more youth were leaving Miramichi but rather, former mill workers or those who would

have been likely to work there were the ones leaving, participating in what I call

commuter migration. As she put it,

> …I think there are more...young men who...can't work at the mill so they
> now have to find jobs with reasonable income to support their families that
> they used to be able to support through those...[mill] jobs. So at the
> moment I think maybe there's a little bit more of that going on and over the
> past say 10 years or so. But I don't see that it's affected the community
> very much…

A contrast to this pattern was one 45 year old man who, having participated in commuter

migration to a city in New Brunswick in the past year, was now unemployed. He

expressed how hard the process was on his family, and was in the process of deciding

whether to accept or look for work outside of the community. He explained that,

> I will do whatever it takes to make my family happy and if that means...I
> have to be away. You know...they don't want to move, they don't want me
> to be away but... people just do it, it's been like that. Like people just do
> what has to be done…

The reality for many people who lost mill jobs, such as the above individual, is that

even after retraining and considering commuting out of Miramichi, it is difficult to

find work, sometimes due to ageism. Even if one did find employment, it was likely in

a junior position. This was due, in part, to lack of job experience in the occupation

they have retrained for. Thus, it does not necessarily make economic sense to move

their family due to the lower wages they receive. Also, as previously stated, for the

people I interviewed, both marital partners worked, making migration decisions all

that more complicated. Many people spoke about the importance of family and

community, explaining that these were considered in migration decisions. There were

also questions about how long commuter migrants would or could keep up this type of

migration. Those doing it stated outright they were waiting to get employment in

Miramichi. A few, who were not doing this type of migration, saw this as a solution to the lack of work available in the city, however, others noted the potential social problems that this situation could create. This is discussed further in a later section, *Effects of Mobility.*

Moving In

The picture of migration is not complete without also discussing the movement of people into Miramichi, including both Canadians and immigrants. In terms of Canadians moving into the community, there is a discourse present in the community about the prevalence of seniors moving back to retire. This is often spoken about in terms of people returning to the community they grew up in after having lived and worked elsewhere in Canada or abroad for a significant length of time.

Craig, a 62 year old retiree, is an example of this type of in-migration. He grew up in the Miramichi area until his family moved away when he was twelve to Ontario, where his father had found work. While his family moved back to the province, and eventually Miramichi after about five years, Craig struck out on his own and did not move back at that time. He ended up getting postsecondary education in Ontario, and found a good position there which entailed working abroad. Craig married and had two children, raising them in Ontario. When he decided to retire Craig and his wife determined, after living away for 45 years, they would move back to Miramichi. Craig's wife, Sue, was also originally from New Brunswick and still had family in the province, which was a factor in her agreeing to move to the area. Also, Craig has family in the Miramichi area, and the couples' grown children also happen to live in the Maritimes. In terms of the

decision to move to Miramichi upon retirement, Craig stressed economic factors, particularly the real estate prices, although family ties were also a consideration, as were the interesting local culture and history, as well as the community being devoid of major crime. It was clear that Craig enjoyed the natural surroundings of the area and had a house on the Miramichi River.

The notion of Miramichi becoming something of a retirement community inspired conflicting emotions of both fear and hope, depending on the interviewee. The price of real estate was mentioned by a few retirees, including Craig, as one of the benefits of moving to Miramichi. There also seemed to be an emphasis on social networks, with retirees' decisions influenced by friends and family members in the area.

Contrary to the common perception, there are also people moving to Miramichi to work. I spoke with a 27 year old woman who had moved to the city for a job. She explained that her partner also found work in Miramichi, an area to which neither had a previous connection. Unfortunately, her partner had been laid off and found work elsewhere in the province, and she was transferring within her company to a position out of the community, to join him. However, she did tell me that her group of friends in Miramichi was primarily made up of those, like her, who had moved into the community. Also, in this particular case, moving to Miramichi had been part of an effort to stay within proximity of her partner's family in New Brunswick.

While the woman in the above example, as an in-migrant, quite enjoyed her time in Miramichi, others were not so positive about their experiences. In particular, one woman that I interviewed, whose family had quite literally moved to the city on a whim, was fed up with the cultural insensitivity that she found. As a visible minority, she said

the lack of understanding of cultural difference among community members was generally surprising. Her husband and children were pushing to leave the community and move elsewhere, though possibly still in New Brunswick. Her sentiments about cultural insensitivity were echoed by several people who had moved away from the community and noted it as a negative attribute of some people in Miramichi.

There are also immigrants to the community who generally come due to employment offers. In an ethnographic research project I worked on about immigration to Miramichi, it was found that there are employment opportunities drawing immigrants to the community (as this was the predominant motivation for those interviewed) (Hanson & Barber, 2011). These employment opportunities were generally either "highly skilled health professions on one hand, and on the other, service industry jobs that require few, if any, post-secondary education credentials" (Ibid, p. 7).

Highly skilled health professionals who immigrated were welcomed warmly into Miramichi because it was well known that it was difficult to recruit Canadians to the area (Hanson & Barber, 2011). The story Maria told me about her family's journey to Miramichi is an example of the at times contradictory experiences in immigrating to the area.[8] Originally from a South American country, Maria and her husband, Ed, decided they would like to move to Canada, with their young daughters, because they had heard from friends living here that the quality of life was better. Their friends informed them that particularly as health professionals they would both find the work environment an improvement. Initially, they took a short term position and moved to a major city in Canada. Maria did not work outside of the home upon their move to Canada. A

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[8] This narrative was related to me in the course of working on the Atlantic Metropolis funded project originally entitled "Ethnographic Understandings of the Rural Immigrant Mobility Decision-Making Process" and is used here with the permission of Dr. Pauline Gardiner Barber, the principal investigator.

permanent position opened up in Miramichi, which Ed applied for and after a visit to the area (provided by the employer), Maria and Ed decided to move there.

Maria explained that they found the area beautiful and the people extremely nice and supportive. They did not mind the small size of the city, although it was a new experience for them. However, her experiences have not all been positive. The family has experienced racism from some individuals, Maria feels these are exceptions, and is committed to not allowing small mindedness to skew her view of the community. She has made close friends in the city, as well as encouraged immigration to the area by friends, and is going through the process of becoming a Canadian citizen. In looking to the future, she explained that as her daughters grow up and go to university, it is likely that the family as a whole will move. Maria wants her children to go to university (as she and Ed did) while living at home, and this will entail moving the family to a city with a university. She and Ed were considering Fredericton because they both enjoy living in New Brunswick.

One interesting and relevant finding about the research on immigration is that some of the immigrants interviewed were shocked by the 'naysaying' attitude that some community members expressed about the future of the community, which was linked to discourse about out-migration (Hanson & Barber, 2011). Immigrants were also often asked why they would choose to move to the area by community members, as though this was not a good decision on their part (Ibid). This attitude was surprising to immigrants interviewed because "their impression had been that the community needed to expand its population and therefore should be much more positive in trying to convince newcomers of the benefits of the area" (Hanson & Barber, 2011, p. 14). Despite the above attitudes

most immigrants interviewed felt welcome in the community. Beyond economic considerations, they enjoyed the quality of life Miramichi offered, such as safety and security in the small city (Hanson & Barber, 2011). These finding reflect the sentiments of in-migrants to the community generally, as found through this current study. A common concern for most people interviewed for this study was the effects that migration may be having on the community, which offers some explanations of the attitudes immigrants encountered.

Effects of Mobility

There were contrasting attitudes about the current effects that may be occurring in Miramichi due to migration. One 50 year old woman, currently living in Edmonton, Alberta explained that she and her family had moved because the home business they had successfully run for some time could not compete with the box chain stores that opened up in Miramichi. This, and the closure of the local mills, led to their business not being sustainable. Her husband then found work in Edmonton and she joined him. Other interviewees also noted that the local economy has taken a downturn since the closure of the UPM mill. In contrast, some interviewees pointed out that many of the former mill workers had received severance payments that would soon be running out, so the economic downturn may not have hit its lowest point. Those with connections to local businesses or people working for them discussed this most. One woman who had familial connections to local businesses said in relation to the mill closures,

> …we didn't feel it as bad because there were a lot [of people] who went out
> West but they were spending their money back here. But…if the west
> slows down or they turn around and move their families then it's really
> going to hurt. But we did kind of get a buffer there. It wasn't as hard as we

> thought it was going to be when the mill shut…we did still have some
> money coming back, I don't think they're spending as big time as they
> were because it was big money when they went out there and so there were
> a lot of toys bought and you know, expensive things.

Quite a few people I spoke with expressed very similar sentiments, including that those people working in Alberta, commuting through companies like Atcon, were paid very well. As a result, big non-essential purchases were still happening in the community when these workers were at home during time off or by their partners who remained. In effect, the community was buffered economically by these commuter migrants. As Goldring (2001) notes "[e]ven if motivated by the need to support family members, remittances reaffirm claims of membership in families and communities" (p. 518). Thus while these commuters support their families and communities economically they also remain tied to it in terms of identity. These internal Canadian remittances mirror the rise in transnational migrant remittances growing since the beginning of the twenty-first century, with these funds flowing to families in many developing countries (Goldring, 2004). I argue that the global economic forces which have created the necessity of these transnational remittances have also created the circumstances by which Miramichi is also the destination of remittances. As discussed previously, New Brunswick and the Maritimes region have historically been the 'underdeveloped' areas of Canada and as such have struggled as globalization and neoliberal policies interact with local economies.

One former mill worker who had retrained and stayed in the community described the effect of commuter outmigration on the economy in this way:

> I see another thing too…I know more people now with big fancy four
> wheel drive trucks than I ever knew...I believe that's part of the

outmigration because they're able to make such a large wage in Fort McMurray or wherever. They're actually able to get a fancier vehicle, and I know more people with boats now than I ever did too and a lot of them are people that do the out west thing so they treat themselves. You're away from your family 30 days at a time you're going [to] tend towards wanting to treat yourself when you come home...I know several families...[whose] spending habits have actually increased since they lost their jobs because of this yearning to treat themselves. You're away from your wife and your three 10, 11 year old children you're away, what is it, most work 30 on and 9 off, something like that. So what do you do when you come home? They travel they go to Halifax to the casino, they buy boats, they buy snowmobiles, none of which they can use most of the time but they buy it. And the big, everyone seems to have a big extended cab or a crew cab truck now too. So I think that's part of the outmigration I guess I'm talking about the temporary outmigration, not the people who move away completely I'm talking about the commuters.

This same interviewee also observed social changes due to the absence of the men he knew to be working out in Fort McMurray, with mothers the only parent present at sporting events, or groups of these women out at the local pubs.

Also, with the economy in the Alberta oil sands taking a notable downturn in the recession of 2008, with the Canadian economy still recovering in 2012, some of the commuter jobs (like those the company Atcon were hiring people for) have now mostly disappeared, leaving local people working these jobs unemployed, which must surely also further affect the community. This could include the decision to relocate the entire family out of Miramichi.

In terms of youth, people I spoke with discussed those that did not leave the community to get postsecondary education, and generally it was thought these youth had fewer options for 'good' employment, if they didn't get further training or education of some kind. There were those Miramichiers who did return from getting a postsecondary education, which many interviewees related to employment as teachers and at the hospital

in the community. This return from education also seems to have varied depending on the age group that was being discussed. Younger people (up to the age of 30) were less likely to have returned than previous generations of youth. There was a gendered component to this movement and return. People noted, during these previous generations, who would now be in their later 30s and above, young women going away for education and returning was more likely. At that time, as one interviewee explained, if a young man did not have career aspirations that required further education beyond high school "…they'd land themselves a job in the mill initially, and later the penitentiary, because they were both positions that pay good dollars and gave them opportunities in the community."

Interestingly, the perception of those young adults living away from Miramichi generally was that there were few people their age living in the community (in contrast to the perception of the 31 year old woman living in Fredericton quoted in the section *Migration for Employment* about commuter migration). When I asked one 28 year old woman living in Windsor, Ontario with her husband, who was also from Miramichi, about people her age still living in Miramichi, she responded, "…there's no one our age even left in our hometown really."

Many people I spoke with were concerned about the social effects they attributed, in part, to outmigration and population loss. There were concerns about the lack of young people involved in community organizations, particularly volunteer work, and that without young people to draw on as a resource, these community organizations were facing a difficult future. A former mill worker and now commuter migrant was very forthright about the effects of the mill closures, and increased mobility,

> People are up against the wall, people are also going bankrupt and there's marital divorce…It's a never ending funnel that keeps spinning downwards and it's not pretty any way you look at it.

Several people who worked in Miramichi also mentioned that they see drug use increasing in the community and linked it to the depressed economic state. This also led to a comparison to Sydney, Nova Scotia, particularly with regards to the use of opiates. Many of the people I spoke with that made these observations were in positions that dealt directly with drug users, such as the health system and social services. One former mill worker described how he saw this situation develop from the mill closures,

> …if you didn't lock in and get on at the mill maybe you could get on at one of the places that sells supplies to the mill or one of the contractors that come in with one of those supersucker trucks and clean out the drains in the mill. There were so many people going into that mill, other than the 2300 of us, those were all…good jobs. You know, they weren't all thirty dollar an hour jobs, but a lot of them were 15 to 20 which is tremendous living here because nothing costs much here. So yeah, it's really affected things, so now what do they do? They all get together, they get down in the dumps and they do drugs. I don't know why they see that as a fix but that's what they do. That becomes...a vicious circle because once you have that record, that reputation, that lack of a clear mind…I tell these kids, they're wonderful kids and I try to talk them into going to college.

There is a lot of concern about the future of Miramichi and how the economic and social issues connected to migration will be resolved. Speaking with people in the community about migration, even casually, elicited an affecting response. In a further chapter these sentiments will be discussed, particularly in terms of the prevalence of themes of community and nostalgia.

The Complexity of Migration

This chapter has detailed the complexity of migration found in relation to Miramichi, which reflects not only economic concerns but also those of a social and cultural nature. Returning to the notion of livelihood, making a living and considerations of what is a liveable life includes the economically rational need for education and employment. However, there are also those social/cultural considerations of family and community that lead to such decisions as commuter migration and retraining without regard to traditional gender norms. These patterns suggest that analysis concentrating on the economic rationality of migration decisions misses the social and cultural considerations, the complex reality.

Chapter Five: Understandings of Migration for Miramichi and Beyond

When I began my PhD program with this research in mind, I was excited to be doing work I thought important, contributing to knowledge of internal migration, and examining what was occurring to small, natural resource based communities with declining populations. During the first few months of my program, I was invited to a reception with a mix of academics and students, as well as those people working within varying levels of government and local NGOs—people with interests in migration and immigration. Introduced to an official of the Nova Scotia provincial government who asked about my research, she said dismissively, 'Well, that's nothing new. People have always left the Maritimes.' The dismissal of such research as unimportant surprised me, as scholarly research on migration and immigration in this region is sparse.

This encounter and attitude was the first of many. This attitude—'but it's always been this way'—is manifest predominantly in urban areas, in those not from the area and in academia. In contrast, the attitude of those in rural areas, particularly in the Maritime or Atlantic region, and everyone I spoke with, formally or otherwise, in Miramichi, presented opposing views. Many interviewees connected Miramichi's economic and migration problems to similar problems in other Canadian regions. A 30 year old New Brunswick man originally from and still connected to Miramichi, said,

> I think it's an important study because…this is happening all over Canada. Miramichi is a good example of it because I think it has some of those things like the economic drivers [and] trouble in that sector right, the economic problems [with natural resource-based communities]…I think that's important to look at, I will say that…I see it every time I go home that, there's so many people who would love to be there.

These are similar circumstances to those embedded within international migration, as global capitalism unevenly and differentially interacts and is constituted by local communities. Theoretical understanding gained through transnational migration studies is discussed below in relation to how these studies are used to inform and gain a broader perspective on internal migration and localized mobilities.

This chapter details theoretical underpinnings to an understanding of mobility patterns witnessed in Miramichi. By taking the point of view that theories surrounding transnational migration and mobilities are helpful to explain and explore that of shorter inter-provincial and inter-Canadian migration and mobilities, I emphasize decision-making processes. I argue that the global economy and its relationship with mobility patterns are particularly important to an understanding of the broader context of contemporary migration.

Migration at an international level provides a global context for migration within Canada. Scholarly work on Canadian internal migration is critiqued for concentrating on quantitative data and emphasizing economic factors within migration decision-making processes. This work provides needed qualitative details about decision-making processes and forms of mobility, which may be difficult to otherwise study (e.g., commuter migration).

Transnational Migration, Theoretical Context for Internal Migration

From a global perspective, there is ongoing debate and varying opinion as to whether current international migration is unique historically. (For examples, see Appadurai, 1997; Bauman, 1998; Castles & Miller, 2003; Massey, *et al*., 2006; Piper, 2008.) For Castles and Miller (2003), humanity is currently in an "age of migration" (p.

4). While, for the most part, debates relate to international migration, they also present questions relevant to how contemporary migration trends (international or otherwise) fit into the historical context, and in determining what, if anything, is different/unique about forces behind these trends. This points to a need for a historical contextualization of local and regional migration, as well as linkages to the underlying causes for these movements, as related to livelihood and identity. Theories developed through study of international migration provide insight and context to the localized and national internal migration patterns of Miramichiers. Transnational theory provides consideration of how contemporary migration may differ from historical patterns: a consideration in the case of Miramichi.

Castles and Miller (2003) argue that, despite the diversity of new migratory flows, there are general tendencies that affect the unique nature of contemporary migration (p. 7). While I, like others such as Wolf (1997) and Lem and Barber (2013), question the uniqueness of contemporary migration, particularly through an analysis of the historical patterns with regards to Miramichi, there are current, differential features to be considered. I will initially discuss the position of Castles and Miller (2003) and then address the critiques of their arguments. The features of contemporary migration, as described by Castles and Miller, are the globalization, acceleration, differentiation, feminization, and politicization of migration (2003, pp. 7-9).

For the first phase of contemporary migration, 1945 and to early 1970s, Castles and Miller (2003) argue that the common, underlying features were the clear economic motivations for migration, both for the individuals and nation-states that set up programs in order to encourage migration, and the "growing diversity of areas of origin, and

increasing cultural difference between migrants and receiving populations" (p. 77).

Another feature of migrants of this period is marginalization along social and economic

lines (p. 78).

For Castles and Miller (2003), the second phase of contemporary migration, the

late 1970s onward, was driven by features from the restructuring of the global economy:

investment pattern changes, in which capital was increasingly exported from developed

countries and manufacturing was established in 'undeveloped' areas; technological

innovation, which reduced the number of workers used in manufacturing; erosion of

skilled manual occupations in developed countries; an expanded service sector; growth of

the informal economy in developed countries; growth of casual labour, resulting in

increases in part-time work and job insecurity; and, finally,

> increased differentiation of labour forces on the basis of gender, age and
> ethnicity, through mechanisms which push many women, young people,
> and members of minorities into casual or informal-sector work, and which
> force workers with outmoded skills to retire early. (p. 78)

This second phase of contemporary migration, in particular, has implications for internal

migration, as shown by the patterns of migration in Miramichi. Historical changes to

Canada, North America and western (Castles and Miller's "developed") countries with

regards to an increasing global economy include those discussed in relation to Bell's

(1976) conceptualization of a post-industrial society. Migratory patterns show responses

to shifts in local socio-economic circumstances, while changes listed by Castles and

Miller are reflected in Miramichi historically. However, as examples of commuting and

employment in non-traditional jobs have shown, individuals have not necessarily

responded in predictable ways, and demonstrate agency through a resistance to inducements to move from communities.

Appadurai (1997) also notes the unique nature of contemporary migration and views cultural globalization as an underlying cause. He argues that in contemporary migration the unique feature that "both points of departure and points of arrival are in cultural flux, and thus the search for steady points of reference, as critical life choices are made, can be very difficult" (p. 44). He contends that not only are boundaries between nation-states blurring, but cultures also are becoming increasingly fluid (p. 45). Are contemporary migrants without solid cultural reference points? The arguments for understanding the historical continuity of contemporary migration would make a compelling case to answer no.

Within internal migration further cultural fluidity could exist, and yet Miramichi is conceived of as a cultural reference by a majority of interviewees. This identification with place, and what could be considered a cultural rootedness to it, is discussed as an element in migration decisions, as well as individual identity in further chapters. Miramichi identity and culture appears to be reinforced by mobility, rather than reflecting a space of cultural flux. This evidence concurs with the work of Heyman and Campbell (2009) who, in a critique of Appadurai's work on the global cultural economy, argue "[d]isjuncture and breakdown of bounded social and cultural units are contingent outcomes of processes that may also reinforce social and spatial entities, boundaries, and so forth" (p. 144).

Wolf's (1997) work provides historical context to the arguments that current global migration is unique. His work seeks to explicate specific migration flows through

historical, political economic contextualization, while forcefully arguing that there is historical continuity that cannot be discounted in the analysis of migration (Ibid). It is important to consider that, while there are forms and features of migration unique in their configuration, they must be considered within historical context, not as ahistorical differences.

Transnational theory stems from scholars of migration who perceive that social networks of migrants are not contained within national borders (Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1002). Anthropologists using ethnographic methodology pioneered this theoretical approach (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 42). The approach links to a debate of whether current forms of migration differ significantly from previous forms (Levitt & Glick Schiller 2004, p. 1004), underlying which is the question of whether globalization processes are influencing the creation of new forms of migration.

Basch, Glick Schiller and Szanton Blanc (2003) define transnationalism "as the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement" (p. 7). In this definition they seek to capture the fluidity of current migration experiences that they perceive challenge the bounded nature of social scientific concepts, such as identity and nation-states (p. 8). For Castles and Miller (2003), "the notion of a transnational community puts the emphasis on human agency" (p. 29). This relates to the ability of individuals or groups possibly effecting change across borders.

Ong (1999) uses the term *transnationalism* to refer to "the cultural specificities of global processes, tracing the multiplicity of the uses and conceptions of 'culture'" (p. 4), taking a much broader approach and emphasizing culture. The term *transnationalism*

clearly refers to processes that go beyond the boundaries of nation-states. Scholarly

works using the concept of *transnationalism* often present different processes. All seem

to concur that, in studying migration, there needs to be an inclusion or openness to

processes that cross nation-state boundaries, that persist, and are actively pursued.

Levitt and Glick Schiller (2004) group transnational theories into four traditions:

first, transnational migration studies by sociologists and anthropologists in the U.S.,

characterized by a "critique of the unilinear assimilationist paradigm of classical

migration research" (p. 1005). Second, the Oxford Transnational Communities

Programme, which presents a broader definition of transnationalism than the U.S. studies,

analyzing "transnational connections forged by businesses, the media, politics or

religion…all examined under the rubric of community" (p. 1006). Both these traditions

point to a need for distinguishing ideological formation of connection and community,

from those connections at work on the ground (p. 1006). A third tradition comes out of

the work of the first two traditions, but is focused on the idea of the conceptualization of

transnational kinship (p. 1006). A fourth tradition is that "of scholars [who] use a

transnational approach to migration to challenge social theory" (Levitt & Glick Schiller,

2004, p. 1006). Hence, the transnational perspective has, and can be, used in a plethora of

migration studies with varied research agendas. This perspective on migration has

provided a theoretical space for much needed discussions of the political economies

related to mobility (Barber & Lem, 2012, p. 2-3). From this perspective "transnational

analysis as theory and methodology promises insights into the fundamental forces that

structure migration in its relationship to capitalism" (Ibid, p. 3). Transnational theory

provides a point of understanding the relationship between changes to various scales of

political economies and mobility, as well as the fluidity with which social connections cross provincial boundaries and, perhaps more importantly, how identity can encompass these different spaces.

An important argument of aspects of globalization in terms of migration is the position that there has been the "rapid improvement in technologies of transport and communication, making it increasingly easy for migrants to maintain close links with their areas of origin," allowing for increased relative ease of multiple moves and increased circulation of people internationally (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 29). While compelling, Hollifield's (2000) critique of this position must be taken into account, and Ong (1999) also finds problematic "the popular view that globalization has weakened state power" (p. 6). Hollifield convincingly argues that nation-states that have continued to regulate international immigration and political power must be included in any analysis of migration (Hollifield, 2000, p. 158). Ong (1999) proposes that state sovereignty is graduated into categories that specify different forms of governmentality, conceived of as "the mix of disciplinary and civilizing regimes" (p. 7). This approach emphasizes the need for specificity in understanding and analyzing the role of the state in the migration process. This reflexivity regarding the role of states is necessary to avoid any variant of methodological nationalism in which the importance of nationalism is disregarded, there is a naturalization of the boundaries of the nation-state, or social processes are studied as though contained within the limits of a nation-state (Wimmer & Glick Schiller, 2006, p. 577-578). While these arguments are widely acknowledged there needs to be caution: the move away from methodological nationalism should not be at the expense of including analysis as to the influences of state regulation and politics on migration experience.

Thus, transnationalism can be theorized as a process (or activities) taken on by individuals, from a grassroots approach to social networks, or "*transnationalism from below*" (Castles & Miller, 2003, p. 30, italics theirs). However, this process can also be assumed by large groups, like states or corporations, i.e., "*transnationalism from above*" (p. 30), as emphasized by Portes and his colleagues in their transnational studies, which note the significance of business communities in these processes. Cohen (2006) notes that there are many different transnational organizations including corporations, international governmental organizations, and international non-governmental organizations (p. 182). Evidence suggests that states do encourage transnationalism with their own goals in mind (p. 95). Internal migration has also been linked to public policy at federal and provincial levels. Decades of academic study have been dedicated to investigating these links, as discussed below in detail.

However, transnationalism theory and migration studies employing this theory have come under criticism in that there is a need to consider the gendered nature of power and how "emigration is altering local and national political, economic and cultural priorities, and how these factors produce and reproduce inequalities in migrant's home communities" (Barber, 2010, p. 151). Internal migration is also in need of research which moves beyond economistic understandings in public policy pronouncements that labour should migrate to serve the needs of corporations and the national economy or academic works which employ economic rationality. This viewpoint is critiqued further below, as some works could benefit from further taking into account cultural priorities, the agency of migrants, power dynamics or inequalities.

Migration within Canada

Studying internal migration informs how countries are constantly transforming. Internal migration is and, historically, has been an important phenomenon within Canada (Day and Winer, 2012). In the Canadian context, Hiller (2009) argues,

> internal migration continues to have a huge impact and its role ought not to be minimized. Sending provinces are deeply affected by the loss of population, which affects the structure of local communities and represents a deficit in generational cohorts of young adults. (p. 12)

Literature on interprovincial migration within Canada takes many forms; two of the most common are the investigation of demographic characteristics of migrants, and studies that investigate factors involved in the motivation to migrate. There has also been recent interest specifically in the interprovincial migration of immigrants once they have entered Canada (for examples see: Akbari, 2008, 2005 and Yoshida & Ramos, 2012, 2011). However, the discussion below does not specifically address the internal migration of immigrants, instead focusing on migrants more generally. The findings of these quantitative demographic studies take into account age, sex, province of residence, province moved from, level of education, and marital status (Michalos, 1997). Based on the works surveyed by Stone (1974) and Michalos (1997), some common demographic characteristics for migrants (looking at data from, approximately the 1960s to mid-1990s) appear; they are young, educated, nearly equally both male and female, unmarried, with few children, and migrate to Ontario, British Colombia, and Alberta from other provinces. One of the few demographic studies to include occupation and industry found the highest rates of migration in the natural sciences, social sciences, medicine, teaching professions, and religious occupations (Marr *et al*., 1977, p. 25). The least mobile industries and occupations were manufacturing related, construction, and primary

113

industries (Marr *et al.*, 1977, p. 30). These results are counter to the idea of transience in resource-dependent communities. However, it would be valuable to know if these results would remain the same when considering the restructuring and globalization affects on industries since 1977 when this research was published. Although, as Day and Winer (2012) have found, restrictive labour market regulations in some industries, such as construction, have persisted (p.22).

Other research concentrates specifically on the motivations for migration, including econometric studies that estimate the effects of economic variables on the decision to migrate (Finnie, 2004, 2001, 1999; Grant & Vanderkamp, 1980; Courchene, 1974, 1970). Human capital theory (HCT) underlies all of the cited studies and is a common basis for an understanding of migration (Coulombe, 2006; Finnie, 2004, 2001, 1999; Grant & Vanderkamp, 1980; Marr *et al.*, 1977; Courchene, 1974, 1970). The basis of HCT is that migrants centre mobility decisions on a cost/benefit analysis of human capital factors, predominantly income and furthering one's economic standing through education (Stone, 1974, p. 276). Underlying HCT is an understanding that through increased/improved levels of education, training, and employment experience, a person will gain desirable employment (meaning well paying, full time employment, suiting their qualifications) (Krahn & Lowe, 2002, pp.100-101). This theory has been critiqued due to the assumption that the best-qualified person for a job will be employed (p.100-101). Also, HCT does not take into consideration issues of class and power, and conceives of migration decisions as economically rational choices in which benefits exceed costs of migration (Laber & Chase, 1971, p. 796). In effect, HCT conceptualizes migration as "an investment that increases the market value of one's productive

capabilities" (Grant & Vanderkamp, 1980, p. 382). My research adds to the body of work which critique the idea that migration decisions are based solely on economic or labour market considerations. As I have shown, social considerations and attachments significantly contribute to migration decisions; however, data from such findings are difficult to include quantitatively, although, as noted below there are quantitative studies that do include social factors.

Courchene's (1974, 1970) work applies HCT and an econometric model to the study of internal migration. One study addresses movement of labour force and related economic adjustments, concentrating on economic variables (Courchene, 1970). This work is influential within the study of how public policy is related to migration trends (Day & Winer, 2012, p. 3). However, it must be noted that Courchene's work, generally, is considered to be politically located in the far-right of the Canadian political spectrum (for example: Bantjes, 2004, p. 245). Courchene (1970) found that, at the provincial level, migration flows were positively related to earned income. He posited the transfer dependency hypothesis that links equalization payments to a lack of financial inducement for migration, which, from this perspective, is considered negative for the Canadian economy as a whole, as a misallocation of labour (Day & Winer, 2012, p. 17). In a later work, he analyzed both the effects of migration on individual income and related issues of provincial wage structures and economic policy (Courchene, 1974). This study showed a positive effect on income from migration for men between the ages of 15 to 64, generally moving from economically "have not" provinces to prosperous provinces (Courchene, 1974). However, a study using HCT by Grant and Vanderkamp (1980), concentrating on income and migration, found ambiguous results in regards to the

viability of HCT (p. 398). The results for Grant and Vanderkamp called into question the human capital model because they found only weak support for this model. They expressed concern for controlling variables that may change an individual's earning potential. Also concerning was the limited period of the study (under five years). Further, Grant and Vanderkamp found that most migrants had a very small positive return of income, and that "within the first few years after a move there appears to be a strongly negative impact of migration on the earnings level" (p. 398). Clearly, even from a strictly economic point of view, migration is a risky endeavour.

Finnie (1999) studied the dynamics of income for provincial movers versus stayers. In general, Finnie (1999) found that interprovincial mobility was an option available primarily to those with higher economic status. For males, migration had a positive affect on income, whereas females often experienced income loss (p. 250). Finnie (1999) argues that interprovincial migration is "driven to a significant degree by relative income opportunities" (p. 259). Contrary to the work by Grant and Vanderkamp (1980), Finnie (1999) found that migrants "quickly integrated into their new labour markets," although Finnie's data does not contain information about occupation, industry, or education level, a limitation he points out (Finnie, 1999, pp. 248, 234).

In his 2004 study, Finnie used changes in the province of residence for an individual as the dependent variable and examined the characteristics of those migrating. The regressors for this study are variables considered to be representative of the costs and benefits of migration, and the model tests the significance of these variables of interest in determining an individual migrating (Finnie, 2004). A regressor differing from his previous studies is that of the receipt of unemployment insurance benefits, which raises

the likelihood of migration. He found that, generally, interprovincial "mobility is driven to a significant degree by individuals seeking better economic opportunities" (Finnie, 2004, p. 1777). The migration flow was out of small provinces to larger ones, and the people moving were young, single and receiving employment insurance benefits (Ibid). He also found the only positive relationship between income and migration was for men between the ages of 35 and 54 (Ibid). Similarly a survey of migration research by Michalos (1997) found that "while many migrants do get their desired economic improvements, others not only fail to get an improvement but even have some deterioration in economic status" (p. 155).

The relationship between migration and income becomes questionable in view of the above studies. Further, the applicability of HCT begs closer scrutiny. There are examples of quantitative mobility studies (inclusive of job mobility) which have combined economic considerations with social ones and found human capital theory useful in explaining some findings, yet also used labour market segmentation theory which emphasized social considerations (Apostle, Clairmont & Osberg, 1985; Osberg, Apostle & Clairmont, 1987; Osberg, Gordan & Lin, 1994). Apostle, Clairmont and Osberg (1985), using survey data gathered by the authors in 1979 and 1981 with a stratified random sample of Maritime private sector establishments and interviews with a sample of workers, found human capital factors account well for wage determination in some labour market segments but not all. In marginal labour market segments, in a more pronounced way, they found "[w]hen one adds various ascriptive and structural variables to the human capital equations, human capital coefficients fall in importance, and characteristics like sex, marital status, union membership and occupational status,

increase in importance" (Apostle *et al*., 1985, p. 43). In a later paper, using the same data, Osberg, Mazany, Apostle and Clairmont (1987) tested hypotheses about job mobility and wage determination, in the presence of sample selection bias, in relation to econometric and labour market segmentation theories. They found labour market segments differ in terms of job mobility and wage determination (Osberg *et al*., 1987). Particularly they found "that one can identify a 'marginal' or low wage sector with mobility patterns and pay packages which differ from the pattern one can discern in the labour market as a whole" (Ibid, p. 319).

Osberg, Gordon and Lin (1994) in a later work used the 1986/87 Labour Market Activity Survey by Statistics Canada, for men in the Atlantic and Prairie provinces, to investigate interindustry labour mobility and interregional migration. They found interindustry mobility takes place in a much larger magnitude than interregional migration (Osberg *et al*., 1994). Interindustry mobility is strongly linked to hours of employment available (Ibid, p. 54), and wage differences were found to be a small, but statistically significant, determinant of interregional migration (Ibid, p. 77). However, social characteristics of those studied also played a role. Osberg *et al*. (1994) argue that interindustry labour mobility and interregional migration were simultaneously determined. This gives a clear indication of the complex and interconnected decisions involving employment and migration.

Regarding the inclusion of individual employment status few studies, other than Finnie (2004), have incorporated the receipt of employment insurance benefits, and only one addresses post-migration unemployment rates. Marr *et al*. (1977) studied unemployment rates of migrants for each province they moved to and from, finding that

there was no discernable pattern between high and low income provinces. However, they did find that migrants leaving Ontario had relatively higher rates of unemployment in their new provinces of residence (Marr *et al*., 1977, p. 30).

On a macroeconomic scale, Coulombe (2006) hypothesizes that internal migrants would be sensitive to provincial unemployment rates, a consideration during migration decisions. His results, using a human capital model, found that Canadians migrate due to provincial structural differences, not short-term labour market changes (Coulombe, 2006). He extrapolated that "interprovincial migration clearly improves welfare for the migrants because young Canadians move from low-productivity and high-unemployment regions to provinces where they can be productively employed" (Coulombe, 2006, p. 220).

The recently published manuscript by Day and Winer (2012) sheds some light on the potential influence of public policy on internal migration, building on the work of Courchene (1970) and four decades of academic investigation of this topic they used tax-file data spanning 1976 to 1996 "to assess the nature and quantitative strength of the relationship between fiscal policies of federal and provincial governments and internal migration in Canada" (p. 24). The economic logic used by many economists frames the lack of out-migration, from regions with high unemployment and depressed wages, as problematic and linked to government programs that supplement income in those low-income regions (p. 4). Government programs that supplement income are thought to reduce the financial inducement for migration and negatively impact national earned income, as well as employment rates, through the maintenance of regional disparities in these areas (p. 4). However, Day and Winer conclude

that neither our results nor the literature as a whole are supportive of the view that the regional subsidization built into the unemployment insurance system plays an important role in maintaining regional disparities by inducing too many people to stay in relatively poorer parts of the country. (pp. 260-1)

The effects of provincial differentiation in provision of social assistance and public services were not conclusive; however, high taxation did discourage in-migration (p. 261). Regarding intergovernmental grants, such as equalization payments, they found "no solid evidence" that these effected migration (p. 262). The evidence produced by Day and Winer (2012) support the need for research, such as this dissertation, which investigates migration decision-making processes broadly, including social, cultural and political economy considerations.

All of the quantitative studies on migration discussed above focus on inter-provincial levels of analysis. While this is useful in understanding the Canadian context, it does not show those migrating intra-provincially, or "down the road," so to speak. These types of studies have limited data sets on return migrants and commuter migrants, which severely limit an understanding of the complexities of mobility taking place.

Of particular relevance is a recent work on inter-provincial migration to Alberta, which combines quantitative analysis with qualitative, semi-structured interview data with migrants over time and with people from migrant sending communities (Hiller, 2009). This study focuses on the time period of 1996 to 2002, discussing the role of the oil industry in relation to in-migration (Ibid). While many interviewees said that they had moved to Alberta for employment, Hiller found that this was a social convention that covers a much more complex process of migration decision-making (Hiller, 2009, p. 414). He found that marginalization (social and/or economic) of migrants in their place of

origin was influential on their mobility decisions (p. 414). From this perspective, Hiller argues, "migration is a mechanism whereby individuals may attempt to locate themselves more satisfactorily within a social community" (p. 415). However, this is not just one act; Hiller conceptualizes migration as a negotiated process linking sending and receiving communities (p. 415). Thus, social location and identity of migrants were negotiated in both communities, with the idea of return migration used as a fall back position if the move was not successful (p. 415). Specifically, Hiller found that migrants from Atlantic Canada were more likely to identify with homesickness and wanted to return home (p. 412). This corroborates the sentiments of many migrant interviewees in my work, as well as the findings of works discussed in the next chapter that also notes differences in Atlantic Canadians' reluctance to move initially, or the likelihood of return.

Hiller's (2009) work was concluded before the global market crash of 2008, and does not reflect the consequences of the oil industry decline and the downturn of oil prices, which negatively affected Alberta's economy (Laxer, 2009). While the myth, discussed in previous chapters, that *everyone* is moving to Fort McMurray may persist, this does not fit with the variable economic reality of that area. The 2008 downturn in the Alberta economy, and particularly within the oil industry, corresponds with my interviewees,[9] noting fewer commuter migrants to Alberta.

There are certainly internal migration flows within Canada on the provincial level, with most studies discussed finding that Maritime provinces have, historically, lost population to other provinces further west. However, a further area of migration subject to numerous studies is that of rural out-migration. (For example, Bollman and Clemenson, 2008; Dupey *et al*., 2000; Phyne and Harling-Stalker, 2011.) This movement,

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[9] These interviews took place in 2009-2010. See Methodology appendix for further details.

as well as the connection to resource industry-based economies is explored further in the next chapter. Conceptions of rural identity and the perceptions surrounding what is "good" work are connected to how migration decisions are made.

Chapter Six: Shifting Natural-Resource Based Economies and Migration

One topic of conversation that I overheard often in Miramichi was that of "the mills." In the local coffee shops there were often groups of older men sitting and chatting with one another during the day and this was one topic I could often hear them discussing. They really were talking about the fate of the mills which had been closed, speculating whether they would open, about the companies which had owned them, and, ultimately, what should be done with them. These men in general spoke mournfully about the mills. Ralph, a former mill worker, told me it broke his heart to see the mill he had worked at in the process of being torn down, that it was a total waste of a productive space. The attachment, not just to mills, but the forestry sector in general, was palpable in many people. And yet there were others who I interviewed whom had no love for the mills or much compassion for former mill workers. Jessica explained to me that the men who worked at the mill were paid really well, and due to this they had a superior attitude to working class people not hired at the mills. She said that they showed off their money (by purchasing expensive houses and "toys," such as snowmobiles). So when the mills closed Jessica felt the unions had asked for too much from the companies and did not appreciate the good situation they had. She felt that the well-paying, unionized jobs at the mills had spoiled these men and that it seemed like they did not want to work because they would not take the lower paid jobs available in the community. While Jessica's position is critical of mill workers, she noted that they were an insular social group and that the mills' hiring practises were such that family members of workers were actively sought out to hire.

The different conceptualizations of the impact of mill closures and how mill workers fit into the community, I believe, are also telling of the forestry sector divisions regarding work, class and gender. As the local history has shown forestry workers such as woodlot owners and workers have had difficulties getting paid well for their labours, whereas mill work, particularly pulp and paper mill work has been relatively highly paid. This is not just true for Miramichi but more generally, as will be argued below. These examples show how forestry related employment importantly impacts peoples' conceptions of work and identity. These in turn inform mobility decision processes, because as Jessica noted, people have particular conceptions of what is acceptable work and these inform whether they move for work.

This chapter details the impacts of natural-resource based economies on mobility in Canada and particularly the Maritimes. Discussion focuses mainly on the forestry industry. The Maritime Canadian example of Miramichi is compared and contrasted to other areas, Western Canada in particular, as both share similar nature resource-based economies and rurality, both of which affect mobility patterns. My review of academic works on resource-based communities below highlights the similarities and differences of the situation in Miramichi compared to the broader Canadian situation, beginning first with a discussion of rurality, then moving into a discussion of shifting natural resource economies. This further leads to a discussion of globalization and neoliberal policies in relation to resource-based economies and rural areas in general.

Rurality

Rural areas of Western countries have experienced particular migration patterns (Brown & Schafft, 2011). Rural out-migration is an international concern, with many works written about the topic in Western countries with political economies similar to Canada (Pini & Leach, 2011; Rye, 2006; Stockdale, 2004). Understanding the ongoing changes and interconnections of rural areas to national and global contexts is needed in order to create policies that will support the resilience of these places. For example, there has been out-migration of young adults from rural areas in the United States, as well as in-migration by retirees and older migrants (Brown & Schafft, 2011, pp. 114-115). Of particular interest is the connection between rural population and integration with the global economy. In studying Canadian shifts in rural economy and the level of exposure to the global economy Reimer (2009) found that population levels decreased.

Despite the stability of the Canadian rural population as a whole since 1991, the non-rural population of the country has been rising; thus as a proportion of the national population, rural levels are declining (Statistics Canada, 2012c, p. 1). Recent statistics suggesting rural population growth in Canada need careful interpretation. Technically, while the 2006 Statistics Canada data shows that the rural population in Canada as a whole is growing (Bollman and Clemenson, 2008), most of that population growth is in areas that are adjacent to metro areas, and these urban areas have a greater share of the total population with continued growth (Ibid).

These national trends vary when looking at the provincial context. For example, and of significance to this work, "[i]n New Brunswick, the rural and urban population has been about even for the past 25 years with the census rural population representing 49%

of the provincial population in 2006" (Bollman and Clemenson, 2008, p. 24). To put the

New Brunswick proportion of rural population into context, the only two jurisdictions

where rural populations represent the majority are in Prince Edward Island and Nunavut

(Ibid). The issue keeping rural populations from rising according to some is the lack of

in-migration (which would include return migration) experienced by rural areas (Dupuy

et al, 2000; Phyne and Harling-Stalker, 2011).

Miramichi as a Rural Area

Miramichi is usefully considered as part of a spectrum of rurality. It is an

amalgamated city, as previously noted, made up of towns, villages and rural areas. The

city and area of Miramichi are part of Northumberland census division (county), which

had a 2006 population of 48, 868 people (Statistics Canada, 2007c). Therefore

Northumberland census division would be considered a non-metropolitan small town

zone (containing urban settlements of no larger than 19,999 people), not adjacent to a

metropolitan area (for definitions of rural used see: du Plessis *et al*., 2002, p. 11-14).

With Miramichi city only having a 2006 population of 18, 129 (Statistics Canada,

2007b), defining the Northumberland area in which it is situated as rural is appropriate.

This also shows the level of rurality of the area around the small city; therefore it is

appropriate to refer to the Miramichi area and Northumberland County as rural, while

recognizing that Miramichi city itself is a small urban settlement. This characterization

has implications for how the area functions economically, and there are also political

implications in the Canadian system of electoral representation. Beyond the above

definition of rural as a socio-geographic place, which generally is a demographic

endeavour, it is useful to consider a social constructivist approach (Brown & Schafft, 2011, pp.4-8). The social constructivist approach to rurality "emphasizes symbols and signs people imagine" (Ibid, p. 5), that is, how people construct rural places and themselves as rural. The social constructivist definition of rurality also considers values; in my data I found certain types of work were valued, particularly those in the forestry sector. The historical importance of the forestry sector to the province and local area is linked to this value (explored also in terms of nostalgia in the next chapter). A locality approach to defining rural relies upon the area's economic base, with rural locations being associated with primary industry, such as forestry (Parkins & Reed, 2012, p.13). Thus Miramichi fits within various definitions of rural.

Rural Restructuring and Mobility

The exploration of the history of New Brunswick and Miramichi has shown how closely linked it is with Innis' conception of a staples economy (Innis, 1995). In fact it has been argued that this is part of "the unique character of Canadian society, closely linked to natural resource extraction, modes of production, remoteness, rurality and the North" (Parkins & Reed, 2012, p.5). Yet simultaneously rural Canada in particular has shown resilience through historical waves of industry, communities and cultural traditions (Ibid). The current social transformations that are occurring in rural Canada are informed by the processes of global capitalism and neoliberal policies. These processes are restructuring rural Canadian communities in particular ways. However, this relationship between global and local spaces is complex, needing to be understood not as a unidirectional relationship wherein local places are always victims (Leach, 2012,

p.134). These relationships can be understood as "'producing globalization' as an emplaced process that involves the combined actions of corporations, workers, governments, and social movements" (Leach, 2012, p. 137). By studying these processes through the lens of informing understanding of mobility patterns anchored within a particular place the importance of work, or as noted, more broadly, livelihood comes to the forefront. The predominance of forestry sector related employment in the area of Miramichi and its historical shifts are important to understanding the communities' relationship to global capitalism. Below the context of the forestry sector in Canada is explored, as well as its relationship to mobility patterns.

Shifting Natural Resource Economies

The Canadian government, through Natural Resources Canada, has calculated reliance indices for communities with regards to various natural resources (Natural Resources Canada, 2006b). The latest available calculation for Miramichi was from 2001 (prior to the widespread mill closures), and shows the city was 56 percent reliant on the forestry industry (Natural Resources Canada, 2006a). Natural Resources Canada categorizes this degree of reliance on the forestry industry as strongly-reliant (Natural Resources Canada, 2006b). This is why it is important to connect the study of Miramichi to other resource-based communities in Canada. In the Canadian context the forestry industry is significant to rural life, with more than 825,000 people working in the sector as of 1998 (Stedman *et al*., 2005, p. 215). Forestry economic downturns have affected many communities, with mill closures in recent years: "[b]etween January 2003 and December 2009, 47 795 mill layoffs were announced in more than 200 communities

across Canada" (Natural Resources Canada, 2010). These layoffs do not include temporary layoffs or those in sub-industries (Ibid). The above numbers give a clear idea of why studying communities affected by these industry downturns is important; these resource-types of industries predominate in many areas, even today. It is also important to discuss the effects of these changes on migration decisions with people living in these communities. The people I spoke with in Miramichi certainly recognized the area's economic dependency on the forestry industry and many were troubled by it (particularly in light of the recent downturn). One retiree living in Miramichi (who had not worked in the forestry industry) noted: "I think the area depended too much on the forestry industry…then when they went downhill, everything went downhill."

One of the seminal works written about Canadian resource dependent communities is *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Lucas, 1971). In consideration of the continuing influence of this study I will address some key points from this work that relate to my research findings from Miramichi. Lucas specifically focused on single industry communities (where two-thirds or more of residents serve one industry or supporting services) with populations under 30,000 (1971, p. xi). Although his study did not include any of the pre-amalgamation communities that would make up Miramichi, his findings still have resonance and led to other research studies which include broader defined parameters of resource dependent communities.

Lucas (1971) proposed resource communities went through stages in terms of their growth over time and that patterns were apparent depending on the type of resource industry. Many of the differences in Lucas' (1971) findings compared to this work could

be attributed to the fact that the majority of towns or villages studied by Lucas were relatively young, and many were built specifically and initially by companies to access natural resources, or in the case of railtowns, facilitate their movement. However, while the stages of growth are not helpful in understanding Miramichi, given its long history pre-dating the era of company towns, its larger size and broader scope of industry, some of the useful insights and information Lucas provided about migration to and from the communities he studied involving milltowns are examined below.

In terms of migration Lucas argued that important insights derive from studying single industry towns (and I would argue small resource industry-based communities in general), in that young adults from these places in Canada migrate to urban areas. First, this results in youth sustaining those populations instead (Lucas, 1971, p. 18). As well, through this movement, youth from resource based communities take the influences of their upbringing to urban areas (Ibid). In effect, studying rural locales gives insight not just into the populations living there, but also to those that have left and taken their influence elsewhere. However, it is also important to note that a more recent study on Canadian rural youth migration cautioned, "leaving one's area is a phenomenon which is not limited to rural communities" (Dupuy *et al*., 2000, p. 7). Urban youth are also mobile, yet unlikely to move to rural areas (Dupuy *et al*., 2000). Due to this, the effects of youth migration are extremely different between rural and urban areas. Urban areas may "trade" youth, however, with limited rural youth in-migration these communities suffer from losing youth population and their potential.

Livelihoods in single industry towns are limited, with several people out of a family often working for the same company, and essentially passing down their positions

to their children (Lucas, 1971, p. 93). This trend affects mobility, as Lucas found that families did not want their children to move away, however, the shortage of work in these communities did not allow for this, necessitating youth moving away to find work (Ibid, p. 93-95). The exception was for mill employees, where summer work was often available for their children as part of employer strategies to ensure youth were in training to take over positions made available through retirement and people moving (Ibid). This was also the case in Miramichi when the mills were still open. However, these strategies granting well-paying student summer jobs to workers' relatives created animosity among those excluded. A former resident of Miramichi noted that, "…I could feel free to put my resume in to be a summer student at the mill but…[I wouldn't] get my hopes up because I didn't have family that worked there," and he was never hired.

Finding work in the predominant industry also became more difficult as these communities matured; "stability in the community necessitates mobility on the part of youth" (Lucas, 1971, p. 95). According to several interviewees (including those former miller workers), even when the mills were open in Miramichi, it was difficult to get hired. The numbers of positions at the mills in Miramichi were relatively stable for many years, leading to few being available for youth to fill. When positions did become available, family connections were given precedence. One man I spoke with, who had never worked there, linked the hiring process to the union, "…the mill was…unionized right [and it was] very hard to get into the union unless you had family that worked at the mill."

Life in the communities Lucas studied was precarious, because if the industry left, it would likely spell the end of the community itself (Ibid, p. 98). In the case of Miramichi I have shown that the community, while certainly feeling the repercussions of

the mill closures, is weathering the economic and social storm created by the losses. This is related to the resilience of people in the area. But, as Lucas points out, "[s]uperficially, the community with a dominant industry has many characteristics of the one-industry town because the giant industry is seen as having an untoward effect upon the whole community." (1971, p. 399).

The effect of having one industry or sector dominate a local economy is that "[e]ven broadly based national or international recessions that affect all communities become focused more severely on resource-dependent communities, producing deeper recessions and slower recoveries than more populated places" (Randall & Ironside, 1996, p. 22). A notable exception was a study done specifically about the Atlantic Provinces in the 1980s, where employment in resource sectors from 1978 to 1989 fluctuated less than others such as manufacturing, business services or construction (Ibid). In the same study, there was also a link made between resource-based towns and the higher likelihood of staying in the community, as opposed to diversified cities (Ibid). This relationship was unexpected and was attributed to

> a combination of economic factors (e.g., lower probability of resource-sector workers getting jobs elsewhere, potentially larger loss of equity built up in fixed assets such as houses), social factors (e.g., strength of social and family ties, an expectation that the 'bust' will eventually be followed by another 'boom'), and institutional factors (e.g., existence of unemployment insurance and other transfer payments that are more flexible for some of the resource sectors) (Randall & Ironside, 1996, pp. 22-23).

The resilience of resource-dependent communities, in spite of booms and busts, is striking. This resilience can be characterized as an on-going socio-economic process (Davis & Reed, 2012, p. 253). In their study, Randall and Ironside noted: "...the population and the labour market are extremely resilient to change, and households put

into play a host of adaptive strategies to counter the crises." (1996, p. 23). A comparative study of forestry communities and well-being in British Columbia and New Brunswick using 1996 Census data showed that New Brunswickers were less likely to migrate than British Columbia forestry community residents (Parkins *et al.*, 2003, p. 556); echoing the findings of my study on Miramichi, they argue that their findings "point to the role of place attachment, cultural and historic connections, and economic opportunities as key factors in explaining well-being and the long-term survival of many forest dependent communities across Canada" (Ibid). Their article also emphasizes the long history of forestry in both New Brunswick and British Columbia, noting the adaptation of the sector with regards to products, as well as the differences in forest makeup (old growth in British Columbia versus new in New Brunswick), human settlement (with New Brunswick being more dispersed in rural areas), and land ownership (with more individual landowners of private woodlots in New Brunswick, as well as forestry firms) (Parkins *et al.*, 2003). It is also crucial to note that Parkins *et al.* (2003) use in-migration to communities as part of their measurement of well-being, thus recognizing the importance of population stability. This also echoes the work of Stedman (1999) in arguing that sense of place, attachment to and meaning of community should be used as indicators of well-being. The other variables included in measuring community well-being by Parkins *et al.* (2003) were median family income and incidence of low income (Ibid).

Empirical work on resource-based economies also suggests that movement (in or out) is affected by factors associated with work in particular resource industries. With regards to their findings on in-migration and its relationship to the forestry industry, using

133

1996 Census Data, Parkins *et al*. (2003) found that there were low rates of in-migration associated with forest dependence in both provinces. More specifically, the New Brunswick results found that in-migration was virtually non-existent, and from these results stated that "New Brunswick results represent a population that is reluctant to move regardless of the variation in income" (Parkins *et al*., 2003, p. 566). Parkins *et al*. (2003) suggest that while previous works on resource dependent communities subject to economic volatility imagined them to be places of transience, this was not found to be the case in the forestry dependent communities of British Columbia and New Brunswick they studied. A partial explanation of this could be attributed to the fact that "[m]ature communities, capital intensive forest industries, and union activity serve to create conditions of low in-migration" (Ibid, p. 569). Indeed, comparing the rates of unionization within the forestry industry in 1995, one finds they were much higher in British Columbia, at 73 percent, than in New Brunswick, with 24 percent. In addition to highlighting the need to challenge the image of transiency in resource-based economies this work, and those previously discussed in this chapter, show that attachment to place and community history are part of the migration decision-making process. This also builds on the discussion from the previous chapters emphasizing that there are subjective realities and attachments that need to be recognized when trying to understand migration, or lack thereof. These sentiments and attachments will be discussed in the next chapter in relation to nostalgia and the concept of structures of feelings (Williams, 1989). It is also important to recognize the diversity of employment found in resource-dependent communities, because other sectors are often overlooked by researchers (Randall & Ironside, 1996, p. 26).

Also, studies show that Canadian resource-dependent communities are vastly different from each other depending on a variety of factors such as "the role of women and part time labour in the groups of communities, in the relationship between the dominant resource sector and other economic activities in the communities, and in their relative isolation" (Randall & Ironside, 1996, p. 32). Even the type of forestry industry that a community is dependent on makes a difference in the earnings of workers and therefore the economic well-being of the community as a whole (Parkins *et al.*, 2003, p. 559). A finding of particular relevance to the Miramichi case is that pulp and paper mills have been associated with higher incomes, compared to other forestry industries (Ibid, p. 559-560). Studies of US forest dependence in general have found negative outcomes for economic indicators of well-being (Stedman *et al.*, 2004, p. 217), so clearly there is variance depending on the particular forestry industries involved. With the higher incomes associated with the pulp and paper industry, one can understand the economic reasoning for former workers to wait out downturns in the industry, if possible. As noted in other chapters, many people in Miramichi made comments to me that they suspected there were former mill workers still hoping to return to their former positions, and were holding out for that type of work. However, to reiterate, there are the social, cultural and subjective ties that may lead workers to find alternative work in order to stay in the community. For example, as discussed in previous chapters, there were other employment opportunities available in Miramichi after the closure of the mill. However, these opportunities were unlikely to be as high paying as mill work, and were relatively scarce. Much of the available employment was in the relatively low-paying service industry which was largely considered to be "not good" work, which was also perceived

as feminine and in stark contrast to the masculine, "good" work of forestry related

employment. This conception of the value of specific types of work was despite the

historic volatility of the forestry industry and relative stability of the service industry.

While industrial forestry is the norm in Canada, alternatives have been explored

for quite some time internationally. Concerns over forestry practices and forest

sustainability have led to the emergence of community forestry at different times, and in

different forms, globally, since the 1970s (Charnley & Poe, 2007, p. 305). Community

forestry, like the term community itself, has many definitions, however they generally

refer to forest management and contain three characteristics:

> (*a*) some degree of responsibility and authority for forest management is
> formally vested by the government in local communities; (*b*) a central
> objective of forest management is to provide local communities with
> social and economic benefits from forests; and (*c*) ecologically
> sustainable forest use is a central management goal, with forest
> communities taking some responsibility for maintaining and restoring
> forest health. (italics in original, Charnley & Poe, 2007, p. 303)

Community forestry practices are important when considering the current state of

industrial forestry in Canada, and Miramichi in particular, as a potential alternative to

top-down government management of Crown lands. The current dominant form of

forestry management of Crown lands in Canada is that industrial timber production is

made possible through long term leases to private forest product companies that have

mills (Charnley & Poe, 2007, p. 308). The critical stance of many people that I spoke

with in Miramichi about the foreign ownership of forestry companies, and the rights of

these companies to log New Brunswick provincial lands, and ship out wood with little to

no value added process done in province, is one of the problems to which community

forestry has been responding. However, the Atlantic provinces in general do not have

very many instances of community forestry on Crown land (this excludes First Nations community forestry activities, which are numerous in the Canadian context) (Teitelbaum *et al*., 2006, p. 420). In contrast to this, there are considerable community initiatives with regard to private land in New Brunswick and Nova Scotia; "[s]mall-scale woodlots owners have formed provincial federations, marketing boards, and cooperatives to represent their concerns, negotiate market access, and encourage forest stewardship" (Ibid, p. 421). This activity regarding private land makes sense for a province like New Brunswick which, as previously noted, has a higher level of private ownership of land than provinces like British Columbia.

The theoretical basis of community forestry sounds like a very appealing alternative in as much as communities would hold decision-making power, rather than the current model where forestry companies and governments are the powerbrokers. However, like any idea, the on-the-ground realities of implementing community forestry do not necessarily meet the definition stated above. There have been criticisms of community forestry; one criticism is that the notion of community itself is difficult to define (as the next chapter will explore in detail). Further, there is an assumption that communities are egalitarian, homogenous and well-defined, when in reality communities are subject to hierarchies, and competing interests between component groups. Also, community forestry is situated by some as part of neoliberal influenced environmental governance (McCarthy, 2006, pp. 86-87). These are examined below.

Contrary to my discussion of community, in the next chapter, the assumptions present in community forestry definitions imply communities are homogenous, egalitarian and well-defined, which does not reflect the actual complexities of everyday

reality. A review of Canadian forestry studies found ongoing representation restrictions in

participation and access to decision-making about forestry (Reed & Davidson, 2011). In

researching Canadian forestry advisory committees Reed and Davidson (2011), go so far

as to state:

> [t]he overwhelming conclusion of these studies is that community
> engagement in forest advisory committees is elitist. They are rooted in
> sexist, class based and cultural assumptions that shape forestry culture.
> Dominated by individuals whose stake is largely economic and favourable
> to industrial forestry, constrained by external priorities and internal
> dynamics set by government and/or industry, these processes exclude
> those whose gender, class, and/or racialized identities are not defined by
> the dominant norms of industrial forestry. Women, Aboriginal people, and
> those of lower socio-economic status are not only less likely to participate,
> but also less likely to make substantive contributions when they do take
> part. (p. 213).

However, Reed and Davidson (2011) do remain hopeful that through discussion and

sensitivity to these issues by practitioners and academics alike, there is the possibility to

change policies and practices so that they are more inclusive. The above issues with the

Canadian context of community forestry practices are also found in a review of the

international level (Charnley & Poe, 2007, p. 313-314).

The critical stance that community forestry has neoliberal undertones can be

related to the fact that both theories rose to prominence at the same time, and community

forestry involves the shrinking of state control (McCarthy, 2005, p. 87), a hallmark trait

of neoliberal policy (Harvey, 2005). McCarthy (2005), in a comparison of community

forestry in British Columbia (BC) to the lack of such practice in the United States, found

the BC history of community forestry contained elements of neoliberalism. Current forms

of community forestry in BC certainly were developed within a neoliberal context, and

likely were a government concession (as they amount to approximately one percent of

BC Crown forest) in order for industrial forestry to continue unchanged on the majority of Crown lands (McCarthy, 2005. p. 99). McCarthy (2005) suggests that community forestry as a result does not demand large scale change to the forestry industry.

The influence of neoliberal policies and globalization has also affected migration patterns. Researchers' understandings of migration patterns with regards to resource dependent communities have been heavily influenced by the work of Lucas (1971), discussed above. However, as I have argued throughout this thesis there has been considerable global economic restructuring since that work was produced, which has lead to a reconsideration of Lucas' (1971) conceptual model. For example, Halseth (1999) used three forestry dependent BC communities as case studies, in order to reconsider Lucas' (1971) model with regards to the effects of restructuring and migration patterns. Through survey data Halseth (1999) not surprisingly found that employment was both a draw for in-migration (during boom periods) and part of decisions to out-migrate (during bust periods) (p. 378). While his work emphasizes the economic factors influencing migration and raises questions about economic restructuring creating employment uncertainty and possible transient cohorts of workers in natural resource industries, he also notes that the creation of models about resource dependent communities needs to be done cautiously (Ibid). This caution is due to the recognition that resource dependent communities are not homogenous (beyond the resource they are dependent on), that historical differences are important and need to be taken into account, and the need to account for the economic diversity that is present in many of these communities. This takes us beyond the expectations of Lucas' (1971) model. It is also of note that Halseth (1999) found that while there was in-migration from urban locations to rural areas with

jobs on offer, most of the in-migration taking place was from households relocating from one rural area to another (p. 378). This suggests migration decisions went beyond considerations of employment, and possibly included rural lifestyle factors.

In the past 30 years there has been an increased amount of research done on rural economic development, as well as policy and public interest. It has been argued that this increase is due to acceleration of change in rural landscapes worldwide, considered a defining feature of this timeframe (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 510). Rural economic development research has focused on the struggles of rural places to become successful within what is termed the 'new rural economy' which "is about change – demographic, economic, social, cultural, and environmental – as older resource commodity economies are transitioning within a 'hyper-connected' and increasingly 'commodified' global economy" (Ibid).

Current rural research shows that within industrialized economies, there are generalized similarities in primary industries declining in significance: population decline, as well as aging populations, and neo-liberalism having various impacts (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 510). The latter point is especially important. Rural economic restructuring that came to the fore in the 1980s, under the auspice of efficiency, has, for example, led to industrial consolidation and implementation of labour-reducing technologies (Ibid, p. 513). Other structural changes have included "decline of the farm economy, increases in low-wage jobs in manufacturing and services, and growth of consumption functions" (Tigges *et al*., 1998, p. 203). The increasing mobility of capital has led to corporations holding significant negotiating power, which has created further problems for small places trying to attract and retain said capital (Ryser & Halseth, 2010,

p. 513). An example of this has been the changes to manufacturing in rural Ontario where "[a]s local facilities were taken over by national and ultimately multinational corporate entities, they became more vulnerable to the global restructuring of the economy" (Winson & Leach, 2002, p. 7). This was particularly recognized by many people I spoke with in Miramichi; the foreign ownership and power of corporations was seen as hugely problematic. A former mill worker, who had retrained and was still living in Miramichi, noted the change over time of the power and control corporations have:

> "[at] one time the companies were strong, then unions come in and unions maybe got too strong. I don't know but they kind of held the balance of power, now it's going the other way again…These companies are big and powerful, they can hold out so that's what they do they just hold out and they starve the [workers]…until they have to give in…Well the other thing too is a lot of companies…if they don't get things they want, then they threaten to shut down, 'well we'll move some place else.'

With the rise of low-wage and non-permanent jobs, small labour markets are struggling to deal with this labour flexibility, which can lead to out-migration (Ryser & Halseth, 2010, p. 513).

Social Constructions of Work and Identity

Traditional ideals of masculinity and femininity particularly exist in rural areas and these relate to patterns of social reproduction (Leach, 2012, p.135). These traditional ideals include occupational identities, however, while "they persist in various forms, they are reshaped by rural restructuring" (Ibid). The masculine working-class culture found in various contexts, as written about by Dunk (2003), has, in many instances, resisted efforts by corporations to implement neo-liberal agendas (pp. xiv-xv). This was evident in the

strike action taken by Miramichi mill workers. The ideal of masculine mill work is of physical, yet well-paying labour, which does not demand formalized schooling but rather common sense (Dunk 2003), an understanding which was evident in Miramichi. The male dominated workplace of the mills likely enforced gendered attitudes which Dunk (2003) found in his study of white male working-class culture in Thunder Bay, Ontario during the mid-1980s. There was a common sense idea that mill work was better suited to men due to its physicality (also found in Dunk, 2003), although as one interviewee noted, the levels of mechanization in modern mills were such that "anyone" could have physically done most of the work.

My findings also support these, at times dichotomous conceptions of gendered work ideals. While forestry work is predominantly conceptualized in Miramichi as "good work," particularly within pulp and paper mills, with the decline of this type of work there has been movement of men into traditionally feminine work, such as nursing. Also, with households of interviewees in Miramichi being predominantly dual income, there is a recognition and value placed on the labour of women. It must be noted that women not only held employment outside of the home but also were largely responsible for childcare and social reproduction generally when not at their jobs (as also found, and its increase linked to rural restructuring, by Winson & Leach, 2012, p.30). The issue of childcare was often raised as being a consideration in migration decision-making as extended family (mostly the women) played a large role in provision of care. The recognition of the importance of the roles of women were particularly clear with regards to discussing with interviewees how households dealt with mill closures and the unemployment of those predominantly male workers. The stabilizing forces economically in these households

were, predominantly, the women partners, regardless of what type of work they did. These changing relations may lead to (or perhaps to some degree have already) "[c]ollective reframing of community identities and local socio-economic relations" (Bullock, 2012, p. 287), which according to Bullock is occurring in some Northern Ontario mill towns.

Despite the common challenges to industrialized rural economies, the materials in this chapter have demonstrated the need to resist the temptation to see rural resource-based economies as producing transiency in the population and the need for complex understandings and measurement of factors affecting mobility and industry in resource dependent rural economies. As well, there must be careful analysis of local specificities in the ways these trends manifest themselves, and to contemplate possible solutions agreeable to the population in these areas. The ethnographic nature of my thesis adds this kind of depth, and complements the mainly quantitative studies done on internal migration within Canada. It also provides useful insights about governments and rural places concerned about out-migration and population movement. Finally, the materials in this chapter have also highlighted the need to consider the importance of community attachment, and social constructions of work and identity.

Chapter Seven: Community Identification and Nostalgic Resilience

Where are you from? And who's your father?

There is an emphasis in Miramichi on family and community which became apparent during my time living there. One day at a locally owned coffee shop, early on in my fieldwork, I sat drinking my coffee, unintentionally listening in on a group of people's conversation. I had made it a habit to visit this coffee shop, as it was one of the few local shops close to where I was staying and had a nice homey feel to it. Also, this particular spot always seemed to have interesting people leisurely drinking coffee and chatting. Further, the layout was very communal and, as a single person, I did not feel excluded or relegated to my own little table. The people working were always pleasant, making small talk with me. It was while listening to an ongoing conversation between a middle aged woman and two elderly men that it struck me how much they knew about the history of this place and their own families. These histories were clearly thought of as interrelated and important. These historical remembrances also contained traces of nostalgia, which I later found out was not uncommon. My eavesdropping became obvious at some point and so the woman in the group, Lynn, asked me what I was studying. Since I was reading a book and taking notes, it seemed apparent that I was a student. After explaining that I was interested in studying and talking to people about out-migration from Miramichi she said that it sounded interesting and that I should look into the history of the area. The questions that they asked of me were where was I and my family from? And who was my father? Placing me in this way was important, and the fact that I grew up and had family in New Brunswick provided, I believe, some sense of familiarity. In asking me about my

family roots the conversation led one of the older gentleman, Tom, to talk about his family connections to the area. Tom could trace exactly when his family came to the area, their names and descendants. As I found out through the course of my fieldwork, this was not an isolated feat. Many people wanted to place me and my family, as well as tell me about their family histories, so that I would have a clear placement of them. People wanted to know my identity and how I fit into the community; from this, it was obvious people considered identity and community important. This need to place people, as well as attachment to place, was also studied by Donna Young (2006) who conducted an ethnographic study of the complex attachment of rural poor to family and place, in a settlement of northeastern New Brunswick. One of my interviewees, who had moved to Miramichi for work and stayed there for eighteen years, had a similar experience upon moving to the area:

> …one of my lasting memories [after] having gone there; we went there in the fall and it was quickly hunting season, I think a month later. We were out with some friends that I worked with hunting and walking down an old worn and grown up woods road. [We] met two fellas coming the other way and…one of the guys next to me, he says just watch and see what the questions are. And we stop to talk, we weren't there thirty, forty seconds, the first question is what's your name? Where you from? Who's your Dad? Those three questions, they wanted to be able to place you and figure out who are you connected to in town and do you belong there?

This emphasis on history tended to be generational with middle aged and older people more likely to talk about it, particularly in response to my questions about whether they had family in the community. Included in these historical discussions was often a sense of nostalgia, a theme that became evident not only in my interviews but also in casual conversations with people in Miramichi, in some of the summer festivals, and even

New Brunswick government appeals for out-migrants to come 'home', if only for a vacation.

The many different foci of nostalgia were often connected to ideas of identity, community, livelihood, and resilience. It is through these interconnections that nostalgia may be usefully linked to discussions of migration. I came upon this underlying current of nostalgia from conversations both with people living in Miramichi and those that had moved away. Although to be clear, not all people that I spoke with felt nostalgic for the community of Miramichi, or thought that it was resilient. There were many people that did not have a positive outlook on the future. However, these outlooks did not necessarily preclude nostalgic sentiments. These complex points of view and social sentiments are important to consider in studying the geo-political community generally, and specifically in studying out-migration, as they played an important part in how people conceptualized migration (which is one of the research questions this work was intended to explore). The complexities of migration decision-making and community identification explored in this chapter help to further one of my ongoing arguments: migration decisions cannot be solely conceptualized as economically rational choices, other dimensions of decision-making are significant. The social subjectivities people have about their community and place within it are important.

> If you live up there you know it's a special place, it's a different mindset, there. The people there are so genuine and giving of their time and efforts. They're dedicated to living life to the fullest, there is...a toughness in them that you don't see everywhere…and there's a loyalty to them that you don't see everywhere. Even when they leave, they bring the river with them and can't wait till the next time they get home, I find. There...have been people there who didn't fit in and who have had trouble in life and couldn't wait to leave and are far more happier now that they've left…In my experience, the people I know, who went to high school with I'd say like 15 percent

really hated it, couldn't wait to leave, they're gone and they're far happier
now. But I'd say that 85 percent …really miss it still, every day
(30 year old out-migrant)

Communities of Identification

In considering the ongoing and historical changes to the community of Miramichi,

which are linked to the changes of modernity and globalization, it is important to consider

nostalgia that is focused on past romanticized notions of the communities and as noted

above, how individuals feel, identify with, and conceptualize communities. It is through

this consideration that the research question regarding the relationship between out-

migration and historical notions of identity is clarified. With this in mind I think it is

important to delve into understanding and framing the concept of community itself,

relative to the ongoing debates in the social sciences as to the utility of this term. Part of

the ongoing debates about community relate to the fact that the term does "designate both

an idea about belonging and a particular social phenomenon, such as expressions of

longing for community, the search for meaning and solidarity, and collective identities"

(Delanty 2003, p. 3).

This is evident in the multiple ways that people spoke about community and what

they inferred I meant by the term when used during casual conversations and interviews.

As noted in a previous chapter, Miramichi city, as a geo-political unit was formed

through amalgamation of smaller towns, villages and rural areas. Thus the history of

community identification and its current reality are complicated. The small geo-political

community names from pre-amalgamation are still commonly used in daily

conversations. In fact, this initially was a source of confusion for me as I attempted to get

directions from people in the city, and yet the reference points given such as "oh, that's in Douglastown" were not to be found on my post-amalgamation map anywhere. Not wanting to appear to be questioning their knowledge of the area, I would smile and nod, still thoroughly confused. However, as I explored the area of the city by driving around, I noticed that there were in fact small signs that indicated the former town names and the like. The municipal government realized, at some level, that it was unlikely people would stop using the old geo-political community names.

In talking to people about whether they felt they were part of 'the community,' they would often mention being part of these smaller pre-amalgamation communities, and stated that people still found these divisions important and a source of pride. From the history of the area it is evident there has been political and economic competition since settlement between these towns, villages and rural spaces. On the opposite side of the geographic scale of identification, many people I spoke with identified with being from *the* Miramichi, in reference to being from around the area of the river of Miramichi. The river was an important focus of identification for many of the people I spoke with, regardless of age, livelihood or current place of residence. This identification with the river was also not related to whether people spent any time on the river itself; its signification was much broader than this. In fact many people mentioned how awful it would be to not live by a body of water. To be land-locked in Alberta would be horrible, as one Miramichier told me. One woman, currently living in Alberta, explained, "we talk about the river, we miss the water…we miss being, you know what I mean, by the water…" One out-migrant, living in Fredericton, New Brunswick (which also has a river

running through it, the Saint John River) expressed it this way, "I like to be on the water, that's where I grew up. And that kind of does stay in your blood…"

Given that the above various community identifications were not mutually exclusive and were in fact used most often in combination, the concept of community must be understood in a way that can incorporate this variety. Recent scholarly literature is helpful in this regard.

In an influential work Cohen (2003) analyses the concept of community, noting that it has been a contentious concept, resistant to definition (p. 11). He does not try to formulate yet another definition of community but instead theorizes and explicates its *use* with ethnographic examples (Ibid, p. 12). Fundamentally Cohen believes that community is "a *relational* idea" (italics in original, Ibid) that is used by people in order to distinguish themselves. From this perspective community boundaries are symbolic and constituted through interaction (Cohen, 2003, pp. 12-13).

Taking a slightly different, although not mutually exclusive, perspective, Amit (2002, p. 14) argues community refers to a variety of complex social processes that are not clearly defined groupings. She emphasizes that due to this complexity, use of the term community must be subjected to analysis because it does not provide "a ready-made social unit upon which to hang analysis" (Ibid). Taking the term community to be a self-evident geo-political unit is potentially problematic because it disregards the participants' conceptions of what they consider their community. According to Amit's (2002) analysis there is a fundamental tension-filled duality inherent in the concept of community, which on the one hand, invokes sociality, and on the other hand, is used merely as a classificatory tool (Ibid). Inherent in what Amit (2002) refers to as the duality of the

concept of community is the question of perspective, broadly etic (that is externally imposed) versus emic (that is locally defined), regarding the community studied. Cohen's (2003) work addresses the meaning of community in people's daily experience and therefore concentrates on the emic perspective.

Also important in this critical look at community is the potential problem of scale, as Cohen (2003, p.13) argues this plays a crucial role in whether community is merely rhetoric and without meaning. Cohen makes a compelling argument that large scale communities, such as political geographical divisions, are mainly rhetorical, as interactions are not the basis of the definition. This is contrasted to smaller scale groups where people themselves talk about community with attached meaning related to everyday social life processes (Ibid). In speaking with people about Miramichi, they inevitably spoke about being 'known' in the community, and the social closeness they felt. While for a few this closeness could be negative (many referenced gossiping in relation to this), they all clearly associated the term community with social interactions. In terms of the rurality of the community and its sense of closeness, a couple that I spoke with who had moved into the area when they were young, and had raised their children there, noted that they found it shocking that there were people who had never left Miramichi and had no desire to do so: "I had people working for me that didn't even know [what was] outside this area, they'd never been to Fredericton, never been to Saint John. They wouldn't even know where Doaktown or Bristol or Fredericton Junction was, 'well I don't know where that is'." To put the above quotation into perspective, all of these locations are in the province of New Brunswick, with Saint John being the furthest away from Miramichi at a three and a half hour drive (see Figure 1). It is of significance

the places listed were all in southern New Brunswick, and there have been longstanding

resentments between the north and south of the province due largely to socioeconomic

disparities (as mentioned in Chapter Two and Three).

However, for those who had moved away from the area, identification with larger

groupings such as 'Maritimer' in particular was common. This was the case when they

lived outside of the Maritime region, whereas for those within this geo-political area the

identification as New Brunswicker and Miramichier was used commonly. An example

would be a twenty-eight year old woman I interviewed who was completing a university

degree in Ontario, but was hopeful that one day she would move back to the Maritimes,

although not Miramichi, due to what she viewed as labour market constraints:

Interviewer- So would you then consider yourself a Maritimer?

F- Yes…I think [it] is part of our identity actually and why we also want to move
back home I guess because that is very much a part of our identity. We very much
like Maritime music, I guess like we've kind of adopted that as a, maybe a symbol
of home, maybe we're more emotionally tied to being a Maritimer because we're
not living there. You know we like the music, we like the Scottish, Irish, Celtic
heritage, we like that kind of feel of friendliness kind,...all those stereotypes that
you think of the East Coast so yeah we still maintain that identity and would like
to reassume it once we move again.

Another out-migrant currently living outside of the Maritimes but who wanted to

move back to the region at some point said succinctly, "Once a Maritimer always a

Maritimer." He however did not want to move back to Miramichi, which he

considered too small a city to allow for the kind of career he wanted to enjoy. The

identification of Maritimer for many had personal attributes often associated with this

designation. Interestingly not all of these were positive; there were a few people

interviewed who felt there were some negative attributes associated with Maritimers,

and these informed their decision not to attempt to move back to the region. This was

the case with one twenty-nine year old woman that I spoke to who had moved away

for school and did not think she would ever move back to Miramichi:

> …there are wonderful things about Maritimers that I love dearly [and] there
> are things that I'd prefer not to associate with as well, such as some
> attitudes. Maritimers can be closed minded about differences, so
> homophobia is rampant in the Maritimes…I found that really difficult
> when I was living in Saint John, I think it was either a provincial or a
> federal candidate, I think it was a federal candidate, who won her position
> solely on the basis of her saying she wouldn't allow a gay pride parade to
> come through Saint John. It was just ridiculous…and there's just no
> diversity whatsoever…when I was living there, there was not a single black
> person who lived in Miramichi…[There are] some strong opinions about
> people who are different, whether they be a homosexual or from a different
> culture.

Both the positive and negative attributes associated with identification as a Maritimer

were also wrapped up in emotional contexts of pride and/or shame. In this way I suggest

this regional identification, as conceptualized by the people I spoke with, goes beyond

rhetoric and is based on generalized social remembrances, possibly mixed with

stereotypes. There was an underlying social basis for the defining of the term Maritimer,

in contrast to Cohen's (2003) argument above about large scale communities being

mainly rhetorical. This regional identification is a significant label taken up and used by

migrants (in particular), which symbolizes their continued and ongoing connection to the

Maritime region.

The meaning of the term community was initially taken for granted in

anthropological research, as a bounded field site where participant observation would

take place and ethnographies written.[10] From this perspective community was a

completely "unexamined form as a unit of analysis, the location rather than the object of

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[10] The conception of a bounded "local community" as an anthropological field site has been convincingly
critiqued by Gupta and Ferguson (1997). Theoretical considerations of delineating a field site when
conducting research on migration are discussed further in the Methodology appendix.

research" (Amit, 2002, p. 42). Given that initially European and North American anthropologists concentrated their research efforts on what were considered foreign, remote and isolated places, the boundaries of the communities were assumed. However, in the social sciences more generally, analysis of community has been in terms of social transformation and cohesion (Amit, 2002, p. 42). This has a long historical tradition including works by Tönnies, Weber and Durkheim, which continued with a diverse range of scholars. The central analytic discussion of these works has revolved around questions of incorporation (Ibid).

Anthropology as a discipline moved towards the incorporation of urban areas as research sites in the 1960s and 1970s, which in turn put into question the ideas of the boundaries and context of these sites (Amit, 2002, p. 15). Amit argues that around this time, social network analysis starting being used because it avoided any debates about the concept of community and takes the individual as the starting point.

As previously noted, network theory analyses the social connections between people or groups (such as organizations), mapping them in order to understand the role these relationships possibly play in the research question at hand. These social connections are not all the same; Granovetter (1983) conceptually divided them into two categories, weak and strong ties. Strong ties are those with close friends and family, whereas weak ties are those with acquaintances (Granovetter, 1983, p. 201). Both of these ties provide important support to the person whose network it is, and these connections also act as sources of information.

Granovetter describes studies that classify weak or strong ties based on a quantitative measurement of how frequently the subject was in contact with others, a

criterion completely based on the researcher's idea of how much contact constitutes a weak tie (1983, p. 205-206). Interestingly, Hannerz (1992, p. 44) uses a very similar conception of differences found in types of networks but from the perspective of how different connections affect the management of meaning on a larger scale than just individuals.

Networks are also theoretically connected to the concept of social capital, which, as conceptualized by Bourdieu is one of several types of capital and relates to social constraints "determining the chances of success for practices" (Bourdieu, 2001, p. 97). This concept has been variously defined, however "the consensus is growing in the literature that social capital stands for the ability of actors to secure benefits by virtue of membership in social networks or other social structures" (Portes, 1998, p. 6). Thus, social capital expresses the latent or overt value of social networks. Social capital is possessed through relationships with others and these relationships are the potential source of advantage (Portes, 1998, p. 7). While research using the concept of social capital tends to emphasize the positive aspects of the relationships that underlie this type of capital, social capital can have negative consequences (Ibid, p. 15). Some of these negative consequences are "exclusion of outsiders, excess claims on group members, restrictions on individual freedoms, and downward levelling norms" (Ibid). These consequences can clearly also be applied to social networks, which do not always have positive effects on an individual. For example Granovetter (1983) argues a prevalence of strong ties is not necessarily beneficial. Smart (2008) notes that while Portes coined the term "negative social capital" (1998, p. 15) it has been taken up by other researchers and treated as a separate type of capital (Smart, 2008, p. 411). This is problematic because the

154

categorization of capital as negative is reliant on the moral compass of the researcher, whereas Portes was merely referring to the possible negative social consequences of social capital and even the classification of the effects as negative or positive as a function of the sociocultural context (Ibid).

Social capital as a concept, despite its popularity, has been critiqued in several ways. There have been several criticisms of the divergent definitions associated with the concept; there are those who focus on networks as access to resources, for individuals (as in the definition given in the above section), and those using networks to refer to indicators of civic activity (Smart, 2008, p. 426). It has been suggested that "[l]ike 'community' before it, social capital comes to mean everything and nothing" (Ibid), limiting the usefulness of the concept itself. Smart (Ibid, p. 411) argues that in fact the use of the concept of social capital with reference to civic activities (such as Putnam, 2000), when discussed as a collective attribute, must then deal with the problem of defining community. Social capital, as with the concept of social networks, is also appraised regarding problems surrounding the levels of analysis associated with it (Ibid). Putnam's (2000) work is critiqued for this problem, in that he conceptualizes social capital as being obtained at the community level (or collectively), while at the same time drawing causal conclusions from individual data that has been aggregated (Smart, 2008, p. 411). In this way he creates a circular logic to his argument that social capital on the community level leads to individual acts of civic engagement (or social capital as he defines it), which then in turn causes the high levels of community social capital (Ibid; Portes, 1998, pp. 18-20).

Granovetter (1983) argues that networks, specifically weak ties, are important for occupational mobility. However, this argument has interesting implications for migration studies. Some researchers on migration have taken this point in order to analyse the use of networks within migration, not only for finding employment but also, more fundamentally, where and how to migrate (Olwig, 2007).

Network analysis has been used in anthropological migration studies since the 1940s (Olwig, 2007, p. 8). In these earlier works, social networks "allowed for the study of local as well as translocal relations; individual agency as well as social structure; change as well as continuity" (Ibid, p. 9). In migration ethnographies there have been a variety of approaches to using network based research, one of which is as explicated above in the theoretical discussions focusing on the individual and/or a larger unit of analysis such as an organization or state. However, there has been a critique of network analysis, noting that there have been problems producing precise methods that map individual networks (Amit, 2002). My study did not focus on social networks or social capital, yet within the detailed information I collected social networks were sometimes used within the migration decision-making process. This took several forms. Those moving out of the area for schooling were likely to choose schools approved of or attended by family or friends. Those people that had moved out of the community for work did not necessarily use social networks, but this did occur in some instances. One example is a woman living in Alberta who moved out there after finishing her schooling: "I decided just to come out here because a friend was out here and I knew the jobs were, like it was during the boom in Grand Prairie." She also explained that she is a part of

quite a large social group of people originally from Miramichi that moved to Grand Prairie due to social networks.

The concept of social capital is quite useful in understanding the workings of the Miramichi labour market. The emphasis on placing people within the social networks of the community, as described in the opening paragraph of this chapter, connotes the importance of social capital in gaining employment. Some people who moved to or immigrated to the area noted the extent of this process. My conversation with a professional who had returned to the province, due to early retirement, did have some (somewhat distant) family connections to Miramichi, shows the extent that social networks and social capital are of importance:

> …New Brunswick and this culture, it operates on the basis of relationships…not so unlike other places, but it's just so much stronger here. So in other places they call that networks, but to get things done and to get information you have to have all those relationships so it's…I still feel that we're not accepted as part of the community. And I get that [feeling] because we don't get information, I hear about things sort of accidentally. That either pertain to our business or our work…
>
> Interviewer- Right. And so in that way do you think that the community is kind of insular?
>
> M- Yes, yeah. It's insular and it's also, it's not open to different ways of doing things. As much as they say they are, there's a resistance to change, the status quo is what they want to maintain. So all this talk about being welcoming to outsiders and hospitality, that's all, that's great if you're just passing through town and spending money. But if you come to live here it's a different story. And there's a whole set of issues that really, that I find troublesome because it has, these issues sort of have two sides to them. One is that these issues relate to the culture, sort of traditional ways of doing things and knowing who your father was and who his father was and making decisions based on, you know, all of that baggage. But…it prevents people from looking at capabilities and efficiencies and what's required, so I think that the traditional culture is actually what drags, as much as it is promoted, it's what keeps this area down. And you know I worked in Alberta and they gave me more chances. I was a complete stranger, they

gave me more chances and demonstrated more confidence in me as a total stranger out there than my own province did.

Interviewer- That's the second time I've heard that today.

M- So in many respects I have a lot of respect for the way things are done in Alberta...there's certain parts of the politics that I don't like, but there's a certain openness that is refreshing and I think it's also conducive to progress and change and development. But then you have to be of a mixed mind, I mean if we were all sort of business oriented and you know, wanting to push for different, to push for development then it would detract from the nature of what this area is. But there's a reluctance to address these kinds of issues in population strategies...I'm intimately familiar with those kinds of things,...they don't want to talk about that kind of thing. They don't talk about the troubles that returnees have and how there is not open, competitive recruitment for positions and how when returnees come back their ideas are not welcomed, even if they have expertise.

From this it becomes clear that the conception of belonging plays an important role within the labour market.

The uses of the conceptualizations of community are not always in opposition to those of social networks. For example, Wallman (1984), in an urban ethnographic study of London households, uses the concepts of community and networks. She argues that while government map makers define communities geo-politically with regards to access of resources there is *also* a socially based emic definition (Ibid, p. 9). In an argument very similar to Cohen (2003), Wallman notes that community boundaries "become a *social* boundary only when residents identified themselves by it. This happened when it began to be used to define 'us', the people entitled to share the resources we call 'ours'" (Ibid, p. 9). While, this is a social, relational definition of community, which emphasizes access to resources, Wallman (1984) also acknowledges the classificatory nature of community as used by the state. In this way she addresses some of the limitations of the concept of community, particularly the duality pointed out by Amit (2002). However, "[s]ociality

now became an effect of constructed and oppositional categorical distinctions, realized by positing an 'us' versus 'them'" (Amit, 2002, p. 44).

While Amit (2002) clearly is concerned with grounding conceptions of community, Cohen (2003, p. 38), as noted above, does not see the symbolic or imagined as separate from an experiential understanding of community. Cohen's perspective is compelling in that community is grounded in social interactions and relationships but also recognizes that people themselves can and do use symbols to assert community boundaries (Cohen, 2003, p. 28). However, in his recognition that attached meaning is variable there is an understanding that communities are in no way homogenous and conceptions of what the boundaries of a community are will change depending on the historical situation and personal perspective.

Given Amit's (2002) critical stance on contemporary notions of community, it is not surprising that she is equally critical of its use within migration ethnographies (p. 62). With regard to contemporary anthropological transmigration literature, Amit is critical of the assumed portability of communities and their decontextualization (Ibid). This relates to her critique of the notion of imagined communities, which in essence would make communities portable. She questions whether there are transnational communities as such, or whether anthropologists are mislabelling what are in fact familial networks (Ibid, p. 64). I would argue that the distinction between familial networks from broader ones is not necessary and creates a false dichotomy. Community is a social identity (and space) in which kinship is nested. In fact when people spoke about the community of Miramichi, it almost inevitably included a discussion of family or people who in terms of emotional closeness are considered to be family. One out-migrant felt somewhat conflicted as to

whether she was still a part of the community but her broad family connections played a part in still feeling an identification: "I want to still feel like I'm still a part of the community and I do still feel part of the community when I'm with family who still live there, so I kind of feel part of the community that way…"

It is also important to recognize that kinship memories or understandings "are far from static—they are continually reworked, and their significance shifts in response to present relationships and wider political circumstances" (Carsten, 2007, p. 421). Olwig (2002) notes how dispersed family networks developed understandings and practices of enacting relatedness (Ibid, p. 216). This gave her subjects "a community of belonging" (Ibid, p. 245). In her conclusion Olwig stresses that it is important "not to lose sight of the key role played by the ways that family relatedness drives people to be both pushed and pulled, but also to push and pull, just as it drives them to take on both national and transnational identities and to transgress these identities" (Ibid, p. 286). This is crucial for migration ethnographies because people's movements can possibly change their understandings of kinship and identities, as shown by the strong and persistent identification as a Maritimer by some out-migrants. It also helps to understand how out-migrants can still consider themselves as belonging to the Miramichi.

In a later work, Amit (2010) suggests "that the ambiguity linked with the ubiquity of references to community might just prove to be useful vehicle for thinking about certain classes of sociation" (p. 358). This is a move away from trying to define community in a categorical way and instead focuses on investigating the ambiguities of the idea of community and its intersections with differing forms of sociation (or as I understand the term, social relations) (Amit 2010, pp. 358-359). She identifies three

points of strategic intersection of the above: joint commitment, affect-belonging, and

forms of association (Amit 2010, p. 359). This manner of thinking about community is

helpful to understand the common, everyday uses of the term, which vary in their

conceptions of what community itself entails.

As previously noted in speaking to people about the *community* of Miramichi, it

became apparent that depending on the context, this incorporated very different

definitions and for some had a distinctly emotional component. When speaking about the

political economy of the area, people stressed what Amit (2010) refers to as the joint

commitments, which emphasizes interdependence rather than sameness. This

interdependence was particularly stressed when Miramichiers discussed the closure of the

mills. These losses were conceptualized not just as abstract economic changes, but social

as well. The social interdependence of those people working at the mills with those

working elsewhere in the community was noted. There was recognition that the loss of

mill jobs (as well as those related to mill work) changed the social fabric of the area, and

was continuing to do so at the time of this research. The joint commitments of mill

workers during the heyday of those mills included their commitment to one another,

particularly for those that were unionized. As well, these unions also had commitments to

variously organizing charitable and social events which were open to the general public.

With the closure of these work places and the movement of some workers away from the

area, or changes in employment, there were shifts in joint commitments. This is explained

with a nostalgic tone by one former mill worker who retrained and was hired on in

Miramichi:

> …yeah activities are becoming more and more limited all the time with
> the downturn, with the loss of mill people. I hate to always talk about mill

people because we weren't the be all, end all, but there was a thousand of us in 1992, actually there was 1200 of us. So if you have 1200 people all making 40,000 plus [dollars] working in the same facility, chances are there's going to be a Saint Patrick's Day event and a July 1st event and a Labour Day event. Who's going to organize that stuff now? The guys that can afford to are probably working away that week, those of us that are left around and have educated ourselves and all started new work, we're all within 4 to 5 years...in our [new] careers; we're older men, but we're the infants.

The aspect of community that I am most interested in is what Amit (2010) refers to as "affect-belonging", which is "a sense of belonging to a collectivity" (p. 360). She notes that the ideas of belonging are emotionally charged (Amit 2010, p. 361). I believe that this is of vital importance to consider. It is imperative to also note that Amit (2010) proposes understanding affect and community through a distributive model, in order to move away from simplistic boundary understanding of us/them (p. 361). This is helpful in understanding how people no longer living in Miramichi can still consider themselves to be part of the community. Some people I spoke with qualified this long-distance belonging. When I asked one out-migrant currently living in Fredericton whether he still felt part of the Miramichi community he responded:

> I kind of do…I go home, I still see loads and loads of people I know, and if I go to any bar in Miramichi almost, on a weekend, I'm going to see some people I know. Both sides of the river, you know, sort of changes a bit in the winter, it's not as, definitely in the summer though, any time I go to a bar in the summer on the weekend in Miramichi, I usually know five people or better. I haven't lived there in seven years.

This discussion of community also relates to the later section discussing nostalgia because as Amit (2010) points out, "[n]ostalgia may be a powerful source of romanticized belonging without requiring any form of joint commitment" (p. 361). In this way joint commitment is not coterminous with senses of belonging, which is crucial

to understanding the belonging of out-migrants. Amit (2010) suggests that there should be an examination of "the interaction of joint commitment and affect-belonging across a variety of different forms of association" (p. 362). In effect, my study allows for this type of examination, as different forms of migration allow for this interaction to be considered. As Knowles points out, Amit's "framing of community as sociation...sidesteps the implied binaries of settlement versus unsettlement in mobility-as-new-paradigm arguments" (2010, p. 367). Community from Amit's (2010) perspective is not stationary or settled because it is not categorical, but rather to be considered as ongoing social processes. Thus, this way of thinking about communities lends itself well, as previously explicated, to the study of peoples' movements through life. These movements are not necessarily the long distance travels that are often the focus of social scientific research. Rather, they are "the syncopated rhythms of settlement and mobility, rest and restlessness, of everyday life" (Knowles, 2010, p. 368). The ongoing changes to the area of Miramichi also, I believe, provides evidence of Amit's (2010) assertion that "[e]xplicit or strong assertions of belonging are more likely to occur when people are responding to unusual or even extreme circumstances" (p. 360). The commuter migrants that I spoke with had very strong assertions of belonging to the community of Miramichi, which may have been in part a reaction to their circumstances. In other words, one may be unable to find "good" work in the area of Miramichi, yet unwilling to move their families away from the area.

In her migration ethnography on three families with West Indian origins, Olwig (2007) argues that communities are in effect peoples' place making processes (p. 15). For Olwig the processes of place making are central to her analysis of migration.

Although she prefers this term to community, her conceptualization of the processes involved lend credence to the argument that community as a concept, despite its limitations, has utility in migration ethnographies. She importantly argues that "[p]laces …are constructed at many different levels of abstraction, ranging from a home associated with an intimate community of relatives to a village or town linked with a close-knit local community of neighbours and friends to a country identified with a more diffuse, imagined national community of people" (Olwig, 2007, p. 15). In this way she mirrors Cohen's (2003) non-dichotomous conception of community as either based on social relations or imagination. Yet the above quotation suggests that, contrary to Cohen (2003), the concept of community can be applied on various spatial scales with the understanding that the definition or processes forming an understanding of community are not static. In this way Olwig (2007) provides an excellent example of how conceptions of community could be used in migration ethnography in a way that addresses its limitations.

Community is grounded in social interactions and relationships, though people can and do use symbols to assert community boundaries (Cohen, 2003, p. 28). Clearly, communities are not homogenous in their use and understanding of symbols and the boundaries of communities will change depending on the historical situation and personal perspectives. As well, the concept of community can be applied on various spatial scales, with the understanding that the definition or processes forming understandings of community are not static. Communities are in effect peoples' place making processes (Olwig, 2007, p. 15). From this perspective, the emphasis within community is on notions of social belonging and its open-ended communicative nature (Delanty 2003, p. 187).

The above understanding of community helps in understanding how it is that half of my interviewees felt part of the community of Miramichi despite not living in the physical location. Their maintenance of social relationships is clearly related to these place making processes; part of this maintenance involved out-migrants regularly visiting Miramichi. Also, some had nostalgia for living in Miramichi, which would suggest an ongoing attachment. One young out-migrant, when asked what he liked about living in Miramichi, stated that he enjoyed the "strong sense of community amongst people…people are very into being a Miramichier and that kind of community identity…" He then went on to say that the Ontario city where he was currently living did not have this same sense of pride. Caught up with this nostalgia for the younger migrants was the utopian notion that they could move back to retire in Miramichi one day. Several that expressed this hope also noted that it was not necessarily a feasible or realistic hope.

Beyond strictly geographic identifications are also those of an ethnic nature. The historical ethnicities of the Miramichi area are, interestingly enough, also associated still with geographic areas and as described below, viewed by some as in competition with one another:

> I think so but I think too...there's probably...a deeper experience of the people, like, like say with the Miramichi. You have an Irish, Scottish, English, Acadian, Native experience that's there, that is struggling against each other, and there's a lot more diversity that is struggling against each other...Then you've got a river split right down in the middle of it, so then it's like this Chatham, Newcastle battle that seems to go on...Then on our side of the river, like well on the Newcastle side, where I spent most of my junior high, high school, then you got this battle between say Mi'kmaq...of say Burnt Church versus Sunny Corner you know, and you're just in this ongoing struggle with each other. But...there's a vibrancy in that you know, I think. There's vibrancy and then there's limitations…people aren't growing there's no leadership and it's got a deeper history of struggle.

In terms of language, several people I spoke with mentioned that even with an education it was difficult to get a job without being bilingual or knowing French. Some expressed bitterness about this, particularly in relation to work with the provincial and federal levels of government:

> something else I didn't like personally was that there was no job prospects for me at all in the city, even with a university degree. If you didn't know French you weren't getting a decent job. Which, on a personal level, annoyed me but…maybe I clung to that bitterness as well.

While language was not a topic I pursued, there were obvious strong feelings about the effects the province's bilingualism policy had in a place like Miramichi, which is predominantly English-speaking but in an area that has many predominantly French communities.[11] As noted by the interviewee above in relation to ethnic identities, these struggles between communities and/or identities are ongoing. The intersections of these differing forms of identification (ethnicity and language) with each other and notions of communities are good examples of how Amit's (2010) exploration of community helps to understand complex realities of identification.

In terms of identity, gender was also related to livelihood. In particular, as discussed in the last chapter, mill work was historically male dominated, and with the demise of the majority of those jobs in the area this has created space for change, but also uncertainty. This is connected to those men or young men refusing to do other work, waiting for mill-like work to make a comeback. On the other hand there are those who retrained as practical nurses at the local community college, knowing that the regional hospital in town is one of the major employers. This seemed to be a very strategic move

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[11] The historical precedence to these language conflicts is detailed in Chapter Two.

on their parts, as discussed previously. However, this radical change in the labour market has also allowed men to pursue what traditionally were considered feminized positions with social approval, as they are considered to be successful through obtaining good paying work in the city.

Despite this particular example, gender stereotypes were quite prevalent and came to the fore when speaking to people in particular about what recreational activities were available in the area. The following provides an example of the gender stereotypes about recreational activities, which I heard frequently, particularly found by those in their 30s and older, as one woman stated: "Well if you're a man…it's a great place to live because you can go hunting, fishing, skidooing, four-wheeling, just right from your house and…be there in a half hour…And…[for] a woman…you've got your malls…" In contrast to the above gender stereotypes, it is worth noting that most women I spoke with worked outside of the home, and dual income households were the norm. However, as the above discussion elucidates, there was a clearly gendered identification with the physical space of the area and social relations that make up the community.

Nostalgic Resilience

The above complex understandings of identity and community help to situate the nostalgic tone that many of my discussions with people about changes to the Miramichi took on. Discussion below shows nostalgia is not a simplistic sentiment and in fact can affect views of the future. I argue that for some in Miramichi there are structures of feeling (Williams, 1989; 1977; 1973) of *nostalgic resilience,* in which positive constructions of the past provide hope for the future. The hope for the future is

constituted by the notion that similar circumstances to those of various nostalgic constructions of the past will prevail once again; the 'good old days' (which differ depending in part on social identities) will return. While some argue nostalgia is a core sentiment of current popular culture, as discussed below, *nostalgic resilience* is in part an opposition to current neoliberal ideals of the endlessly flexible, mobile worker.

Nostalgic Resilience as Structures of Feeling

The various sentiments of *nostalgic resistance* which I found can be understood as structures of feeling (Williams, 1989). Structures of feeling are current social processes (in process), not yet fixed social forms (which are inevitably in the past) (Ibid). These structures of feeling are actively felt and lived, and also complexly interact with formal social forms (Ibid). This concept then is "a cultural hypothesis, actually derived from attempts to understand such elements and their connections in a generation or period, and needing always to be returned, interactively, to such evidence" (Williams, 1989, pp. 132-133). Raymond Williams' (1973) discussion of "structures of feelings" (pp. 12; 1977, pp. 128-135) draws together analysis of material daily life with sentimental and symbolic aspects. In this way the *nostalgic resilience* expressed by people I spoke with was as clearly important in understanding current social and material realities as it was in the past. However, as a structure of feeling the differential identities of individuals led to differences of what they felt nostalgic for and how these connected to the present and possible futures. This can be understood as the flexibility found within structures of feeling as "living processes" (Williams, 1977, p. 133), and "the complex relation of differentiated structures of feeling to differentiated classes" (Ibid, p. 134). Thus while

nostalgic resilience relates to the sentiments of longing for the past, as related to hope for the present and future, this concept reflects the differential material constraints of identities. Thus these sentiments need to be understood as emerging from multiple points of view (or identities).

A compatible concept to William's structures of feeling is that of his "militant particularism" which is the process whereby "ideals forged out of the affirmative experience of solidarities in one place get generalized and universalized as a working model of a new form of society that will benefit all of humanity" (Harvey, 1996, p. 32). This type of tangible solidarity, built on daily social lives and values, attached initially to place is shown in the example of the solidarity felt between some of former mill workers and some of the community of Miramichi generally. The concept of militant particularism relates place-based politics, which form out of class solidarities and gender relations, pertaining to the struggles faced by particular places (Featherstone, 2005, p. 252). Harvey (1995) is critical as this would also be exclusionary of outsider and repressive to those of differing views in the communities. He is critical of Williams' apparent romanticization of militant particularism (1996; 1995). Harvey's critiques are evident in the differing points of views within Miramichi, differing points of view on nostalgia, as well as the issues those moving into the community have experienced.

Understandings of Nostalgia

The term nostalgia itself can be broken down to its Greek language roots, "from *nostos*—return home, and *algia*—longing" (italics in orginial, Boym, 2001, p. xiii). Interestingly the term was coined by a Swiss doctor in 1688 as a diagnosable and

treatable disease (Boym, 2001, p. 3; Santesso, 2006, p. 13). Diagnosis ended for the most part before the twentieth century, with the exception of Israel (Boym, 2001, p. 7). The subjectivities that make up nostalgia are complex. There "is a sentiment of loss and displacement, but it is also a romance with one's own fantasy" (Boym, 2001, p. xiii). While nostalgic sentiments can be ones of long-distance, this does not account for nostalgia for the past. The nostalgia for past circumstances can happen to those who have never left the place that they feel nostalgic about; in this case, physical distance from the locus of nostalgia is historically distant. The idea of nostalgia has been related to migration in many studies; however, in this case, some of the people still living in Miramichi were nostalgic as well. Nostalgia differed depending on peoples identities. Often, this meant being nostalgic for better economic times in the community, and for some, nostalgic for specific livelihoods (such as mill work and those related to natural resources), these being valued both economically and, more broadly, in a social way. There is a sense of history that many people noted; the history of the community was important, and many were quite detailed in their historical knowledge of the area, particularly the retirees that I spoke with. This emphasis on history seemed to contribute to nostalgia for those living in the community. While there is nostalgia for some specific types of work, particularly associated with the working class, there was an overall nostalgia for more prosperous times in the Miramichi area generally, across class divisions. This nostalgia can be perceived as a critique of present circumstances, as has been argued about the sentiment of nostalgia by Turner (1987).

It is important to note though that "[s]ometimes nostalgia is not directed toward the past either, but rather sideways. The nostalgic feels stifled within the conventional

confines of time and space" (Boym, 2001, p. xiv). Nostalgia can also be utopian to varying degrees (Ibid). However, while Boym (2001) argues nostalgic utopian ideals are not located in the future, I would disagree. While nostalgic utopian ideals may not be located in the future, I argue that despite this, such ideals have an impact on how people do consider the future and its possible outcomes. In this way nostalgia for some people is linked to the notion of resilience, a future-oriented concept of adaptability to disturbances (Norris *et al.*, 2008). The term resilience here is used in reference to community resilience, not individual resilience. A good working definition of community resilience is "[a] process linking a set of networked adaptive capacities to a positive trajectory of functioning and adaptation in constituent populations after a disturbance." (Norris *et al.*, 2008, p. 131). I believe this definition is compatible with my discussion above of the concept of community, emphasizing processes, social interconnections and capacity. In not specifying an outcome, this definition recognizes the relativity of what would be considered a positive outcome, depending on the nature of the disturbance and the social positioning of people.

Nostalgia in some people I spoke with contributed to them feeling that the community had been able to overcome past economically difficult times and was resilient. As one 76 year old retiree said to me "…they're working here to do something with the airport and this type of thing. We're hoping… that they can entice people to come, industry to come in and this type of thing but you know it's very slow." She was tentatively optimistic that the different levels of government and industry would be able to make a comeback from the economic and population low that she saw the community

to be in currently. One man involved in government that I spoke to was much more

positive about community resilience, despite recent set-backs:

> …the community's hopeful although they get pretty downhearted…we've
> had a couple of projects on the go for over a year and then they fell
> through. You know UMO Solar was one and the TAG Weyerhauser was
> another one, so people get they're hopes up and then they get dashed
> pretty quick but I think as a whole they'll keep their hopes up.

This argument is echoed by Boym (2001): "[n]ostalgia is not always about the

past; it can be retrospective but also prospective. Fantasies of the past determined by

needs of the present have a direct impact on realities of the future" (p. xvi). The emphasis

then within the complex, and at times contradictory, sentiment of nostalgia is perhaps

then idealization. In his work tracing nostalgia in eighteenth century poetry Santesso

(2006) notes "the irony that nostalgia is a practice of forgetting; that is, a nostalgic

memory is the result of forgetting negative aspects of an experience" (p. 21). He goes on

to make the significant point that "[a]ny definition of nostalgia must of necessity be

vague, as the objects of nostalgia can be unrecognizably different for different people"

(Ibid, p. 24) but that it is overall an idealization of something, not necessarily even in the

past. Slightly younger than the group of relatively positive retirees, discussed above, were

those laid off mill workers who had not yet reached an age where they were offered

retirement packages. These men were, for the most part, not positive about the future of

the community. Many of those that I spoke with were nostalgic for the times when

forestry and related industries were booming, which is unsurprising. As one former mill

worker put it, with the closure of the mill he worked at, he lost his work family. His sense

of loss went beyond just a job, encompassing the loss of social relationships and a way of

life. This is an excellent example of how economy and sentiments are connected in

important ways, which are not addressed the majority of academic economic traditions emphasizing rational choice (Heady & Gambold Miller, 2006, p. 35). As happened in the Miramichi, "[i]f the organization of economic activity changes rapidly it disrupts this pattern of emotionally meaningful practical relationships, leading to a sense of violated expectations and emotional loss" (Ibid).

Although, people that I interviewed had moved on to find other work and/or retrain, many of them noted that there were former mill workers who were still waiting with hope that mills may open again or that similar jobs would become available through new businesses in the area. This hope and also, as I read it, refusal to become nostalgic in persisting with the notion that their livelihoods are still viable could be seen as a response against the rhetoric of worker flexibility that is now promoted by businesses and governments alike. I believe that it is also connected to a very strong sense of community that is enveloped in historical ideas of what constitutes good livelihoods. This also shows the differing, and at times contradictory, perspectives of *nostalgic resilience* within Miramichi, informed by the various identities of people, particularly as they related to material differences.

There is an argument to be made that the current forces of globalization and popular culture have exacerbated nostalgia (Boym, 2001, p. xiv). Globalization has in fact:

> encouraged stronger local attachments. In counterpoint to our fascination with cyberspace and the virtual global village, there is a no less a global epidemic of nostalgia, an affective yearning for a community with a collective memory, a longing for continuity in a fragmented world. Nostalgia inevitably reappears as a defense mechanism in a time of accelerated rhythms of life and historical upheavals. (Ibid)

It has been argued that nostalgia is a core sentiment of the modern condition. In this way, nostalgia is not just a sentiment that an individual has, but can also be conceived as feelings shared by many people. Nostalgia has been characterized as a social emotion (Davis, 1979, p. vii). The communal sentiment of nostalgia can also be linked to the nesting identities in which individuals have a variety of social group affiliations, micro to macro, and memory as not just individual or personal but also collective (Boym, 2001, p. xvi). Nostalgia is in fact one of the means we use in the process of identity construction, its maintenance and reconstruction (Davis, 1979, p. 31). This process and identity itself is intricately related to material realities, class and gender.

While identity construction is based on memory, "[w]e need to be reminded that memories and identities are not fixed things, but representations or constructions of reality, subjective rather than objective phenomena" (Gillis, 1994, p. 3). Memory and identity both have their own politics and are complexly embedded within social categorizations of power relations, class and gender (Ibid). With global restructuring workers have been pushed into different livelihoods and locations, thus increasing the identities and memories of these workers (through each change) (Ibid, p. 15-16). Some of the literature on memory argues that social discussion of or working on the past is a way of thinking through collective identities (DuBois, 1997) and as such nostalgia could be part of this social process.

Nation-states have used nostalgia (or more broadly, memory) and by the mid-1800s it "became institutionalized in national and provincial museums and urban memorials" (Boym, 2001, p. 15). It has also been used locally within Miramichi in the creation of festivals celebrating historical ethnic groups that were discussed previously.

As one person I spoke with dryly stated "we are the community of festivals," due to the

number of them, most of which are in the summer months. The festivals of relevance to

nostalgia and identity are: Canada's Irish Festival on the Miramichi, La Fête nationale

des Acadiens/Acadian Day and the Miramichi Scottish Festival (City of Miramichi,

2008). In the surrounding area, Eel Ground First Nation has an annual pow-wow, as does

Esgenoôpetitj First Nation (Canadian Heritage, 2010). All of these festivals have various

government funding and emphasize historical identities in the area. The Annual

Miramichi Folksong Festival also has an interesting connection to livelihood identity

with forestry workers (loggers) and fishermen penning songs about their work and lives,

and performing them is the historical background to the festival (Miramichi Folksong

Festival, n.d.).

The festivals are certainly part of a tourism strategy by both the municipal and

provincial governments that use nostalgia in order to draw people to the area. Tourism

advertisements by the New Brunswick government in 2010 seem to specifically target

people that formerly lived in the province (CBC News, 2010). The videos showed a slide

show of images of New Brunswick locations and festivals, with David Myles' song "Way

Too Long" playing, which include the lyrics: "it's time to find my way back home"

(Ibid). This appeal to nostalgic feelings of 'home' by targeting those who previously

lived in the province has also been used in population strategies. Repatriation of former

New Brunswickers was used even before the official formation of the Population

Secretariat. In 2004, then premiere Bernard Lord held repatriation events in Vancouver,

Calgary, Toronto, Montreal and Ottawa (Office of the Premier, 2004). I recall these

events vividly as I lived in Ottawa at the time, and was thinking about attempting to move

back to New Brunswick, however I did not end up attending what was in effect a job fair.

These events though, and those that have continued to be put together by successive

governments (Government of New Brunswick, 2008) look to benefit from nostalgic

remembrances of people who once lived in the province, as well as their continued

identification with communities. As premier Bernard Lord stated, "Former New

Brunswickers are often pre-disposed to coming home. They know the province, have ties

here and, in many cases would be interested in returning if they can be assured of

challenging work and good compensation" (Business New Brunswick, 2004). Thus,

governments use the power emotions have over decision-making. Nostalgia and identity

have the capacity to affect the future. Through use in repatriation efforts, sentiments of

nostalgia and identity are being used by the provincial government as a means of building

the population.

Making Sense of the Complex Reality

As I have shown, the concepts of nostalgia and community are helpful in

understanding the points of view of my interviewees, their identities, and their behaviour.

These concepts allow insight with regards to the reasons that such practices as commuter

migration take place, often in contradiction to an economically rational point of view.

Also the connection of nostalgia to that of community resilience makes sense of the

observed optimism about the future of Miramichi, despite current hardships. Community,

as I have conceptualized it here, reflects how out-migrants living elsewhere can still feel

they are part of the Miramichi, and invested in it. The diversity of migration out of

Miramichi and the subjectivites of people about this and the community generally need to

be recognized and taken into account when trying to understand the complexity

surrounding migration decisions. Identity, community, and nostalgia are part of complex

intersections that make up migration decisions.

Chapter Eight: Conclusion - Listening to Communities

Contributions to Academic Literature

This work contributes to the academic literature on community and individual lived experiences of the interactions between local and global contexts within the shifting interests of global capitalism. This was accomplished through an historical analysis of the various levels of political economy (from community, provincial, regional and national) which interact together to impact individuals.

My use of ethnographic methods provides complimentary understandings to those found in the many quantitative studies of internal migration in Canada. The nature of my research allows for a rich analysis of the social underpinnings of mobility decisions and their context. This helps to provide further details about the lives of those mobile, as well as capture information about smaller mobilities (such as commuting), which quantitative studies have a more difficult time doing. The study of those who remained in the community also allowed for a comparison between those who were mobile and not, allowing me to develop a typology of mobility patterns. Out-migration takes place largely for two reasons: for education and for work. Commuter migrants leave the community for work purposes, at varying distances, but maintain their households, or home, in Miramichi. In-migration takes place with two main categories of people: retirees, many of whom lived in Miramichi during their youth and have 'come back,' and educated people in-migrating for employment. This group of educated in-migrants are often "from away", in that they have no familial or personal historical connection to Miramichi.

An important finding about mobility decisions was that place and community attachment figured significantly. The social attachments which make up conceptualizations of place and community are important considerations as to whether people leave the area or are mobile in ways which allow for continued residence in Miramichi, such as commuter migrants. Familial connections were prominent within these considerations. These findings provide a critique of the hypothesis that migration decisions are solely economically rational.

In relation to these findings on attachment to place I formulated the concept of *nostalgic resilience*. There was a common expression of nostalgia by community members, past and present. This nostalgia had differing foci, as it related to the multiple points of view of heterogeneous community members, informed by their identities generally and class specifically. However, there were commonalities in connection to ideas of identity, community, livelihood and resilience. Nostalgia, which in this case can be understood as a manifestation of attachment to community and place, with an historical influence, can act as a counter influence (or part of the decision-making process) to migrate. *Nostalgic resilience* as an idea, captures the sentiment of many Miramichiers that the community history of overcoming economic downturns and out-migration will continue. Such subjectivities provide complimentary evidence to be used with works exploring economic considerations of migration decisions.

A Miramichi "culture of migration"

This dissertation has shown the historical ebb and flow of people to and from what is now the city of Miramichi and the province of New Brunswick generally to be

complex and varied. Miramichi can be conceptualized as having a "culture of migration." However, this idea glosses over historical changes, the impacts of waves of migration that have occurred and the personal toll these have taken. Throughout this work the interconnected nature of the local political economy to national and global forces, and the historically increasing globalization of production and neoliberal policies have been demonstrated. Migration is linked to how these changing relationships manifest locally in historical varying ways.

In this way, migration and the different forms it has taken are not static, nor have the decision-making processes for migrations remained consistent, given the changing global capitalist context. This is evident from historical patterns but also from Chapter Four's discussion of present migration. The perception of migration within Miramichi was that it was at times necessary (for education and/or employment), but it was certainly not encouraged as the *only* means of success. If migration was necessary for employment it was hoped this was temporary; people should be encouraged to try and move back to the area. Commuter migrants provide perhaps the most convincing evidence about the complexity of the Miramichi "culture of migration." The lengths commuter migrants go to in order to maintain their homes and families in Miramichi shows the identification with community, the importance of place, in conjunction with an understanding of the possible benefits of mobility. Although, the sustainability of these practices is questioned by those participating in them, as are the possible negative social impacts. The variability in the distance of migration and directionality I found in migration patterns suggests that multiple theoretical understandings of migration, political economy and attachment to place are needed to explore these decision-making processes.

Migration and Mobilities

Considering the scale of migration patterns found through this research taking into account multiple theories on migration is necessary. However, in conjunction with these it is also pertinent to theorize about mobility in general, which could account for even those daily movements, such as commuting or driving into Miramichi city from the countryside. To this end a "new mobilities paradigm" has been developing within academic works about the geographies of mobility, philosophically "inspired by a post-structuralist sensitivity to movement and practice" (Cresswell & Merriman, 2011, p.5). There is a focus within this cross-disciplinary paradigm which studies mobility from the several perspectives: as potentially observable; representations of mobility, which relate to its meaning, frequently from an ideological point of view; and embodied (Cresswell, 2006, p. 3). In essence "mobility is practiced, it is experienced, it is embodied. Mobility is a way of being in the world" (Ibid).

This theoretical understanding of mobility provides a means of understanding the findings of this study as signifying Miramichi has a more appropriately termed "culture of mobility." From this paradigm's perspective, mobilities can be positive; they cannot always be framed negative (MacDonald *et al*., 2012). This move away from the language of migration studies where communities are senders or receivers, implicitly tied to either population loss or gain, is helpful in exploring the complexities of movement taking place. The idea of positive mobility also corresponds with *nostalgic resilience*, as a means of conceptualizing the community in a positive way. This type of consideration

goes against purely economic views of migration in relation to rural restructuring

(MacDonald *et al.*, 2012).

Political Economy Considerations, Policy Induced Migration, and the Future

In looking to the future of Canadian internal migration, changes to employment

insurance (EI) implemented in 2012-2013 can be read as a move to policies that are

trying to encourage migration from regions with low labour market participation (such as

the economic understanding described in Day and Winer 2012). The implemented

changes to EI include the creation of three categories of unemployed workers based on

how often they have collected EI benefits (Service Canada, 2013a). These categories are

long-tenured worker, occasional claimant, and frequent claimant (Ibid). Each category of

claimant has varying rules on the number of weeks of benefits they are eligible to receive

and the expectations of the pay level and location of work they are required to look for

(Ibid). Considering the lack of evidence that labour mobility does not happen "enough"

or "to the right places" this is problematic. New EI policies also target seasonal labourers,

which natural-resource industries have, as well as specific other sectors, such as the

fisheries, particularly in the Maritimes and Newfoundland. Provincial governments in the

Atlantic region have been critical of the changes to the EI system and the potential impact

they will have on seasonal workers (Chilibeck, 2012; Wright, 2012). The concerns about

seasonal workers relate to the new regulations applied to those categorized as frequent

claimants of EI, "such as seasonal workers, will have six weeks to find a job in their field.

After that, they will have to take any job for which they are qualified, even if it is not in

their field and even if it pays 30 percent less than their previous wage" (Wright, 2012, p.

1A). In addition, all claimants are expected to look for work within an hour commute of their home (although personal circumstances are taken into consideration) (Service Canada, 2013b). It is clear through these policies specific types of work and communities, such as seasonal natural resource-based work and rural communities, will be disproportionately affected. There are concerns these policies will further increase out-migration from rural Atlantic Canadian communities (Wheatley, 2012). However, research conducted for the federal government in four communities across Eastern Canada (one of which was Miramichi) found that only a small portion of participants in the focus groups would be willing to permanently move away from their region (Pritchett, 2012). Those participants found to be most willing were mostly young adults in their 20s (Ibid). These findings support those found in this work, with younger people more likely to be mobile.

The changes to the EI system would seem to indicate work shortages in locations of seasonal natural resource work, however, this is not necessarily the case. In fact, the number of temporary foreign workers in Canada has been growing (Gross & Schmitt, 2012) and they are hired by a variety of natural resource industries. In 2012 and 2013 there have been some controversial instances of foreign temporary workers being hired or part of company development plans. One in particular is the case of the company HD Mining (whose majority shareholders are a Chinese-based group) which was approved by the federal government to hire 201 Chinese temporary foreign workers to develop a proposed coal mine in northern British Columbia (Keller, 2012a). The plan for the coal mine by HD Mining would have Chinese foreign workers used for the first 14 years of the project, with the gradual transfer to Canadian workers happening during this period

(Keller, 2012b). This stretching of the definition of temporary is problematic, as is the statement by HD Mining that there is a lack of qualified Canadian workers for these positions (Ibid). This story has gained national attention and a reaction from unions, as two Canadian unions are (as of April 2013) legally challenging the temporary foreign worker permits awarded to HD Mining (Keller 2012a). Other natural resource-based industries are hiring temporary foreign workers and have gained media attention, including the long-running Seasonal Agricultural Workers Program (Blanchfield, 2012), as well as many different companies running seafood processing plants in Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward Island and Newfoundland (Cochrane, 2012; Musick, 2011; Roberts, 2012; Wright 2012a).

The Federal Human Resources Minister, Diane Finley, recognizes the incongruities currently playing out in the Canadian labour market in discussing fish processing plants, "'We're looking at companies that are applying to bring in hundreds of temporary foreign workers to work in the fish processing plants, when we also have hundreds of people on the Island [Prince Edward Island] on EI who have classed themselves as fish processing workers, so there's a disconnect there'" (Wright, 2012). The impact of the expansion of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada has been researched and findings suggest "the expansion in 2002 of the Temporary Foreign Worker Program to all low-skill occupations may also have affected adversely regional unemployment disparities in Canada" (Gross & Schmitt, 2012, p. 252). The same research has also found the pricing of hiring temporary foreign workers is set too low to encourage companies to first seek out workers from across Canada (Ibid, p. 253). In this way the Temporary Foreign Workers Program and changes to the EI system act as policy

levers which further put downward pressure on wages. These programs also force

workers to conform to neoliberal ideals of flexibility and will certainly impact mobility

patterns of Canadians in the future. These changes in various levels of political economy,

as shown historically in my project, will impact local communities in a variety of ways,

particularly those like Miramichi, which are tied to volatile natural resource-based

industries*.*

The Importance of Community and Nostalgic Resilience

   The strong community identities and sentiments of *nostalgic resilience* I

discovered in my research are important migration considerations. I argue these structures

of feelings are part of the formation of a militant particularism with regards to some

people from Miramichi. These attachments to community and place are further evidenced

by the government studies noted above, in which only a minority of participants would be

willing to move away permanently from their home community or region (Pritchett,

2012). Commuter migration, as in the case of Miramichiers, is arguably an example of

resistance to the neoliberal ideal of workers being mobile to suit the needs of capital. In

the face of neoliberal globalization in the forestry sector, the resulting massive job losses

and its negative impact on not only the local political economy but also social life has

formed a particular political view and solidarity. This is apparent as people from

Miramichi hold common beliefs about the local negative impacts domination of the local

pulp and paper industry, in particular, by large, foreign-owned corporations. They felt

there was no political will provincially or federally to help them in their economic

struggles. The general feelings of community identity and *nostalgic resilience* are

contrary to the economic rationalizations of labour migration. In fact, as argued

throughout this study, place does matter, to the people of Miramichi and those who have

left it.

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Appendix A: Methodology

Conceptual Framework

Visweswaran (1994) makes a call for anthropologists to do "homework" or ethnographies at home (particularly feminist ethnographies), noting that fieldwork is not mutually exclusive of homework and can in fact lead to radical new forms of research. Also and importantly she states, "[h]ome once interrogated is a place we have never been before" (Visweswaran, 1994, p. 113). This ethnography answers Visweswaran's call as it is about my home province of New Brunswick, however, I am not 'from' the city of Miramichi. I firmly believe (as stated in the introductory chapter) that being from New Brunswick made a positive difference as to how quickly people opened up to me, although I will never know what they would have told a complete 'outsider.'[12] My position as someone who grew up in New Brunswick did allow me to have 'insider' knowledge of the provincial political economy. However, I did add significantly to this initial base of knowledge through extensive research of the local, provincial and regional historical political economy in academic works, government reports and media. I also used my positioning and contacts within the Maritimes to discuss and receive their perceptions of the topic of my research widely and with people working in various levels of government, helping to add further context to this study.

Methodological choice for this study was predicated on the need for comparison between those that have migrated and those that have not (see Levitt & Glick Schiller, 2004, p. 1012). Ethnography was used, which entailed long term and intensive participant observation, in conjunction with in-depth interviews that generally took place

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[12] For an excellent discussion of the difficulties involved in conducting ethnographic fieldwork at "home" in New Brunswick see Young (2006).

for months (Mahler & Pessar, 2006, p. 30). This method emphasizes detailed information over the quantity of people included in the research; the goal is to capture "in some depth, the lived experiences, beliefs, and identities of those studied" (Ibid). In stressing a holistic and contextual approach, ethnography is also reflexive, allowing the researcher to make changes to research questions in the field when necessary based on findings (Ibid, p. 30-31). In its holism ethnography should seek to situate everyday practices and agency within larger scale processes, and, as Ong (1999) proposes, consideration needs to be given to "the reciprocal construction of practice, gender, ethnicity, race, class, and nation in processes of capital accumulation" (p. 5).

Ethnographic studies of migration are methodologically challenging in several ways. One of the most fundamental challenges is that ethnographic fieldwork was initially designed for studying a single geographic location (Marcus, 1995). This is clearly problematic in studying peoples' movements. For the present study this was resolved through conducting phone interviews with people having migrated out of the Miramichi to other Canadian communities and interviewing in person individuals visiting Miramichi or living in a community within driving distance of Miramichi.

The conceptualization of studying processes, rather than one of closed systems and defined structures, is an important one (Barth, 1993, p. 4). This processual emphasis allows for the recognition that there is a need to avoid looking for simplistic, reductionistic answers to the research questions (Ibid, p. 6). Ethnography is well suited to this approach because through participant observation and in-depth interviews (two methodologies used in this study) the information gathered is extremely detailed. Also, these methods allow for the use of participant information and perspectives to inform

further interviews and research questions. In this study the geo-political community level was used to analyse possible migration patterns. This project was conceived with the understanding that the knowledge gained through such research "is not transcendental, but situated, negotiated, and part of an ongoing process" (Narayan, 1997, p. 37).

Practical Design

This ethnographic study included participant observation of the Miramichi geo-political area generally and in-depth semi-structured interviews (see the question schedule below) with migrants (via the telephone or when possible in person), those who currently live in Miramichi. I moved to Miramichi and lived there for three months in the late fall and winter of 2009, initially interviewing contacts that I already had in the area. My second round of fieldwork, to the Miramichi, took place for three months in the summer of 2010. Using an historical approach the proposed project seeks to incorporate an historical analysis of migration trends of the Miramichi area. Beyond media articles and academic literature this historical information was obtained through detailed interviews with participants.

Although this is a migration study, migrants were not literally followed to where they moved to from the Miramichi (except in special cases where groups of people have moved to the same area) and so participant observation, while an important part of ethnography as mentioned above, was done in these locations. However, interviews were conducted over the telephone with people who had moved from the Miramichi but not returned. In this way there was more than one 'site' for this ethnographic study; as such, interviews did include information about the communities in which migrants now live.

Research Participants

The research participants for this project were people who live or have lived in Miramichi, New Brunswick and either migrated from the area to somewhere else in Canada or still live there. Every effort was made to include participants of varying livelihoods, either gender, as well as different age, class and ethnicities. However, the people I interviewed were English speaking or bilingual, due to the limitation that I do not speak French. Therefore my dissertation does not address the particular views of Acadians in the area. As well I interviewed only one, self identified, First Nations person therefore the perspectives of these peoples is lacking. I recruited participants using snowball sampling from my initial key informants, which aided in tracking social networks that connect individuals. Participant observation was performed in the Miramichi area, which also exposed me to potential research participants that I did not initially plan to speak with.

Data Collection

The primary methods of data collection were semi-structured interviews and participant observation. The semi-structured interviews were open-ended, allowing for the participants responses to be used in order to broach topics not necessarily planned beforehand. This allowed for a reflexive interview process which elicited details and information relevant to the participant. I conducted forty-eight semi-structured interviews. They were evenly split, twenty-four with out-migrants and twenty-four with people currently living in Miramichi.

I conducted participant observation in varying public and commercial spaces throughout Miramichi city during both rounds of fieldwork. This included observing and interacting with people living in the Miramichi and having impromptu conversations with them regarding topics related to the study. I was also able to socialize with my research participants in public, allowing me to make observations about their public versus private discussions and behaviour in relation to the research topic and how they act generally.

Ethical Considerations

There were low risks to participants, as the questions asked them, while personal were not of a sensitive nature. However, in order to protect participants from risks their anonymity was protected during collection of data, and will continue to be during the writing of works using the data, and in storage.

Consent

I obtained written consent from all of the research participants interviewed in person. The information sheet and consent form was written simply so as to be accessible to a variety of levels of reader. As well, I read through the information sheet and consent form with the research participant in order to ensure that they were aware of the nature of the project (see consent form below). For those people interviewed over the phone the document was read to them and verbal consent obtained. Participant observation was conducted in public areas, without the need for written consent.

Anonymity/Confidentiality

As stated above I have provided all research participants with anonymity, never using their real names in any field notes, transcripts of taped interviews or works produced from the data. Information provided in the interview or outside of it has been kept confidential. Any possible identifying details provided in the interviews (such as the name of the company they work for), have been changed. I have used pseudonyms in field notes, interview transcripts, and this dissertation.

Consent Form

THE MARITIMER WAY?
OUT-MIGRATION FROM A SMALL MARITIME CITY

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Introduction

This research project is run by Natasha Hanson, a PhD candidate at Dalhousie University. Your participation in this study is voluntary and you may withdraw from it at any time. The study is described below. This description tells you about the risks, inconvenience or discomfort which you might experience. Participating in the study might not benefit you directly but we could learn things that are helpful to policymakers. You should discuss any questions you have about this study with Natasha Hanson, who can be reached at natasha.hanson@dal.ca or by phone at (506) 220-0254.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study is to gain a deeper understanding of why people move out of small cities and rural areas using Miramichi, New Brunswick as a case study. To do this, the researchers would like to hear about your experience moving out of the Miramichi, New Brunswick to another part of Canada or about people you know who moved away from Miramichi, New Brunswick to other parts of Canada.

Study Design

In order to achieve the study's objectives, people who moved away from Miramichi, New Brunswick or know someone who has will be interviewed. Interviews will be conducted in-person or on the phone by Natasha Hanson and are intended to gather information concerning why you decided to leave the Miramichi, what you did to make a living while in the Miramichi, what you do to make a living now and whether you still feel a part of the community. For those participants that have not moved away from Miramichi information will be gathered regarding why you have chosen to stay here, what you do to make a living, whether you feel part of the community and who you know that has left and why you believe they did so. Questions will be open-ended, meaning that you will be encouraged to provide as much detail as you are willing, as well as to offer insights and opinions. Information gathered through the interviews will be reviewed and analyzed by Natasha Hanson.

Who can Participate in the Study

You may participate in this study if you have moved away from Miramichi, New Brunswick to another part of Canada or know someone who has.

Who will be Conducting the Research

The principle researcher involved in this study is Natasha Hanson. She will be conducting and transcribing the interviews.

What you will be asked to do

Participation includes one interview, which will last 30 minutes to one hour. The interview will be conducted at a location where you are comfortable. You will not be compensated for any expenses related to the interview (such as childcare costs, taxi or parking costs). During the interview you will be asked to discuss why you decided to leave the Miramichi, what you did to make a living while in the Miramichi, what you do to make a living now and whether you still feel a part of the community. For those participants that have not moved away from Miramichi information will be gathered regarding why you have chosen to stay here, what you do to make a living, whether you feel part of the community and who you know that has left and why you believe they did so.

Possible Risks and Discomforts

It is possible that you experience some emotional distress following your participation as a result of discussing situations or experiences that may have been difficult, stressful and upsetting. If this occurs, supportive services will be made available to you. At any time, you can contact the researchers who will assist you with accessing these services. Also, you can withdraw from the study at any time.

Possible Benefits

While this study may not directly result in policy changes, your participation will contribute to the existing body of knowledge that exists about outmigration from smaller Maritime communities as well as facilitate dialogues between government officials and community groups about retention policies.

Confidentiality and Anonymity

It is the responsibility of the researchers involved in this study to protect your anonymity and ensure confidentiality in regards to the information you provide.

Anonymity: Your identity will be known only to the researcher involved in this study. In other words, the researcher will be the only people with access to your name or contact information. Interviews will be coded so that no personal identification will be included on any of the data collected, including notes take during the interview, audio recorded data or transcripts. Additionally, your name will not appear in any reports or publications.

Confidentiality: Any information you provide the researcher will remain confidential. This is true for both information provided during interviews as well as before or after interviews. To guarantee confidentiality, the researchers will use a system of coding, known only to them, to identity the information provided during interviews. For example, you will be assigned a pseudonym that will correspond to your interview transcript. A master copy of the pseudonyms will be kept in a secure and locked cabinet. Only the researcher involved in this study will have access to that information. Additionally, only the researcher will have access to the information you provide during the interview. Transcripts and audio recordings will be kept in a secure and locked location and destroyed after we have finished reports and publications describing the research. Legally, there are some limitations to confidentiality. For example, disclosures of abuse or neglect of a child, elderly person or vulnerable adults, may be reported to appropriate officials.

Questions

If you have any questions prior to or after being interviewed you can contact the researchers 24 hours a day via e-mail at natasha.hanson@dal.ca, or during the day at (506) 220-0254 for Natasha Hanson. Voice messages can be left at these numbers.

If at any time the nature of the study changes in a way that might affect your decision to participate, you will be contacted immediately with additional information.

Problems of Concerns

If you have any difficulties with, or wish to voice concern about any aspect of your participation in this study, you may contact Patricia Lindley, Director of Dalhousie University's Office of Human Research Ethics Administration, for assistance at (902) 494-1462.

If you live outside of Halifax, please feel free to call collect.

THE MARITIMER WAY?
OUT-MIGRATION FROM A SMALL MARITIME CITY

I, _____, have read the explanation about this study.
        Name of Participant
I have been given the opportunity to discuss it and my questions have been answered to my satisfaction. I hereby consent to take part in this study. However, I realize that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw from the study at anytime. That means that I can decide not to participate, before or during an interview and that I can refuse to answer questions for any reason.

If I have any questions about this form or this study, I may contact the researchers. Also, if at anytime I wish to access additional support for any emotional or psychological issues that may arise as a result of my participation, I may contact the researcher.

If I have any concerns about the conduct of this study, I may contact the Dalhousie Office of Human Research Ethics Administration.

There are two copies of the consent form, one of which I may keep.

I consent to the interviews being audio-taped ☐
I consent to the use of direct quotations from my interview ☐

Participant's signature _____   Date _____

Researcher's signature _____   Date _____

Question Schedule

General Status Information

1. What is your age?
2. Where do you live?
3. What is your level of education?
4. What is your marital status?
5. Do you have family near where you live?

Livelihood Information

6. What kind of work do you do?
7. What kind of work have you done in the past?
8. How do you like your work?
9. Is your work important to you?
10. Who else works in your household and what kind of work do they do?
11. Do you hunt and/or any agricultural work?
12. Do you help out your neighbours and/or extended family? If so, how?
13. Do your neighbours and/or family help you out? Do you think that this is important?

Migration Considerations (for those who know migrants)

14. Who do you know that has moved away from the Miramichi?
15. Where did they move in Canada?
16. Did they know anyone in the area they moved to?
17. What do they do there?
18. Do they keep in contact with people from the Miramichi? If so, with whom?
19. Do they visit the Miramichi?
20. Do you think that they will move back here?
21. Have you ever considered moving away?
22. Do you think that the Miramichi is a good place to live? Why or why not?

Migration Considerations (for those who no longer live in Miramichi, NB)

23. Why did you decide to move away from the Miramichi?
24. When did you move away from the Miramichi?
25. Where did you move to?
26. How did you choose where you moved to in Canada?
27. What do you do there? Is it the same as what you were doing in the Miramichi?
28. Do you keep in contact with people in the Miramichi? If so, with whom?
29. Do you visit the Miramichi?
30. Do you still consider yourself a Maritimer (if they moved out of the region)?
31. Do you think that you will move back to the Miramichi?

Community Identification

32. How do you/ did you like living in the Miramichi?
33. What is/was good about it?
34. What is/was difficult, if anything?
35. How would you describe the Miramichi to other people?
36. Did/do you feel part of the community?
37. Were/are you involved in the community?
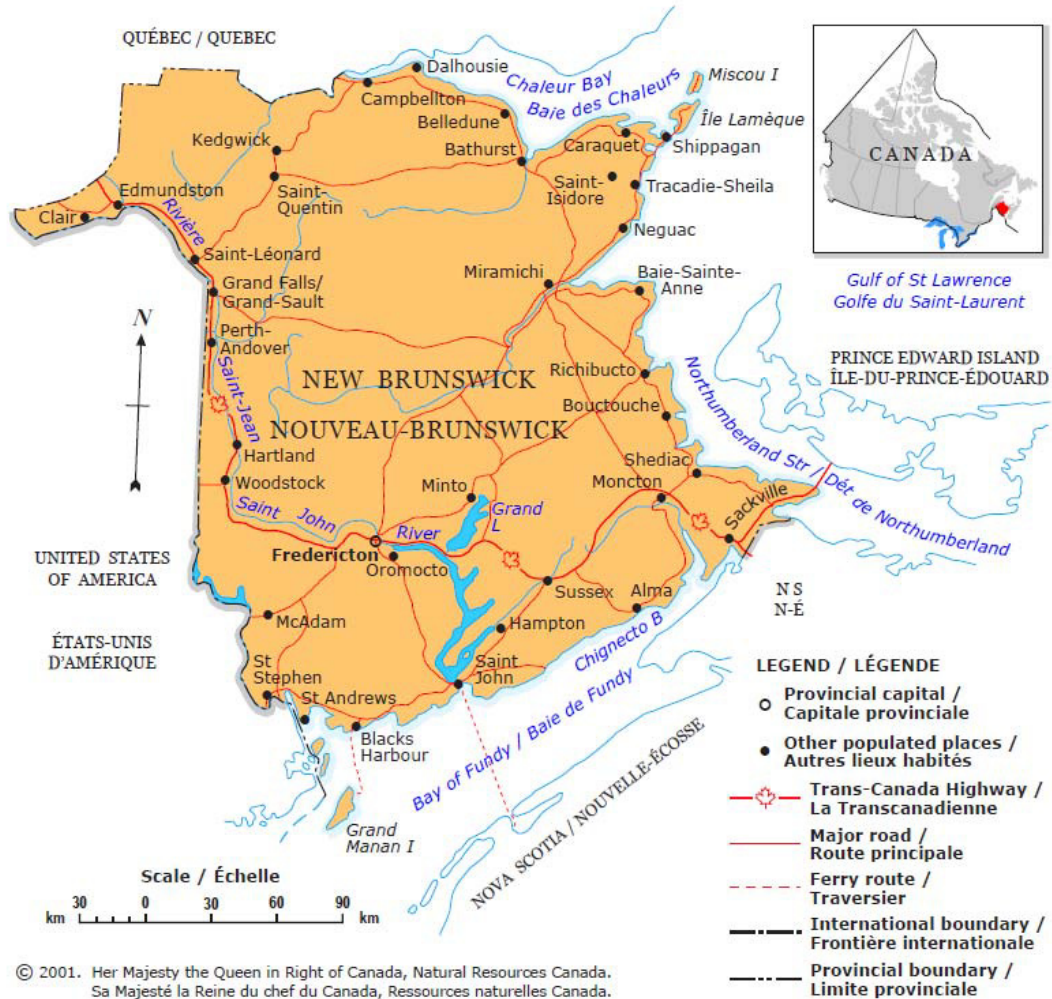
Appendix B: Map

Figure 1: *New Brunswick*, Natural Resources Canada (2001)
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