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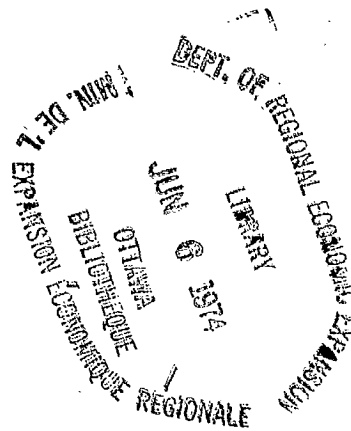
MIGRATION DU  
MILIEU RURAL  
(KENT, N. B.)  
À DESTINATION  
D'UN GRAND  
CENTRE URBAIN  
(MONTREAL)

A STUDY OF  
MIGRATION FROM  
A RURAL SETTING  
(KENT, N. B.)  
TO A LARGE URBAN  
CONGLOMERATE  
(MONTREAL)

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## A STUDY OF MIGRATION FROM A RURAL SETTING (KENT, N.B.) TO A LARGE URBAN CONGLOMERATE (MONTREAL)

In a modern society where the information media make all aware of the outward signs of welfare and wealth, the harmonious development of the underdeveloped areas of a country like ours becomes an essential condition of national unity. The progress of education and the increased resistance of the new generation to a strictly material interpretation of progress also make illusory any attempt at development which does not take into account the deep psychological motivations of the populations of these underdeveloped areas.

The Federal Government, aware of that reality, no longer intends to think of development solely in terms of concrete and steel, but it intends to consider the psycho-sociological dimension of development. To this end, it was decided to first of all reach an understanding of the population of the county of Kent, its hopes and concerns, rather than merely measure the progress of its evolution by means of the usual indicators.

Within the framework of this sociological study of the county of Kent, it was advisable to give prime importance to the problem of migrations. The emigrant, in fact, represents a limit case in terms of social dissatisfaction: he is the one for whom the imbalance between the advantages and disadvantages of the environment determines the plunge into the unknown.

It is a well known fact, however, that the decision to emigrate is not based solely on the conditions of the place left, but on the contrary comes from a comparison between the circumstances which prevail at the place of origin and those which the emigrant hopes to find at the point of arrival. Also it would be over-simplifying matters to claim a knowledge of the socio-economic climate of a region simply from viewing the rate of emigration; one must also know the individual characteristics of the emigrants, the concrete reality of the place to which they are going, especially the subjective opinion which they have of the living conditions at the point of arrival, all in order to appraise the true sacrifice freely and knowingly made by the emigrant. It is this sacrifice which is a sign of the dissatisfaction, and hence the unrest existing at the point of origin.

Although the existing statistics make it possible to know the scope of the migration phenomenon in the county of Kent and surrounding area, the information was not complete enough to permit interpretation of that phenomenon. This study was undertaken in order to palliate that

difficulty, and we are pleased to submit the various results with a few brief comments which point out their usefulness.

Before proceeding with a discussion of the results, a few reservations should, however, be made concerning the conclusions which may be drawn therefrom, reservations which are due mainly to the method used.

Let us note first of all the size of the sampling: 50 questionnaires cannot easily offer unquestionable results. However, it can be said that, in view of the budgetary limitations imposed on us, a sampling of that size was necessary, and there is nothing to prevent considering the operation as a preliminary investigation, in which case the results are only more satisfactory. Furthermore, the limited nature of the investigation made it possible for us to include a number of open questions and to give the time necessary for a serious study of the various replies given.

It should also be pointed out that all the interviews took place in Montreal. This would naturally have introduced an inadmissible factor in our investigation if our purpose had been to define the typical emigrant from the county of Kent. As our purpose, on the contrary, was to study the motivations, it was preferable to limit the problem to a clear choice Kent-Montreal, in order to make sure of the homogeneity of the data of the problem. This restriction, moreover, does not offer any real disadvantages in terms of the use of the results, if one accepts the hypothesis that work as such is the determining factor for the vast majority of the emigrants from Kent.

We shall now proceed with a brief analysis of the replies given to the thirty-five specific questions submitted to those interviewed; subsequently we shall draw a few brief conclusions concerning the characteristics and behaviour of the emigrant from Kent to Montreal; finally, we shall conclude with a few recommendations concerning the follow-ups which should be made to this modest study.

1. How long have you been residing in Montreal?

The replies ranged from 2 to 22 years, the average stay being 9.98 years. This sampling does not permit drawing conclusions concerning the possible acceleration of the phenomenon, but it is possible that a subsequent investigation would reveal cycles adhering quite closely to the highs and lows of economic conjuncture; it is noted, for example, that only 10% of the persons interviewed left Kent during the years 56, 57 and 58, while 26% emigrated during

the period 61, 62, 63. As the mode corresponds to 1963, one can suppose that the maximum emigration follows (time lag) the lows of the conjuncture by approximately a year.

2. What locality do you come from?

Our sampling, by definition, comes from the east coast of New Brunswick, i.e., the county of Kent and other counties offering marked similarities as to prevailing economic conditions.

3. When you left that place, did you come directly to Montreal?

Ninety per cent of the persons questioned came directly to Montreal, which seems to confirm the hypothesis of a clear choice between the point of origin and the predetermined destination. Two replies indicate an intermediary stay in Halifax, which permits one to suppose that that city can also be a point of attraction for the inhabitants of Kent. Naturally, only an investigation in Kent itself would make it possible to compare the strength of the two poles of attraction. The formula used for the investigation does not permit us to consider the phenomenon of migrations over two generations of the type Kent-Halifax-Montreal or Kent-Moncton/St. John-Montreal, classical process of migration from the rural area to the metropolis.

4. If not, what were your stops?

See 3 above.

5. How old were you when you left?

The average (24.86) proves less significant here than the median (21.2). If the sampling offers the usual concentration of emigrants by the class of 21 to 30 years, we should point out the almost complete absence of emigrants of the class 31 to 35 years (only 1 case), and the considerable representation on the contrary of those under 20 years (32%). Naturally, it will be desirable to keep this distribution by age in mind when examining the other characteristics which follow. Let us note also that it would be advisable for the NewStart projects to recall that the moment of decision comes very young in the lives of the inhabitants of Kent.



6. You were then:
- |                             |    |
|-----------------------------|----|
| a. single                   | 29 |
| b. married without children | 11 |
| c. father of a family       | 9  |
| d. other                    | 1  |
7. Did you leave:
- |                              |    |
|------------------------------|----|
| a. alone                     | 32 |
| b. with parents              | 6  |
| c. with wife and/or children | 12 |
8. After your settling in Montreal, did you send for:
- |  |    |
|--|----|
| a. your parents and brothers and sisters | 15 |
| b. wife and children                     | 10 |
| c. friends                               | 1  |
| d. no one                                | 24 |

The description by age which we saw above explains almost completely the results given by these three questions, including the considerable proportion of parents who come to join the emigrant who has already settled. Note the number of those who can leave, temporarily leaving behind them the wife and children, and compare it with the small number of those who after settling were followed by friends. This seems to indicate that the community structure of Kent is still largely centred around the principle of the enlarged family, main source of mutual assistance.

9. When you decided to come to Montreal, were you:
- |                       |    |
|-----------------------|----|
| a. studying           | 8  |
| b. without work       | 20 |
| c. a seasonal worker  | 12 |
| d. a full time worker | 10 |
| e. other (specify)    |    |

A close examination of these replies reveals that eight persons who replied that they were studying foresaw no possibility of finding work; the seasonal workers in no case had the possibility of ensuring their livelihood as a result of the income from seasonal work; of the ten full time workers, two left Kent without quitting their jobs, having been transferred by their company, and in both cases the

individuals concerned belonged to a higher age group than the average, 35 and 45 years. Two others indicated the intention of pursuing their studies. The majority, however, of those who had full time work left it because they were not getting sufficient remuneration.

10. By juxtaposing these two questions, one can compare the reaction of those interviewed to a closed question and an  
and  
11. open question. It will be noted that in this specific case, the difference was limited generally to the use of more specific and more delectable vocabulary in the case of the open question: the real reasons for the departure are well known:

10. Generally speaking, why did you leave?

11. Here are the main reasons given to us by the people already questioned.

Classify by order of preference the three which apply best in your case.

a. I could not find any work at all	25
b. I could not find any work in my field	3
c. I wanted to earn more money	16
d. I didn't like the type of life there	2
e. I did not like the country	-
f. Other	4

It is obvious that economic motivation comes first, under its two aspects of lack of work and lack of money, and that the emigrant from Kent does not really feel any true alienation from the environment and is rather motivated by a reaction to the financial difficulties which he has there.

12. What were the main difficulties you had when you arrived in Montreal?

The difficulties experienced by the emigrant on his arrival in Montreal may be set down in three main categories in the light of the replies obtained. First of all, difficult adaptation to the urban way of life, which is not astonishing if one takes into account the circumstances which prevail in the emigrant's original environment. Under this heading, we can note the difficulties in finding accommodation, in finding

their way about in the Metropolis, in providing for the education of the children in programmes compatible with their previous studies, etc. Secondly, difficulty in finding employment, which, if it is easily explained by someone who knows the situation in the Metropolis, is a little astonishing when one considers the situation of the emigrant on the labour market. In fact, the vast majority of recent arrivals had no previous work experience, even part-time. From that point of view, the difficulties encountered could have been a minor concern for them. No doubt, we can deduce from this that the emigrant, when he leaves, tends to overestimate the possibilities of employment offered in the urban environment. It is surprising, on the other hand, that, under the circumstances, the number of them who return home is negligible, see above. Thirdly: the language is often mentioned as a major obstacle at the time of arrival; this point could be cleared up by further studies.

13. Here are some of the main difficulties which have already been pointed out to us.

Explain the two which apply best in your case:

- |                                 |    |
|---------------------------------|----|
| a. accommodation                | 8  |
| b. difficulty in making friends | 2  |
| c. no difficulty                | 18 |
| d. finding a job                | 22 |

Question 13 reformulates question 12 in a closed form and confirms the results thereof.

14. At the time you left, how many years of schooling did you have?

- |                    |    |
|--------------------|----|
| a. 6 years or less | 8  |
| b. 7 years         | 9  |
| c. 8 years         | 10 |
| d. 9 years         | 10 |
| e. 10 years        | 6  |
| f. 11 years        | 7  |

We see that the average years of schooling is 8.6 years and that 26% of the emigrants had 10 or more years of schooling. We must guard against drawing from these figures hasty conclusions which would indicate that the emigrant from the county of Kent has more schooling than the average of the population; in fact, if we take into account the age groups



and their representation in our sampling, the opposite conclusion seems imperative. We do not believe, however, that the level of schooling explains the phenomenon of migration in the specific case of Kent; the absence of employment seems to exist at all levels.

15. Have you had other types of training?

Twenty-six per cent of the persons questioned gave an affirmative answer; about half of them received that training after their departure from the east coast of New Brunswick. The courses taken were divided almost equally between those which lead to the production sector and those which lead to the services sector.

16. What was the last job you had over a period of at least one month or more, before leaving?

As we have already pointed out, the work experience before departure was generally limited; let us note, however, that several have some experience in the construction field and that some state that they have worked as truck drivers. This relative lack of experience no doubt explains some of the results which we will find in question 25 and indicates a high rate of mobility.

17. What was your salary?

The average of the emigrants' salaries at the time of departure was lower than fifty dollars a week. This plain fact is no doubt the explaining factor par excellence and cross-checks quite well the information we obtained concerning the reasons for departure.

18. How had you learned that trade?

a. in your family	11
b. at work	36
c. training school	3
d. other	-

Only 6% of the emigrants obtained professional training for the trade they practised. It is clear that not only is on the job training the almost universal means of adaptation to the labour market on the east coast of New Brunswick, but also that those who took the trouble to obtain additional formal training did not, in the majority of cases, succeed in

increasing their income or even in finding steady employment.

19. How long did it take you to learn that trade?

The training period is quite unprecise, as in the majority of cases it was on the job training. This subjective opinion on the training time reveals quite well the occupational level of the emigrants and also the opinion which they have of the tasks entrusted to them.

20. And are you practising the same occupation here?

a. Yes	11
b. No	39

Taking into account the trades practised at the place of origin, this inter-occupational mobility seems natural.

21. What is your present occupation?

Taking into account only those who changed occupation, we note that it is not often a question of a vertical promotion, or even of mobility which could lead to it. Everything goes on as if the unqualified or semi-qualified worker from New Brunswick came to Montreal to fill a position of the same level, the improvement in his condition coming rather from an improvement in the general level and from more abundant work possibilities, not from an actual individual evolution.

22. How did you learn that trade:

a. At work	36
b. Professional school	3
c. Other	-

This confirms the impression of the previous question, and we notice that on the job training remains the preferred type of training.

23. How long did you take to learn that trade?

See 22.

24. When you arrived in Montreal, how long did it take you to find a job?

a. 1 to 15 days	28
b. 16 to 30 days	8
c. over one month	14

Although the fact that the times of arrival varied greatly makes it impossible to compare these figures with the situation of a Montreal worker with the same qualifications, it seems that two interesting conclusions can be drawn from these results: Firstly, it does not seem that the person arriving from New Brunswick is particularly at a disadvantage on the Montreal labour market; on the contrary, it would seem that he can find a job at least as quickly as a native Montrealer. Of course, this applies at the very low level of qualifications at which he works. We can presume that the difficulty in adapting to the Montreal situation on the part of the worker from New Brunswick is more than compensated for by these lower requirements in terms of remuneration. An additional study would be necessary to analyse the impact of his belonging to a union or not, both in terms of salary and in terms of the period preceding the first job. Secondly, this figure confirms our opinion with respect to question 12 to the effect that the emigrant from New Brunswick has an unrealistic view of the possibility of employment in Montreal.

25. Can you give me a list of the various jobs you have had since your arrival:

a. 1 job	11
b. 2 jobs	19
c. 3 jobs	12
d. 4 jobs	6
e. 5 jobs or more	2

As we mentioned earlier, the emigrant from New Brunswick to Montreal is mobile enough, but not excessively, quite close to the general average for the level of employment at which he practises his occupation.

26. How much are you earning now?

The average remuneration and the median of salaries is between \$100 and \$125 per week, which is an increase of 250% over his remuneration before his departure.

27. What exactly is your present employment?

See question 16 and question 21.

The definition of the tasks performed by the emigrant from New Brunswick to Montreal does not invalidate our previous

conclusions as to the absence of a real promotion. Except for a few exceptional cases, the emigrants in principle are at the same situation on the curve of Montreal salaries as that they occupied on the curve at their place of origin. Only the difference in the averages made it possible for them to get over the subsistence level.

28. Do you have other qualifications which you are not using at the moment? What are they?

- |        |    |
|--------|----|
| a. Yes | 3  |
| b. No  | 47 |

It should be pointed out that the majority of those who took additional training courses, even those who do not actually take advantage of them, reply negatively to that question. This attitude in the light of training acquired would deserve more complete examination.

29. Have you a certificate of occupational competence? And where did you obtain it?

- |                     |    |
|---------------------|----|
| a. Yes              | 7  |
| b. No               | 43 |
| c. In Montreal      | 5  |
| d. In New Brunswick | 2  |

This reply was to be expected taking into account the occupational level already noted.

30. Do you intend to remain permanently in Montreal?

- |                         |    |
|-------------------------|----|
| a. Would like to return | 2  |
| b. No                   | 1  |
| c. Yes                  | 45 |
| d. Don't know           | 2  |

The conclusion is clear and there is no need for comments.

31. What advice would you give to someone from home who would like to come and settle here?

- |                                |    |
|--------------------------------|----|
| a. Study, learn a trade        | 46 |
| b. Come alone, before family   | 4  |
| c. Learn English               | 2  |
| d. Make contacts before coming | 6  |
| e. Think it over well before   | 4  |
| f. Do not come                 | 4  |

It is obvious that contact with the Montreal environment made the emigrants aware of the necessity for studying and learning a trade. It would perhaps be desirable, within the framework of the NewStart project, to take advantage of this experience by using on the spot, in the county of Kent, for information purposes, certain persons who experienced Montreal life and are prepared to give their fellow citizens the benefit of their experience.

32. How old are you?  
a. 35 years (See question 1 and 5)

33. Are you:
- |                          |               |
|--------------------------|---------------|
| a. single                | 4             |
| b. married               | 45            |
| c. widower               | -             |
| d. separated or divorced | 1 (separated) |

Taking into account the migration age, the length of the stay and the marital status of the newcomers, this reply does not call for any comments.

34. Have you any children? How many?
- |                       |    |
|-----------------------|----|
| a. 0 children         | 9  |
| b. 1 child            | 3  |
| c. 2 children         | 11 |
| d. 3 children         | 14 |
| e. 4 children         | 6  |
| f. 5 or more children | 7  |

35. Have you any dependents other than your wife and children?  
How many?
- |        |    |
|--------|----|
| a. Yes | 4  |
| b. No  | 46 |

We could conclude the interpretation of the results of this investigation by tracing the profile of the emigrant from New Brunswick to Montreal. Having mediocre education, he attempts for two or three years to find work at home. Realizing the economic stagnation of the region, he leaves to seek his fortune in Montreal, generally alone or, if he has children, leaving them in the care of a close relative. When he arrives in the Metropolis, he experiences some difficulty in adapting and is worried about not being able to find work as quickly as expected. That worry is due

generally only to an overestimation of the possibilities of employment and in fact he settles down within a reasonable period. Hired without any special qualifications, he will quickly learn the rudiments of an occupation which he has chosen, if possible, similar to the one he had before his departure. Once he is integrated in the mass of Montreal workers, he will change occupation at approximately the same rate as they do, will earn an identical wage and will occupy on the social scale a position similar to that he occupied before his departure. There is one important difference, however: his salary will have more than doubled and he will not have any intention of returning home. He is perfectly well aware of the necessity for education and occupational training, but he is also aware of the little value of the complementary training he may have acquired.

We should like to conclude this study by suggesting a further investigation in the county of Kent itself, an investigation which, using a more considerable sampling, would make possible an adequate stratification and the collection of significant data on the various categories to be determined. We are thinking particularly of an investigation among the local population which would make it possible to determine the intention to emigrate and the conditions of implementation of that idea. It would also be desirable to use the close family relationships which exist in the region to determine the present residence of a valid sampling of recent emigrants. It would then be possible to make an investigation on the typical emigrant, the one who emigrates to Halifax or St. John as well as the one who goes to Montreal. It would be possible at the same time to determine the true percentage of those who return, as our present sampling is naturally biased in that connection.

We trust that this project will be followed up, in which case the investigation already made would take on the value of a preliminary investigation among a specific group of the population. We believe that an investigation of that kind could establish in a conclusive way most of the hypotheses which this study has allowed us to make.

On the basis of the data collected, there is, however, no doubt that the almost complete absence of openings on the labour market is the main motivation for emigration to Montreal of New Brunswick workers. This conclusion should normally result in the establishment of some system permitting a close connection between the training projects of the NewStart corporation and the authorized public bodies likely to increase the labour market in the pilot area.

