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LABOUR MOBILITY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:
A STUDY OF SEASONAL TRANSIENCE IN HAY RIVER

by

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A thesis submitted to the Faculty of Graduate
Studies and Research in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree of Master
of Arts
in Geography

Department of Geography

Carleton University

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The undersigned recommend to the Faculty of Graduate
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"LABOUR MOBILITY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:
A STUDY OF SEASONAL TRANSIENCE IN HAY RIVER"

submitted by Riva E. Flexer, B.A., D.C.S.
in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the degree of Master of Arts.

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ABSTRACT

Transients comprise a significant percentage of the Territorial labour force. Their primary function is to ease the imbalance between supply and demand of labour in the Northwest Territories. Data acquired from questionnaire surveys of transients and local residents in Hay River are used to determine who is likely to engage in transient movement, the geographic scope and the causes of that movement.

Results indicate that transients are generally single men under thirty, high school educated and from urban areas in Central and Eastern Canada. Motivation to move is generally economic. The pattern of movement suggests circulation rather than transience. Interaction between origin and destination does not necessarily decrease with distance and intervening opportunities, as information networks have likely overcome these barriers.

These results indicate that sudden drastic increases in economic activity may encourage an influx of transients. Recommendations focus on transients' role in the Territorial economy.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE PROBLEM

The structure of the labour force of the Northwest Territories presents unique problems in the analysis of labour mobility. These problems complicate the long-term predictions of labour requirements.

The labour force of the Northwest Territories is composed of native and non-native Northerners and non-residents. Job mobility is generally high for the southern in-migrants and non-residents and lower for locally born residents. (See Torok, 1964; Parsons, 1970; Fried, 1971; Brody, 1975; Hiltz, 1977; and Hamelin, 1978.)

There is a fundamental imbalance between the supply and demand for labour. This imbalance encompasses location, season of employment, type of work available and skills required. It is attributed to a number of reasons. The existing pool of workers is large, but is unevenly distributed throughout the small communities of the Northwest Territories. Economic activity, especially in the non-renewable resource sectors, often requires skilled workers on short notice in isolated locations. Other sectors of the economy, such as administration and business, require workers with skills which are not easily acquired in the Territorial economy. These are generally drawn, therefore, from external sources, rather than within the local labour

pool (Hamelin, 1978:247).

The non-resident, transient labour force is found primarily in the transportation, construction and communications industries. This group is generally seasonal and comprises a large part of the Territorial labour force in the 16-34 year age bracket (Wallace, 1966; Pearson, 1970; Hiltz, 1977; Barrados et al. n.d.). Its high mobility rate coincides with the beginning and ending of major projects in which transients are often employed. In addition, difficulty in adjusting to a different way of life, and a lack of commitment to the job have contributed to the high mobility rate of the transient group.

Transients have both positive and negative effects on the Territorial economy. They supply labour as required, and are most useful where a seasonal increase in the labour force is needed. They provide certain skills and general manpower not available in the labour force and can fill in when local residents are not available due to vacations, especially during the summer months.

However, their impact appears to be more negative than positive. The lack of a competent and stable labour force tends to increase recruitment and training costs for employers, particularly with temporary help. It is difficult to supply medical and social services for such an unpredictable mobile population, which can impose stress on the existing facilities. Job instability does not foster an interest in the North for transients. They do not become involved in community life. Furthermore, when they leave the Northwest Territories, their wages leave with them. This removes capital from the Territorial econ-

omy and the resultant taxes are not paid to the Territorial Government, but to the government of the provinces to which the transients return.

The inflating effect of such seasonal employment of the Territorial population figures has long been recognized and is still visible (A.C.D.G.N.W.T., 1965; Hiltz, 1977; Hamelin, 1978). This problem is compounded by paucity of data, inadequacies of census collection techniques and the lack of disaggregation of the resulting data. (See Hamelin, 1978:36; Bone, 1981:83-86.)

The northern situation is too unstable to apply, over a lengthy interval, statistical tools that were designed to reveal trends in more stable situations. (Hamelin, 1978:326)

In particular, Statistics Canada data are decennial, while turnover occurs at a much faster rate. Other sources of data, such as Territorial Health Care records and the Territorial Employment Record and Information System (TERIS) are subject to confidentiality limitations and problems in the definition of "resident". (See Meldrum, 1975; Raghunathan, 1976:56-60; Seiver, 1976; Stewart, 1979:41.)

Such data problems complicate labour supply predictions and the analyses of labour migration to the Northwest Territories. A number of population predictions have been made, based on different economic scenarios. (See Lu and Mathurin, 1973; Kuo and Lu, 1975; Reid, 1977.) The general trend shows a steady increase in the local labour force and high immigration particularly by non-natives. This has negative implications for job availability in the future.

There has been a number of suggestions for improving the quality of migration data in the Northwest Territories. They include the use

of micro-level surveys in urban areas, a major update in migration, labour force activity and education attainment data and a seasonal and/or annual northern census instead of the current decennial census (Raghunathan, 1976:62; Stewart, 1979:51).

The characteristics of transients and the above-mentioned problems of secondary data bases suggest that the micro-level population study would be a useful tool for studying transient labour mobility. While painstaking to gather, micro-level information can provide insight into who comes North, how, why and for how long. It can yield an inventory of the potential labour force from a municipal to a territorial level and gives some indication of possible job competition. Furthermore, this level of information is necessary for manpower forecasts, predictions of housing demand and demands on social services such as welfare and health care. It can also provide information about which regions of Canada contribute workers to the Territorial labour force.

Personal observations in Hay River and in Yellowknife before this study was begun suggested different mobility patterns for the transient sector of the population. The role of the transient workforce in the Northwest Territories indicates a need for fundamental information about this group, such as their motivation to come North, sheer numbers, work skills and education.

PURPOSE OF THESIS

Given the previous research in the Canadian North, and the lack of micro-level population studies, the purpose of this thesis is to examine certain characteristics of the transient population of Hay River, Northwest Territories, to determine:

- a. who migrates (social, economic and demographic characteristics of those involved);
- b. what the patterns and directions of flow are (the geographical scope of that movement and past migration history); and
- c. what causes this movement (the factors responsible for stimulating mobility).

[Although the impact of migration on this community is a serious and worthwhile concern, it is secondary to this endeavour.]

RESEARCH LOCATION

The Town of Hay River provides a good research location. It is located at the mouth of the Hay River, on the southern shore of Great Slave Lake. See Figure 1.1. It is accessible by road from southern Canada via the Mackenzie Highway and via daily flight connections with Edmonton, Alberta.

History

There has been settlement by the mouth of the Hay River since 1864 when the Hudson's Bay Company established a trading post on the east side of the river. Since then, the Hudson's Bay Company, Anglican and Catholic missions and the Slave Indians have had settlements in the area. Most were located on the east bank of the Hay River until 1939, when people began to move to the island at the mouth of the river. This island is now referred to as Vale Island. (See Robinson and Robinson, 1946a, 1946b; Rae, 1963; Wallace, 1966; Pearson, 1970; Hiltz, 1977.)

Hay River's role in the southern Great Slave region expanded after the completion of the Mackenzie Highway in 1948, linking the community with Grimshaw, Alberta. With this road, it was now possible to ship bulk goods by truck to Hay River rather than by barge via the Athabasca-Slave Waterway, which moved bulk goods through Fort Smith. When the railroad link from Roma Junction, Alberta to Hay River was completed in 1966, Fort Smith was completely bypassed, thereby ending an era of river shipping on the Slave River. (See Fumoleau, 1973; Hiltz, 1977.) Hay River has since become the break-of-bulk point for the transfer of goods from road and rail to barge for the western Arctic.

Severe flooding in 1963 resulted in the relocation of the town from Vale Island to a site five kilometres inland on the west bank of the Hay River. There are now three distinct sections to the town. New Town is the new settlement, containing residential, commercial and

industrial areas. Old Town is the original townsite. It contains buildings dating back to the pre-flood era of the town, and has a large residential population which remains in spite of commercial zoning and disincentives to live in this section of the town. Most of the fishermen live in West Channel. This is the section farthest from the new town core. The Old Indian Village and the New Indian Village are considered to be part of Hay River. They are located on the east side of the river, and are accessible by road, and by ice bridge or boat, depending on the season.

Physical Setting

The townsite is located on the southern shore of Great Slave Lake, at 161.2 metres above sea level, in the Mackenzie River drainage basin. Within this basin are three physiographic provinces: the Cordillera, the Canadian Shield and the Great Plains. The latter contains Cretaceous and Devonian bedding. The boundary between the two is highly visible and is locally known as the "Escarpment". The townsite of Hay River is 48 kilometres north of this escarpment (Camsell and Malcolm, 1919; Wallace, 1966; Radojicic, 1968).

The Hay River rises 483 kilometres to the southwest in Alberta, and flows northeast over a broad, open valley. On the Great Slave Lake plain, it enters a 30.5 metre deep canyon, which opens into a broad open valley as the river nears the lake.

Soil development in the Hay River Valley is generally poor.

Neither mineral nor organic soils are well developed. There are sandy and clay tills. Boreal forest covers the area with black spruce, tamarack, trembling aspen, birch and jackpine predominating. There is much muskeg. There are occasional stands of commercially viable timber (Leahy, 1955; Wallace, 1966).

The Hay River meteorological station is located at 60°51' by 115°46'. The average July temperature for 1981 was 17.2°C and the average January temperature for 1981 was -34.3°C (Ministry of the Environment, 1981a,b). Precipitation is 34.0 cm per annum. Great Slave Lake modifies this climate to some degree. The seasonal ice cycle on the Mackenzie waterway allows an ice-free period of approximately four months, which delineates the river shipping season. It is this cycle which necessitates the seasonality of Hay River's economy.

Population and Community

The population of Hay River has experienced a 12.4 percent decrease from 1976 figures. It is now enumerated at 2863 persons, as compared with 3268 persons in 1976. Forty-three percent of the population is between the ages of 15 and 34 years. Thirty-two percent is under the age of 14, and four percent is over 65 years of age (Statistics Canada, 1982). It must be noted that these data do not differentiate between residents and non-residents.

The Government of the Northwest Territories provides education up to Grade 12, with two primary schools and one secondary school. There

is a hospital with an affiliated medical clinic, as well as a dental clinic. The Anglican, Baptist, Catholic, Jehovah's Witnesses, Pentecostal and United Church denominations, as well as the Baha'i faith are represented in the community.

A full range of stores is found in the commercial block of the New Town, and small convenience stores provide necessities outside the central core. There are five restaurants and four bars. The recreation centre houses a curling rink, a hockey rink and a swimming pool. The main library for the Northwest Territories is also located in Hay River.

Hay River is economically diversified with bulk transportation, administration, communication, commercial fishing and fish processing the main local economic activities. As the break-of-bulk point for the Mackenzie Waterway, Hay River handles most of the freight to be shipped to the western Arctic. It is the northern terminal for the Great Slave Lake Railway, and is the northern base for six trucking firms. Incoming freight destined for the western Arctic is shipped down the Mackenzie River via Northern Transportation Company Limited (N.T.C.L.) and Arctic Transportation Limited (A.T.L.). Spinoff industries resulting from this activity include welding and shipbuilding. In addition, the Canadian Coast Guard maintains a base in Hay River from which it patrols Great Slave Lake and the Mackenzie River.

Great Slave Lake has a commercially viable fishery operating both summer and winter. Under the auspices of the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation, a processing plant was recently constructed in the town to

process fish for sale on a national and international basis.

Tourism in Hay River is becoming an important seasonal industry. The Big River Tourism Association, formed in 1981 to expand tourism facilities and publicize tourism opportunities in the southern Mackenzie region, includes Hay River as one of its members. For visitor accommodation in Hay River, there are four motels, and the town maintains a campground on Vale Island, close to two sandy beaches. There are picnic and campsites at most of the waterfalls and lakes accessible within a two-hour drive from Hay River along the Mackenzie Highway. Sport fishing camps are located east of the town on Great Slave Lake, and are accessible by chartered plane or boat.

The thesis will proceed as follows. In Chapter Two, an overview of the migration literature is followed by a discussion of migration research in northern Canada. In Chapter Three, the conceptual framework is outlined and hypotheses which attempt to explain migration to Hay River are presented. This is followed by a discussion of the methodology for testing these hypotheses. The ensuing results and their analyses are presented in Chapter Four. Recommendations for further research are included along with a summary and conclusions in Chapter Five.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter presents a theoretical background of migration research. Definitions of migration and the variables used in migration research are provided. This is followed by a description of the major approaches used to examine migration activity. A review of northern migration research concludes this discussion of migration literature.

DEFINITION OF MIGRATION

Migration has both spatial and temporal aspects (White and Woods, 1980a:18). Those disciplines concerned with the movement of people at different scales of space and time, such as economics, geography, anthropology and sociology, define the process differently.

Ravenstein (1885, 1889) was the first to attempt to develop laws of migration. These are shown below; although they are not "laws", they have provided a base from which research has proceeded.

1. Migrants generally go a short distance, as in a shift or displacement of population.
2. The volume of migration increases with the development of industry and commerce.

3. Migration is mainly from rural to urban areas.
4. Migration occurs in a series of stages.
5. Dispersion varies inversely with absorption.
6. Each main current of migration provides a countercurrent.
7. Long-distance migrants head to large industrial centres.
8. Natives of towns are less migratory than rural residents.
9. Females are more migratory than males.
10. The major causes of migration are economic. (From Jansen, 1978b:10 and White and Woods, 1980b:34.)

Thomas (1938:4) considers both the spatial and temporal limitations of migration. She defines migration within national boundaries (internal migration) as a

... change of residence from one community, or other clearly defined geographic unit, to another within the national boundaries. It is obvious that this definition presupposes the establishment of rules for determining residence, and that, insofar as such rules can be determined, migrants, i.e. persons which give up one residence to assume another, can be distinguished from persons who have no fixed residence ... as well as those who move around without giving up a fixed residence.

Boguè (1959:489) emphasizes the need to clarify spatial boundaries (for the act of migration) so as to distinguish between local movers and migrants. He does not specify a time period, but appears to imply that a long-term or permanent move is the critical time period for migration. He reserves the term 'migration' for "... those changes of residence that involve a complete change and readjustment of the community affiliations of the individual".

The decision-making process in migration is emphasized below by

Mangalam (1968:8) who defines migration as,

... a relatively permanent moving away of a collectivity called migrants, from one geographical location to another preceded by decision-making on the basis of a hierarchically ordered set of values or valued ends and resulting in changes in the interactional system of the migrants.

This definition reflects the change in the migrant's relationship with her/his environment, where migration breaks that relationship, forcing the development of new ties.

Lee (1970:290) broadly defines migration as "all moves of a permanent or semi-permanent change of residence." He places no restrictions on the distance moved or on the motivations for the act, nor does he distinguish between external and internal migration. In addition, he excludes temporary movers (such as vacationers and tourists) and continuous movers, those without a permanent place of residence.

On the other hand, Zelinsky's definition of circulation (1971:226) covers "... a great variety of movements, usually short term, repetitive or cyclical in character, but all having in common the lack of any declared intention of a permanent or long-standing change of residence". Transience and short-term migration are included here. (See Parsons, 1970:2.)

Most exclusions to the definition of migration are made on the basis of consequence of the move, types of boundary crossed and the duration of the move. Goldscheider (1971:64) disagrees with these exclusions, and believes that all residential changes constitute migration. He does, however, exclude those moves "... which do not involve detaching from the organization of activities at one place and movement

of these to another place." He argues that structural attachments and activities are shifted and reorganized in the new location in moves of short duration. In this manner, the migration processes of 'entering' and 'exiting' go beyond the physical and mechanical into the social and structural (Goldscheider, 1971:64).

As an economic process, migration may be viewed as "... a response to economic incentives arising from disequilibria across spatially separated labour markets" (Bowles, 1970:356). Migration thus becomes an investment in human capital, an attempt by the migrant to "... incorporate both investment opportunity, such as a greater return on human capital, and utility maximization into one objective function" (Kau, 1976:1144).

The act of migration implies some form of permanent or semi-permanent movement by an individual or a group, notes Woods (1979:165). At least one boundary between the areas of a spatial framework is crossed and a certain length of time is spent across that boundary in a new residence.

Migration and circulation are the subsets of mobility, which encompasses moves ranging from vacation, shopping trips and the journey to work (Hornby and Jones, 1980; White and Woods, 1980b). Hornby and Jones (1980:83) note that "migration" is normally used to describe moves from one political unit to another, as a permanent change of residence (permanent is defined as one or more years).

With these definitions in mind, it is possible to examine migration in terms of the following aspects:

1. temporal nature of migration,
2. the distance travelled,
3. the unit of migration* individual, family, clan, ethnic group,
4. political motivation,
5. the aim - to retain a traditional lifestyle or to develop a new life - conservation or innovative,
6. selectivity and differentials, and
7. the origin and destination.

(See Petersen, 1958; Bogue, 1959; George, 1970; Parsons, 1970; Bovenkerk, 1974; Kosinski and Prothero, 1975; Birks and Sewel 1979; Rothman et al., 1979.)

VARIABLES IN MIGRATION RESEARCH

The variables which are important to the study of migration relate to the migrants and the movement from origin to destination (O-D movement). They are social and economic characteristics, distance and distance-related variables.

Age

Although Ravenstein (1889) did not recognize this fact, it is generally accepted that certain age groups, predominantly late teens to early thirties, are the most mobile. Thomas (1938) concluded that this was the only generalization which could be made concerning migration

selectivity (see, also Daniel, 1939; Bogue, 1959; Lansing and Mueller 1967; Clarke, 1972; Kuo and Lu, 1975; Shaw, 1975; Stone et al., 1978; White and Woods, 1980b; Heenan, 1980).

A variety of reasons are given for this phenomenon. Members of this group are more willing to take up new advantages requiring a move (Shaw, 1975) or are searching for work (White and Woods, 1980a). Daniel (1939:288) felt that it might be due to "psychological or social factors such as less personal attachments, and economic influence" (few employment opportunities for youth in southern Wales).

The selectivity in the age variable can be linked with the lifecycle stage. Bogue (1959:504) links age and lifecycle stage, saying that migration is associated with "... first commitments and acts of adjustment to adulthood that are made by adolescents as they mature."

In general, there is a clear relationship between age and the possibility of being a migrant.... The concept of STAGE IN THE LIFECYCLE has been developed to encompass this often observed relationship. (Woods, 1979:169-170)

Sex

Contrary to Ravenstein (1885), no broad generalizations can be made about one gender being more mobile than the other (Jansen, 1970b; Shaw, 1975; Heenan, 1980). It appears to vary with the social and cultural setting (Shaw, 1975; White and Woods, 1980b).

Lifecycle Stage

Although this characteristic is a composite of age and marital status, it may be considered independently. In certain stages of the cycle, people tend to be more mobile. The responses to stimuli which induce geographical mobility will depend on the degree to which people are integrated into their community. Goldscheider (1971:313) discusses this at length.

Occupation

It has been noted that people in certain occupations exhibit a tendency to migrate, primarily the professional classes and the unemployed (Hillsley et al., 1963:143; Ladinsky, 1967:485; Clarke, 1972:131; Keown, 1971:175). Rose (1958) and Stub (1962), considering occupation as a surrogate for social status, conclude that those in higher status occupations tend to migrate over longer distances.

Low skilled occupational groups have very low levels of inter-municipal mobility (in particular clerks, transportation equipment operators and machinists) (Stone et al., 1978:35). Certain occupations are tied to a location by large capital investments, or by the creation of a local clientele, as in the case of small businesses.

Education

Migration appears to be selective of persons with higher education; the higher one's level of education, the more likely one is to move. Higher education levels are associated with higher intermunicipal mobility in Scotland (Illsley et al., 1963:218-219), in the United States (Lansing and Mueller, 1967:61), in Canada (Stone et al., 1978:35) and with migrations over long distances (Suval and Hamilton, 1965:220; Folger and Nam, 1967:61).

Education alters the way in which the individual perceives the world. "It appears to be a selective variable of migration; those with post-secondary education tend to be more migratory (Lansing and Mueller, 1967; White and Woods, 1980b). For their Canadian sample, Stone et al. (1978) found that migrants as a group tended to be younger and better educated than the non-migrant adult population. They suggested that it was likely that education groups differed in their propensity to migrate, and that higher levels of education contributed to a "... desire to take off and search for new experiences" (Stone et al., 1978:18). This phenomenon appears to persist across a variety of origins and destinations.

Greenwood (1975:407) suggests that higher education increases the propensity to migrate by elevating the individual's ability to perceive his/her environment and to interpret the signals as well as improving employment potential. Thus potential migrants become more aware of information sources and opportunities over a larger geographical area.

Well-educated people are much more likely to be involved in a long-distance move, as more and better employment information is available to people with higher education levels (Folger and Nam, 1967:6). Conversely, O'Neill (1970:172) states that

... within a given age group an increase in education has little effect on the distance elasticity, except for college-educated, who tend in every age group to be more deterred by distance. (As cited in Greenwood, 1975:407)

Greenwood attributes this to a possible direct and opportunity cost about which these people are aware. Shaw (1975:23), on the other hand, considers education to be a determinant of migration. However, he does allow that the generally accepted measurement of "years of education" does not consider quality of the education and is, therefore, a weak substitute. He does not, however, offer any other substitutions.

Information dissemination plays a significant role in stimulating movement to a particular area, especially where long distances are involved. Ravenstein (1889:250) noted that migrants move only as far as they must, and no further. Westefelde (1940:216) suggests that the migrants' knowledge of the labour market acts to control distance moved. Most moves are short because workers are familiar with the local labour market only.

The information network acts to lessen the distance between two locations; people are more likely to move to places about which they have some information, especially if it is positive, regardless of the distance. The importance of family and friendship ties in particular is known to influence the likelihood of people leaving; the more people from A living in B, the more information is sent back to A. Newcomers

from A in B are able to find support from former residents while they are trying to adjust to the change of location and lifestyle (Nelson, 1959:49; Illsley et al., 1963:245; Greenwood, 1975:405).

Distance

Migration is often defined in terms of the distance travelled from origin to destination, and by the boundaries crossed. Ravenstein (1889:250) first observed the principle of distance decay, i.e. that short distance moves are more common than are long distance moves. He believed that it was an idiosyncrasy of all migrants that "... they go no further from their homes in search of work than is absolutely necessary."

Distance and spatial interaction have traditionally had an inverse relationship. Migration (interaction) is more intense between near regions than between far regions (Ravenstein, 1889; Haggett, 1979:436-437; Hornby and Jones, 1980:90; White and Woods, 1980b:30-39). Distance is visualized as an impediment to mobility, due to costs involved, the change in customs (in the case of international migration), the psychic costs of leaving familiar locations and the hindrance of distance to information flows. Social ties are also considered to impede long distance moves.

Place of Birth, Hometown and Last Place of Residence

The size of the hometown and last place of residence may have some bearing on the length of residency in a small community. Hilton (1969) feels that there may be a relationship between size of last place of residence, hometown and length of residence.

APPROACHES TO MIGRATION

The variables presented above describe migration and migrants. As components which assist in explaining the migration process, these variables identify the people involved and describe the patterns and directions of flow.

Interpretations of the migration process explore the reasons for the move and try to identify the sequence of events leading to it, i.e., the decision-making process. This is done at an individual (micro) or aggregate (macro) level.

The Push-Pull Approach

The push-pull approach of migration states that people generally respond to positive forces at the destination and or negative forces at the origin:

... for any individual the decision to migrate results from the interplay of two forces: pressures at his [her] permanent place of residence and inducements from a number of potential destinations. (Hornby and Jones, 1980:86)

Bogue (1960:496) has labelled these as push and pull forces (independent variables whose correlations with migration rates tend to account for the behaviour of these rates). They are divided into two classes: those dealing with attributes and conditions at origin and at potential destinations. He feels that the push-pull process is a selective process.

Migration that has a very strong 'push' stimulus tends to be much less selective, with respect to the community of origin, than migration which has a very strong 'pull' stimulus. Where there is a condition of very strong 'push' but no strong pull (extreme cases are disasters such as famine, drought, floods, exhaustion of a resource), origin selectivity is at a minimum. In other words, selectivity of out-migrants from any community tends to vary directly with the strength of attractive 'pulls' from other communities and inversely with expulsive 'pushes' from the community itself. (Bogue, 1961, as quoted in Jansen, 1970b:13)

Lee (1970) has expanded the push-pull approach into four factors:

1. those associated with the area of origin (can be external or internal);
2. those associated with the area of destination (can be external or internal);
3. intervening obstacles; and
4. personal factors.

Those factors associated with the origin are both negative and positive. The 'push' (the disadvantages of remaining) is present but so is a 'pull' within the origin, whose familiarity and relative advantage over the unknown destination result in an 'inertia' which must be overcome if the potential migrant is to leave. The active forces here are external (economic and environmental) factors and

internal (perceptions of external factors) factors. The factors at the potential destination are a composite of advantages and disadvantages. Demko et al. (1970a: 287) note that individuals rarely have complete information or accurate perceptions of possible destinations. "Intervening obstacles" such as distance, physical barriers and boundaries and jobs closer to the origin constitute the third factor. The variability in human response to these three factors is represented by the "personal factors". This category ties together such variables as intelligence, rationality of the individual's perceptions and the role of the lifecycle stage. (See also Rossi, 1955; George, 1970; Jansen, 1970b.)

Gravity Approach

The gravity model is used to relate distance and origin-destination interaction. The interaction between origin and destination (hereafter referred to as O and D) is in proportion to the product of their masses and inversely in proportion according to a function of the distance between them (Olsson, 1965a:43-64; Greenwood, 1975:398; Hornby and Jones, 1980:90).

$$(1) \quad I_{ij} = a (P_i P_j / D_{ij}^b)$$

where I_{ij} is equivalent to gross migration between two places i and j ; P_i is the population at place i and P_j is the population at place j ; D_{ij} is the distance between i and j ; and a and b are coefficients which must be estimated empirically and which will vary with each

interaction. To estimate these constants, a least squares regression can be used. (See White and Woods, 1980b:30-41.) Distance is seen as a negative influence on mobility. The pulling factor is the strength (size) of the mass (population) of the locations involved.

The gravity model makes certain assumptions about the real world. There are no hindrances to information accessibility; there are equal movement costs in all directions; and there are the same processes of opportunity appraisal used by all potential migrants (Shaw, 1975:49; White and Woods, 1980b:39).

The simplicity and consequent elegance of this model has been documented by Olsson (1965a:43). However it has been heavily criticized at its functional roots. Wolpert (1970:159) questions its applicability to recent census, especially with disaggregation flows. As Olssen (1965b:25) notes:

Given that the structure of a model must be logical - made explicit by a careful statement of theory - and that the analytical operations of the gravity formulation are not guided by deductively developed specifications relating to the phenomenon in focus, it would seem that analysis by means of gravity formulations is nothing but a simple regression analysis.

The gravity model is not the only attempt to explore the interaction relationship. Stouffer (1940) decided that distance was not the only crucial variable. He attempted to introduce another barrier, that of intervening opportunities - the employment opportunities, housing and other amenities available within an area around the origin.

The number of persons going a given distance is directly proportional to the number of opportunities at that distance and inversely proportional to the number of intervening opportunities. (From Hornby and Jones, 1980:91)

In 1960 Stouffer revised this to consider the role of competing migrants at j , an inverse function. Taking this a step further, Stub (1962) found that lower occupationally skilled people encountered more intervening opportunities between i and j , while Rose (1970) found that people with higher occupational status seeking better opportunities had to look further afield to find them than did those with lower skill levels. Shaw (1975:51) notes that "... a common finding is that the more specialized the migrant, the longer the distance he will travel and the more destinations open to him will be limited."

It has been suggested that migration between two places decreases as the distance between them increases. Miller (1972) has used this hypothesis to test the power of distance versus intervening opportunities as a deterrent to migration. He assumed that intervening opportunities would be distributed roughly proportional to the population. He concluded that intervening opportunities provided a better explanation than did distance in the deterrence of migration activity.

Economic Approach

As an economic process migration may be defined as "... a response to economic incentives arising from disequilibria across spatially separated labour markets" (Bowles, 1970:356), (i.e., as a response to net higher wages in another location other than the origin). The economic approach to migration essentially assumes that the migrant examines the situation by a cost-benefit analysis, as in the context of an invest-

ment problem. This indicates the existence of an income differential, which, coupled with other motivations, is the primary (and most easily measured) incentive to migrate. Migration will then occur when the net income at D (less the moving costs) exceeds that at O. The destination is a location where the migrant can earn a higher wage reflecting an investment where return can be calculated (Yezer, 1977:694).

Like the gravity approach, the economic approach makes certain assumptions about the world and migrants' decision-making processes. It assumes a totally competitive economy; wages are freely determined and there are no sociological, economic or physical barriers to the free movement of labour. This permits an economically optimum allocation of human resources (Abler et al., 1971:223; White and Woods, 1980b:39). Both Bogue (1959:487) and Sjaastad (1962:80), looking at the effect of migration on the economy, consider it to be an "... equilibrating mechanism in a changing economy." By shifting workers (the human resources) from one location to another on the basis of income differential, migration promotes economically efficient resource allocation. Bogue (1959:487) notes that migration is an arrangement for making maximum use of people with specialized qualifications.

For the worker, migration becomes an exercise in cost-benefit analysis; costs to consider include moving expenses and non-monetary costs, opportunity costs such as foregone earnings, and the "psychic costs of changing location" (Sjaastad, 1962:83). Since the latter are hard to quantify, they are generally left out. Private returns are in the form of income. Sjaastad (1962:86) ignores those arising from

locational preference, since they represent consumption with a zero cost of production.

Income has been recognized as an attraction to a destination (Sjaastad, 1962; Bowles, 1970; Yezer, 1977; Cebula, 1979). Cebula (1979:3) does caution that the wage differential has to be quite large in order to compensate for moving costs if this relationship is to hold. Laber and Chase (1971:801) found that the income differential operated best in the Atlantic region. In contrast, Wragge (1981:61) concludes that although inter-regional migration does occur, it does not presently operate well in Canada as an earning adjustment mechanism.

Cebula (1979:40) recognizes the significance of non-monetary costs and benefits and has developed a model which treats migration as an investment decision based on the consideration of three factors:

1. expected real income differentials;
2. expected amenity differentials including quality of life variables; and
3. expected differential benefits and costs from state and local government policies.

Variables other than income differentials which have been incorporated into the economic approach are education and age levels (Bowles, 1970; Kau, 1976; Swanson et al., 1979); labour force participation (Swanson et al., 1979) and cost of living differentials (Cebula, 1979).

Behavioural Approach

The effect of migration inducing variables other than income, though difficult to measure in an economic context, have been developed in behavioural models which seek to examine the decision-making processes at the individual rather than the aggregate level. Behavioural migration theory explains migration by analyzing human perception of migration-determining variables. It attempts to measure those values and attitudes which may demonstrate that people could be assumed to exhibit regularities in migration decision-making, although these are not necessarily economic or spatially rational (Golledge, 1980:15).

Research in this area focuses on the individual's decision-making before migration actually occurs, rather than implying motivations from aggregate flow data after migration has occurred. From individual examples, group patterns are sought which, in turn, may lead to generalizations. Consequently, this methodology differs from that of the macro-level, aggregate approach which has traditionally attempted to formulate predictive and explanatory statements by:

1. isolating objective structural determinants;
2. inferring their influence in terms of assumptions about the migrants' orientation to the environment; and
3. imputing motives to the migrant (Shaw, 1975:105).

The development of behavioural oriented migration theory in the 1960s resulted in a move from macro-level aggregated data studies to an individual level approach. (See Golledge, 1980.) The decision-making

process is based on perceptions of one's environment - satisfaction or dissatisfaction with present location and perception of differences at other locations. Various lifecycle factors influence perception to the point where the environment does not satisfy as it once did, and stresses begin. The individual reaches a threshold level of stress and either adjusts (and remains) or decides to leave.

The concept of "place utility", developed by Wolpert (1970) resulted from dissatisfaction with current explanations of aggregate migration. It has provided a base from which much behaviourally-oriented migration research stems. Drawing from psychological theory, Wolpert developed a theoretical framework embracing place utility, the field theory approach to search behaviour and the lifecycle approach to threshold formation. Place utility is defined as "... the net composite of utilities which are derived from the individual's integration at some point in space" (Wolpert, 1970:301). It constitutes the degree of satisfaction or dissatisfaction with one's environment (White and Wood, 1980:11), and is represented as a positive or negative numerical score. Field theory and the lifecycle approach provide the conceptual framework which assists in explaining "how and why" the individual makes the decision to stay or leave. (See Wolpert, 1970:301-303, for a description of the process.)

Two factors influence the individual's final migration decision: her/his ability to adjust to the utility profile at the origin (if it should change) and the information available and perceived about opportunities elsewhere (Shaw, 1975:110).

Golant (1971) has identified three sets of variables through which the decision to move is determined: environment, individual, and interaction between the two. This concept of interaction has been taken by Speare (1976) who has expanded it into a satisfaction-dissatisfaction model and developed a causal model of residential mobility. The individual's interaction with the environment results in background variables, individual characteristics and locational and social bonds which represent environmental and personal factors. These factors are linked by an evaluative measurement of environmental satisfaction, which, Speare has found, has the strongest effect on the wish to move. The wish to move is, however, only one alternative for satisfaction.

Bach and Smith (1977) have applied Speare's model of residential mobility to migration, and have concluded that the satisfaction index is strongly related to the decision to migrate.

In general, people who are above a threshold of dissatisfaction will plan to migrate and then, indeed, will migrate.
(Bach and Smith, 1977:164)

(See Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971, and Nickels, 1976 for research in satisfaction indices.)

Lifecycle Stage Approach

Primarily a sociologically-oriented approach, the lifecycle interpretation states that activities can be attributed to one's location in the lifecycle, whether it be childhood, adolescence, or maturity (marriage, family expansion, aging and death). Geographic mobility can

also be explained in this manner.

The role of age within lifecycle is not firmly established. Rossi (1955) noted that residential mobility was especially high in young families, and decreased as the head of household's age increased. He also remarked that job mobility, especially the beginning of career development which usually occurred in late adolescence, should be considered to be a stage of the lifecycle. As Lee (1970:296) has commented, "The heightened propensity to migrate at certain stages of the lifecycle is important in the selection of migrants ... as the 'rites de passage'." (See also Leslie and Richardson, 1961; Ladinsky, 1967; Goldscheider, 1971; Shaw, 1975; Stone et al., 1978; and Woods, 1979.)

The mobility of certain age groups can be viewed through three processes:

1. the special role dispositions associated with age changes;
2. the articulation of these roles within family and kinship structures; and
3. the articulation of these roles within occupational and economic systems (Goldscheider, 1971:170).

Certain factors, such as available housing, the pace and strength of the economy and the awareness of opportunities elsewhere may increase or decrease the force of their impact. In general, as a response to economic and other stimuli, geographic mobility is dependent upon the degree to which one is integrated into the community through familial and occupational structures (Goldscheider, 1971:312).

The definitions, variables and approaches which have been outlined

above are most useful in practical application. A review of northern migration research places them into perspective.

NORTHERN MIGRATION RESEARCH

Much of the research in northern migration deals with single industry communities. Many are in northern Canada and are consequently viewed as the typical northern community. (See Robinson, 1962). Such studies bear some relevance to this thesis, although not all northern communities fit into the category of single industry communities. Geographically, the towns are located in similar environments - far from large urban centres and usually outside the ecumene. Even if their *raison-d'être* differ, single industry and multi-industry communities have similar goals: to develop a stable workforce and stable economic base. (See Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971:3-9). The differences between them lie in economic vulnerability, i.e. whether they are based on one or more industries.

Motivation for migration from one community to another has been attributed to a variety of reasons. Reasons for leaving the last place of residence include poor future in current job and better opportunities elsewhere (Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971); general economic push factors (Hilton, 1969); occupational economic reasons (Doyle et al., 1976), and the desire to improve the quality of life (Nickels, 1976b).

Reasons for selecting the present location include a change in lifestyle and a new start somewhere else (Wallace, 1966), better job

opportunities accompanied by a higher standard of living (Pearson, 1970; Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971; Kub and Lu, 1975) and family and friend reasons (Doyle et al., 1976). Information sources for the choice of destination, in the case of long term residents, have been friends and relatives rather than workmates (Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971).

In short, the general motivation to migrate is based on economic need coupled with desire for an increase in satisfaction. However, other factors appear to contribute to the propensity to move to northern Canada, resulting in a distinctly selected group of people. They may be differentiated by their length of residence in the community.

Characteristics of Short and Long Term Residents

Long-term residents of Northern communities have tended to:

1. place much importance on job security (Hilton, 1969; Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971);
2. be native northerners (Kuo and Lu, 1975, with regard to the Mackenzie Valley area);
3. be married (Kuo and Lu, 1975; Hiltz, 1977);
4. have had more children than short-term residents and transients (Hiltz, 1977);
5. be, in general, over 30 years of age (Nickels, 1976b; Hiltz, 1977); and
6. have low education levels (some or all of high school) (Doyle et

al., 1976; Hiltz, 1977).

On the other hand, short-term residents and transients have tended to have the following characteristics:

1. 15-29 years of age (Hilton, 1969; Hiltz, 1977);
2. more men than women (Hilton, 1969; Parsons, 1970; Kuo and Lu, 1975; Hiltz, 1977);
3. single rather than married (Hiltz, 1977);
4. Caucasian (Parsons, 1970; Kuo and Lu, 1975);
5. in specific occupations such as professional fields (engineering, nursing) or technical work (Hilton, 1969; Parsons, 1970; Kuo and Lu, 1975) and
6. have post-secondary education (Hilton, 1969; Kuo and Lu, 1975; Hiltz, 1977).

Patterns of migration and migration histories are different for long-term and short-term residents. Long-term northern residents are most likely to:

1. come from Alberta, British Columbia, Saskatchewan and Ontario (Kuo and Lu, 1975);
2. move from province to province (Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971);
3. move from one small town to another (Hilton, 1969; Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971; Kuo and Lu, 1975; Doyle et al., 1976); and
4. have a lower expectation of leaving in the next five years (Jackson and Poushinsky, 1971; Nickels, 1976b; Hiltz, 1977).

On the other hand, there has been little research conducted on the patterns of movement of short-term residents and transients. Hilton

(1969) has noted that they appear to come from large urban centres. It is a popular opinion in Western Canada that transients are former residents of Central and Eastern Canada (as noted from newspaper articles: The Citizen, 1982; Tapwe, 1968). This is an area of research which has received little attention, other than by the press.

SUMMARY

This chapter has defined migration, demonstrating the spatial and temporal variations of the definitions. The criteria for the act of migration have been clarified, and the position of migration within the framework of mobility has been presented. The variables characterizing potential migrants and their patterns of movement have been described, and the major approaches to interpreting migration activity, have been outlined, along with a discussion of migration research in northern Canada. The information presented in this chapter provides a background for the next chapter, which outlines the conceptual framework, hypotheses and methodology to be used in an examination of transience in Hay River.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK AND METHODOLOGY

In this chapter, the operational definitions to be used in this thesis are introduced along with a discussion of the migration decision-making process. From this background, a number of hypotheses are developed which may apply to migration to Hay River. A methodology for testing these hypotheses is then presented.

DEFINITION OF TERMS

For the purpose of this thesis, migration is defined as a permanent or longstanding change of residence from one community or clearly delineated geographical location or political unit to another, involving a complete change and readjustment of community affiliations (based on Thomas, 1938; and Bogue, 1961 as cited in Goldscheider, 1971:59).

A migrant is defined as one who makes a permanent or longstanding change of residence from one community or clearly delineated geographical location or political unit to another involving a complete change and readjustment of community affiliations.

Transience is defined as a change of residence from one community

or clearly delineated geographical location or political unit to another, without any declared intention. In Hay River, the process of transience is visualized through the perception of local residents as "passing through the town" without any commitment to the community. The transient does not integrate with the community. The local residents have labelled them 'transients' and this is the term which will be used throughout the thesis.

To define the local and the transient populations of Hay River, an arbitrary measure had to be used. In this case a stay of six months prior to the time of sampling is the maximum length of residence for transients. The local resident is one who has lived in Hay River for more than six months at the time of sampling.

Given the information provided in section two of Chapter Two, a number of variables will be used to study movement in and out of Hay River. These include social, economic and demographic characteristics such as age, sex, education level, occupation and income, marital status, number of children, number of jobs held and job stability.

Examination of the migration process includes reasons for leaving the last place of residence, information sources about Hay River, why Hay River was selected as the destination, whether respondents had lived in and worked in Hay River before and why they might leave Hay River.

The mode of transportation to Hay River, present length of stay and estimated length of stay, last place of residence, the number of places of residences in the last five years, the hometown and where

respondents might go after leaving Hay River are the variables which will be used to study the geographic scope of movement.

THE MIGRATION PROCESS

Distance is visualized as an impediment to movement via the existence of intervening opportunities, especially in densely populated areas. However, the availability of information about labour markets via the media and information networks tends to overcome this effect and positively influences the decision to move. It is therefore assumed that people use information from other sources to help them make the decision to leave and go somewhere else.

For the purposes of this thesis, migration is visualized as a push and pull process, where people generally respond to negative forces at the origin and to positive forces at the destination. A decision to leave is made on the basis of subjective impressions to objective personal, social or socio-economic conditions. The move may or may not be made after the positive and negative aspects of staying or leaving are weighed. See Figure 3.1.

People are pushed from the last place of residence (origin) and pulled to Hay River (destination). Why they left and why they came are a response to the factors at origin and at destination. The attributes of Hay River and of the various origins are viewed as objective social and economic stimuli which create subjective impressions or which affect the individual in a subjective fashion. They are both positive

Figure 3.1. The Decision-Making Process in Transience

and negative. Although intervening obstacles to the move cannot be measured in this instance, they do exist, for they were initially overcome to make the move to Hay River.

It is difficult to distinguish from factors at the origin and destination and the personal factors. Personal factors include age, sex, education, the person's innate intelligence and perception of the surrounding environment. (See Demko et al., 1970a:287-292). They affect the impressions of objective stimuli. However, once the threshold of tolerance is reached, the decision to move is made.

A destination is required and is selected on the basis of the migrant's needs and on the information received. In some cases, the migrant may not have a place in mind when leaving, and may make this decision along the way. The final choice is made in the end, regardless of whether the place was known prior to the move.

HYPOTHESES

This background indicates that some or all of the following hypotheses might apply to Hay River:

1. transients are male and single;
2. transients are 19 to 26 years of age;
3. most transients have a post-secondary level education;
4. transients are hypermobile;
5. transients come to Hay River because it has a reputation as a place with ample job opportunities;

6. transients also come to Hay River seeking a new and different experience;
7. transients come from large urban centres;
8. transients come from Central and Eastern Canada;
9. within the transient group is a core of people who come back year after year, as seasonal labour;
10. transients have a function within the Hay River economy;
11. when they leave Hay River, transients will return to where they came from;
12. the local residents of Hay River are predominantly married, and have children;
13. the local residents are, on the whole, older than the transients;
14. the local residents come from Western Canada;
15. the local residents come from small towns; and
16. Hay River is a distribution point rather than a terminus for incoming transients and long-term residents.

These hypotheses are examined in this thesis by analyzing data collected with a questionnaire which was distributed to samples of the transient and local resident populations of Hay River. The methods used to accomplish this are presented below.

Of the two populations under scrutiny, the transients are the focus of the study and are compared with the local residents for the following reasons:

1. the transients do not act in isolation from the local residents of

Hay River, and therefore cannot be considered in isolation from them; and

2. previous research has indicated that transients differ from long-term residents of a community and this hypothesis is explored in this thesis.

CHOICE OF METHODS

The information required to test the hypotheses was not available in either individual or aggregate form from any secondary sources. Therefore a survey approach was chosen, with individuals as the sampling unit. Within the survey method framework, personal interviewing (informal with guided question structure), personal interviewing (formal with a set recording schedule) and self-administered questionnaires were considered for collecting the required information.

Personal interviewing allows for more in-depth responses. It often facilitates recall for the respondent, thereby improving the chance of acquiring accurate answers. This is especially the case in informal interviews, where in-depth responses are the desired goal. Furthermore, during the interview, the interviewer is given the opportunity to clarify any discrepancies about the questions.

However, the interview technique requires a considerable amount of time, for each respondent must be given the same amount of attention. Even with trained interviewers, bias in answers may result from changes in the manner of the questioning, as in the tone of voice, order of

questions and in the attitude of the respondent toward the interviewer. (Parten, 1966:79-82; Moser and Kalton, 1971:270-302). In general, the interview method is a very intrusive method of acquiring information from people.

The telephone interview is less personally intrusive. It takes less time to conduct and permits easier return contact if the respondent is not available at the first attempt. However, it has none of the benefits afforded by personal contact with the respondent. Furthermore, it is difficult to establish credibility on the basis of a telephone call. (See Parten, 1966:91-92.)

The main point of interviewing, whether by telephone or face-to-face interaction, is to question directly and collect information. These ends can be accomplished by distributing a questionnaire to the potential respondents.

The questionnaire is used in formal interviews as a recording schedule (Parten, 1966:157). It can also be given to the respondent in the form of a self-administered questionnaire. It is distributed by hand or by mail and filled out on the respondent's own time. The questionnaire can then be picked up at a time convenient to the respondent or can be returned by mail.

As a method of acquiring information from people, the questionnaire is generally more cost-effective than interviewing, because it eliminates the need to hire and train interviewers. It allows a wider distribution. More information can be solicited, as the respondent can consult others if necessary, and can answer at his or her convenience.

Problems which occur with the interviewer, such as changes in question format and antagonism toward the interviewer are avoided, as the questions are standardized and there is no need for an interviewer.

However, the questionnaire method does have drawbacks. The questionnaire may not be answered by the intended respondent. There is always the possibility of the respondent's misinterpretation of the questions. Finally, it is not always possible to return unsatisfactorily completed questionnaires for correction (Parten, 1966:91-92; Moser and Kalton, 1971:251-260).

Questionnaire surveys in a variety of formats have been used to collect primary data in northern social research, especially household history-oriented information with an interview schedule. (See Mathaissen, 1971; Nickels, 1976a; Doyle et al., 1976). Respondent-oriented questionnaires have also been handed out or mailed to the respondents. (See Mathaissen, 1971; Doyle et al. 1976; Hiltz, 1977).

Both self-administered questionnaires and personal focused interviews were therefore potentially useful for the purposes of this thesis. For the type and level of information required, the interview was the preferred method. However, it had serious disadvantages.

Although a personal, focused interview would have allowed for more depth of answers, especially in open-ended questions, it would have required an efficient method of recording answers. Taping and writing were considered. The former was discarded because people tended to shy away from talking to a stranger with a running tape recorder, and consistently satisfactory notes would have been difficult to take

during interviews.

However, an interview with both transients and locals would have taken too much time for the researcher and the respondent alike. In particular, transient contact could be made only during working hours. This would have proved most intrusive. Local residents were to be contacted after working hours, at their homes. Therefore a less intrusive method of acquiring information was needed for the majority of respondents.

In the end, interviews with employers of transient labour were used to supplement the questionnaires and to provide some insight into the role of transient labour in Hay River. The self-administered, respondent-oriented questionnaire was selected as the survey method for both the Transient Group and the Local Resident Group because it took less time to distribute and collect, and was not as intrusive as an interview, particularly during working hours or leisure time. It was also easy to reduce for electronic data processing (EDP).

However, the choice of the self-administered questionnaire method did involve some compromise. It resulted in the loss of resolution in answers, especially with closed format questions. Production costs for the questionnaires had to be considered. In addition, there was always the possibility of misinterpretation of questions and a large variety of unsuitable answers.

SAMPLING AND DISTRIBUTION

Questionnaire design and construction is discussed in Parten (1966:188-220), Berdie and Anderson (1974:31-48) and in Babbie (1975:105-133). The questionnaire used to sample the transient and local resident populations of Hay River was designed to obtain information to be used to test the hypotheses. It was also designed to supply the data required for determining whether certain socio-demographic characteristics affect the mobility pattern(s) of each group.

The questionnaire was tested in a pilot study conducted in Hay River in mid-June, 1981. On the basis of this pilot study, some modifications were made and the final questionnaire was prepared for distribution. The final draft of the questionnaire is in Appendix I.

SAMPLING OF THE TRANSIENT GROUP

There are many sampling procedures used in survey research. The reader is referred to Parten (1966) and Hammond and McCullagh (1974) for a full discussion of sampling techniques.

Ideally the transient group was to be sampled by distributing the questionnaire to a randomly chosen, representative segment of the transient population. However, the characteristics of this group did not meet the requirements for the random sampling technique. Although the transient population was defined by length of residency, it was an unstable population. It could not be catalogued and listed for

sampling because it was constantly shifting. Therefore, it was not possible to ensure that all members of the transient group would be available for testing at the time of sampling.

For these reasons, a sampling framework involving randomness could not be considered, and so the substantive approach was used (Krumbein and Graybill, 1964:150-152). In this method, samples are collected on the basis of their subject matter. From these data, summary statistics can be computed. It is then possible to make inferences about the target population.

However, there are stringent limits to this approach, because the data have not been collected using a random sampling framework. Generalizations concerning the target population can only be based on summary statistics, and although they are suitable for that purpose, they cannot be extended to other populations. (See also Parten, 1966:243.)

The target population was all transients in Hay River. It was necessary to conduct sampling in locations in which transients could be found. Thus the population would be defined by the characteristics of the site. Potential sampling sites for transients in Hay River included:

1. job site - encompassing those transients who were employed at the time of sampling;
2. post office - including those who received mail at this post office and who were identifiable as transients;
3. water service lists - excluding those not using this service;
4. phone company lists - (recent hookups) excluding those not using

this service;

5. electric company lists (recent hookups); and
6. putting up a notice around town and in the local newspaper, explaining the research and asking people to contact the researcher.

Options 2 to 5 were discarded because they were too exclusive. Option 6 was discarded as being too unsystematic; it was too dependent upon the cooperation of potential respondents. The job place was selected as the sampling site. This confined the sampling framework to those transients who were employed in Hay River-based businesses or government occupations at the time of sampling. Samples were drawn from this subgroup using the substantive approach. The businesses to be visited were picked according to the following criteria:

1. if they required other than regular staff during the summer season, or if they were seasonal in duration; and
2. if they employed more than two people.

If a business fulfilled these criteria, it was sampled. A business license list acquired from the Town Hall provided a guide. All businesses in New Town, Old Town, and West Channel which fulfilled these criteria were approached.

Sampling proceeded as follows. The owner or personnel manager was asked whether casual help was hired for the summer. If an affirmative answer was given, introductions were made and the researcher explained the purpose of the visit. If the casual help came from "out-of-town", questionnaires were distributed to those employees present. If, after

a brief explanation, they consented to fill out a questionnaire, they were given one. If the employees in question were not available at that time, the employer was asked to distribute the questionnaires to them.

At the Freshwater Fish Marketing Corporation processing plant and N.T.C.L. shipping company it was possible to talk to the employees at their lunch or coffee breaks. After the researcher introduced herself, the transients were asked to identify themselves. For those who would fill out questionnaires, pencils were distributed with the questionnaires. For the N.T.C.L. operations, two methods were used to distribute questionnaires. Two N.T.C.L. employees helped distribute and collect questionnaires during working hours. Permission was obtained from the kitchen and catering director to enter the dining hall at the last "mug-up" (coffee and desserts in the evening for the last shift). Questionnaires were distributed and collected here as well.

In all, 140 questionnaires were distributed, and 118 were returned. Interviews were also conducted with heads of businesses and companies to find out about the place of employment and the role (if any) of casual transient labour.

SAMPLING OF THE LOCAL RESIDENT GROUP

The questionnaire was modified for distribution to the local resident population of Hay River, to make it more relevant in their context. The corrections and final draft of this questionnaire may be

seen in Appendix II.

7 Following these modifications, the questionnaire had to be distributed to the local residents of Hay River. This group presented a different problem in sampling design from that of the transients. It was a known population which, theoretically, could be catalogued.

A local resident is a person who has been resident in Hay River for at least six months prior to the time of the sampling. A number of lists of residents in Hay River were potentially available for use. These included the voters' list for 1980, the rate-payers' list, the post-office box list, the telephone book and business payroll lists.

However, there were problems in each case, particularly the exclusivity of the lists and, in the instance of the payroll lists, difficulty in gaining access to this information. The voters' list was deemed the most suitable, but it too had serious disadvantages, notably no address list. This resulted in the rejection of the random sampling method based on a list of the residents of Hay River.

It was replaced by a systematic sample of heads of households in New Town, Old Town and West Channel. The target population became those heads of households who had been living in town for over six months. This population was potentially available, although no up-to-date list could be obtained at the time.

A systematic sampling procedure was devised for the local resident sample. Using street layout, a sampling interval of every third house or apartment unit was chosen. There were to be no callbacks if the dwelling was unoccupied at the time of the sampling. The next third

unit was to be sampled, as callbacks would take too much time.

A set pattern was used to walk the streets. Every third house was approached going up one side of the street, and at the top of the street the sequence continued back down the other side. This was done systematically for streets, avenues, and crescents. The same pattern was followed in apartment buildings, treating each floor as a street. In Old Town and in West Channel many houses were unoccupied, and in this situation all occupied dwellings were sampled.

Distribution of questionnaires was done after working hours, between 5:30 and 8:00 pm, as it was preferable to conduct sampling while there was daylight. On weekends, questionnaires were given out all day, when people were likely to be relaxing at home. The questionnaires were picked up one to two days after distribution. If a respondent had not completed the questionnaire after two attempts at pickup, the questionnaire was discarded from the sample.

Sampling began on September 15, 1981 and continued until November 15, 1981. During this period 197 questionnaires were distributed to the local residents of Hay River. The results are discussed in the following chapter.

SUMMARY

This chapter has presented the conceptual framework used to structure the research problem. On the basis of this framework, hypotheses have been developed concerning the characteristics,

migration processes and patterns of both transients and local residents of Hay River.

The questionnaire method was selected as the most practical and effective method of soliciting the required information. It was determined that the substantive approach would be appropriate for distributing the questionnaire to the Transient Group. A systematic approach was selected for distributing the questionnaire to the Local Resident Group. Chapter Four presents the results of the questionnaires of both the Transient and Local Resident Groups.

CHAPTER FOUR

RESULTS AND ANALYSES

This chapter presents the results of the two questionnaires and the interviews. The data were sorted into variables, coded and then entered into a data file. The results of the questionnaires are described in frequency distributions for each question.

QUESTIONNAIRE RECORD OF RETURNS

Of the 140 questionnaires distributed to the transient group, 118 were returned for a response rate of 84.3 percent. Local residents who were employed on a seasonal basis with N.T.C.L. inadvertently received questionnaires as well. Therefore two groups were created from the transient questionnaires on the basis of length of residence in Hay River: the Transient Group (less than three months up to six months) and the Local Resident Group (more than six months in Hay River).

One hundred and ninety-seven questionnaires were distributed to the local residents of Hay River. A response rate similar to that of the transient questionnaire was achieved. Some of these questionnaires were erroneously delivered to recent arrivals in Hay River who had been in town for less than three months. These were placed in another

subset, referred to as Local Resident Group C. Figure 4.1 shows the distribution of questionnaires. Local Resident Groups A and B were merged into one group, hereafter referred to as the Local Resident Group. Local Resident Group C was not used.

The high return rates are attributed to the personal contact of the researcher and helpers with the respondents and with the ease of answering the questionnaire. Frequency distributions were run for all variables. Three sets of results are reported: those of the Transient Group, the Local Resident Group and the employer interviews.

RESULTS OF THE TRANSIENT GROUP

In reference to Table 4.1, one may note that 75 percent of the Transient Group were under 30 years of age. Most were 20 to 24 years of age.

The majority had no spouses or dependents; 77 percent were unmarried (n=66) and 80 percent had no children (n=64).

Forty-one percent had completed high school, and 41 percent had, essentially, a marginal level of education. In general, most of the members of the Transient Group had some high school education. This is seen in Table 4.2.

Seventy-two percent of those sampled were men (n=65). This is indicative of those transients who had found work and who were in Hay River during August of 1981. It may be due to the type of jobs available, which are generally heavy labour and construction work, espec-

	<u>Distribution</u>	<u>Returned</u>	<u>Usable</u>
Transient Questionnaire	140	118 (84%)	113 (81%) 68 (Transient Group) (49%) 45 (Local Resident Group A) (32%)
Local Questionnaire	197	170 (86%)	160 (Local Resident Group B) (81%) 10 (Local Resident Group C) (5%)

FIGURE 4.1 Questionnaire Returns

TABLE 4.1 Age Classes

<u>Years of Age</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=62</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=139</u>
15-19	30.6	3.6
20-24	33.9	18.7
25-29	11.3	18.7
30-34	8.1	16.6
35-39	6.5	15.0
40-44	1.6	10.3
45-49	4.8	7.2
50-54	1.6	2.1
55-59	1.6	2.1
60-64	---	2.1
65-69	---	1.0
70 plus	---	2.6

TABLE 4.2 Education Levels

<u>Education Levels</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=64</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=193</u>
no formal education	1.6	1.6
less than Grade Nine	9.4	11.4
some high school	29.6	26.4
finished high school	40.6	36.8
post-secondary education	18.8	23.8

ally at the shipping company. There were women employed in labourer capacities, but more women than men were employed in less physically demanding jobs. Much of the available work in Hay River is not traditionally allotted to women, nor are women encouraged to work at such jobs. Hiltz (1977:83) attributed the lack of women in the transient workforce to the fact that fewer women would hitchhike up to Hay River, as this was the preferred mode of transportation at that time. However, this reason is not really applicable any longer. Sixty-one percent of the Transient Group came by road (n=66), half having travelled by bus (as the fare to Hay River is inexpensive, being approximately \$100 for a one-way ticket).

Fifty-two percent of the Transient Group had jobs awaiting them when they arrived in Hay River (n=66). Of those who found work after arriving in Hay River, over 75 percent found jobs within a week of their arrival, as seen in Table 4.3.

Since the Transient Group was sampled at the workplace, all in the sample were employed full or part-time. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 indicate that nearly 67 percent were employed in transportation equipment operation, machining, clerical and service occupations. Over 50 percent were employed in blue collar occupations. Seventy-five percent earned hourly wages of \$4.00 up to \$9.00. Fifty percent earned between \$6.00 and \$9.00. Less than 10 percent (8%) held a second job (n=65).

From Table 4.6 it is evident that most transients had been in Hay River for less than three months. Twenty-five percent had been there between three and six months.

TABLE 4.3 Length of Time Required to Find a Job

<u>Length of Time</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=31</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=49</u>
less than 1 day	38.7	12.2
over 1 day up to 3 days	29.0	14.3
over 3 days up to 7 days	12.9	32.6
over 7 days up to 14 days	12.9	18.4
over 14 days up to 30 days	6.5	6.2
over 30 days	----	16.3

TABLE 4.4 Occupation

<u>Occupation Classifications</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=64</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=163</u>
Managerial, Administrative and Related	----	16.6
Natural Sciences, Engineering and Mathematics	4.7	----
Social Sciences and Related	----	3.5
Religious Occupations	----	0.6
Teaching and Related	----	4.7
Health and Medicine	3.1	2.4
Clerical and Related	14.1	14.1
Sales Occupations	7.8	2.2
Service Occupations	14.1	11.2
Animal Husbandry, Horticulture	4.7	2.2
Trapping and Fishing	----	3.7
Processing	6.3	1.1
Machining	10.9	3.1
Product Fabricating Assembly	6.3	6.7
Construction	1.6	11.0
Operating Transport Equipment	20.2	13.0
Material Handling and Related	4.6	2.2
Other Crafts and Equipment Operation	----	1.1
Miscellaneous	1.6	0.6

(Source of categories: Statistics Canada 1981)

TABLE 4.5 Income

<u>Income</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=187</u>
\$4.00-\$6.00	22.8	3.2
\$6.01-\$9.00	50.0	20.3
\$9.01-\$12.00	4.5	18.2
over \$12.01	13.7	9.6
\$10,000-\$12,000	----	1.6
\$12,001-\$15,000	----	2.1
\$15,001-\$20,000	3.0	3.7
\$20,001-\$25,000	----	5.9
\$25,001-\$30,000	3.0	13.4
over \$30,001	3.0	12.4
Canada Pension	----	3.7
Hunting, trapping	----	1.1
Commercial fishing	----	1.6
Unemployment Insurance	----	1.1
Other	----	2.1

TABLE 4.6 Length of Residence in Hay River

<u>Length of Residence</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=198</u>
less than 3 months	74.2	----
over 3 months up to 6 months	25.8	----
over 6 months up to 1 year	----	17.2
over 1 year up to 3 years	----	16.2
over 3 years up to 5 years	----	14.1
over 5 years up to 10 years	----	18.7
over 10 years	----	25.8
all their lives	----	8.0

For 75 percent of the sample, the trip to Hay River was the first working visit to the town. See Table 4.7. Twenty-five percent had been there at least once before, and a very small proportion had been there four or more times. Forty-five percent of the Transient Group had travelled up to Hay River with people they knew (n=66).

Over the five year period preceding the survey, the Transient Group demonstrated a fairly high degree of mobility. Table 4.8 indicates that over 50 percent had lived in three or more communities, and nearly 20 percent had lived in more than five communities. Less than 10 percent had remained in the same location during the five year period preceding the survey.

In the last five years prior to the trip to Hay River, most of the Transient Group had lived in Western or Central Canada, as shown in Table 4.9. Table 4.10 indicates that over 75 percent had spent, at one time, more than three years in one community during this period.

From Table 4.11 one may note that the majority of the Transient Group last resided in British Columbia, Alberta, Ontario and Quebec. In all, 40 percent last resided in Central and Eastern Canada. Fifty-two percent of the Transient Group last resided in urban areas, with populations of over 30,000 people (n=61). The urban-rural ratio was 41:20.

Table 4.12 indicates that members of the Transient Group considered Central and Eastern Canada followed by Western and Prairie Canada as home. Less than 30 percent (23%) had hometowns of less than 5000

TABLE 4.7 Number of Trips to Hay River

<u>Number of Trips</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>
one	77.3
two	9.1
three	7.6
four	3.0
five	----
more than five	3.0

TABLE 4.8 Number of Communities Lived In During the Five Years
Preceding The Survey

<u>Number of Communities</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=200</u>
one	9.1	43.5
two	36.4	27.0
three	24.2	14.0
four	4.5	6.0
five	9.1	3.5
more than five	16.7	6.0

TABLE 4.9 Province Lived in Longest in the Five Years Preceding Survey

<u>Province</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=193</u>
British Columbia	18.8	5.7
Northwest Territories	----	65.8
Yukon Territory	----	1.0
Alberta	20.3	9.8
Saskatchewan	6.3	2.6
Manitoba	3.1	2.1
Ontario	17.1	6.2
Quebec	21.9	----
New Brunswick	4.7	2.1
Nova Scotia	3.1	1.6
Newfoundland	1.6	1.6
Prince Edward Island	----	1.0
Other than Canada	3.1	0.5

TABLE 4.10 Longest Length of Time Spent in One Community in the Five Years Preceding Sampling

Longest Length of Time	% Transient Group n=66	% Local Resident Group n=194
less than 3 months	----	1.5
over 3 months up to 6 months	3.1	4.2
over 6 months up to 1 year	4.8	15.5
over 1 year up to 3 years	14.3	17.5
over 3 years up to 5 years	14.3	61.3
more than 5 years	63.5	----

TABLE 4.11 Last Place of Residence by Province

<u>Province</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=64</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=179</u>
British Columbia	23.4	14.0
Northwest Territories	1.6	20.2
Yukon Territory	----	0.6
Alberta	20.3	30.3
Saskatchewan	7.8	8.4
Manitoba	3.1	5.1
Ontario	17.2	13.5
Quebec	17.2	1.1
New Brunswick	4.7	2.3
Nova Scotia	1.6	2.8
Newfoundland	----	1.1
Other than Canada	3.1	0.6

TABLE 4.12 Provincial Location of Hometown

<u>Province</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=198</u>
British Columbia	13.6	9.1
Northwest Territories	3.2	39.0
Yukon Territory	----	0.5
Alberta	12.1	14.1
Saskatchewan	6.0	8.1
Manitoba	7.6	5.1
Ontario	18.2	12.1
Quebec	25.8	0.5
New Brunswick	4.5	2.0
Nova Scotia	3.0	4.5
Newfoundland	1.5	2.5
Other than Canada	----	0.5
Has no hometown	4.5	2.0

persons (n=63). [The Transient Group was urban oriented here as well, for 59 percent had hometowns with populations greater than 30,000 persons (n=63).]

A Chi-square test was conducted on the Transient Group to see if the observed provincial distribution of transients differed from the expected, that is, the population distribution of Canada by province. The null hypothesis stated that there was no statistically significant difference between the observed and the expected distributions. The research hypothesis stated that the observed distribution differed from the expected distribution so much that it was not a random occurrence. The null hypothesis was rejected at 0.01 significance and the research hypothesis was accepted. This indicated that the observed distribution of transients from each province was statistically different from what could be expected if it were in proportion to the populations of those provinces.

These points raise the question as to why are there so many people in Hay River from these regions, considering the distances involved and the comparatively small size of Hay River against the opportunities one can find in the cities of Ontario and Quebec.

Over half of the Transient Group cited economic reasons for leaving the last place of residence. Those reasons most frequently cited were "lack of work" and "needing a change of lifestyle". This is shown in Table 4.13. Eighty-eight percent of the sample had planned to come to Hay River when they left the last place of residence (n=66).

Members of the Transient Group selected Hay River as their

TABLE 4.13 Reasons for Leaving the Last Place of Residence

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=50</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=138</u>
job offer	8.0	18.1
no jobs available	50.0	17.4
needed a change	26.0	22.5
to visit people	2.0	1.4
cost of living	4.0	5.1
job transfer	6.0	15.2
religious reasons	----	2.9
other	4.0	17.4

destination primarily for economic reasons, as seen in Table 4.14. Rumours concerning available work drew a large number of people. Of the 29 percent who came on this basis, 68 percent had been unable to find jobs in their last place of residence (n=66).

Table 4.15 indicates that friends and family were the most often cited source of information about Hay River, concerning 67 percent of the Transient Group. Within this group 63 percent came because of pre-arranged jobs or rumour of work and 29 percent came to visit friends or family. Most of the Transient Group sample from the central provinces (100% from Ontario and 88.9% from Quebec) heard about Hay River from friends or family. In addition, nearly all came to Hay River on speculation of finding work. However, in the western provinces, less than half (46% from British Columbia and 40% from Alberta) had heard of Hay River from this source. Apparently other sources were of importance here. These results suggest that an information network helped to decrease distance and thereby increase access to Hay River for transients from Central Canada.

Most of the Transient Group planned to leave Hay River within six months, as seen in Table 4.16. Reasons for leaving are shown in Table 4.17. Thirty-three percent of the sample planned to leave when jobs ended and another 33 percent planned to return to complete their education. There was little comment about leaving when a monetary goal had been achieved.

The Transient Group had definite plans concerning destinations after leaving Hay River. Table 4.18 indicates that almost 67 percent

TABLE 4.14 Motivation to Come to Hay River

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=56</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=152</u>
job offer	28.6	37.5
rumour of jobs	34.0	13.2
needed a change	1.7	2.6
to visit people	23.2	13.2
job transfer	7.2	14.5
to come North	----	3.9
religious reasons	----	4.6
fishing	1.7	2.6
other	3.6	7.9

TABLE 4.15 Information Sources about Hay River

<u>Source of Information</u>	<u>% Transient Group. n=57</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=158</u>
newspaper	3.5	11.9
Canadian Employment Centre (C.E.C.)	1.8	0.6
friends or family	66.7	46.6
education	3.5	1.9
on the job	5.3	18.3
hiring agency	---	1.3
been there	7.0	8.2
Union Hiring Hall	7.0	2---
other	5.3	10.1

TABLE 4.16 Possible Length of Stay in Hay River

<u>Possible Length of Stay</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=182</u>
less than 3 months	31.8	2.7
over 3 months up to 6 months	43.9	4.4
over 6 months up to 1 year	9.1	7.7
over 1 year up to 3 years	4.5	11.0
over 3 years up to 5 years	----	7.2
over 5 years up to 10 years	----	5.5
over 10 years	----	12.6
don't know	10.7	48.9

TABLE 4.17 Possible Reasons for Leaving Hay River

<u>Reasons</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=52</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=67</u>
job ends	42.3	13.4
to complete education	40.4	8.9
dislike Hay River	3.8	4.5
job transfer	11.5	23.9
cost of living	----	10.4
poor salary	----	3.0
schools are poor	----	4.5
don't know	1.9	31.3

TABLE 4.18 Possible Destinations After Leaving Hay River

<u>Destination</u>	<u>% Transient Group n=66</u>	<u>% Local Resident Group n=189</u>
last place of residence	37.9	6.4
hometown	24.2	8.5
elsewhere in the North	3.0	6.9
to travel	15.2	12.2
other	18.2	30.7
don't know	1.5	25.0
not leaving	----	10.0

planned to return to either the last place of residence or to the hometown.

RESULTS OF THE LOCAL RESIDENT GROUP

Less than 50 percent of the Local Resident Group fell into the under 30 age class. A much larger proportion was over 30 years of age, as shown in Table 4.1. Seventy-one percent of those heads of households who were sampled were male (n=201). Most of the Local Resident Group had finished high school. Table 4.2 presents the education levels of this group. Fifty-five percent (n=201) were married or separated, and 66 percent had one or more children (n=198).

Sixty-six percent of the Local Resident Group had jobs prearranged before the move to Hay River was made (n=181). Over half of those who arrived in town without work were employed within a week of their arrival, as seen in Table 4.3. Ninety-one percent were employed in a full-time or part-time capacity (n=199).

Table 4.4 indicates that the Local Resident Group demonstrated a greater mix in job types than did the Transient Group. Approximately 33 percent were employed in professions, 33 percent in clerical and service occupations and 33 percent were in transportation equipment operations and construction. Since their arrival in town, 53 percent had changed jobs (n=181). There was no indication that this differentiated between changing employers or changing jobs within the same organization. Almost 67 percent of the sample were earning over \$9.01

per hour, as shown in Table 4.5

Fifteen percent (n=193) held more than one job. This may be attributed to the feeling that the overall cost of living in Hay River was high and that two incomes or more per household could help attain or maintain the desired standard of living. However, these results were less than was expected, considering the complaints throughout the Territories about the cost of living. It was possible that other members of the household contributed a salary to the running of the household.

Most of the members of the Local Resident Group had not lived all or most of their lives in Hay River. Only four percent had always lived there (n=154) and 10 percent (n=135) had come as children with their families. As seen in Table 4.6, 50 percent had lived there for over five years.

Tables 4.8, 4.9 and 4.10 demonstrated mobility patterns for the five year period preceding the survey. Seventy percent of the sample had lived in one or two communities during this period. Over 80 percent had been living in Western Canada. The majority (61.3%) had been fairly settled during this time, having lived in one community between three and five years.

For members of the Local Resident Group, the more common last places of residence were located in Alberta, the Northwest Territories, British Columbia and Ontario, as seen in Table 4.11. Fifty-three percent (n=175) last lived in towns of less than 10,000 persons, particularly in towns of less than 5,000 persons.

The Northwest Territories are over-represented for this group in the "hometown" province, as seen in Table 4.12, because many respondents marked Hay River as their "hometown". Seventy percent of the members of the Local Resident Group considered communities of less than 10,000 persons as their hometown, with Hay River accounting for 40 percent of the total (n=192).

A comparison by cross-tabulation of "hometown" and "last place of residence" indicated the Local Resident Group was mobile on an inter-provincial scale. Thirty-nine percent (n=191) considered Hay River as "home", yet all but 18 percent had lived outside the Northwest Territories before the move to Hay River. Altogether 43 percent of the Local Resident Group had resided outside the "hometown" province before the move to Hay River was made.

Ninety-one percent (n=179) left the last place of residence with Hay River in mind as the destination. Fifty-eight percent (n=179) had travelled with people they knew.

In general, economic reasons were cited for leaving the last place of residence, as seen in Table 4.13. The most common reasons were job offers elsewhere, looking for a change of lifestyle and job transfer. Table 4.14 shows that the respondents came to Hay River for economic reasons as well, although visiting family and friends was important. Only four percent came because it was located in the North. Friends and family were an important source of information about Hay River as a destination, as seen in Table 4.15.

Table 4.16 demonstrates that 49 percent of the Local Resident

Group could not say how long they would remain in Hay River. When asked why they might leave Hay River, 63 percent had no plans to leave (n=182). Of the 37 percent who did consider leaving, Table 4.17 shows that transfer in their jobs, a job ending and the cost of living were most often cited. More than half had a destination in mind. Table 4.18 indicates that less than 20 percent planned to return to the last place of residence or to their hometown. Thirty percent had other locations in mind. Twenty-five percent had no idea where they would go after they left Hay River.

INTERVIEWS WITH EMPLOYERS OF TRANSIENTS

During the course of sampling the Transient Group, interviews were conducted with their employers. They were informally questioned about the role of the transient labour in their business - the number of employees, percent of non-residents and period of hiring, and if applicable, preference of hiring locals or transients. The impressions of 21 office managers and business owners were obtained. Establishments sampled included retail stores, restaurants, bars and motels, construction contractors, transportation firms (trucking and marine shipping), factories and Federal and Territorial governmental departments.

Much hiring in the summer season by private businesses was accomplished via personal applications for employment. People heard that work was available through the "grapevine" and would turn up for interviews. The Canada Employment Centre handled hiring for Federal

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departments, such as Fisheries and Oceans and the Canadian Coast Guard Service, and some private businesses used it as well. However, one employer commented that C.E.C. referrals did not last very long on the job.

Transients were hired when local residents were not available to fill positions. They were generally hired for work crews and labourer jobs in the transportation and associated industries, for pre-season barge cleaning, yardwork and for heavy manual labour. In some cases they assisted skilled tradespeople.

The percentage of out-of-town transients ranged from 20 to 50 percent per employer. The transient labour pool appeared to provide employees at a time when local residents were on vacation or when a large number of workers was needed, such as at "start-up" in the marine transportation industry.

Where a certain skill was required, "southerners" were preferred as employees, and were hired from out-of-town to work in Hay River. However, the scarcity and expense of housing made it very difficult for some private businesses to subsidize employees' housing. Consequently they would lose employees.

One retail business owner commented that seasonals fitted very well into his plans in the summer, since they provided a source of labour. However, they could be unstable. This instability of transient and local resident employees was a common complaint of some employers. Employee turnover was quite high in some businesses. Regardless of whether employees were hired on a short or long term

basis, they would earn one or two paycheques and then leave, often without notice. Not many were actually fired. Some employers perceived little interest on the part of their employees in holding a job for very long and learning a skill. They had the impression that employees viewed work as simply a way to make money. They blamed poor work ethics, the education system and welfare. Transients were singled out in particular. They left nothing behind for the community when they left town. In general, these employers felt that the transients saw Hay River as the frontier, to be used and discarded at will.

Many managers and owners chose to hire local residents, rather than transients, for positions in which training was required. An employee with a low probability of picking up and leaving to "go home" was preferred. These employers wanted people who were willing to commit themselves to the job and stay on or (if applicable) return the following season. In some cases, such as construction and trucking, specialized qualifications were required which were not necessarily held by transients. These included heavy equipment operating licenses and truck driving licenses. One employer criticized university students; since they took a job to earn as much as possible, they wanted to work long hours and would quit because they found the hours too short. This is an interesting remark in light of the disparaging comments above regarding instability of transients. Although the desire to earn much money in overtime came up in discussions with transients, it was not found in the questionnaire responses.

COMPARISON OF THE TRANSIENT AND THE LOCAL RESIDENT GROUP

Social and Economic Characteristics

The two groups differed in age, marital status and number of children. Seventy-five percent of the Transient Group were under 30 years of age. Less than half of the Local Resident Group fell into this age class; a much larger proportion was over 30 years of age. The Local Resident Group was older by approximately 10 years.

Eighty percent of the members of the Transient Group had no children and 77 percent were not married. Nearly 67 percent of the members of the Local Resident Group had children, and over 50 percent were or had been married at one time.

Surprisingly, there was little difference in education levels for the two groups, although past studies have indicated that the long stayers generally have lower education levels than those of the short-stayers (Doyle et al., 1976; Hiltz, 1977). Both groups demonstrated a clustering around 11 to 15 years of education, and the means were very similar - 11.56 years for transients and 11.52 years for the local residents. There may be two reasons for this similarity; the age of the transients and the type of work available in Hay River. The transients were of an age to have just completed high school. The modal age was 19, and 67 percent had some to all high school. The local residents were older but their education levels were very similar to those of the transients. They were old enough to have completed a

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post-secondary education, but not all had done so.

Another possible reason for this similarity in education levels is the type of jobs available in Hay River. Perhaps the skill levels of many temporary jobs in Hay River did not require academic education at this level. Practical trades education and on-the-job experience may have been of more value in these instances. Much of the work available for the Transient Group was physically demanding and academically undemanding.

Fifty percent of the Transient Group and 67 percent of the Local Resident sample Group had pre-arranged jobs before they arrived in Hay River. The majority of those who did not were employed within a week of their arrival.

Not surprisingly, members of the Transient Group had lower wages than did the members of the Local Resident Group. Blue collar occupations employed slightly over half. Roughly 67 percent were earning between \$6.00 and \$9.00 per hour. The higher incomes in the Local Resident Group were probably due to their occupation and job seniority. Sixty-seven percent were employed in managerial, service or clerical occupations.

Mobility Patterns

The two groups differed in mobility patterns and in geographic scope of movement. Most of the members of the Transient Group had been in Hay River for less than three months. They planned to stay for a

maximum period of six months. Kendall's Tau indicates that there is an association between "planned length of stay" and "length of residence" in Hay River, but it is not very strong ($r=0.2745$, significance= 0.015). "Planned length of stay" also demonstrates a weak association with age ($r=0.27$, significance= 0.017).

The Local Resident Group was much more stable. Although most had not lived in Hay River for all or most of their lives, half had been there over five years. "Planned length of stay" demonstrated a steady and statistically significant association with "length of residence in Hay River" ($r=0.4273$, significance= 0.001). Half did not know how long they would stay in town.

The stability of the Local Resident Group was enhanced by the fact that over half had no plans to leave town at the time of sampling. On the other hand, most members of the Transient Group planned to leave town within six months, either because they had to return to school or because their employment would terminate.

The two groups showed different patterns in places they would move to after leaving Hay River. Sixty-seven percent of the Transient Group were planning to return to their hometown or last place of residence. The Local Resident Group demonstrated a different pattern. Almost 67 percent had no immediate plans to leave, and less than 20 percent could not say why they would even leave town. Of those who planned to leave, a small proportion considered returning to the last place of residence or their hometown. Almost 33 percent planned to go to communities other than those suggested in the questionnaire.

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The mobility patterns of the Transient Group suggest a circulatory movement (as defined by Zelinsky, 1971), rather than a true transience or migration as defined by Thomas (1938) or by Bogue (1959). The movement by those members of the Local Resident Group who planned to leave Hay River displays the characteristics of migration, as they were moving on to new communities.

Members of the Transient Group demonstrated more mobility in the five year period preceding the survey. However, they appear to have remained in the same province as the last province of residence. Members of the Local Resident Group were less mobile during this period, but had moved from province to province when they did move. They appear to have been more interprovincially mobile than those members of the Transient Group.

Migration patterns differed for the Transient Group and the Local Resident Group. Before arriving in Hay River, most of the Local Resident Group last lived in Western Canada. Over half came from small towns of less than 10,000 people. The Transient Group arrived from British Columbia, Alberta and Ontario and Quebec. Half had last resided in cities over 100,000 persons.

The difference was even more marked for the hometown provinces. The regional distribution showed a distinct small-town Western orientation for the Local Resident Group. The Transient Group was Easterly and Centrally located with an affinity for urban life. Most had been living in their home town before they moved to Hay River, whereas less than half the Local Resident Group had last lived in what

they considered to be their home province.

Motivation to Move

Economic reasons played a large part in people's decision making about the move from the last place of residence to Hay River. Roughly half of each group (52% Transient Group and 43% Local Resident Group) had left the last place of residence for such reasons. A much larger percentage of the Transient Group (37.9%) left for negative economic reasons, as opposed to less than 20 percent of the Local Resident Group (17.4%).

Friends and family were the single most important source of information about Hay River for both the Local Resident Group and the Transient Group. For those transients from Central Canada in particular, it appears that friends and family acted as an information network. They made it easier to make the decision to come to Hay River by providing the desire and means to contact people there. This may have helped to decrease distance and the intervening obstacles and opportunities between Hay River and the last place of residence.

SUPPORTED HYPOTHESES

Figure 4.2 shows the status of the hypotheses in Chapter Three. They are divided into "supported" and "unsupported" hypotheses.

Most members of the Transient Group were male, under 30 years of

<u>Hypotheses</u>	<u>Supported</u>	<u>Unsupported</u>
<u>(Transient Group)</u>		
1. male and single	x	
2. 19 to 26 years of age	x	
3. with a post-secondary education		x
4. are hypermobile	x	
5. are urban residents	x	
6. come from Central and Eastern Canada	results inconclusive	
7. come because they hear that jobs are available	x	
8. come for a new experience	results inconclusive	
9. many are repeat transients	results inconclusive	
10. have a role in the economy of Hay River	x	
11. will return where they came from	x	
<u>(Local Resident Group)</u>		
12. are married with children	x	
13. are generally older than the Transient Group	x	
14. come from Western Canada	x	
15. come from small towns	x	
16. Hay River is a distribution point rather than a terminus for both groups		x

FIGURE 4.2 Status of Hypotheses Tested

age, single and childless. These results concur with those of Matthaissen (1971), Kuo and Lu (1975), Doyle et al. (1976) and Hiltz (1977).

In the five years preceding the survey, members of the Transient Group were quite mobile, having lived in two or more communities during this period. Both Stone et al. (1978) and Heenan (1980) have noted this phenomenon within this age group. Pearson (1970) comments on this in the context of Hay River.

The majority of the Transient Group considered cities as hometown, and 50 percent arrived in Hay River from large urban centres (also noted by Hilton, 1969). Nearly 50 percent came from Central and Eastern Canada. This implies that interaction did not appreciably decrease with distance in this instance. This is attributed to the existence of an information network which helped to bring people across distances and intervening opportunities which would normally impede travel. The fact that almost an equal number of transients came from British Columbia and Alberta is attributed to an awareness of job opportunities in the region. This hypothesis deserves further examination.

Members of the Transient Group left their last place of residence because job opportunities were poor and because they needed a change of lifestyle. Most had planned to come to Hay River when they left the last place of residence, as Hay River had a reputation as a town with ample job opportunities. This concurs with results by Wallace (1966), Hiltz (1977) and Barrados et al. (n.d.). Some members of this group also chose Hay River as their destination because they were seeking a

new and different experience. Although there was some support for this hypothesis, it requires further study.

In view of employers' comments, it appears that the Transient Group has a function within the Hay River economy. This has been previously noted by Wallace (1966), Pearson (1970) and Hiltz (1977). Within the Transient Group was a small core of workers who returned year after year. Skilled workers who returned each season would be welcomed by an employer. This would lessen training and recruitment costs for the employer. Although the transients were not asked if they were working for their previous employer, no doubt the possibility did exist. This deserves further attention.

Most of the members of the Transient Group planned to return to the last place of residence or to their hometown when they left Hay River. This suggests a circulatory movement rather than transience or migration. However, this group has usually been labelled "transient" by local residents and in northern migration literature. See Tapwe (1968), as well as Wallace (1966), Pearson (1970) and Hiltz (1977).

The local heads of households were mostly males, who were married and had children. This concurs with Mathaissen (1971), Doyle et al. (1976), Nickels and Sexton (1976) and Hiltz (1977). This does not agree with the 1981 Canadian Census (Statistics Canada, 1982), conducted in June, 1981, which indicated that less than half of the people of Hay River were married. These data really cannot be compared with the results of this study, because there is no differentiation between residents and transients in Hay River.

Members of the Local Resident Group were older than those of the Transient Group by approximately 10 years. Similar results have been noted by Doyle et al. (1976), Nickels and Sexton (1976) and Hiltz (1977). The majority came from Western Canada and from small towns, as also seen by Hilton (1969), Jackson and Poushinsky (1971), Kuo and Lu (1975) and Hiltz (1977). Their interprovincial mobility in the five year period preceding the survey was not uncommon, according to Kuo and Lu (1975).

UNSUPPORTED HYPOTHESIS

Surprisingly, most members of the Transient Group did not have a post-secondary education. This does not agree with the results of prior research by Doyle et al. (1976), Kuo and Lu (1975), Nickels and Sexton (1976) and Hiltz (1977) who have noted that short-term residents and transients had higher education levels than did local or long-term residents in northern communities.

At this point there does not seem to be enough evidence to judge whether Hay River is a distribution point or a terminus for incoming migrants and transients. For the majority of the Transient Group, Hay River was the intended destination. If it had not been, they would have left unless it was not possible to do so at the time. Hay River's location and industrial function within the Southern Mackenzie region suggested the possibility of the role of distribution point. However, this was not evident from these data.

Results do suggest that Hay River is more of an exit from the Northwest Territories at this time. Twenty percent of the Local Resident Group came from other locations in the Territories, and of those who planned to leave Hay River, few planned to move on to other Northern communities. From Hay River they planned to go elsewhere in Southern Canada other than the last place of residence. From these indications, Hay River's role in the Southern Mackenzie deserves further attention.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

A transient group composes a large percentage of the Territorial labour force. Its primary role is to ease the imbalance between supply and demand of labour in the Northwest Territories. Transients may be found in all sectors of the economy but are mostly in the construction and transportation industries.

The focus of northern migration research has tended to be the residents of single industry communities. Data sources have traditionally been the decennial Statistics Canada Census or individual surveys. The census data are not usually disaggregated into actual long-term residents and seasonal transients and so mask the actual turnover in the Territorial population. Although the existence and importance of the transient population has been acknowledged in the literature, this sector of the workforce has not received much attention.

The purpose of this thesis has been to examine certain characteristics of the transient population of Hay River, Northwest Territories, to determine who is likely to migrate, the geographical scope of that movement and the causes of that movement. Self-administered questionnaires were distributed to members of the transient workforce in August of 1981, using a substantive distribution method. Similar

questionnaires were distributed employing a systematic distribution method to the heads of local households from September to November of 1981.

Results have indicated that the transients in Hay River in 1981 were generally single men under 30 years of age. Seventy-five percent had no children. Few had a post-secondary education. At the time of sampling they had been in Hay River less than three months and planned to stay up to six months. The majority were employed in blue collar jobs and earned up to \$9.00 per hour.

They had arrived in Hay River from all over Canada; although the majority were from Western and Prairie Canada, 40 percent came from Central and Eastern Canada. On the whole, they were urban-oriented people from communities over 10,000 people in size.

Most had left the last place of residence because they could not find work or because they needed a change. Most of the central and eastern transients had heard of Hay River via friends or family and had come to town because they had heard that work could be found there. Pre-arranged jobs or hearsay concerning the possibility of finding one and a desire for a change of lifestyle brought a large percentage of the transients to Hay River. Most transients planned to return to where they had come from, rather than continue moving on to another community.

The local residents differed from the transient sample in age, marital status, number of children, geographical scope of movement and mobility patterns. On average, they were 10 years older, married and

had at least one child. Prior to their arrival in town, 67 percent lived in Western, Northern or Prairie Canada. Over half had come from small towns and rural areas. Sixty-seven percent had been in Hay River over three years. Few entertained thoughts of leaving town. Those that did were not planning to return to the communities that they had left.

From discussions with local employers of transients, it was determined that transients had some function within the Hay River economy. They provided certain skills and general manpower not available in the local labour force and could fill in when local residents were not available due to vacations, especially in the summer. However, they were considered as a substitute for a stable labour pool, and their instability was a matter of concern in many instances. Within the transportation industry there was a small group of repeat transients who had been coming up for more than three seasons. In general, it appears that the transients were most useful where a seasonal increase in the labour force was required.

These findings tend to support the conceptual framework proposed for the transient's decision to move. The process under observation appears to be a form of circulation rather than a true transience. Instead of continuing on to other communities, the transients returned to the places from which they came.

A stimulus within the environment, identified as poor economic conditions created negative impressions for the members of the Transient Group. This was translated into difficulty in finding a job

and an ennui with the current lifestyle. These impressions were tempered by the personal factors of the potential transients. They were under 30 years of age, unattached with no dependents and from urban areas.

Obstacles to be overcome before the move could be made were most likely distance, closer job opportunities and familiarity with the surrounding physical and social environment. These were constant barriers to movement. If they were overcome, and a decision to move was made, a destination was selected on the basis of information from friends and family. This, coupled with the personal characteristics and impressions of the factors at the origin and at the destination, could be positive enough to overcome barriers which would contribute to inertia against the move. In the case of the members of the Transient Group, these obstacles were overcome and the move was made to Hay River.

The Transient Group's geographic scope of movement suggests that interaction does not necessarily decrease with distance or intervening opportunities between two places. From the literature one would expect that intervening opportunities in the densely populated urban areas of Central Canada would impede labour migration to such distant locations as Hay River. There is evidence that, in this situation, information networks of friends and family have overcome these barriers by providing support to potential transients.

This research provides a profile of the transient worker in Hay River in 1981. There appears to be little reason why this profile

should change drastically in the near future, as it has changed very little in the last fifteen years. (See Wallace, 1966; Pearson, 1970; Hiltz, 1977.)

It has been demonstrated that transients fill a niche in the Hay River labour force. At this point in time, a large proportion have shown a willingness to come a long distance on the basis of rumours of available work. If a sudden drastic upswing in economic activity should occur, such as pipeline or dam construction in the Southern Mackenzie region, a major increase in the transient population can be expected.

The social and demographic profile of this group indicates that single men, under 30 years of age with a maximum of high school education are most likely to supplement the local labour force in Hay River. It is this group to which information regarding jobs, hiring procedure, accommodation and other facilities will filter out.

This scenario suggests that potential employers should clearly direct their job advertising to the group which is desired, emphasizing skills and qualification, numbers required and working conditions. Such actions will assist in providing the desired employees rather than relying on the present selection of transients.

Given the chance of an economic boom occurring, the town of Hay River may wish to develop a strategy for dealing with a sudden large influx of people. Long and short term housing needs, loads on health and social service facilities should be included.

Given these implications, a number of recommendations can be made

for further research in northern labour migration:

1. further examination of the role of transients in the territorial economy is required, in particular the advantages and disadvantages of a transient labour pool and how it competes with the local force;
2. the characteristics of transients and their motivation and geographic scope of movement should be explored in other communities which at present have a seasonal transient component to their labour force, such as Yellowknife and Fort Smith; and
3. it is suggested that further research be conducted on migratory interaction between Northern communities and Central and Eastern Canada, so as to ascertain the role, if any, that information networks have in lessening the distances between these locations.

This thesis has examined labour migration to the northern community of Hay River. It has provided insight into decision-making processes, social, demographic and economic characteristics and spatial scope of movement at the individual level. By virtue of the small size of the communities, the Northwest Territories and particularly the Southern Mackenzie region provide a good location for studying human migration dynamics at a microscale level. At a time when large scale economic development in the North is imminent, the geographer can now, more than ever, assist in the research of the coming social, physical and economic changes.

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APPENDIX A
TRANSIENT GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE
LABOUR MOBILITY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:
A STUDY OF SEASONAL MIGRATION TO HAY RIVER

This research is being conducted by Riva Flexer, a graduate student with the Department of Geography, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Hello! My name is Riva Flexer. I'm a graduate student in Human Geography at Carleton University in Ottawa, and I'm conducting research on seasonal migration of workers to the town of Hay River. This questionnaire will provide information about who comes to Hay River to find work, and how and why they come to this particular community. No names or addresses are required, and all individual answers will be kept strictly confidential. The questionnaire will take only a few minutes to complete. When a written answer is called for, please print or write neatly. When you have finished filling out the questionnaire, please return it to me. A summary of the results will be published in The Hub in October, for all those interested. The results of the questionnaire will be written up in a thesis to be submitted as partial fulfillment of a Master of Arts degree in Human Geography. A copy of the finished thesis will be donated to the Hay River Centennial Library.

Date: _____

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**LABOUR MOBILITY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:
A STUDY OF SEASONAL MIGRATION TO HAY RIVER**

1. How long have you been living in Hay River?

- ☐ less than 3 months
☐ 3 to 6 months
☐ more than 6 months up to 1 year
☐ more than 1 year up to 3 years
☐ more than 3 years up to 5 years
☐ more than 5 years up to 10 years
☐ more than 10 years

2. What means of transportation did you use to travel to Hay River with?

3. Did you travel with people that you knew?

- ☐ yes
☐ no

4. How many times have you come to Hay River to live and work?

- ☐ this is my first time in Hay River
☐ twice
☐ three times
☐ four times
☐ five times
☐ six to ten times
☐ over ten times

5. What city or village do you consider as your "home town"?

_____ (please specify the province as well)

6. What is the name of the last place you lived in before you moved to Hay River?

_____ (please specify the province as well)

7. When you left this place, were you planning to come to Hay River?

- ☐ no
☐ yes From where did you hear about Hay River?

☐ newspaper	☐ friend
☐ magazine	☐ relative
☐ Canada Employment Centre	
☐ teacher or professor or instructor	
☐ other (please specify) _____	

8. Is there any particular reason why you left the last place you were living in?

☐ no
☐ yes (please write it down)

9. Is there any reason why you came specifically to Hay River?

☐ no
☐ yes (please write it down)

- 10a. Did you have a job awaiting you in Hay River?

☐ no
☐ yes Where was the hiring done for this job? _____

- 10b. If you did not have a job waiting for you when you arrived in Hay River, then how long did it take you to find a job?

☐ less than one day
☐ 1 day to 3 days
☐ 4 days to 7 days (1 week)
☐ 8 days to 14 days (2 weeks)
☐ 15 days to 30 days (1 month)
☐ over 1 month

11. Since your arrival in town, have you worked at more than one job?

☐ yes
☐ no

12. Are you presently working at more than one job?

☐ yes
☐ no

13. Are you presently

- ☐ working full-time
☐ working part-time
☐ unemployed and looking for work
☐ unemployed and not looking for work

What is your present job? _____

14. If you are working full-time or part-time, with what company or business are you employed?

15. How long do you intend to stay in Hay River?

- ☐ less than 3 months
☐ 3 months to 6 months
☐ more than 6 months up to 1 year
☐ more than 1 year up to 3 years
☐ more than 3 years up to 5 years
☐ more than 5 years up to 10 years
☐ more than 10 years
☐ don't know

16. For what reason will you leave Hay River?

- ☐ I have no plans of leaving at this point in time
☐ my present job will end
☐ I am leaving town to complete my education
☐ I don't like living and working in Hay River
☐ a job transfer
☐ other (please specify) _____
☐ don't know

17. Where will you go when you leave Hay River?

- ☐ back to my last place of residence
☐ back to my "home town"
☐ to another Northern community (please specify) _____
☐ I plan to travel
☐ other (please specify) _____

18. How many towns, cities or villages have you lived in during the past 5 years?

- ☐ one
☐ two
☐ three
☐ four
☐ five
☐ more than five

19a. In which place did you live the longest?

_____ (please specify the province or state)

19b. How long did you live there?

- ☐ less than 3 months
☐ 3 months to 6 months
☐ more than 6 months up to 1 year
☐ more than 1 year up to 3 years
☐ more than 3 years up to 5 years
☐ more than 5 years

20. Are you presently

- ☐ married
☐ divorced
☐ separated
☐ widowed
☐ single

21. What level did you complete at the last school you attended?

22. Are you

- ☐ male
☐ female

23. In what year were you born?

24. What income level best fits your present job earnings?

Wages

- ☐ \$4.00 - \$6.00 per hour
☐ \$6.01 - \$9.00 per hour
☐ \$9.01 - \$12.00 per hour
☐ more than \$12.00 per hour

OR

Salary

- ☐ \$10,000 - \$12,000 per year
☐ \$12,001 - \$15,000 per year
☐ \$15,001 - \$20,000 per year
☐ \$20,001 - \$25,000 per year
☐ \$25,001 - \$30,000 per year
☐ more than \$30,000 per year

OROther

(please specify) _____

25. How many people are there in the family in which you were born, including yourself?

26. How many children do you have?

_____ none

_____ one

_____ two

_____ three

_____ four

☒ more than four

27. What do you like about Hay River?

28. What do you dislike about Hay River?

THANK YOU FOR TAKING TIME TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. YOUR CONTRIBUTION IS MUCH APPRECIATED.

APPENDIX B**LOCAL RESIDENT GROUP QUESTIONNAIRE****LABOUR MOBILITY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:****A STUDY OF SEASONAL MIGRATION TO HAY RIVER**

This research is being conducted by Riva Flexer, a graduate student with the Department of Geography, Carleton University, Ottawa.

Hello! My name is Riva Flexer. I'm a graduate student in Human Geography at Carleton University in Ottawa, and I'm conducting research on migration of people to the town of Hay River. This questionnaire will provide information about who comes to Hay River to find work, and how and why they come to this particular community. No names or addresses are required, and all individual answers will be kept strictly confidential. The questionnaire will take only a few minutes to complete. When a written answer is called for, please print or write neatly. When you have finished filling out the questionnaire, please return it to me. A summary of the results will be published in The Hub in October, for all those who are interested. The results of the questionnaire will be written up in a thesis to be submitted as partial fulfillment of a Master of Arts degree in Human Geography. A copy of the finished thesis will be donated to the Hay River Centennial Library.

Date: _____

**LABOUR MOBILITY IN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES:
A STUDY OF SEASONAL MIGRATION TO HAY RIVER**

1. Have you always lived in Hay River?

- ☐ yes if so, then please go to question 14.
☐ no Did you first come to Hay River as a child with your family?
☐ yes if so, then please go to question 14.
☐ no

2. How long have you been living in Hay River?

- ☐ more than six months up to one year
☐ more than one year up to three years
☐ more than three years up to five years
☐ more than five years up to ten years
☐ more than ten years up to fifteen years
☐ more than fifteen years up to twenty years
☐ more than twenty years

3. How long do you intend to stay in Hay River?

- ☐ less than three months
☐ three months to six months
☐ more than six months up to one year
☐ more than one year up to three years
☐ more than three years up to five years
☐ more than five years up to ten years
☐ more than ten years
☐ don't know

4. For what reasons will you leave Hay River?

- ☐ I have no plans of leaving at this point in time
☐ my present job will end
☐ my job is transferred to another location
☐ the cost of living is too high
☐ schools aren't good enough
☐ my salary/wage is not adequate
☐ other (please specify) _____
☐ don't know

5. What city or village do you consider as your "home town"?

_____ (please specify the province as well)

6. What is the name of the last place you lived in before you moved to Hay River?

_____ (please specify the province as well)

7. When you left this place, were you planning to come to Hay River?

☐ no

☐ yes From where did you hear about Hay River?

☐ newspaper

☐ friend

☐ magazine

☐ relative

☐ Canada Employment Centre

☐ teacher or professor or instructor

☐ other (please specify) _____

8. Is there any particular reason why you left the last place you were living in?

☐ no

☐ yes (please write it down)

9. Is there any reason why you came specifically to Hay River?

☐ no

☐ yes (please write it down)

10. How did you travel to Hay River?

☐ private vehicle

☐ airplane

☐ public bus

☐ other (please specify) _____

11. Did you travel with people that you knew?

☐ yes

☐ no

12. Did you have a job awaiting you in Hay River?

- ☐ yes Where was the hiring done for this job? _____
☐ no How long did it take you to find a job? _____
☐ less than one day
☐ one to three days
☐ four days to seven days (one week)
☐ one week to two weeks (fourteen days)
☐ fifteen days to one month
☐ more than one month

13. Since you have been in town, have you worked at more than one job?

- ☐ yes
☐ no

14. Are you presently working at more than one job?

- ☐ yes
☐ no

15. Are you presently

- ☐ working full-time
☐ working part-time
☐ unemployed and looking for work
☐ unemployed and not looking for work
- What is your present job? _____

15a. If you are working full-time or part-time, with what company or business are you employed?

16. Where will you go when you leave Hay River?

- ☐ back to my last place of residence
☐ back to my "home town"
☐ to another Northern community (please specify) _____
☐ I plan to travel
☐ other (please specify) _____

17a. How many towns, cities or villages have you lived in during the past 5 years?

- ☐ one
☐ two
☐ three
☐ four
☐ five
☐ more than five

17b. During this period, in which place did you live the longest?

_____ (please specify the province or state)

17c. How long did you live there?

- _____ less than three months
- _____ three months to six months
- _____ more than six months up to one year
- _____ more than one year up to three years
- _____ more than three years up to five years
- _____ more than five years

18. Are you presently

- _____ married
- _____ divorced
- _____ separated
- _____ widowed
- _____ single

19. What level did you complete at the last school you attended?

20. Are you

- _____ male
- _____ female

21. In what year were you born?

22. What income level best fits your present job earnings?

Wages

- _____ \$4.00 - \$6.00 per hour
- _____ \$6.01 - \$9.00 per hour
- _____ \$9.01 - \$12.00 per hour
- _____ more than \$12.00 per hour

OR

Salary

- _____ \$10,000 - \$12,000 per year
- _____ \$12,001 - \$15,000 per year
- _____ \$15,001 - \$20,000 per year
- _____ \$20,001 - \$25,000 per year
- _____ \$25,001 - \$30,000 per year
- _____ more than \$30,000 per year

OR

Other

_____ (please specify) _____

23. How many people are there in the family in which you were born, including yourself?

24. How many children do you have?

_____ none

_____ one

_____ two

_____ three

_____ four

_____ more than four

25. What do you like about Hay River?

26. What do you dislike about Hay River?

THANK YOU FOR TAKING TIME TO FILL OUT THIS QUESTIONNAIRE. YOUR CONTRIBUTION IS MUCH APPRECIATED.

END

2 7 0 8 18 4

FIN