

Weaving Our Stories of Displacement: Gender, Place, and Identity in Newfoundland

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Weaving Our Stories of Displacement: Gender, Place and Identity in Newfoundland

*“She’s a rocky isle on the ocean
And she’s pounded by wind from the sea
You might think that she’s rugged and cold
But she’s home sweet home to me.”*
(Chaulk, 1993)

“The truth about stories is that’s all we are.”
(King, 2008, p. 14)

*“There is a wonderful Newfoundland and Labrador image: the dory.
When you row a dory, you do not look in the direction in which you are going;
but, in looking at the wharf or beach you have left,
you are able to guide your way to the new place”*
(Young, Davis, & Igloliorte, 2003, p. vi)

Introduction

The island of Newfoundland¹ is one of two geographical regions that make up the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. The island is the traditional territory of the Mi’kmaq and Beothuk people from time immemorial. Historically a British colony, which enjoyed a brief period of independent government from 1855 to 1934, the province was the last to join Canada in 1949 (Jackson, 1993). In 2014, the province’s population was 526,977 people with almost 95 percent of the population living on the island (Economics and Statistics Branch, 2015). Both politically and culturally, Newfoundland and Labrador is a unique province within Canada. Many dimensions of that political and cultural distinctiveness are discussed in detail in this thesis.

¹ Throughout the thesis, I regularly refer to the island of Newfoundland as ‘the island,’ indicating I am only discussing the island portion of the province.

“The Song for Newfoundland” (quoted above) was written by Wayne Chaulk in 1993, and has been beloved since that time by Newfoundlanders both at home and away². This folk song is one of hundreds that celebrate Newfoundlanders’ pride in the place we call home and our deep sense of collective identity. This collective identity is drawn from a culture and history shaped by deep emotional attachments to land and sea, and profound feelings of being distinct from other Canadians. If you ask many Newfoundlanders about being Canadian, they will likely tell you they are 100 percent, without a doubt, Newfoundlanders first. Through the course of this research, I have learned that what it means to be a Newfoundlander is defined by stories – like those told in folk songs, taught in our school system, and shared in families over a cup of tea. The most prominent stories are those of overcoming hardship and feeling loss after facing changes to your way of life. The second type of stories are the focus of my research. They are stories of displacement – of loss of sense of place and sense of identity – due to a move from the place you call home or a disconnection from culture and tradition.

I am a Newfoundlander, “born and bred,” in the words of another popular Newfoundland folk song.³ Where I come from is an important part of my personal, cultural, and political identities, and this work honours those parts of who I am. I grew up in a small outport community called Epworth, and while I have been living away for almost seven years now, I still consider that place, and the island more generally, my home. The motivation for this research and the choice of studying connected stories of displacement through colonization,

² ‘Home and away’ is a common binary cliché in Newfoundland, where ‘away’ is anywhere not on the island.

³ The song I reference here is “The Islander,” which has been popularized through the performances of The Navigators and Shanneyganock.

resettlement, and outmigration have emerged from several critical incidents in my own lived experience and my family's history. Epworth is the same community where my father's ancestors had originally settled after migrating from England in the mid-1800s. I was raised in a family that values oral history, and stories of the hardships of settlement and resettlement were a central part of learning about my family's history and establishing our identity as Newfoundlanders. Pride in and connection to place, land and sea, were something that I was taught by my family to value. Exploring the two resettled communities near my home, including the community where my grandmother grew up, was a frequent adventure throughout my childhood. Moving from this place to Ontario for university at the age of 17 was quite unsettling for me, as I soon realized that things I had been accustomed to, and taken for granted, like the landscape, values and language, did not exist in the same forms on the mainland of Canada. The startling realization in an Indigenous Studies course in my undergraduate degree that I knew very little about the legacy of colonization and the life of Indigenous peoples in Newfoundland prompted me to begin to ask some critical questions about the history I had been formally and informally taught about where I come from and whose stories were being left out. The final piece of this story happened when I was asked a question during my Rhodes scholarship interview about the value of tiny outport communities like my own in contemporary Newfoundland in light of the immense costs involved for the provincial government to maintain public services. There I experienced, for the first time, a blatant dismissal of the value of the place I call home and was exposed to the strong neoliberal school of thought among policy makers that assumes that centralization and restructuring is a progressive step for the development of our province. My thesis is designed to unite these experiences through

exploring how colonization, resettlement and living away in the context of Newfoundland can be understood as related stories of displacement.

Like me, almost every Newfoundlander knows a story about displacement. They know fishermen devastated by the closure of the fishery in 1992. They know young men who work in the Alberta oil sands because there are few jobs at home. These stories are familiar, but overwhelmingly, they are the stories of men, and typically men with English or Irish heritage. In my research, I ask whose stories and what kinds of stories are not being told, and then beginning to imagine how we can tell some different stories – diverse women’s stories of displacement. One of these stories is that of a Mi’kmaw woman who has only very recently been able to know her heritage and connect with her Indigenous culture. Another story is that of a woman who still considers an abandoned outport community home despite being forced to leave it over 40 years ago. Then there are the stories of some women who leave the province for university who fear they are somehow being ‘bad’ Newfoundlanders for making that choice. I have chosen to focus specifically on diverse Newfoundland women’s experiences of displacement as women’s voices are largely absent in much of the academic work on Newfoundland and the importance of a gendered lens has not been widely embraced by researchers who focus on the province.

This thesis begins with my conceptual framework, followed by research objectives and questions, a literature review, a methodology and methods section, and a brief intersectional analysis section. Given my future career plans in academia, a discussion early in the writing process with my supervisor led me to decide to write an article-based thesis, instead of a more traditional monograph. This thesis contains four articles that are to be submitted to four

different scholarly journals for consideration for publication. Three of these articles are intended to replace the traditional findings and discussion sections of a monograph thesis. These articles are: “Exploring the Politics of Displacement: Neoliberalism, Colonialism and Women’s Lives in Newfoundland,” “Living Away and Longing For Home: Newfoundland Outmigration, Diaspora and the Question of Return,” and “Implicating Colonizations: (Re)Storying Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk As Place.” Between each of these articles is a short reflection piece, which helps the articles to flow together and illustrates reflections on the research process that do not appear elsewhere in the thesis. The remaining article, “Collaborative Poetic Processes: Reflections and Insights from Newfoundland,” is a methodology article illustrating the innovative collaborative poetic process that I used with some participants in this thesis. The final major section before the conclusion includes a fact sheet which presents some key findings and policy recommendations, reflecting my commitments to accessible mediums that can lead to social change.

Interspersed throughout the text are pieces that I like to think of as poetic interludes. Like musical interludes, these poems provide a transition between sections in the wider work. Their purpose is to invite us to take a step back, to remember that there are multiple ways of knowing and being, and to reconnect with the materiality and emotion that cannot be separated from experiences of displacement for Newfoundland women. Some poems represent my own experience, and are part of my process of reflexivity, in making my vulnerabilities and positionality in relation to this work visible. Many others are the stories of women who have participated in my research, written by me based on their interview transcripts, which is

indicated where the poems appear. Two women, Mary and Margaret, accepted my offer to co-write poems about their stories, and that is also indicated where their poems appear.

In this thesis, I start the process of weaving diverse Newfoundland women's stories of displacement, with the stories that are already being told about Newfoundland as place and Newfoundland identity by scholars, policy makers, folk songs, and Newfoundland families, again recognizing that there are multiple ways of knowing and representing knowledge. Making connections between women's experiences of displacement makes visible the systems and structures of power that shape displacement on the island, and give us an analysis that can lead to tools for social change. The process of doing this work gives me hope that maybe someday our songs and stories about our pride in the island and people that make Newfoundland "home sweet home" will tell a more complete story – one that incorporates women's diverse experiences of displacement.

Haunted

My father told me whispers
of writings on the rocks
on the hill overlooking our home.

Symbols no one know
And the government man dismissed
– not important to history.

One fall I combed that hill
consumed by whispers
of writings on the rocks.

Finding no evidence
my inner child archaeologist
put the whispers to rest, forgotten.

These days I am consumed
with whispers of writings
on the rocks, remembered.

And questions of whose histories
lived in the writings on the rocks
put to rest, forgotten
to make this place our home.

Conceptual Framework

Displacement, as a phenomenon and process, is grounded in a nuanced perception of place. In this work, I understand place – both land and sea – in Newfoundland as an essential component of personal and community identity as well as the subject of a deep emotional attachment, building on the work of scholars in the fields of humanistic geography and environmental psychology (Hernández, Carmen Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace, & Hess, 2007; Marcu, 2012; Proshansky, 1978; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1990). Displacement is a loss or disruption of this piece of identity tied to place, which has an impact on wellbeing. Within this framework, colonization, resettlement and living away can be understood as displacements as well as physical dislocations.

The lens of feminist geography allows me to complicate this notion of displacement, and understand place as “a site of multiple identities and histories” which are socially constructed (Cresswell, 2004, p. 74; Massey, 1994; Rose, 1993, 1995). That sense of place or place identity is a social difference which, like other social differences (gender, race, class, etc.) that together intersect to inform our identities, are subject to relations of power which privilege certain senses of place while marginalizing others (Yuval-Davis, 2007). This understanding builds on feminist intersectionality (Morris & Bunjun, 2007) which enables us to recognize that our

displacement is the product of systems of power which overlap to produce distinct experiences of privilege and oppression, as well as define whose stories are included in the identity of Newfoundlander and whose stories are excluded. An intersectional feminist framework allows me to honour the complexity of diverse women's stories and see the links between the systems of power that affect each woman's displacement. Intersectionality encourages a multi-level analysis, from the global to the local and the structural to the embodied, as well as due consideration of the implications of colonization, neoliberalism, and globalization and other related systems of power to our work (Hankivsky et al., 2012; Morris & Bunjun, 2007). The lens of intersectionality allows researchers to pinpoint how women and other marginalized groups are differentially affected by these systems of power, and how discourses influenced by racism, neoliberalism and colonization privilege certain identities and subjects.

As a settler⁴ living in a colonial state⁵, I consider decolonization to be an essential guiding principle in my scholarly and activist work and an ongoing personal journey of social and political transformation.

The word 'decolonizing' signifies a complex notion whose meanings are shifting and evolving. It can, at once, be understood as: a process of *acknowledging* the history of colonialism; working to *undo* the effects of colonialism; striving to *unlearn* habits, attitudes, and behaviours that continue to perpetuate colonialism; and *challenging* and *transforming* institutional manifestations of colonialism. (Reinsborough & Barndt, 2010, p. 161; emphasis in original)

⁴ A person not indigenous to the place I live and call home, and who occupies a position of privilege in relation the colonial system.

⁵ A state which is founded upon a system of colonization of Indigenous peoples and lands.

A very basic step in doing decolonizing work is recognizing that Newfoundland (Ktaqmkuk – “across the waves/water”) has been the traditional territory of the Mi’kmaq and Beothuk people since time immemorial and that the island was never ceded to the British or French Crown or the settler population, but was instead seized and occupied under the doctrine of Terra Nullius (Bartels & Bartels, 2005; Lawrence, 2009; Sable & Francis, 2012, p. 22). Scholarly work that uses a decolonizing framework is especially necessary in the context of Newfoundland because so much of the island’s colonial history and ongoing colonization remains invisible to a large portion of the population and is not a part of policy and decision-making processes. This is certainly the case for many other areas of Canada as well. Why this is the case in Newfoundland is explored further in the later articles of this thesis. I also see colonization as the first displacement, which then allowed settlement and resettlement on the island to occur. This research represents a piece of my own process of decolonization. In terms of decolonization, “a principal site of learning for many non-Indigenous participants is awakening to their own personal, family, and community histories” (Davis & Shpuniarsky, 2010, p. 341). I see this process of awakening and relearning histories in relation to my understanding of the island as place as constituting one of the most valuable parts of the research process for me.

Best Days

I love the sea when she is angry
Swells surging and breaking
over the sunken
hidden, lying in wait in the inlet.

Waves race towards my spot on the shore
Playfully rolling, tumbling, wrestling

Then rising, cresting, peaking until
The water hits land,
Diffuses the tension, gently reaches up
To kiss my feet.

Briefly pausing
before being drawn back out
to build momentum
So she can rush in once again.

Research Objectives and Questions

The objective of my research is to explore how colonization, resettlement and ‘living away’ are related stories of displacement for Newfoundland women, which have been shaped by similar political, social, and economic forces. These forces include, but are not limited to, colonization, imperialism, capitalism, neoliberalism, economic restructuring, and globalization. I have gathered the stories of individual women who have been affected by one or more of these displacements and explored how these forces have played a role in their stories, through their particular gendered and social positionality.

My research focuses on four interrelated questions: How have Newfoundland women formed connection to the island as place? What has caused our displacement? How has this displacement affected our sense of identity and overall wellbeing? How can these understandings inform and enrich future government policy that has the potential to affect displacement? I see connection to the island as place as something that can be broadly defined. It is highly dependent on individual women’s identities and histories in relation to this place. It is not my aim to create sweeping generalizations about displacement in the context of Newfoundland or assume that all women’s displacements are the same. I want to illustrate the

full(er) story of the multiple interconnected causes of a woman's displacement, believing that there is great possibility for comparable threads of experience among diverse women and collective experiences of displacement. In reviewing the literature, and based on my own experience, I believe that displacement does have an effect on a woman's sense of identity, and this can have implications for the overall wellbeing of both individuals and communities. I also contend that if these women's stories are heard, the provincial and federal government can be compelled to take these considerations into account when making policy decisions on issues such as job creation, resource development and resettlement, which will ideally result in more equitable policies and less displacement.

As a feminist researcher, I have a commitment to creating academic work that has the potential to lead to social change (Pillow & Mayo, 2012). I hope that my research will broaden conversations around Newfoundland identity, and work towards facilitating our collective decolonization. As a settler academic, I consider a commitment to decolonization to be a prerequisite of doing research that is accountable to the presence and experiences of Indigenous peoples. I am very aware that discussions of Newfoundland identity often rely on essentialized and stereotyped notions⁶ of what it means to be a Newfoundlander and of the island as place, which exclude many members of our communities. I hope that by including the perspectives of Indigenous women, women who have experienced resettlement, and women who are 'living away' that we can move beyond this essentialism and challenge the boundaries that have been erected around our 'identity.' By including these marginalized voices, and

⁶ An example of this would be statements to the effect that that all Newfoundlanders are fisherpeople, or that all Newfoundlanders have white/European heritage. While these statements are true for many people on the island, they are not true for all people.

making visible the connections between these stories of displacement, we can create much more vibrant and inclusive notions of Newfoundland identities, which will hopefully be a starting place for healing from our losses of sense of place and continuing strengthening our connections as Newfoundlanders across these differences.

Silence Tells You More Than Words Ever Could

I step through the door and start to kick off my shoes.
“Hello!”
Silence.
“Hi!”
Silence.
It hits me again.
Things are different here.

Literature Review

There are many possible fields of literature that could have informed this work. I have chosen to review five main bodies of literature, which reflect my scholarly and political commitments in this work. The first is theories of place, including perspectives from several sub-fields of geography, psychology, and Indigenous studies. The second is Newfoundland as place, which gives a brief overview of place identity and attachments as well as displacement. The remaining three sections discuss the bodies of literature for each of my three chosen processes of displacement in turn.

Call of the Music

Something comes alive when I hear
an accordion begin to squeeze out a familiar tune.
My feet start tapping,
marking the nuances of the beat.
Bodhran calling.

inviting me to leave my seat.
The fiddle and tin whistle lending their voices,
as my heart flutters with the rhythm of the reel.
I can't resist the call.

I leap into the steps of the dances
first learned as a little girl.
Each tap making my place.
Each hop reaffirming my musical heritage.
Each stomp marking time with the beat of the bar.

And as I dance,
the pure joy of losing myself in the steps of the reel
shown in the beaming smile on my face
and felt in the warm tingling in my heart.

Home or away,
play me a familiar tune
and I'll happily dance all night long.

Theories of Place

This research is timely as place is fashionable in academia and has been for some time (Adams, Hoelscher, & Till, 2001). Place is a word that carries with it multiple meanings and connotations. Adams et al. (2001) state that the concept of place “highlights the weaving together of social relations and human-environment interactions” (p. xiv). Most simply, Sack (2001) writes, in the traditional definitions of Western geography, places are “the countless areas of space that we have bounded and controlled” (p. 232). However, there are certainly Indigenous and feminist views of place that would dispute that definition (Strang, 2005). In this review, I examine some of the most prominent subfields of geography and psychology, as well as Indigenous studies, which have shaped the concept of place in scholarly work.

Humanistic geography offers significant considerations on the nature of place and its importance to human beings. The work of Yi-Fu Tuan has been one of the most influential in

this area. Tuan (1990) has coined the term 'topophilia' to describe the loving bond that often exists between people and places. He asserts that topophilia has a concrete effect on the wellbeing of individuals (Tuan, 1990). Tuan (1990) also believes that a sense of lived history within place contributes to and strengthens the force of this bond. Place has been recognized by Relph (1976) as an essential part of human identity and as having an impact on wellbeing. My questions are informed by this literature. However, it is important to note that much scholarship in humanistic geography does not account for the role of systems of power (particularly colonization) or how differences in gender, race, ethnicity, class, and other social divisions shape people's bonds to place.

Incorporating feminist viewpoints in geography fills in some of the gaps left by humanistic geography. Feminist geography as a field does not have strict boundaries (Jones, Nast, & Roberts, 1997). However, that being said, Jones et al. (1997) believe that geography and feminism have much to contribute to one another. Indeed, location is very important to feminist research and is a geographic concept. Locating ourselves and our work within relationships of power is a key piece of the reflexivity required in feminist research. Positionality – how we are positioned as individuals and members of communities – within these relationships of power contributes to experiences of privilege and oppression. Like location, positionality is a construct that also relies on an understanding of geography (Nagar, 1997).

Feminist geography has much to lend to the understanding of place in the context of my research. Fundamentally, feminist geographers have given us the understanding that place is socially constructed. Place can be described as “social relations that are located in space and

time, yet are implicated in wider historical, cultural and geographical processes” (Hallett, 2010, p. 176). Phrased differently, Pulido (1997) writes “I understand space not as a container or empty playing field, but rather as constituted by social relations. This would include such things as patterns of capital investment, class struggle, agency, and racism, to name but a few” (p. 19). Analyzing the dynamics of social relationships and relationships of power in place is the primary focus of feminist geographers (Hallett, 2010). Hanson (1997) describes the project of feminist geography as two-fold – exploring “how gendered identities, and the unequal power relations embedded in those identities, shape distinctive places and how, in turn, gendered experiences and identities are molded by space, place and geography” (p. 121). In the context of my questions, the lens provided by feminist geography allows me to see place as a non-neutral object of study and creates possibilities for examining different senses of place among women who share the same physical space of the island of Newfoundland.

Place and who belongs in place are being determined through social relationships of power. Place belonging is often closely connected to ethnicity. Wicks (2010) writes place “boundaries are created, reproduced, and maintained from within, outside of, and across ethnic groups, and the monitoring of such boundaries is governed by constraints limiting or enabling particular social interactions” (p. 138). However, it is important to recognize that, even among individuals of a particular social or ethnic group, ‘Newfoundlanders’ for example, connections to place are not homogenous (Duncan & Duncan, 2001). Pulido (1997) states, “The politics of a particular place-based identity are a function of both the various subject-positions of the actor as well as the larger political objectives in which one is engaged” (p. 19). Other social divisions, such as gender, age, and language, and systems and institutions of power, such

as capitalism, colonization, and government, contribute to shaping individuals' and communities' connections to place. The constructions of place-based identities often rely on nostalgia to police the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion, which is readily apparent in the context of Newfoundland (Pulido, 1997). Nostalgia can function to exclude individuals whose identities do not fit within the dominant model of place belonging.

The role of place in personal identity and the impact of displacement on wellbeing has moved from humanistic geography in recent years and has been taken up by the psychology community, particularly in reference to the experiences of refugees and other forced migrants. These experiences of forced displacement carry many similarities to the displacements I explore in this research, and thus scholarship within this subfield has many relevant insights for my work. Hernández et al. (2007) discuss place identity as inseparable from personal identity. The concept of place identity was first developed by Proshansky in 1978. He writes:

By place-identity we mean those dimensions of self that define the individual's personal identity in relation to the physical environment by means of a complex pattern of conscious and unconscious ideas, beliefs, preferences, feelings, values, goals, and behavioral tendencies and skills relevant to this environment. (p. 155; emphasis removed)

Psychology research shows that place identity begins to develop around the age of 6 and continues throughout the life cycle (Hernández et al., 2007; Proshansky, 1978; Sandberg, 2003). Anagnostopoulos, Vlassopoulos and Lazaratou (2006) state that place identity is very important for adolescent development as identity markers and a sense of belonging develop in a specific environment, which is disrupted in the process of displacement. Proshansky (1978) situates place as having the same impact on personal identity as other social divisions such as sex, class,

ethnicity and religion. Following this thought, Kelly (2010) asserts that “loss and dislocation can be viewed as an assault on identity, a challenge to the very constitution of who we are and who we see ourselves to be” (pp. 18-19). Profound feelings of grief and loss are commonly associated with migration and displacement. Displacement has been linked to many negative effects on individuals’ wellbeing, including post-traumatic stress disorder, anxiety, sleep disorders, depression, and an increased presence of aggressive or violent behaviour (Anagnostopoulos et al., 2006; Fazel & Stein, 2002). In Canada, Devine-Wright (2013) notes that there is strong regional and provincial place attachment, unlike many other industrialized nations. There is also a strong tradition within Canada of families staying in places near where their ancestors originally settled. As well, travel and high levels of mobility are thought to increase attachment to place (Devine-Wright, 2013). These patterns hold true in the context of Newfoundland, as many people living away report retaining strong connections to home (Moore, 2011).

Indigenous views of place have only recently been given voice within academic literature but have valuable insights on this topic. While there is considerable diversity among Indigenous peoples and nations in Canada and around the world, many Indigenous perspectives on place share commonalities, summed up aptly by Monture and McGuire (2009): “The land is who we are as peoples. To know who you are you must also know where you come from” (p. 3). In Indigenous worldviews, land is not property to be purchased and sold as it is in many Western worldviews, but rather a gift from the Creator and the centre of Indigenous knowledge (Battiste, 2005; Pratt, 2001). Tauli-Corpuz (2006) writes that for her people, the Igorot in the present-day Philippines, “Land is the source of our identity and it provides the material and

spiritual link between past, present and future generations” (p. 13). This understanding is conveyed through Indigenous cultural practices, including stories, songs, dances, and in Indigenous languages themselves (LaDuke, 2006; Strang, 2005). LaDuke (2006) points out that the Anishinaabemowin phrase *nishnabe akin* – “we belong to the land” – perfectly expresses the Anishinaabe view of the relationship between people and the land and the responsibilities implicit in that relationship (p.23). Place is not separate from humans in most Indigenous worldviews, but is instead an integral part of a web of relationships. “All around the surface of the earth, Indigenous peoples live in communities where they acquire, develop, and sustain relationships with each other and their environments. By building relationships with the land and its inhabitants, they come to understand the forces around them” (Battiste, 2005, p. 122). While in some respects this view of place differs quite significantly from the views in the academic subfields discussed above, I also see some resonances around the relationship between place and identity within these different paradigms that I explore further in my research.

These understandings of place and place-identity from the fields of humanistic and feminist geography and psychology and from Indigenous thought provide grounding for my thesis research. While little of the existing literature combines understandings of place from more than one of these fields, I see each as having something distinct to contribute to my research on displacement and will be drawing on all four in my work.

Lives Round the Barasway

I wonder what will become
of the cemetery on the rolling hill
rising out of the barasway

I wonder who will carry the memories
of the flourishing fishery
when the stages no longer line the barasway

I wonder who will return
when the road washes out and the bridge falls
its ruins blocking the barasway

I wonder what the ghosts in the cemetery say
as they glide o'er the water
where the abandoned houses surround the barasway.

Newfoundland as Place

Newfoundland has been recognized, both inside the province and across the country, as being a distinct place with its own distinct culture, and home to people with very strong place identities. This is expressed eloquently by Tilley (2010) who states:

I claim, as many other Newfoundlanders do, an identity that evolves out of hard-felt connections to the concrete, material land and sea, to the island. I make claims to a home that is a fixed geographical space, a home that is solid, touchable and able to be seen. (p. 128)

This understanding is somewhat different than more academic conceptions of place described in the section above. However, this is not that surprising as I have often found, as Porter (1993) expresses, “Newfoundland has never fitted easily into either the theoretical generalizations or the policy categories generated elsewhere” (p. 2).

Newfoundland is also the traditional territory of the Beothuk and Mi'kmaq peoples. The Mi'kmaw name for Newfoundland is *Ktaqmkuk* – “across the waves/water” (Sable & Francis, 2012, p. 22). Because many Newfoundlanders who have Mi'kmaq heritage did not publicly

acknowledge their ancestry until the late 1970s, Bartels and Bartels (2005) assert that “Mi’gmaq⁷ culture in Newfoundland was not significantly different from that of many rural Newfoundlanders” for much of the last century (p. 254). Sharpe (2007) notes that settler Newfoundlanders and Mi’kmaq people share similar traditional activities such as hunting and berry picking and that there are high rates of intermarriage between Mi’kmaq people and settler Newfoundlanders. It is important to note that the argument that Mi’kmaq culture is similar to rural Newfoundlanders’ culture was used to justify the exclusion of the Mi’kmaq people from recognition under the *Indian Act* in the process of Newfoundland joining Canada in 1949 (Lyon, 1997). However, many Mi’kmaq communities, such as Flat Bay, retained close connections with their culture and traditions despite the pressures of assimilation.

Displacement is a common theme in the context of Newfoundland. The literature on specific displacements of colonization, resettlement and outmigration will be discussed in the next sections, however, more generally, Kelly and Yeoman (2010) write that there is a “pervasive character of tragedy, hardship, lament, and loss that marks the culture of this place” because of these displacements (p. 7). They believe that this sense of loss ultimately inhibits the development of the province. Kelly (2010) asserts that we, as Newfoundlanders, have not given ourselves adequate time to grieve for the histories, people and places we have lost. This inability to grieve has resulted in constructions of Newfoundland place identities often rely on a healthy dose of nostalgia for pre-Confederation Newfoundland as well as heavy essentialism, in terms of what constitutes ‘authentic’ Newfoundland culture and traditions, and boundary

⁷ This is one of the potential spellings of Mi’kmaq. I have changed all spellings to the spelling preferred by the Qalipu Mi’kmaq First Nation Band and Miawpukek First Nation (‘Mi’kmaq’ or ‘Mi’kmaw’) except in cases of direct quotation.

policing of what constitutes Newfoundland identity. Because of this, new settlers and migrants to the province are not seen as Newfoundlanders, even if they have been living here for years (Kelly, 2010). A type of Newfoundland regionalism or nationalism has developed from dissatisfaction with current political and economic situations and this regionalism or nationalism operates as system of power that affects Newfoundland place identities (Delisle, 2013; Overton, 1996).

The current emphasis on tourism as one of the answers to our province's economic woes does not help to heal our loss of sense of place. Instead, it distinctly privileges a certain conception of place identity and Newfoundland culture that renders other aspects and experiences less visible (Kelly, 2010). The constructions of Newfoundland culture for the tourist gaze are not a neutral process. Overton (1996) writes of these constructions, "They can be a protest against certain conditions or a sigh of oppression, but they are social and historical products and we need to look at the social forces which shape them" (p. 57). A certain class privilege was involved in creating notions of 'real Newfoundland' in the tourist mind, that excludes many working class Newfoundlanders living in rural areas (Overton, 1996). My research moves beyond these stereotypical notions of Newfoundland as place to explore the diversity of women's experiences and connections to the island. The literature on Newfoundland as place has some gender analysis. The identities of Newfoundland women are very much tied to the island as place. Hallett (2010) writes that "in Newfoundland, the physical landscape has always been a striking feature of the place, and is noted as a contributing factor in the nature of the economy, settlement patterns, even the temperament of the people" (p. 78). Kinship relations are a large part of Newfoundland culture and often seen as the

foundation of communities (Hallett, 2010). Small outport communities are often very close-knit as the climate and landscape on the coast sometimes does not create favourable conditions for travel between communities. Women have historically played a strong role in Newfoundland outports as they were typically responsible for ensuring the wellbeing of families and communities and involved in the shore component of the fishery (Porter, 1993). From her fieldwork in the 1980s, Porter (1993) states that she “found outport women to be relatively independent, politically and economically, and moreover, to be in possession of a vibrant and positive women’s culture” (p. 40). However, as the sections below will show, there has been little gender analysis of the impact of displacement specifically on Newfoundland women in academic literature, a neglect I hope my research can begin to remedy.

Soon Be No More
(Victoria’s Story)

To be a Newfoundlander
To live on the island
To be surrounded by ocean
Eat fish from the sea
Vegetables from the land.

My home is a resettlement community
As far as history knows,
Everybody my dad had in his family lived there.
Resettlement was about 20 years ago.

At the last of it,
There was just three people
On the school bus
When we were forced out

Moving was convenient
We had shops
The schools were closer
The hospital was closer
I could see my friends

My mom had a job

But my dad,
To the last,
His heart was always back home.

Today the road's been let go.
The bridge is almost gone
There will soon be no more home.
It is sad.

Colonization

Colonization in Newfoundland is one of the three processes of displacement that is studied in this research. Colonization is understood in this project as both a historical event, as Newfoundland was colonized by several European powers, but also as a system of power that facilitates an ongoing process of dispossession for Indigenous people on the island. In the course of completing this literature review, it has become apparent to me that colonization as a gendered process of displacement has not been afforded significant scholarly attention.

Part of this silence has to do with the fact that colonization is often rendered invisible on the island. A typical story of Newfoundland history begins with the following tale. In 1497, John Cabot 'discovered' Newfoundland and its "apparently endless supply of codfish" which you could easily harvest by simply dipping a basket into the water (Harris, 2008, p. 20; Major, 2001). The land is represented as ripe for the taking by Europeans, with no acknowledgement of the first peoples who had lived there for centuries. Harris (2008) writes, "A few lines on a map served to eviscerate the land of its indigenous knowledge, thus presenting it as empty, untrammelled [*sic*] space available for whatever European imagination wished to do" (p. 21). The literature on colonization in Newfoundland is largely limited to accounts of historical events

and interactions between settlers, the Beothuk and the Mi'kmaq. There has been little effort to place the historical content within any theoretical frameworks of structural power relations such as nation building within settler states, white supremacy or patriarchy. My research questions make some of those structural power relations more visible.

Much of the literature on colonization in Newfoundland focuses on only one of the groups of Indigenous inhabitants of the island at the time of first European colonization, the Beothuk. Marshall (2009) estimates that the population was about 500-700 people before the fifteenth century European contact. Very little is known about the Beothuk from their perspective. The only first-hand knowledge we have comes from two Beothuk women, Shawnadithit and Demasduit, who were captured and held hostage by white settlers in the early 1800s (Neis, 1995). The English men who captured these women saw little wrong with holding them hostage in an effort to learn about their people. Shawnadithit learned English and was able to give a lot of information to William Cormack who was entrusted with her care (Marshall, 2009). Neis (1995) cautions that we must remember that information from Shawnadithit and Demasduit "was largely elicited, selected and interpreted by English men" and thus its validity must be critically examined (p. 2). This is the extent of the readily available gendered analysis of colonization in the context of Newfoundland and is obviously quite limited.

Published information tells us that the Beothuk and Europeans did not typically have an amicable relationship, thus colonization on the island was fraught with violence towards the Beothuk. Harris (2008) speculates that little effort to form alliances was made on the Europeans' part in Newfoundland, unlike other parts of Canada, because Indigenous people

were not needed as workers for the main industry, the fishery. In contrast, the fur trade in mainland Canada often relied on Indigenous knowledge of the land and survival techniques. The Beothuk did not interact frequently with early European migrants. Some speculate that there was a climate of mutual fear (Major, 2001; Marshall, 2009). The Beothuk sometimes stole or vandalized the equipment left on the island by the European migratory fishermen when they left for the winter (Harris, 2008; Marshall, 2009). The Europeans often reacted quite violently to these discoveries when they returned (Marshall, 2009). However, historical records show that there were some positive interactions between John Guy, who would go on to found the first European settlement in Newfoundland, and the Beothuk in 1612 (Major, 2001). A later attempt in 1768 by John Cartwright to make contact with the Beothuk was unsuccessful. He did write however that Beothuk hostilities towards settlers were understandable and deserved because of settler cruelty toward the Beothuk (Marshall, 2009). The Beothuk's traditional way of living, dependent on both the coast and interior of the island at different points in the year, was disrupted as they were slowly denied access to the coastline, salmon rivers and large chunks of the interior by European settlement (Harris, 2008; Major, 2001; Marshall, 2009). Marshall (2009) writes: "Valuing their independence, traditions and cultural integrity above all, the Beothuk seem to have been prepared to face increasing hostilities in defence of these values" (p. 70). This provides a plausible explanation for the conflicts between the Beothuk and settlers.

The last known surviving Beothuk, Shawnadithit, died in June 1829 of tuberculosis (Major, 2001; Neis, 1995). Historians presume that the rest of her people, of whom there were only twelve or thirteen remaining at the time of her capture six years earlier, also perished around that time (Marshall, 2009). The end of the Beothuk is recognized as a deliberate genocide by

many Newfoundlanders today and is taught that way in the high school system. Neis (1995) writes that the Beothuk “disappeared as a result of the onslaught of disease, hunger and violence that came with white settlement” (p. 1). Major (2001) voices a sentiment shared by many: “There is no darker moment in Newfoundland history” (p. 213). Settler guilt, which Robertson (2013) describes as expressions of guilt for the injustices perpetrated by settlers in the past without the recognition of the personal present-day benefits settlers derive from ongoing colonization, is a common discourse in the literature on the Beothuk’s interactions with white settlers, but is strangely absent in discussions of the Mi’kmaq people.

The literature on colonization shows us that the Mi’kmaq of the island faced a different set of challenges from European incursions than the Beothuk. They are an Indigenous people “in a Newfoundland which often does not even admit the existence of Micmacs” (Anger, 1988, p. xi).⁸ The Mi’kmaq settled along the south and west coasts of the island (Neis, 1995). When exactly this settlement happened is the subject of much academic and political debate. Neis (1995) asserts “there is clear evidence they [the Mi’kmaq] were familiar with the island when Europeans first encountered them in the 1600s” (p. 5). The Bay St. George Mi’kmaq⁹ and other Mi’kmaq nations in Newfoundland also maintain that their ancestors were on the island when Europeans arrived. There are records of Mi’kmaq people serving as guides for European explorers (Anger, 1988). However, Pastore (1978) explicitly dismisses Mi’kmaq oral history on the length of time they had been traveling to the island. Similarly, Major (2001) states that the Mi’kmaq had visited the island seasonally and then made first permanent settlement in 1758.

⁸ ‘Micmac’ is the colonial spelling.

⁹ The Bay St. George Mi’kmaq are now part of the Qalipu First Nations Band.

Anger (1988) writes that the Bay St. George band does acknowledge that there was a large migration of Mi'kmaq people to the island from Cape Breton in the mid eighteenth century, but that there had been a Mi'kmaq presence on the island long before that. The question of status under the *Indian Act* is one of the main reasons for the continuation of this debate about Mi'kmaq presence on the island. Status under the *Indian Act* recognizes the obligations the Crown and federal government have to Indigenous peoples in Canada (Hanson, 2009). The members of Miawpukek First Nation (formerly Conne River Band), which is situated on the south coast of the island, gained status in 1984 (Neis, 1995). Other Mi'kmaq groups and individuals on the island, including the large concentration on the west coast, are currently finalizing status negotiations with the federal government under the banner of the Qalipu First Nations Band. They claim the entire island of Newfoundland with the exception of the Avalon Peninsula as their traditional territory, however a condition of band recognition was accepting a landless deal with the federal government (Bartels & Bartels, 2005; Lawrence, 2009).

Unlike the Beothuk, the Mi'kmaq formed alliances with European settlers (Neis, 1995; Pastore, 1978). They fought on the side of the French in the War of Spanish Succession as it played out in Newfoundland and supported French settlement on the island (Anger, 1988; Pastore, 1978). This alliance created uneasy relationships with English settlers (Anger, 1988). The Mi'kmaq were a threat to British control of the island as they remained when the French relinquished their territory in Newfoundland in the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 (Anger, 1988; Hillier, 1998). Anger (1988) writes, "Judging by the province's reaction to discussion of native rights for Micmacs, that threat to control is still felt by the powers that be" (p. 2). There was conflict between the Mi'kmaq and settlers over inland resources (Pastore, 1978). The

establishment of the Newfoundland railway disrupted the traditional Mi'kmaq way of life. The caribou herds, one of the main food sources for the Mi'kmaq, were decimated when settlers suddenly had easy access to the province's interior via train in the early 1900s. Traditional trapping routes were likewise disrupted (Pastore, 1978). The construction of a dam in Bay d'Espoir and the road to Harbour Breton had similar negative effects on the Miawpukek community (Pastore, 1978). The Mi'kmaq language on the island was largely lost during the process of assimilation that followed initial colonization (Neis, 1995). Pastore (1978) writes that the priest from St. Alban's who had the most interaction with the Miawpukek Mi'kmaq advocated against the Mi'kmaq language. There are high rates of intermarriage between Mi'kmaq people and settlers on the island, which also contributed to language loss (Pastore, 1978). Colonization continues to be an ongoing reality in the daily life of many Mi'kmaq people.

Displacement from the land is one of the primary ways colonization has taken place and continues to take place among Mi'kmaq people in Newfoundland. This has significant effects, as Sable and Francis (2012) write:

Weji-sqalia'timk expresses the Mi'kmaq understanding of the origin of its people as rooted in the landscape of Eastern North America. The "we exclusive" form, *weji-sqalia'tiek*, means 'we sprouted from' much like a plant sprouts from the earth. The Mi'kmaq sprouted or emerged from this landscape and nowhere else; their cultural memory resides here. (p. 17; emphasis in original)

The concept of *weji-sqalia'tiek* helps us to understand the cultural harm caused by displacement from land, as land is central to understandings of Mi'kmaq identity. In repeatedly denying Mi'kmaq rights and demonstrating reluctance in recognizing Mi'kmaq land claims, the

provincial and federal governments are perpetuating harm and reinforcing the Ktaqmkukwaq¹⁰ Mi'kmaq's marginal place within Newfoundland and Canada (Lawrence, 2009).

Many sources dealing with Newfoundland history do not acknowledge the Mi'kmaq as an Indigenous people of the province. Harris (2008) for instance, in his chapter on Newfoundland, makes no mention at all of the Mi'kmaq. Likewise, Major (2001) discusses the Beothuk, Innu and Inuit as Indigenous peoples of the province but does not mention the Mi'kmaq in the same section. As well, when Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949, the Mi'kmaq (and Innu) were not recognized as First Nations peoples under the *Indian Act*, a wrong which has only been rectified recently (Lyon, 1997; Robinson, 2012). The harm of displacement through colonization for Mi'kmaq women has thus not been explored in much of the literature, but is certainly a topic that must be further explored, and a gap my research will begin to fill.

Shawnadithit

In school I was taught
that I should know you.
One week or perhaps two,
year after year, twelve in all
I was told "your story."
How you were taken
from your home territory
by white men wanting
to discover your people
the Beothuk.
Your words, your drawings
collected by Cormack
so we settlers can know,
can remember your people.
How you died, 28
of acute tuberculosis.

¹⁰ People from Ktaqmkuk.

The last known Beothuk,
Buried far from home.

I was taught
it is important to remember you.
You are part of our island's
New-found-land his-story.
The land you knew,
"your story," firmly in our past.
Our remembrance remains
the project of white guilt.

I have learned (re)presentation,
(re)telling.

I cannot know your story.
For research done through imperial eyes
is not your story.
You positioned on the outside
exotic Other waiting to be known.
You were supposed to be happy
to experience the civilization
wrought from a genocide
we still deny.

Have your story told by Cormack –
colonizer's tongue and man's voice.
Your death is mourned,
not as colonization's victory,
but individual tragedy.
No one mentions your skull,
severed from your body,
and sent across the sea,
in the name of science and research.

I have learned Shawnadithit
your story is not the only one,
is not in the past.
Colonization has new forms
and takes full years to unlearn,
not one week.
I do not know you
but I (re)member you.

Resettlement

The second of my chosen displacements, resettlement, constitutes only a small part of the academic literature on Newfoundland history, political economy and identity. A particularly poignant example of this is Wright's (2001) book on the Newfoundland fishery from 1934-1968, where only three out of the total one hundred and ninety six pages focus on resettlement. Like the literature on colonization, the little work done on resettlement within the province is mostly limited to accounts of facts and figures of the material realities of leaving outport communities, rather than individual stories or any developed political economy theoretical framework. There has also been no gender analysis specifically of the impacts of resettlement for women from outport communities despite quite a large collection of work on women's role in the wider Newfoundland fishery (see McGrath, Neis, & Porter, 1995; Murray, 1979; Porter, 1993; Wright, 2001). My research will address some of these silences.

Since the initial widespread European settlement of the island in the seventeenth century, a large portion of Newfoundland's population has been centered in small outport communities. These communities are characterized as having small populations, typically less than 300 people, and were historically organized around the fishing industry (Major, 2001). Outports are often very isolated, some today still accessible only by water. Outport life can be said to be "embedded...in kin relations, local environmental knowledge, and elements of peasant culture transplanted from England or Ireland" (Harris, 2008, p. 137). Many families can trace their roots in an outport back to their ancestors' original migration to North America from England, Ireland, Scotland or France in the seventeenth, eighteenth or early nineteenth century. Epworth, the community where I grew up can be classified as an outport community.

The process of displacement through resettlement began in 1954, when the provincial and federal government collaborated to fund an official resettlement program for many outport communities (Wright, 2001). Wright (2001) writes that resettlement was first about lessening the burden of providing government services to multiple small, isolated and geographically dispersed communities. Later, she explains, it became about restructuring the Newfoundland fishery to fit the government's wishes. This policy was designed with little consultation with affected communities. To receive government compensation for resettlement, a vote with a minimum of 80 percent of the community voting in favour of moving was required. There are many accusations of the provincial government withholding of vital services to some outport communities in an effort to forcibly encourage residents to vote in favour of resettlement (Wright, 2001). Hundreds of outport communities were affected by resettlement (Kelly, 2010). Although resettlement did provide increased economic prosperity and job opportunities for some individuals, as a whole, "for many people throughout Newfoundland the emotional pain of resettlement would never entirely heal" (Major, 2001, p. 423). The overwhelming sentiment that remains in Newfoundland to this day is that "A life with real quality and humanity had been sold for a mess of potage" (Overton, 1996, p. 50). The specific gendered dimensions of this experience have not been given much, if any, scholarly attention.

While resettlement has not gained significant academic attention, it has found a place in the folklore of Newfoundland. Stories of resettlement have been handed down through families in oral tradition. Several ballads written in the wake of resettlement are popular in Newfoundland folk song tradition and quite well known across the province. These songs speak

to the emotional pain of leaving the place you call home and the disappointment that resulted when it was realized that the place you had moved to would not be able to meet your expectations of a more prosperous life. The song “Outport People” shows that many people felt very unsettled in their new homes:

You can launch a house easy and tow it away,
But the home doesn't move, it continues to stay;
And the dollars you make sure they'll keep you alive,
But they won't soothe the heart and they can't ease the mind. (Simani, 1986)

One song, “The Government Game” aptly conveys the thoughts of many Newfoundlanders who experienced resettlement: “Centralization they say was the name, / But me, I just calls it the government game” (Pittman, 1978). Another, “Out from St. Leonard’s,” describes former outport communities as “ghost towns” and expresses the anger felt by many who were resettled (O’Driscoll & The Ennis Sisters, 1981). These songs and other folklore about resettlement can help to fill some of the gaps in academic work. They provide an excellent resource to supplement women’s stories of their own experiences of resettlement.

No existing literature reviewed makes a connection between colonization and resettlement. This is a glaring silence that needs to be addressed in scholarship on resettlement in Newfoundland and one that I explore further in this research.

Outport Ghosts

Old footpaths now quickly being overtaken by alders,
Cement foundations hidden in the bushes,
now home only to the lichen, the blackberries and the spiders.

With their white signs as the markers of a life,

family name as the only identifier of the women
who once
walked here,
worked here,
laughed here,
cried here.
Got married, raised their children and got the news
that they had lost their husbands to the sea, here.
The white signs,
a remembrance of families being forced to leave
this place their ancestors had called home for a century or more.

The cement foundations,
the remaining witness to a part of the self
that cannot simply be floated across the bay
at the whim of the government.

The alders and the bushes reclaiming this coast,
slowly turning the cove into an abandoned graveyard.

The white signs, attached to the foundations, standing as tombstones
for the stories of those who lived, loved and said goodbye here.

Living Away

Like the other processes of displacement, colonization and resettlement, there has been very little academic work from a gendered or structural power perspective done on Newfoundlanders who are 'living away.' However, outmigration is certainly a buzzword within the province, as each successive government promises to create jobs at home so fewer Newfoundlanders will have to live away.

Outmigration is very much a reality for many young Newfoundlanders (and some older ones). Left with little choice and few options for them at home, many talented and ambitious Newfoundlanders make their way to other parts of Canada and often other countries in search of employment, to attend educational institutions that meet their interests or to live closer to

their adult children who are living away in their retirement (Bella, 2002; Delisle, 2013). Kelly (2010) defines migration as follows “Minimally, it is a story of physical displacement, one through which a citizen/subject abandons, forcibly or voluntarily, a place of habitation and the cultural practices of community that constitutes it” (p. 17). Emotions are certainly implicated in outmigration, sometimes moving from homesickness to depression and vulnerability (Bella, 2002; Kelly, 2010). Like migrants elsewhere in Canada, many Newfoundlanders who migrate feel that they will lose their sense of history in this place (Haig-Brown, 2000). This focus on wellbeing is unique when compared to the lack of focus on wellbeing within academic scholarship on colonization and resettlement in Newfoundland.

The literature shows that Newfoundlanders living away find that moving to other parts of Canada can be a very unsettling experience. Many Canadians have never travelled to Newfoundland so their knowledge of the island is limited to often negative stereotypes and the essentialized tourism commercials which privilege only one sense of place (Delisle, 2013; Overton, 1996). Many Newfoundlanders quickly realize that things work quite differently elsewhere and things that they value are not necessarily held in the same esteem (Kelly, 2010). Kelly (2010) writes that in her experience, in the wake of this unsettling, “I began to introduce myself, first and foremost, as a Newfoundlander, by way of dare, proclamation, pride” (p. 23). For many Newfoundlanders, when they move away, they come to an understanding of how deeply connected they are to the island as place. This is articulated by Tilley (2010) who says “I understand being a Newfoundlander as core to my identity” (p. 130). When introducing herself as a Newfoundlander, Tilley (2010) describes an awkward phenomenon where Ontarians would compliment her on not sounding like a Newfoundlander,

a very common stereotypical marker of Newfoundland identity. While initially upset by this, Tilley (2010) says “I wear my provincial identity on my sleeve, understanding that I can resist the stereotyping – push the cause – because of my privilege as a formally educated woman who has learned to speak ‘properly’” (p. 239). Some authors have gone so far as to compare stereotypes about Newfoundlanders to racism and our loss of accent as we live away as internalized racism (Bella, 2002). I see some problems with constructing ‘Newfoundlander’ as an ethnicity, particularly the strong potential for this construction to further erase the histories of Indigenous people in relation to the island (Delisle, 2013). At the same time, however, I see many Newfoundlanders as sharing a culture, including a particular dialect, set of traditions and folklore, which are markers used to determine shared ethnicity (King & Clarke, 2002). This is a question that I explore further in my research.

In her analysis of literature that describes Newfoundlander's experiences of living away, Delisle (2013) asserts that Newfoundlanders living away embody a kind of diasporic subjectivity. She argues that diaspora is a useful lens to understand the displacement of outmigration, because it accounts for the role of nationalism to understandings of our identities as Newfoundlanders, the intense connections to place and the sense of Newfoundland as Other within Canada that many Newfoundlanders feel. Delisle (2013) states:

Diaspora involves not just physical migrations from point A to point B, but the emotional experience of leaving a homeland behind, of finding oneself in a place that is foreign, and of finding oneself a foreigner. Affective responses to place and displacement are central to the construction of diasporic communities. (p. 4).

The framework of living away as diaspora also emphasizes that outmigration is often not a choice made lightly or freely by many Newfoundlanders (Delisle, 2013). There is a gap in this literature as the frame of diaspora could be used a potential way to link outmigration to colonization and resettlement, which also have an element of 'not a choice' embedded within them.

The obvious silence in the literature on outmigration and living away is the gendered perspective. The main story of outmigration that gets told is the one of tradespeople leaving to work in the oil sands of Alberta. However, the trades remain a heavily male-dominated field, thus many women's experiences of living away may not follow the same storyline. For myself and many other women I know who are living away, our story involves leaving home to pursue university education in our desired field and then continuing to live away to obtain employment in our fields or graduate education. Still others follow partners who work away, choosing to move their families to preserve a more conventional family dynamic rather than become effectively lone mothers for many weeks of the year while their partners work away (Bella, 2002). I make some of these different stories more visible through this research, and establish the links between the story of displacement through living away and the stories of colonization and resettlement.

It's a Big Island
(Keara's Story)

Home is a tiny place
Just a bend in the inlet
There's not much to it
Blink and you'll miss it

It's my favourite place

Waking up in the morning,
Gazing out over the bay,
Hearing the roar of skidoos in winter
Knowing the door is always open

All that's said about the divide is true
In the big city, I walk down the street,
Smiling, waving, calling hello
I only feel cold shoulders

When they demand
Say something Newfie to me
I'm just offended.
It's only the way I speak
It's my dialogue, my vernacular
Each part of Newfoundland is different
We don't all sound the same

Meeting other Newfoundlanders on the mainland
Brings me home
I find my niche again.
We're a collective –
A tight knit unit.

We have a big island
But it's tiny all the same.

Methodology and Methods

I have used a multi-methods qualitative feminist intersectional approach in my research. It is feminist in that I begin to understand how connection to place and displacement are gendered experiences (Pillow & Mayo, 2012). It is intersectional in that I recognize that multiple social divisions besides gender – particularly class, ethnicity, Indigeneity, religion and rurality – shape women's experiences of place in Newfoundland. I have chosen to produce an article-based thesis rather than a more conventional monograph, reflecting my aims in pursuing

doctorate work in the near future and my desire to share my research via publications in a prompt timeframe.

As a methodological approach, intersectionality opens possibilities. Cho, Crenshaw and McCall (2013) write that intersectionality is “a gathering place for open-ended investigations of the overlapping and conflicting dynamics of race, gender, class, sexuality, nation, and other inequalities” (p. 788). Intersectionality allows me to show that sense of place is influenced by many systems and structures of power (Morris & Bunjun, 2007). Using the lens of intersectionality, feminist researchers can more fully represent the lived experiences of participants and remain accountable to portraying the complexity of women’s lives (Bhavnani & Talcott, 2012). McCall (2005) offers a framework for three different approaches to intersectional analyses. My research makes use of two of those approaches: intercategory and intracategory intersectionality. Intercategory intersectionality centers structural relationships of power in the analysis while intracategory intersectionality takes into account power relationships within and among groups (McCall, 2005). Together, they allow me to paint a complex picture of power relationships that shape experiences of displacement and sense of place in Newfoundland.

Reflexivity is very important in feminist research and especially important in this research, as I am a settler woman talking about colonization, which can create politically tense and delicate situation. Pillow and Mayo (2012) state that, for feminists, “writing and choosing how to tell the stories of our research are political acts as well as places of responsibility – as we code, theme, and imagine our data, we are, in essence, writing and constructing our text” (p. 197). As I work through my thesis, I attempt to make clear the choices I have made in how I

analyze and represent experiences within my text. Making my choices explicitly visible in this way is one part of my process of feminist reflexivity within this research and ensuring accountability and transparency as much as possible (Pillow & Mayo, 2012). I have also used elements of autoethnography to bring my own experiences of displacement into my research. I believe that making the personal explicit, and in doing so highlighting the political nature of the personal, is an essential piece of doing feminist research. "Feminist autoethnography is a method of being, knowing, and doing that combines two concerns: telling the stories of those who are marginalized, and making good use of our own experience" (Allen & Piercy, 2010, p. 156). Autoethnography helps feminist researchers engage in self-reflexivity and ensure that our work does not reproduce harmful relationships of power. Our pathways to decolonization must necessarily start from the self, therefore autoethnography is a good fit with this work.

Poetic inquiry is also a central part of my research methodology. I see poetry as a way of more fully representing intensely emotional human experiences such as displacement. It helps to resist the homogenization into black and white statements or the separation of emotions from logic that academic prose often requires of us, and allows us to show the diversity among different people's experiences (Washington, 2009). For feminist researchers, Petersen (2012) writes that poetic and other narrative forms can help us to resolve some of the dilemmas about how to ethically represent intersectional experiences in research. She asserts that it helps us to move beyond simplified or hierarchical versions of the complex intersections at work in experiences, as poets and storytellers can weave multiple levels of experience, from the material to discourse to the body to the emotions, in one poem or narrative. I see this commitment to diverse representation of experiences as being of great importance in my

thesis, as I have included women from different areas of the province, ages and backgrounds in my work. Poetry allows me to make space for multiple experiences of displacement within my research and also allows me to highlight the many different ways diverse women form connections to Newfoundland as place.

Poetry also has a particular cultural resonance with Newfoundland as place. One of the primary ways Newfoundlanders form and maintain their connections to Newfoundland as place even when living away is through folk songs (Delisle, 2013). These folk songs function as a form of oral history. They tell stories of people's experience living on the island, of their struggles and their joys (Thorne, 2007). I see many resonances between these folk songs and poetry. Poetry uses rhythm and metaphor to draw readers into the experience, much like folk songs. There are many Newfoundland poets who have been using poetry effectively to represent their connection to place. Cochrane (2012) writes that poetry in Newfoundland "speaks to those who do not understand the statistics of government plans and penetrates windows made by men who play fiddles" (p. 528). As a feminist researcher, I have a commitment to ensure that my research is accessible to the communities where it has the potential to create an impact. Many people in Newfoundland communities have been disenfranchised by inaccessible research in the past. I intend this poetry as one way I remain accountable to the women who contribute their stories to my research. Poetry helps make my final product more accessible to them, as Newfoundlanders, and their communities in a way that a more conventional academic thesis format does not necessarily allow.

Research from a feminist approach can move my research beyond the realm of the academy and be used to facilitate social change (Pillow & Mayo, 2012). Cole and Knowles

(2008) write that “the use of the arts in research is not for art’s sake. It is explicitly tied to moral purposes of social responsibility and epistemological equity...Relying on the power of art to both inform and engage, the research text is explicitly intended to evoke and provoke emotion, thought, and action” (p. 62). The stories of my participants’ and my own experiences of displacement appear as poems, some written solely by me, and others as collaborations with research participants. This allows a level of emotional engagement for an audience that is not as prevalent in much prose writing or texts that quote snippets from an interview. One of my purposes in doing this research is to share stories with the goal of those stories provoking some critical questions among Newfoundlanders about troubling policy directions, in relation to further resettlement and resource development, being pursued by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador that have the potential to result in further displacement of women on the island and in Labrador. As well, I hope that this research can inspire a reassessment of some of Newfoundland’s social dynamics that create exclusion on the island, including the general lack of knowledge about Mi’kmaq people and colonization in Newfoundland. I hope that poetry, as an accessible medium that can engage both the head and heart, might be a way to start these conversations.

Key Methodological Decisions

I have made the deliberate choice to focus exclusively on the place of the island of Newfoundland rather than the province of Newfoundland and Labrador as a whole. A number of factors have influenced this decision. The first is my own positionality as a woman born and raised on the island. I would prefer to write on a place that I have an intimate familiarity with

and remains a core piece of my own personal identity. The second is the acknowledgement that the island and mainland parts of the province have radically different people, histories, identities as well as political and economic contexts. I echo the sentiments of Tilley (2010) who writes, "I hesitate to write as if these two are one and the same considering the historical shaping they have individually and together experienced" (p. 127). I would also argue that the relationship between Newfoundland and Labrador is one of colonizer and colonized rather than an equal partnership, therefore to write of them together would be very complex. Thirdly, the significance of Newfoundland being an island, and our sense of separation from mainland Canada, discussed as both physical and cultural by Delisle (2013), should not be forgotten in this work and affects women's understandings of their experiences of displacement.

I have chosen to focus specifically on women's experiences of displacement, rather than people of all genders. While I certainly do not subscribe to the view that research has to be only about women in order to be feminist, in this case, I believe that focusing on women in this research will make a significant contribution to the scholarship in the fields of Gender and Women's Studies and Newfoundland Studies. I have discussed in my literature review how women's voices and experiences have not been the central focus of much of the existing research on colonization, resettlement and outmigration in the context of Newfoundland. I am also cautious of the potential for essentialism when we talk about women's relationships to land and environment, which often reduces this relationship to women being 'closer to nature' than men, due to their biological ability to give birth to children and their historically subordinate position (Sturgeon, 2009). However, gender and the structures and systems of

power which shape our embodied gendered experiences certainly means that displacement is experienced differentially by women and this differential impact is worthy of examination.

I have also focused my research on three specific displacements that are recurring in Newfoundland. As a settler Newfoundlander, members of my family have experienced displacement through both resettlement and outmigration, but we have a different relationship to colonization, one of 'displacers' rather than displaced. I have debated, as a settler, if it is ethical for me to ask Indigenous women to share their stories of displacement with me. However, after extensive reflection, I have come to the conclusion that the displacements of resettlement and outmigration would not be possible without colonization in Newfoundland and to ignore that piece of the story would be to further perpetuate colonization. This connection between colonization and the other two displacements is rarely acknowledged in the literature, as I have discussed in the literature review, and I do not wish for my research to further contribute to that silencing of the experiences of Indigenous women in Newfoundland. I also believe that asking these tough questions about colonization and settler-complicity in colonization on the island is necessary, as few are asking these questions or even admitting that colonization is an ongoing process in Newfoundland. In doing so, and wrestling with the complexities of asking these questions, I continue my own process of "unsettling the settler within" (Regan, 2010, p. 11).

Methods

My primary method for gathering data in this research was interviews. Semi-structured interviews allowed me to hear rich narratives of individual women's experiences of

displacement in Newfoundland. Many of these interviews took the form of storytelling in response to the questions I posed. Kelly (2010) writes that “storytelling functions to mediate and, perhaps, to reconcile loss borne of displacement and reconstituted identity” (p. 17). I see listening to stories as a process that benefits me as researcher as well as the women who chose to share them, by recognizing their experiences as valuable knowledge and a place to begin the process of healing and reimagining collective identities. Their stories prompted me to reflect on different elements of my own experience of displacement and positionality as a settler in Newfoundland. At the beginning, I aimed to learn about the stories of two to four women who have experienced each type of displacement – colonization, resettlement and living away – for a total of six to twelve interviews. I was able to meet with seven women during my research. Interviews lasted from twenty-five minutes to two hours. I wanted to limit the total number of interviews to preserve individual voices, stories and experiences in my final texts. While my aim in this research has not been to create definitive generalizations about the realities of displacement and Newfoundland women’s identities, I have recognized what Neilsen (2008) has phrased “the power of the particular to invoke the universal” (p. 100). Each of the women who have participated in my research has identified herself as a Newfoundlander, which is a collective identity, though certainly an identity that encompasses significant diversity. The strong resonances between women’s experiences of displacement that I heard through my research have convinced me that there are shared themes between these displacements and to talk of the displacements as collective experiences gives insight that is not possible when discussing each individually.

With the assistance of the staff of the Center for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University and the Legislative Library in the Confederation Building, both in St. John's, I found useful archival and government documents to supplement my primary data and help me make the leap from the personal stories to the wider political contexts of these stories. These documents include: documents pertaining to Mi'kmaq land claims on the island from both the provincial government and Mi'kmaq nation's perspective; government resettlement policy documents; outmigration statistics; newspaper clippings on the themes of colonization, resettlement and outmigration stretching over several decades; and reports from the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada (2002-2003). These documents have helped to provide the subtext to allow me to situate women's stories and experiences within wider structural systems of power.

Recruitment

Participant recruitment was one of my biggest challenges. I used snowball sampling to recruit my participants, drawing on my personal relationships to reach out to women who have experienced displacement. I previously had personal, professional and familial connections with many Newfoundland women who have experienced resettlement and outmigration, thus the participants for those two displacements were relatively easy to recruit. I had fewer direct connections with Indigenous women who have experienced colonization. To recruit those participants, I reached out to organizations that I thought may know of interested women, such as the St. John's Native Friendship Centre, local bands, Indigenous women's organizations, and

feminist community organizations, including regional Status of Women Councils and women's centres.

I had anticipated a certain amount of cautious distrust due to me as a settler researcher attempting to engage with Indigenous women, but I was surprised to find that no one voiced that concern to me in my attempts to recruit Indigenous women. I instead encountered a different type of caution from many Indigenous women I spoke with who were Qalipu or Miawpukek band members or applicants. A number of women told me that they had only recently learned about their heritage and so did not feel comfortable participating and did not identify as Mi'kmaw or Indigenous. I felt an undercurrent of not feeling "authentic enough" or "Indigenous enough" when speaking to these women, despite my attempts to point out that assimilation and hiding of Indigenous heritage is one of the ways that colonization works. Other potential participants told me quite frankly that they did not feel they had been displaced through colonization, but later in our conversation revealed something that very clearly suggested that this displacement had indeed happened, such as desiring to learn the Mi'kmaw language but not being able to find a teacher, not knowing the traditional songs, or speaking of discrimination against a family member who had the darker skin constructed on the island to be a visible marker of Indigenous heritage. I struggled with how far to push on this, as an informed opinion but a settler woman, and ultimately simply decided that it was not my place to push and that was an understanding about the work of colonization in their lives that women need to come to themselves or with the help of members of the Indigenous community. I was very fortunate to make a connection at the St. John's Native Friendship Centre and was invited to attend the Mi'kmaq Women's Circle and speak briefly about my research. The women were

wonderfully welcoming and invited me to stay for the singing, drumming and tea and craft portions of the circle. It was a very valuable experience, both on a personal and academic level. I had some great conversations with women over tea that deepened my understandings of Indigenous identity on the island.

I am conscious that within each of my chosen displacements, there is an incredible amount of diversity, which presents challenges with a limited sample. As much as possible, I tried to provide diversity within this research. The lens of intersectionality helps me to identify some of these diversities. Some of the identified diversities within this research include: diversities among Indigenous women (one woman identified as Mi'kmaq (Qalipu) while another identified as Métis), diversities among women living away (their primary reason for moving, age at which they moved, and location of their new homes), diversities among women who have been resettled (particularly ages when they experienced resettlement and agency in making that choice) and diversities among women who have experienced multiple displacements (in terms of which displacements they have experienced and the circumstances leading to them). These are only some of the diversities that have become apparent in my research.

Working With the Data

After transcribing my interviews, I examined the interview data, using an inductive approach to identify common themes that appear across women's experiences of connection to place and displacement, which have allowed me to situate colonization, resettlement and outmigration as related stories. Several common themes became apparent in my review of the literature that I also found applicable in the context of the interviews. These themes, along with

systems of power and social divisions, became codes for my interview data. I used a qualitative data software called MAXQDA in my coding of both the interviews and literature, which allowed me to easily recall coded information and see interconnections between multiple interviews and between interview data and my other documents.

I also created poems from the interview transcripts and my own reflections, as a way of accessibly sharing women's stories in the final research text that preserves the emotional realities of loss embedded in the multiple stories of displacement in my work. I offered women the option of collaborating with me in writing the poems based on their interview transcripts. Two women took me up on my offer and that process is described in the following article, "Collaborative Poetic Processes: Reflections and Insights From Newfoundland." For the women who did not have the time or were not interested in collaborating on the poetry pieces, I tried my best to responsibly represent their experiences in the poems. My process involved carefully reading the transcript and letting it sit for awhile, dwelling in the words, before picking out snippets of text that resonated with each other and spoke concretely to the woman's experience of displacement. Sullivan (2012) reminds us that writing poetry involves "both conscious and subconscious processing, both attention and intuition" (p. 87). Wanting to retain women's authentic voices, I generally kept the words and phrases as they appeared in the transcript, with few embellishments (Lahman, 2011). Following the example of Carroll, Dew and Howden-Chapman (2011), I checked in with participants once I had a draft of the poem to ensure they felt it accurately represented their experiences.

Ethical Considerations

I am very aware of the potential ethical dilemmas involved in this work. I would like to highlight several of my ethical considerations in this section. I am especially conscious of my position of privilege as a white settler woman in relation to the Indigenous women I interviewed. I am aware of the terrible legacy of exploitation by researchers and ethnographers in Indigenous communities around the world. To mitigate some of those dilemmas, I honoured the Tri-Council Guidelines on research with Indigenous peoples and offered both the Miawpukek First Nation and Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations Band an opportunity to provide feedback and express concerns before beginning the recruitment process.

I see my research as a reciprocal relationship between my participants and myself. Recognizing the time given by participants and the value of their stories to my research, I made an offer of my time and my knowledge and abilities to be of benefit to the participants in some way, however no one took me up on my offer. As well, I consulted with them throughout the analysis and writing process to ensure that they were happy with how their words and experiences were being represented in my work. I respected their wishes in reference to how their words were used and omitted sections from interview transcripts when requested. I also ensured the anonymity of my participants and respected their wishes as to the pseudonyms that were used in relation to their story and experience. To minimize the burden on participants, I allowed a significant amount of time for the writing and revision process, to give them a lot of time to respond to me if they wished to change how their experience had been represented in the thesis text. Unless otherwise asked, I sent only the sections that contained the individual participants' data, rather than the entire thesis text, to minimize the reading

load. After I have defended my thesis and completed any necessary revisions, I will ensure that each participant receives a complete copy.

Gaps in Language 2

When I speak of my coast to you,
I speak of the sunkers
Storied guardians of the coves and inlets

sunk –
 waiting below the surface
 to be revealed by the tide
 or the wave breaking

sunk–her
 the weaving of our land and language
 rooted in our history
 of many ships lost

Reminding us to be humble
The sea always has her secrets.

Article – Collaborative Poetic Processes: Reflections and Insights from Newfoundland

(Article submitted to *Qualitative Inquiry*)

This article emerges from a research project exploring women’s experiences of displacement, as loss or disruption of sense of place, in Newfoundland¹¹, Canada. In my research, I ask how three distinct processes of displacement – ongoing and historical

¹¹ Newfoundland and Labrador was the last province to join Canada in 1949. The province consists of two distinct geographic regions: the island of Newfoundland and the region of Labrador, which borders the province of Québec on the mainland of Canada. This research focuses only on the island of Newfoundland, recognizing the substantive political, economic and cultural differences between the island and Labrador, and between Newfoundlanders and Labradorians.

colonization of Indigenous peoples, government-sponsored resettlement programs, and substantive outmigration – can be considered related stories of displacement, influenced by related systems of power, with similar effects on women’s identities and wellbeing. Many Newfoundlanders consider themselves to be part of a collective, with a cultural and political identity distinct from other Canadians (Baker, 2012). These stories of displacement, with the exception of the colonization of Indigenous peoples, are familiar stories for most Newfoundlanders and inform their collective identity, as almost everyone living on the island has either themselves experienced one or more of these displacements or knows a close friend or family member who has. However, few link these displacements, their structural origins or consider how displacement might differ for people depending on their social locations.

Using poetry in my research offers one way to disrupt a notion that is quite prevalent on the island, that “Newfoundland culture unites people across social divisions based on class, religion, gender, region, etc.” (Overton, 1988, p. 11). The women who offered their stories to my research clearly said that age, gender, ethnicity, Indigeneity, class, education level, and region were all social differences that shaped their experiences of displacement, their sense of being a Newfoundlander and their inclusion and exclusion on the island. Using poetry allows me to address those differences and explore their effects on women’s experiences in a succinct and engaging way for readers. The strong tradition of using folk songs, oral history, and stories to share knowledge on the island makes poetry a culturally sensitive and relevant methodological fit with place.

This article outlines my process in engaging in a collaborative poetry making process with two of the women who offered their stories to my research. Unlike other qualitative

methodologies, very little work has been published on precisely how to do research using poetic inquiry, leaving those who are new to the methodology to flounder through existing finished products to find a process that works for them in their research (Cahnmann-Taylor, 2009). While I certainly do not consider myself an expert in poetic inquiry, I have explored poetic methodologies over the last five years. I have meandered through the limited literature on the subject, and arrived at a place and a process that works in the context of my own work. This is a contribution with the hope that it can be of use to others as they find their way to their own poetic inquiries.

Why Poetic Inquiry?

As a feminist researcher, I have a commitment to doing research that is accessible to the people and communities I work with, and has the potential to contribute to social change. As an academic and a writer, I know the power of language to affect change in the world. As a poet, I dwell in emotion and take guidance from the heart, recognizing in my work that impact “can be achieved with resonance as much as with report” (Neilsen, 2008, p. 94). Poetic inquiry and other arts-informed methodologies extend possibilities for resonance in research and academic work beyond what is possible in academic prose.

As a methodology that aims for accessibility, poetic inquiry has a particular cultural resonance with Newfoundland as place. Cochrane (2012) writes that poetry in Newfoundland “speaks to those who do not understand the statistics of government plans and penetrates windows made by men who play fiddles” (p. 528). There are multiple similarities between poetry and the folk songs that are beloved by many Newfoundlanders and a foundation of

Newfoundland identity. Poetry can provide a glimpse into the life of another, stir emotion through a powerful metaphor or beautiful phrase, and express both the material and the imaginary within one poem (Cahnmann-Taylor, 2009; Lorde, 1984). Newfoundland folk songs tell important stories of the real and imagined lives of the people and place of Newfoundland, using rhythm and metaphor to function as a form of oral history and repository of cultural knowledge (Riordon, 2004; Thorne, 2007). Poetry leaps quite easily to the space carved by these folk songs in Newfoundland, much more so than conventional, theoretically-saturated academic writing, and appeals to a more diverse range of ages, education levels and socio-economic backgrounds.

In doing research about deeply emotional phenomena like displacement, a poetic inquiry methodology allows for representations of women's lived experiences that engage the mind, heart and body (Prendergast, 2009). Poetic inquiry does not require researchers to limit themselves to coding, quoting, and categorizing as the only methods of data analysis and presentation. It invites us to play with language, to let our imaginations and our expressive selves be free, recognizing that crafting a logical argument is not the only way to make meaning (Neilsen Glenn, 2012). Poems make no claim to represent the totality of an individual woman's experience or to universalize the experiences of everyone experiencing displacement. They leave space for our intuition and our hearts, and permit us to make unconscious connections and associations with the language and rhythm used in the poems, knowing that "a good poem can linger in the body long after we have forgotten a report" (Neilsen Glenn, 2013, p. 148).

To use poetry in research is a political decision, often made with political purpose. Using poetry recognizes that academic writing is not accessible to many different ways of knowing

and being (Dark, 2009). Many marginalized groups have effectively used poetry and related lyrical and narrative forms to claim space and assert the validity of their lived experiences (Edgehill, 2009; Reale, 2014). A number of well-known and well-read poets, including Langston Hughes, Audre Lorde, Maya Angelou and Muriel Rukeyser, have used poetry to advocate for social justice issues (Prendergast, 2009). Many researchers, including myself, who use poetic inquiry approaches in their work do so in the hope that resonance with the poem and engagement of the emotions can inspire connection and encourage at least some readers toward social action (Larabee, 2012; Neilsen Glenn, 2013).

Why Collaborative Poetry?

As a poet, I often feel unsettled when writing about the experiences of others. I understand my role as interpreting their experiences to (re)present them in a form that opens possibilities for their experiences to resonate with other people (Galvin & Todres, 2009). As a feminist, I wonder if I can ethically represent a participant's experience, if I am presuming too much, wielding too much privilege, in even the act of trying to write about the experiences of others. As both feminist and poet, I question if it is their genuine voice coming through as the speaker in the poem, or if their voice is subsumed by mine and I have not noticed. I am uneasy and afraid that, despite my best intentions and care in crafting, the resulting poem will be artful but not resonate, or worse, simply not be relevant to the person whose experience it represents. McKay (2002) writes that thoughts of uncertainty about voice and representation are important concerns in any feminist qualitative work. Neilsen Glenn (2013) offers a set of ethical goals for poets writing about others: "to be humble, to understand the limits of our role,

to do no harm and to accord the same degree of respect and dignity to others as we would have accorded to ourselves” (p. 138). While I certainly subscribe to Neilsen Glenn’s principles in my poetic work, those doubts still linger when I write about an experience that is not my own.

A collaborative poetry writing process has been my attempt to alleviate some of these doubts, contribute to a reciprocal relationship with the women who participated in my research, and ensure that my ethical obligations as feminist and poet are met. In following a collaborative process, I recognize that including participants in research decisions and asking for their approval of the way their stories are used in the research is good feminist practice in the research process (Preissle & Han, 2012). I also recognize that women are experts in their own lives and significant tensions can exist between researcher and participants about representations of lived experiences by those perceived as outsiders (Marshall, 2002). In a way, our collaborative process challenges traditional relationships between researchers and participants, claiming that participants are just as entitled to shape the representation of their experience within the wider work, and indeed are partners in the poetic process. This process allows me as the researcher to collaborate with participants without imposing my view or interpretation, which alleviates some of my ethical dilemmas about representation. Together, we have co-constructed poems, and in doing so have made new meaning of these experiences of displacement together.

How the Process Worked

Women who participated in my research were invited to participate in a semi-structured interview to relate their experiences of displacement. At the beginning of the interview, I

discussed my chosen research methodology and let the women know that I hoped that we could represent a part of their story in the form of a poem in the research. Each interview lasted anywhere from twenty-five minutes to two hours and were recorded using a digital voice recorder. After transcribing their recording, I invited women to review the transcript of their interview and asked them if they would like to participate in a collaborative poetry co-writing process for the poem(s) based on their stories. Only two of seven women, Margaret and Mary, indicated that they would like to participate in this process. The women who chose not to participate in the co-writing process reviewed and gave their consent me to use the poems that I had written based on their transcript after checking that they felt the poem resonated with their experience.

As Margaret and Mary both live in a different province than me, our co-writing occurred over the phone and via email. Mary had some previous experience in writing poetry however Margaret did not. As a first step, each woman and I spoke on the phone to determine what kind of story she wanted the poem to tell in relation to her experience of displacement. Did she want the story to be about one specific memory, experience or event? Did she prefer that the poem portray a bigger story about her life and displacement? Did the story have to be chronological or was she okay with it jumping back and forth in time? Before this phone call, I asked the women to read through their transcript and start thinking about these questions. Together, in that initial conversation, we began the process of identifying the lines, paragraphs, images, and metaphors in the transcript that best supported or provided insight into the story she wanted the poem to tell. The process from that point looked a bit different for each

woman, due to our respective time commitments, ways of learning, and preferred communication methods at the time we were writing the poems.

Margaret's Poem

Margaret grew up on a tiny outpost¹² community on a small island in Placentia Bay in Newfoundland. She lived there for much of her childhood and early adult life until 1966. It was then, after she had married and started a family and while she was pregnant with her second child, that her community began to be resettled, a process that was strongly encouraged by the government. Even while living briefly on other areas of the island, for education and her husband's job, she considered her little community on the island 'home.' Margaret resettled to a growth centre on the Burin Peninsula with her family and says that, while she does not regret resettlement, it did substantially affect her life and the lives of other community members.

Our Island (Margaret's Story; co-written with Margaret)

I thought our whole place was our island in Placentia Bay
Where I grew up
We had a two room school
Most people fished for a living

In the winter, people stayed close to home
Men keeping the fire going
Women cooking fish from the summer

¹² Outport refers to a specific type of community in Newfoundland. These communities were historically relatively isolated fishing villages along the coast or on islands in the bays and inlets that surround Newfoundland. They typically had a small population (less than 500 people) and limited government and private infrastructure and services. Over 300 of these outport communities were resettled in the government resettlement programs from 1954-1975 (Crummey, 2014).

Children out sliding, skating on the pond
It was a different kind of fun

Nobody had any idea of resettlement
Til the parish priest mentioned a petition
The older people were in shock,
Upset and could not comprehend
I understood, was more accepting

The government took the coastal boat away
Part of Smallwood's greater plan
We packed up and left for our new home
My flowerpots tipped on the deck
As we sailed up the bay
On a boat packed with possessions and people

Our new community welcomed us,
There were lots of resettled folk
My children got a better education,
Could play sports, make new friends,
We were closer to the doctor, shopping centres
We did well in this new place.

Going back home was devastating at first,
Seeing everything falling down.
The harbour was lonely,
Only a few fishermen in the cove.
We spent manys a summer down there
My children loved being on the island
Berry picking in the fall of the year
Friends who had left came back for the season
New friends came too.

I don't regret resettlement
But our little island will always be home.

Margaret and I were able to write the bulk of the poem in one long telephone call. Many of the words in the poem come directly or indirectly from the interview transcript and I shaped them in in a poetic form to create a stanza. The example below from Margaret's story shows how this process worked, with the pieces of the transcript that influenced the poem highlighted

in bold in the left column and the relevant poem stanza situated to the right for easy side-by-side comparison.

Transcript Passage

Margaret: ...So, that was **devastating to see how everything was falling down** and everything was really so **lonely** and everything. Just **a few fisherman** there and no other activity in the **harbour** at all, you know.

Susan: Mhmm. Do you guys go back often?

Margaret: We went back. After that, we got a cabin. My father, friends of ours had my father's store that he had out on the water, out over the water, so then they had moved that down to another part of the harbour. And they gave it to us so we did it up as a cabin and **we spent manys and manys a summer there** after that, summers and falls there. Because my husband was a lightkeeper out on [nearby island] and he used to work one month on, one month off. And so he had the time to go down and renovate and do up the cabin and we spent a lot of time there, and **berry picked there in the fall of the year**. It was really nice. Yup, very very nice.

Susan: And you would bring your kids with you?

Margaret: We would take the kids down as much as we could, you know, and they'd be out of school all summer and that. **They loved it down there, brought some of their friends with them too...**

Poem Stanza

Going back home was devastating at first,
 Seeing everything falling down.
 The harbour was lonely,
 Only a few fishermen in the cove.
 We spent manys a summer down there
 My children loved being on the island
 Berry picking in the fall of the year
 Friends who had left came back for the season
 New friends came too.

As we spoke on the phone, Margaret told me the pieces she thought were most important and the poem started to take shape. I jotted down some things she said that did not come up during the interview but resonated with me during our conversation on a piece of

paper. In particular, there were some clarifying details and several small anecdotes that I thought would fit well in the poem, and enrich the lines that came from the transcript. Stanzas three and four were developed using this method, with Margaret's approval to my paraphrasing and quoting of what she had said earlier in the conversation. Below again is an example of this process, showing the transcript passages and the resulting poem stanzas. The left column shows the words from the transcript that influenced the poem highlighted in bold and the right column shows the stanzas with the words that came from our phone conversation underlined.

Transcript Passage

Margaret: ... Well we resettled in 66. I had one child, 9 months old, and we had just been married one year. So Joey **Smallwood** resettled the whole island and we had no other choice, only to resettle. And we came up to [name of new community]....

[several pages of transcript later]

Susan: ...And how did that process happen in the community?

Margaret: Well, uh, after, actually it was very secretive at first. **Nobody had any idea of resettlement until our parish priest said that there would be some people going around with a petition**, to see if, how many people wanted to resettle. And that the priest would be moved from [name of home community], which was, the parish priest was our lifeline for health and wellbeing....

Poem Stanza

Nobody had any idea of resettlement
Til the parish priest mentioned a petition
The older people were in shock,
Upset and could not comprehend
I understood, was more accepting

The government took the coastal boat away
Part of Smallwood's greater plan
We packed up and left for our new home
My flowerpots tipped on the deck
As we sailed up the bay
On a boat packed with possessions and people

After drafting the initial poem on the phone and reading it aloud several times to make sure Margaret was happy with how the poem sounded, I sent her a written copy in the mail two

weeks later and asked her to take another look and let me know if she would like any changes made. She gave her approval of the poem and I made several small changes to tighten the poem's structure and rhythm, such as cutting unnecessary articles and some double adjectives, adding punctuation, and changing verb tense.

Mary's Poem

Mary is a Métis woman who moved to Newfoundland about three years ago. She was quickly welcomed in by her Newfoundland community and adopted by friends. Mary says she has felt out of place and different in most places she has lived throughout her life, including some Indigenous communities, but something about Newfoundland's sense of place, people, and culture makes her feel at home.

New-found-home
(Mary's Story; co-written with Mary)

I am slow to call myself a Newfoundlander
It's more than a screech-in on George Street
I was not born here,
Been here only 3 years
But I've been taken into the community

My mom was raised on the Nez Perce reserve
Her family is Montana Métis
Her grandfather a student at St. Peter's Mission
Where Louis Riel taught on the run

I married a Makah man
I didn't fit in on his reserve,
My only role was as his wife
And our kids' mother
It wasn't my Aboriginal culture.

I lost a lot in a hurry

Eighteen months to be exact
 My dad, then a divorce, the death of my mom
 Watching my support system and identities sinking away

I wanted to strike out somewhere new
 Out here on a visit six years ago,
 Everyone was treating us like locals
 I'd never had that experience anywhere, ever.

In a tiny outport, I was taken in
 Told I was family.
 My friend considers me her sister
 As we joke my mom was a Newfoundlander in witness protection
 She passed on a lot of that old English and Irish heritage
 Preserved here on the island.

With my light colouring, I've been told
 For a white girl,
 I sure know a lot about Natives.

I'm a proud Métis woman
 Though don't often find space to say it out loud
 The rest of my family leave it hidden

Mary and I started the poem on a telephone call and continued developing it via email, due to Mary's busy schedule and her preference for having the text as a visual in front of her. In the initial telephone call, Mary told me about the different pieces of her story she wanted to be featured in her poem and we discussed the ways her poem could be laid out. After our call, I went back to her interview transcript and found the lines that referenced the events Mary wanted to share in the poem. I chose the words and phrases that most clearly described the experiences she wanted to illustrate and shaped them into stanzas as we had discussed. An example of how this process worked is shown below. As above, the pieces of the transcript that influenced the poem are highlighted in bold in the left column and the relevant poem stanza is placed to the right for easy side-by-side comparison.

Transcript Passage

Mary: **I wanted to strike out somewhere new,** and, start over and get a fresh start. And I came **out here for a visit in 2009** and like I said, even you know, the very first day, my son and I came here even on our one week visit and **everybody was treating us like we were locals,** you know. And it was so bizarre cause **I had never had that experience ever, anywhere** [laughs]. What was just supposed to be a visit turned into, you know, the first scouting mission to actually live here.

Poem Stanza

I wanted to strike out somewhere new
 Out here on a visit six years ago,
 Everyone was treating us like locals
 I'd never had that experience anywhere, ever.

The initial draft of the poem stuck quite closely to the words and phrases Mary used in the interview transcript, as I was shaping the poem after our phone conversation rather than during the conversation, as was the case with Margaret. I also included several phrases that Mary had provided as clarifying context when describing which experiences she thought were most important and why during our phone call. An example of this appears in Stanza 1 and is underlined below.

Poem Stanza

I am slow to call myself a Newfoundlander
It's more than a screech-in¹³ on George Street
 I was not born here,
 Been here only 3 years
 But I've been taken into the community

After I had a draft of the poem I was happy with, I sent the poem to Mary via email to ask her opinion. We had several email exchanges discussing the poem and she gave her approval.

¹³ A touristy ritual to become an 'honorary Newfoundlander.'

Like with Margaret's poem, I made several small changes to tighten the poem and enhance its impact by adding punctuation and using active verb tenses in some places.

Successes and Tensions (From A Researcher's Perspective)

From my perspective as researcher, feminist and poet, I would like to briefly discuss some of the success and tensions from our collaborative poetry process. I do recognize that perspectives from the women who participated in the poem writing process may differ. I hope that the successes and tensions that I consider below may be useful to other researchers who are debating using a similar process in their own research.

The first success of this process is that it provided a way to tell the women's stories succinctly and convey their emotions around their experiences of displacement. In other poetic inquiry work, Petersen (2012) writes: "Poetry provided an economical way to communicate the findings of a study while illuminating the wholeness as well as the details of lived experiences" (p. 808). Margaret's transcript was just under 4500 words, while Mary's transcript was about 8350 words. There is a considerable challenge in trying to represent the totality of the experiences contained in the transcript in a research publication or thesis. While our collaborative poetry writing process does not allow us to represent all the minute details of those experiences, a poetic form allows a deep engagement with a woman's specific story of displacement.

I consider credible representation to be a second success of our collaborative poetry process. The words in the poems signify what is important to the women whose lives are being represented in the poems, as they were integral to determining the poem's direction and gave

their approval of the final version. The tone and voice in the poem are largely accurate depictions of the women's speaking patterns, diction, and dialect, which Richardson (1993) describes as essential in poems that represent real women's embodied lives. The mention of specific details and images in the poem also lend to its' credibility (Kooser, 2005), such as Margaret's flower pots tipping on the deck of the boat and Mary's reference to her mom as a Newfoundlander in witness protection. These types of specific elements also lend to a poem's accessibility and relatability for diverse audiences, including those who have not had a similar experience or who do not read a lot of poetry (Cahnmann-Taylor, 2009).

A third success of our collaborative process was that the women who participated in the poem writing process were able to build or improve upon their own poem writing skills. I have a commitment in my research to having a reciprocal relationship with participants and ensuring that they gain something from their participation in the research, just as I gain something from having them participate. For these two women, the skills building was one piece of maintaining that reciprocal relationship. This differs from a more traditional research model, where the researcher does an interview, codes and analyzes the data, and then publishes their work without ever contacting participants beyond the original interview (Preissle & Han, 2012). A focus on reciprocity helps to counter some of the unequal power relations that exist in traditional research models.

I consider the final success of this project to be the development and use of a culturally relevant methodology in collaborative poetry. This helped to ensure a meaningful process as well as a meaningful product for both the participants and myself. The section 'Why Poetic Inquiry' explains some of the ways poetry is an appropriate fit for research in Newfoundland.

Tillman (2002) writes that culturally sensitive methodological approaches are important in research with groups that have been marginalized and disenfranchised by research in the past. She says they reflect the unique values and ways of thinking and knowing of a particular cultural group, and can prevent inaccurate generalizations and harmful stereotypes from emerging from the research. This culturally sensitive approach will lend my research credibility in Newfoundland.

The first tension in this research emerged as I began thinking through how this collaborative process could work with the two women and what had to be covered in our initial phone conversation. I quickly realized that explaining my personal poem writing and poetic inquiry process to someone else via phone might not be as easy as I had thought. I tend to rely on my intuition in my poetry. When doing poetry within the context of qualitative research and representing participant experiences, my process involves reading through the transcript and highlighting the lines, words, and phrases that resonate with me and speak to my greater purpose in using poetry in my research – typically to tell the story or a piece of the story of a participant – and then shaping some of those highlighted pieces into a poetic form. It is much more an individual, affective, dynamic process rather than a logical or static system that is easily shared with others. This process is hard to explain to participants, especially if they may not rely on their intuition to the same extent or may process information differently than the researcher.

The second tension also materialized during the writing process. As with other creative forms, it is not easy to force the poem writing process to happen at a set time or be completed in a timely matter. Kooser (2005) explains that the process of writing a good poem can be a bit

like fishing – you sit down and wait for something to bite, giving it time, and practicing patience. When only one person is writing a poem, this process works well. The poet can write as the fish bites, or the words come to her. When there are two people are writing a poem, across different time zones, and juggling multiple life commitments, the process simply cannot happen as spontaneously. We had to schedule times to talk and write, and hope that writing was possible in that moment. While it generally worked quite well, this process felt much more rigid and formal than my typical poem writing process. I was also very conscious that I was asking for a large time commitment from participants to participate in this process, so I tried to minimize their time needed as much as possible by sticking to the more formal process, rather than aiming for a more intuitive one.

The third tension lies in my perception of a potential conflict in my political purposes in using poetry in research and my wish for the poems to represent women's experiences in ways that they think are important, which may or may not fulfill my political purposes. Cole and Knowles (2008) write that using art in research is "tied to moral purpose, it is also an explicit attempt to make a difference through research, not only in the lives of ordinary citizens but also in the thinking and decisions of policymakers, politicians, legislators, and other key decision makers" (p. 60). When I set out to write an explicitly political poem, it often takes a different form than a poem that is meant to share an experience. However, as a feminist I recognize that the personal is political, and that by sharing experiences of oppression or injustice, we declare they matter and deserve to be paid attention to, which is certainly a political act. I see poetry as a feminist method in that it brings lived experience to the center of writing (Richardson, 1993). Davis Halifax (2012) writes that poetic, lyrical, and other creative forms "offer writers a feminist

politics of writing that is nuanced, transformative and oppositional” (p. 117). She calls these forms of writing a “call to community” (p. 117), as they represent a stirring of emotion, create space for empathetic recognition of similarities in experiences, and can lead to collective political action that can engage the actors Cole and Knowles identify. It remains to be seen if our collaborative process will result in changes at the level of policy and decision-making.

Conclusion

Engaging in a collaborative poetic inquiry process with the women who offered their stories to this research has been a very valuable experience. This kind of a process has the potential to foster more equal relationships between researchers and participants, and ensure an element of reciprocity in that relationship. I hope that this explanation of the process used in this particular research can be useful to other researchers who are contemplating a similar process but may be unsure precisely how to go about it.

In the context of Newfoundland, this methodological process is political by its very nature. It gives voice to women who have been marginalized and gives voice to experiences that are not widely acknowledged on the island. Using poetry gives women a space to name their experiences as those of displacement, validate these experiences as political issues, and raise awareness among other Newfoundlanders. As well, the diversity of experience that can be represented through poetry challenges the cultural construction of a collective, homogenous Newfoundland identity and illustrates the differences among women who consider themselves Newfoundlanders. Using poetry is a way to show the diversity of women’s experiences of

displacement that can provoke political action among policy makers. This type of collaborative process helps to fulfill the social justice aims of feminist research.

Gaps in Language

When I speak of home to you,
I speak of the tuckamore

tuck –
roots tucked deep
 into cracks on the cliff's side
 attachments carved over centuries
tucked into the heart of the island.

more –
more than simply a tree
 on the side of the ocean
 limbs staying close to the land
more than the salt water in our veins.

You don't have the ocean here.
A gap that means I will always
be looking back, ocean winds calling
branches reaching
towards the Rock I call home.

Reflection – Displacement: An Evolving Concept

As I have worked on this thesis project, my understanding of displacement has become increasingly complex. When I started writing the proposal for my thesis, I began to define what displacement meant in the context of my research. For a very long time, the working definition of displacement in this work was a loss of sense of place, meaning the loss of a piece of identity tied to place that informs our identity and wellbeing.

In my initial communications with potential research participants, I defined displacement as a loss of sense of place, meaning a sense of loss of connection to home,

culture, or tradition, which affects our identity and wellbeing. This expanded definition was an attempt to emphasize that displacement, particularly displacement through colonization, does not necessarily involve a physical move in the way that displacement through resettlement and outmigration does. This expanded definition also recognizes that sense of place is affected by more than just the landscape and physical features that make up a place, and makes room for considerations of how place is socially constructed, and that sense of place often relies on things like culture, traditions, practices, emotional attachments, and ways of being and knowing in a place. However, despite this expanded definition, some potential research participants still expressed confusion over the concept of being displaced without a physical move from one place to another. For example, one Indigenous woman who is a member of Qalipu and recently discovered her Mi'kmaq heritage heard about my research and told me that she would like to participate but did not feel as though she had been displaced because she had lived in the same area of the island all of her life. She went on to say she did not know a lot about Mi'kmaq culture and knew only a few words in the Mi'kmaw language. At the time we had this conversation I knew that this woman would likely be an excellent fit with my research but could not find the words to explain precisely in plain language to her how displacement could happen to someone who has lived in the same area for all of her life, and without her being aware of being displaced.

My understanding of displacement has evolved since that encounter, and has been particularly influenced by the work of Aileen Moreton-Robinson (Goenpul), from Quandamooka First Nation in Australia in a 2003 edited collection called *Uprootings/ Regroundings: Questions of Home and Migration*. Moreton-Robinson (2003) writes about displacement in the context of

the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Australia, which hold many similarities to the experiences of Indigenous peoples in Canada. She says that the sense of belonging in place felt by Indigenous peoples is very different than the sense of belonging felt by settlers, as it relies on a “ontological relationship to land” (p. 31), while settlers’ attachments rely on experiences of migration and making new homes. She explains further: “The legal regime of the state places Indigenous people in a state of homelessness because our ontological relationship to the land, which is the way we hold title, is incommensurable with its own exclusive claims to sovereignty” (p. 36). Narratives of empty land, ‘discovery,’ and conquest of land, people, or the natural environment, underlie the legitimacy of settler states and the place attachments experienced by settlers. Indigenous people are often required to prove they belong and are the original people of a place by the settler state and legal systems. Thus, Moreton-Robinson (2003) writes, “our dislocation is the result of our land being acquired for new immigrants” (p. 37).

In Newfoundland, I find this type of understanding helps to make sense of how Indigenous people, and Mi’kmaq people in particular, can experience displacement while living in the same place for most of their lives. This displacement occurs because of a disconnection from Indigenous culture that is a product of assimilation policies, substantial delegitimizing of Mi’kmaq claims to the island as territory, and a lack of knowledge about Indigenous histories on the island. The original displacement of Indigenous peoples would have happened when European settlers first settled on the island and this displacement has continued in the centuries since, and accounts for the current disconnection many Mi’kmaq people feel from their culture and traditions, which does not require a physical move to another community or

region. This type of understanding allows me to further expand my definition of displacement.

My working definition of displacement in this final product is:

a loss or disruption of sense of place, through a disconnection from home, culture or tradition, which often but does not necessarily involve a physical move to a new place, and affects one's sense of identity and wellbeing. Displacement often results in feelings of loss, exclusion, and of being 'out of place,' 'not at home' or 'not belonging.' Displacement is gendered and is a product of multiple systems of power. Displacement affects people differently depending on their individual circumstances and social location.

I feel this expanded definition better represents the diverse displacements experienced by women who offered their stories to my research. The section and article that follows reflects this more detailed understanding and uses an intersectional approach to explore the similarities and differences of women's experiences of displacement, and the aspects of their identity and systems of power that have influenced their experiences of displacement.

Intersectional Analysis of Displacement

This section emerges from my commitment to creating respectful relationships with my participants and my thinking about what this means in the context of a thesis project. I think part of respecting participants' contributions to the research process involves sharing their stories in a more complete way than my chosen article-based format allows. Therefore, I have included this section, where I consider each woman's story individually through the lens of intersectionality, allowing a fuller version of their experience of displacement to act as a prelude to the articles and their associated arguments about displacement in the context of

Newfoundland. Pieces of some of the stories below are repeated in the articles, so I ask the reader for patience when that occurs.

The processes of colonization, resettlement, and outmigration affect the lives of many Newfoundlanders. Because these processes affect so many Newfoundlanders, some dominant stories about these displacements have emerged in Newfoundland society, politics, media, and cultural memory, which affect how policies and practices that affect displacement are formulated. In simplified terms, the dominant story of colonization on the island is that Newfoundland is in a colonial relationship with Canada and that any colonization of Indigenous peoples ended with the genocide of the Beothuk people (Lawrence, 2009; Thorne, 2007). The dominant story of resettlement is that people who were relocated from their home communities universally regret the move (Major, 2001). The dominant story of outmigration is that the primary reason for outmigration in Newfoundland is to seek employment elsewhere in Canada in a resource industry (Bella, 2002). There are certainly truths in those stories and they resonate with many Newfoundlanders. However, those who are differently positioned in relation to those processes of displacement, women in this particular research, often tell different stories about their experiences.

Displacement affects Newfoundland women's sense of identity and wellbeing, and has differential effects for women differently positioned at the intersections of multiple systems and structures of power. In this section, I use the lens of intersectionality to illustrate this point in relation to colonization, resettlement, and outmigration. This analysis shows that even women who are experiencing a similar process of displacement can have vastly different

experiences, which helps to unsettle some of the dominant stories of displacement that are prevalent on the island.

Colonization

Sheilagh

Sheilagh has recently discovered her Mi'kmaq heritage, which is an experience she holds in common with thousands of Newfoundlanders (Robinson, 2012). Sheilagh's mother:

definitely looked like she had Aboriginal ancestry. She never spoke a word about it. It was never there. So there was a really crucial part of our history that was not really spoken about...because my mother was never in a position, ever in her life, to ever tell her story because she didn't even know it herself. (interview, January 19, 2015)

Sheilagh's experience of displacement is shaped by the intersections of relations of power, including sexism, colonization, and racism, in the context of Newfoundland's history, culture, geography, and government policy.

Sheilagh was raised in a family where her father's Irish, seafaring heritage was the dominant story and her mother's French Mi'kmaq heritage was unknown. Enloe (2013) writes that one of the most pervasive ways sexism operates in our society is by not taking women seriously – through the social construction of women's stories as less important than men's stories. This is certainly the case in Sheilagh's childhood context as well as in Newfoundland more widely. Historically in Newfoundland, after getting married, women were expected to move to their husband's home community or region (Hallett, 2010). Sheilagh's parents both grew up on the West Coast of the island, however her father's family was originally from St.

John's, and lived on the West Coast at the time because of her paternal grandfather's job. Sheilagh said that when her parents were "first married, they lived in [name of small community on West Coast] for a little while and then they moved to St. John's for employment opportunities" (interview, January 19, 2015). Given that Newfoundland family histories are closely tied to place (Hallett, 2010), this intersection between sexism and cultural norms may have been a factor in Sheilagh's father's story dominating as she was being raised in St. John's. A second contributing factor could have been the fact that Newfoundland's cultural memory and education system celebrate the island's English and Irish seafaring and fishing heritage (Blackmore, 2003; Overton, 1988).

Sheilagh's mother had little knowledge of her Indigenous heritage, which we can link to historical colonial forces, including the Mi'kmaq mercenary myth, the non-recognition of the island's Mi'kmaq as Indigenous people when Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, and the struggles for recognition since that time.¹⁴ Robinson (2012) and Lawrence (2009) credit these forces with causing many Mi'kmaq families on the West Coast to hide or deny their Indigenous identities. Related to these forces, and affecting Sheilagh's family, is racism directed towards Mi'kmaq people on the island. Negative stereotypes, widespread discrimination, including employment-related discrimination, and racialized slurs like 'jackatar' were daily realities of life for Mi'kmaq people on the island until relatively recently, when the revival of Mi'kmaq culture began (Lyon, 1997; Robinson, 2012). They continue today, but to a lesser degree. Sheilagh's mother had a darker skin tone, which is one of the features that has been socially constructed

¹⁴ See the article "Implicating Colonizations: (Re)Storying Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk As Place" later in this thesis for a more thorough examination of these historical colonial forces.

to indicate Indigenous blood on the island (Sharpe, 2007). Sheilagh told me that her maternal grandparents sent her mother to a boarding school on the West Coast of Newfoundland. She said “part of that effort was: (a) to get her to speak English cause she only spoke French, cause it was a French speaking family. And her mother wanted to do this for opportunities obviously” (interview, January 19, 2015). Sheilagh recognizes that one of the goals of this boarding school was homogenization, to encourage her mother to assimilate to English settler society and culture, and hopefully escape the racism and discrimination that would likely follow her if she was recognized to be of Mi’kmaq heritage due to her skin tone. However, the success of this assimilation, coupled with the systems of racism and colonialism which encouraged not probing too deeply into the possibility of Indigenous ancestry, meant that Sheilagh’s mother was not in a position to be able to learn about her Mi’kmaq heritage or tell her children about the other side of their family’s story until very late in her life.

Sheilagh described herself as a community-oriented woman, and has tried to get involved as much as she can with local and provincial Indigenous and Mi’kmaq organizations and communities. She emphasized that she has been made to feel very welcome in many of these circles, and truly values the connections she has made; however, there have been some moments where she has felt out of place within these circles. One of the tensions¹⁵ that have emerged because Sheilagh is from St. John’s, the only urban area in the province. On the island, there are long histories of political and economic divisions between ‘townies’¹⁶ and ‘baymen.’¹⁷

¹⁵ For a discussion of other tensions, see the article “Implicating Colonizations: (Re)Storying Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk As Place” later in this thesis.

¹⁶ People from St. John’s and its surrounding urban (metro) areas

Today, “residents in rural and small-town communities in Newfoundland & Labrador experience lower incomes and formal-education levels, and higher rates of unemployment and dependency on seasonal employment and government transfers than do their urban counterparts” (Vodden, Gibson, & Porter, 2014, p. 213). Despite the fact that 52 percent of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians live in rural areas, political decision-making power is held in St. John’s, and it is widely perceived by ‘baymen’ that the metro area receives disproportionately more resources and more favourable treatment by the provincial and federal governments (Vodden et al., 2014). Sheilagh said that this has affected her ability to find a place in the island’s growing Indigenous community:

The most difficult thing is I’m from St. John’s. I’m a townie. So there’s already that kind of ‘us and them’ kind of mentality, of ‘everything past the overpass’¹⁸ kind of thing, you know. And then it’s “the townies get everything” blah, blah, blah, which you’re constantly battling all the time, when the reality is, I have a very egalitarian perspective on everything and I cherish rural Newfoundland just as much as I do the city. (interview, January 19, 2015).

Sheilagh’s experience shows that the particular power relations shaped by the intersections between geography, the political system, and capitalism in the Newfoundland context can facilitate the exclusion and mistrust of some Indigenous Newfoundlanders within the island’s Indigenous community, which is overwhelmingly composed of people from rural areas.

¹⁷ Everyone else on the island who lives in a non-urban community, the majority of which are situated along the coast. The suffix ‘-men’ in ‘baymen’ is yet another example of the pervasiveness of sexism on the island.

¹⁸ The overpass referred to here is one on the Trans-Canada Highway that is well-known on the island as marking the beginning of the metro area.

Sheilagh acknowledged that experiences of racism also shape this tension. She feels that her cousins on the West Coast experienced a lot more racism growing up than she did growing up in St. John's. There are a couple possible explanations for this difference between an urban and a rural area. Sharpe (2007) asserts that "A mixed-blood Aboriginal person who looks white would be especially likely to become an invisible minority" (p. 81) in St. John's, and thus not face overt racism unless their Indigenous heritage was revealed. The province's population is overwhelmingly white, however the St. John's area has the most ethnic diversity in the province, due in part to Memorial University's active recruitment of international students and faculty (Newfoundland and Labrador Heritage, 2000). Thus, even a darker skin tone would not be assumed to indicate someone is of Indigenous origin in the city, and face discrimination because of that, in the same way it is often assumed in rural areas. As well, it is much easier to be anonymous in an urban area, unlike the hundreds of small communities scattered across the island, which are well known for everyone knowing everyone's business, including any whispers of a family's potential Mi'kmaq heritage. Sheilagh told me that she feels that some of tension about her being a 'townie' in Indigenous circles emerges because she has had a different experience than Indigenous Newfoundlanders from rural areas, especially with her light skin tone, where there is a lot of "racism or just bias [directed] against them. And being called 'jackatar' and all this kind of stuff" (interview, January 19, 2015). She does not generally encounter that type of overt discrimination in St. John's.

Mary

Mary is a Métis woman who moved to Newfoundland about three years ago. Gender, Indigeneity, ethnicity, family heritage are aspects of Mary's identity that have affected her experiences of displacement, which intersect with sexism, racism, and colonization as systems of power both in Newfoundland and other places where she has lived.

In her interview, Mary expressed that she has found Newfoundland to be a place where she feels she 'fits,' unlike many other places she has lived, and described being "claimed as a local" on her first visit and being "very much taken in to the community" (interview, February 20, 2015). Mary said a number of factors contributed to her feelings of exclusion in the place in the Pacific Northwest where she grew up:

I got told between my looks and the way I acted, and the way I talked, even though I'd grown up there I guess my parents influenced me so heavily that I didn't really fit in with the kids I grew up around, you know. And I had such a strong connection to my history and my background and my different cultures that come together to make me, that I didn't really connect to the culture that I grew up around (interview, February 20, 2015)

Mary later married a Makah¹⁹ man and lived on his reserve for a time. She felt very out of place on this reserve as well, as her Métis identity was not legally recognized as an Indigenous identity in the United States, and many labelled her as a "white girl" (interview, February 20, 2015).

¹⁹ The Makah are an Indigenous nation of the Northwest Plateau in present-day Washington state.

Mary feels she belongs in Newfoundland much more than her previous homes. A piece of this is due to Newfoundland's culture, and its English and Irish influences. Mary said, "I think my mom carried a lot of that old English and Irish heritage too, you know, cause here in Newfoundland it stayed very encapsulated and concentrated, and hasn't gotten diluted at all for a lot of people" (interview, February 20, 2015). One of the deciding factors in her choice of new home was her experience of being welcomed "like a local," due to her dialect and mannerisms which she inherited from her Métis mother, on her first visit to Newfoundland six years ago (interview February 20, 2015). Unlike previous places where she lived, these aspects of Mary's identity coupled with local culture have facilitated experiences of inclusion in Newfoundland, rather than a sense of exclusion. Mary also indicated that experiences of colonization in Newfoundland share similarities with her own experience. She said:

I run into a lot of people who are Qalipu or Conne River and Bay St. George and Flat Bay and they have a very similar kind of disconnect from their culture, that's been shamed and denied and whispered about and not talked about, things like that. That seems very common, resonates with me, you know. (interview, February 20, 2015)

This resonance helps Mary to feel as if her experience of colonization is not an anomaly among people in Newfoundland. She meets many women who can relate to her story and history, and this helps her to feel as if she belongs. Shared experiences are one of the factors that human geographers and environmental psychologists have recognized as having strong effects on place identity and sense of place (Devine-Wright, 2013; Relph, 1976). Feminists also recognize that shared experiences of oppression are important building blocks for solidarity and community among marginalized peoples (Harding, 2012).

Mary works for a well-known organization that advocates for Indigenous peoples' rights. She often encounters ignorance about the experiences of Indigenous Newfoundlanders and negative stereotypes about the place where she works, which are shaped by multiple systems of power. Mary said a common reaction when she reveals where she works is: "That must be really hard, working down there with all the drugs and the prostitution and the alcoholism" (interview, February 20, 2015). These are common stereotypes faced by Indigenous people throughout Canada. These stereotypes draw on discourses of racism and sexism, and are unfortunately stereotypes that go beyond individual prejudice to also appear in media coverage and the Canadian health care, education, and justice systems (Browne & Smye, 2002; Harding, 2006). Mary regularly encounters a general lack of knowledge about Indigenous peoples. She said that a teacher once asked her about the difference between Innu and Inuit²⁰, because he was not sure what the distinction was (interview, February 20, 2015). This lack of knowledge points to a wider systemic problem of colonization in Newfoundland's education system, as a teacher who is supposed to be teaching students about Indigenous peoples does not know himself the basic distinctions between two different nations.

Mary feels that colonization has different effects on women and men, particularly due to the disconnection and loss of culture and language that comes with colonization. She credited this to women's gendered roles in many Indigenous cultures, saying:

The woman is expected to stay behind and then take care of the kids mostly and hold down the fort, the home. And hold down and preserve the culture and pass everything

²⁰ Two of the Indigenous peoples of Labrador, the mainland portion of the province.

along. So I think that responsibility and then the inability to live up to that responsibility, the weight of that is on women more so than men I think. (interview, February 20, 2015).

Mary acknowledged that this type of gendered role might appear to be sexist in Western worldviews, but it is something that resonates deeply with her and with many Indigenous women that she encounters. Osenontion and Skonaganleh:rá (2009) explain that women's roles are valued differently in Kanien'kehá:ka (Mohawk) culture: "She had her specific responsibilities to creation, which were different, but certainly no less important, than his" (p. 453). Not being able to pass along Indigenous culture to children can be one of the most harmful effects of colonization for Indigenous women. Mary said she sees many more women than men trying to reconnect with their Indigenous cultures through programs run by the organization that she works for, and sees this as a positive step for countering the harms of displacement through colonization.

Resettlement

Margaret

Margaret had just started a family when the island community she called home in Placentia Bay began to be resettled. Margaret said she and her husband discussed the situation and together they made the decision to move to a regional growth centre, because they felt that they had "no other choice" (interview, January 12, 2015). An intersectional analysis shows that gender, religion, Newfoundland culture, and government policy informed Mary's experience of displacement through resettlement and its effects on her family.

The parish priest was the person who Margaret recalls introduced the petition for resettlement to the community, and announced at the same time that he would be moved to another community soon. Margaret said that this was very upsetting to the community, as “the parish priest was our lifeline for health and wellbeing” (interview, January 12, 2015). Blackmore (2003) explains that faith and spirituality underlie Newfoundlanders’ sense of place and identities, especially in conditions of hardship and isolation, which were the realities of many outports at the time of resettlement. Given the announcement of the priest leaving, it is little surprise that the majority of the community signed the petition to resettle. Here an intersectional analysis shows how the cooperation of two different institutions, the church and the government, affected Margaret’s family’s and other families’ experience of resettlement, and the reliance of community members on the church gave them little choice but to move.

While resettlement was upsetting for Margaret, and she returned home often in the summer, she said “I don’t regret resettlement” (interview, January 12, 2015). In her interview, Margaret positioned her reasons for not regretting resettlement in relation to her gendered roles as mother and later, housewife turned worker. She explained:

I think my children got a better education because of the resettling. They had more opportunities, they could partake of more sports than I could when I was a child...there was television and electricity and everything was progressing in those years, so, you know, they did not feel that they were deprived of anything and because I was so pleased with the way that turned out, I didn’t feel deprived either. (interview, January 12, 2015)

Margaret also recognized that, in her home community in the 1960s, the only available roles for women were mother and housewife. Moving to growth centres and larger communities was

liberating for many women, including Margaret. She said, “lot of the women probably furthered their education if they could, and went on with their lives in the workforce, which would probably never have taken place if they lived their life in [name of home community]” (interview, January 12, 2015). Margaret herself worked for 20 years in the nearby fish plant after she finished raising her children.

Donna

Donna also grew up in a small island community in Placentia Bay. Her community began to be resettled when she was 14 years old. Donna said she was vehemently opposed to moving, but had little choice in the matter. In fact, she said “they [her parents] dragged me out cause I wouldn’t go” (interview, January 14, 2015). Ageism, sexism, ableism, colonialism, classism, and capitalism in the context of Newfoundland’s changing fishery frame Donna’s experience of displacement.

Two aspects of her identity, her age and gender, limited her choice under the government resettlement policy that was in place until 1975. Government officials consulted only adults in discussions about resettlement and only adults were allowed to sign resettlement petitions. This policy failed to recognize that children form bonds with place from a very young age (Sandberg, 2003), and many have something to say about a decision that affects their lives in such a profound way. Further, even if Donna was an adult at the time resettlement came to her community, resettlement policy documents given to community members about the consultation process were directed toward householders, and were explicitly gendered ‘he,’ with the exception of widows (Department of Community and Social Development, 1971; Office

of the Premier, 1959). Male heads of household were assumed to speak for all members of the household, including adult women. Additional gender (and ability) biases in these documents is shown through requests for information during the first resettlement program about the “number of able-bodied men” in the community, “number of men working at home,” and the “number of men normally working away from home” in a community being considered for resettlement, but not the number of women in each of these categories, or men or women with disabilities (Office of the Premier, 1959, p. 4)

Donna’s story also reveals some of the colonialist and classist assumptions on the part of the federal and provincial governments that shape resettlement policy. Donna believes that her home community already provided a good quality of life when resettlement was introduced. She described the island as having four stores, a school, electricity, antenna televisions, a party telephone system, wells with clean water, a coastal boat connection with nearby islands and the mainland, midwives and nurses that came by boat on a regular basis, and annual deliveries of coal for winter heating. She felt that her two outfits of clothes that she rotated on a weekly basis were more than adequate for her needs at the time. Though her family only had money once a year when her father sold his fish, they were able to make that provide for what they needed. While this is certainly not the way of life that ‘townies’ and those living in growth centres were used to, Donna indicated that she was not aware of anyone in the community who did not have a good standard of living by local standards. This is not the view of one of the provincial government’s central architects of the resettlement program, Frederick Rowe, who described outpost life as “near-medieval, a life of continuous drudgery for the women, dole for the men, illiteracy for the children” (Gard, 1986, p. 28). The assumptions that a

Western, industrialized, capitalist society is the only model that promotes wellbeing and that outport community members are living in a 'primitive' or 'backward' state and need to be saved from those conditions by outsiders, are assumptions embedded in colonization as a system of power, and underlie neo-colonial development agendas in the Global South as well (Butler, 2015).

Donna said her family's life changed significantly when they moved to a growth centre. The life of an inshore fisherman's family in an outport community had a gendered division of labour, where all members of the family had a role (Porter, 1995). Donna described this in the context of her family:

My brother had to get down in the boat and throw the fish up on the wharf, and then when we started to clean it, Dad was doing one thing, Mom was doing something else.

My brother was doing his thing and I was doing my thing. We all had to help. (interview, January 14, 2015)

Post-resettlement, Donna's father stopped inshore fishing, first working on offshore draggers and then went to work in the fish plant in the growth centre. She says that this changed their family dynamic, as there was no longer this type of family bonding activity on a regular basis. Davis (1995) notes similar effects on family and community dynamics in other communities affected by the restructuring of the fishery. Donna's family also became much more integrated into the cash economy, and found themselves having to purchase many more things, like food and clothing in a store. This is very different from the subsistence economy that characterized their outport life, where her mother grew or raised the bulk of the family's food, like many women in Newfoundland outport communities (Porter, 1995). This increased need for cash

sometimes put a strain on her family's finances, which were borne by her mother when her father was away on the draggers.

Victoria

When resettlement came to Victoria's community on Placentia Bay in the early 1990s, she was a teenager and happy to move. Gender, social status, aging, and ability were all social categories that influenced Victoria's perception of her family's move and its effect on their wellbeing.

Centralization had been largely successful during previous resettlement programs and Victoria's community was one of only a few isolated communities left in the region. The schoolteacher and priest had left the community long before, the children had a 1.5 hour bus ride to the schools in the nearest growth centre, and going to church or purchasing something in a store required a minimum of a 20 minute drive to the nearest small community. While Victoria does miss the way of life in her home community – "it was quiet" and "there was always wildlife around" – sometimes, she said that resettlement was "definitely more convenient" for her and her family (interview, January 14, 2015). At her age, she wanted to spend time with friends who lived in the communities closer to her school, which was very difficult when she had been living in the outport community due to the distance. She described this as "we'd get out of school like 2:30 and it would be 4:00 or so before we'd get home, or quarter to 4, so it was a long drive" (interview, January 14, 2015).

In Victoria's home community, and many others in Newfoundland (O'Leary & Pelley, 2010), it was a mark of social status and a patriarchal norm that fishermen "kept their wives,"

meaning her mother never had an opportunity to work outside the home until after they had resettled (interview, January 14, 2015). Victoria said her mother's sense of wellbeing increased after they moved to their new community and she was able to take a home care job. She stated, "I think after awhile they [her parents] got used to [the new community and lifestyle], they knew they were better off" (interview, January 14, 2015). Her mother's job also provided additional income for her family once her father retired, as he was much older than her mother. The intersection between aging and ability in the context of poorly maintained road infrastructure in her home community were also factors in the decision to resettle for Victoria's family. She said:

The decision was made by the roads. My parents were getting older, and it was a dirt road and there wasn't many people left...As they were getting older, I guess they were realizing that retirement was gonna happen, sickness was gonna happen. (interview, January 14, 2015)

Victoria reported that it was not uncommon for the road to her community to be impassable for days in the winter after a harsh storm, or for it to be damaged in rainstorms in other seasons. She said that paving and plowing the road promptly were not priorities for the government, as there were only three families left in the community. It was a concern that should her aging father fall ill, that he would not be able to travel to the hospital about 45 minutes away or that an ambulance might not be able to get to the community. Victoria feels that this concern was alleviated when they moved to their new community, "the hospital was closer" and the community was connected to the nearby regional growth centre by a paved road (interview, January 14, 2015).

Outmigration

Keara

Keara left Newfoundland immediately after high school to pursue an undergraduate degree in Ontario, and is currently completing a law degree on the mainland. Displacement has affected Keara's identity and wellbeing while living away. Gender, ethnicity, and nationalism in the context of Newfoundland's culture and economy have contributed to Keara's experiences of displacement.

Keara has largely enjoyed her time living away, admitting that she "always had this wanderlust" but there have been times where she has felt out of place, in part because "you end up having to defend yourself and your province a lot more" (interview, January 8, 2015). Keara, like many other Newfoundlanders and a number of scholars (Delisle, 2008; Fuller, 2004; King & Clarke, 2002), understands 'Newfoundlander' as a type of ethnicity, in her words "a collective" with its own set of cultural practices and dialect (interview, January 8, 2015). While living on the mainland, the practices that are common in Newfoundland culture, such as waving or saying hello to everyone you see, or using particular words and expressions, can make Newfoundlanders feel out of place. However, this collective understanding of ethnicity can have positive effects for Newfoundlanders living away. Keara said "you meet other Newfoundlanders and then you feel kind of at home. You have your little niche again" (interview, January 8, 2015). Connecting with other Newfoundlanders on the mainland renews Keara's connections to home and helps her to maintain her cultural wellbeing.

Besides experiences of feeling out of place because of her ethnicity, Keara has had some experiences where she has been marginalized because of her ethnicity. Keara finds the assumption of many Canadians about Newfoundlanders' accents infuriating, saying, "Just because you're from Newfoundland doesn't mean that everybody's accent is the same" (interview, January 8, 2015). She also feels that Newfoundland is "butt of the rest of Canada's jokes" and noticed that, when she moved to Ontario, "there were very little reference to Atlantic Canada or Newfoundland except in a joking manner" (interview, January 8, 2015). When ethnic stereotypes are combined with power, which devalues people and cultures based on those essentialized stereotypes, social exclusion can occur (Phillips & Gully, 2013). Keara says she sometimes feels out of the place on the mainland because:

You know that they [other Canadians] never will see you as one of them... they'll never identify you as...someone that has an understanding of the region that you're living in outside of Newfoundland. I feel that they're very "You're a Newfoundlander. You understand Newfoundland. That's all you get. Do this work." Instead of "Hey, why don't you branch out? You've lived here for four years, you understand the dynamics, blah, blah, blah. Let's talk about this." (interview, January 8, 2015)

This can be understood as a kind of tokenism based on ethnicity (Phillips & Gully, 2013). These kinds of experiences prevent Keara from fully integrating into the region she is living.

Newfoundland's cultural constructions of gender also shape Keara's experience of outmigration. Keara feels that women who leave Newfoundland are judged by other Newfoundlanders in a more punitive way than men and this is a potential reason why fewer women choose to migrate. She said:

It's still the women that run the community and run the families for the most part... So when a woman leaves, it's different than when a man leaves. I think they're judged differently. They're looked at differently. And that's really unfortunate. (interview, January 8, 2015)

Newfoundland's particular cultural construction of womanhood almost exclusively in relation to a caregiving role within the family and wider community is one that Porter (1993, 1995) links to the history of the sexual division of labour within the fishery. This is an industry that has defined popular understandings of Newfoundland culture. In Keara's experience, this cultural construction has meant that she has faced harsh judgment and blame from family members for leaving the island and not staying to take care of her parents. While she stands behind her decision to pursue an education on the mainland, "I knew there is more out there to discover," she did acknowledge that these kinds of judgments affect her sense of wellbeing while living away as "it's hurtful when you hear that" (interview, January 8, 2015).

When she left, Keara hoped to return to Newfoundland to pursue a career. Now, she wonders if that will be possible. One reason is related to Newfoundland's economy. Keara feels that the salary and benefits for her chosen career as a lawyer are substantially less in Newfoundland than a similar job on the mainland. She also feels there is bias against Newfoundlanders who have left for education by those who have remained, that exclude them from available jobs. She said:

People now look at me as an outsider in terms of getting in the system, for whatever career I want to do, besides private defence law. That would be the only way that someone would hire me, and they likely would pick someone that did their undergrad in

Newfoundland and did their law degree in Atlantic Canada and then wanted to come back. (interview, January 8, 2015)

Keara linked this to an enduring system of Newfoundland nationalism²¹, while not naming it as such, which operates as a kind of hegemonic discourse on the island (Thomsen, 2010). She said:

I feel like we are very focused on the Newfoundland culture so much that it's beaten to death in the province, within the province. And I love to celebrate the Newfoundland culture and the Newfoundland lifestyle, but I think we need to look beyond that at times, and expose our people to new experience. (interview, January 8, 2015)

When this nationalism results in Newfoundlanders who left by choice being constructed by those that remain as betraying their Newfoundland identity, Keara thinks "you're further alienating those that left" (interview, January 8, 2015).²²

Rose

Rose also left Newfoundland to pursue her education, in her case a graduate degree in Ontario. Class, education, kinship, aging, and rurality are all aspects of Rose's identity that have affected her displacement while living away.

Rose said she was happy with her decision to leave the island. She described her experience:

²¹ Newfoundland nationalism often manifests as an intense pride of place, shaped by a collective cultural memory of independent Newfoundland and perceived feelings of marginality within Canada.

²² See the article "Living Away and Longing For Home: Newfoundland Outmigration, Diaspora, and the Question of Return" for a more thorough discussion of this point.

I left from [first university in Newfoundland] to go do my PhD in Ontario. And never got back, simply because of education and employment...my own family, my parents very much wanted me to come back to Newfoundland, you know, small family and all. But I mean, it's also very realistic that you find a position that you're going to be happy with and this [job] worked out very well (interview, February 26, 2015).

After graduating with a PhD, Rose was able to secure a well-paying job that allows flexibility in working hours and location, and paid periods of leave. This flexibility and leave, along with her socio-economic status, has meant that Rose is able to return home frequently. At the time of our interview, she was on leave and said "I go there usually every month, because my [family member]²³ is still in Newfoundland" (interview, February 26, 2015). These frequent trips, aided by her choice to leave for education, help Rose to maintain her connections to Newfoundland and mitigate some of her feelings of being out of place when living away. These trips also help her to fulfill the gendered expectations of caregiving shaped by the cultural constructions of womanhood discussed above.²⁴

Rose mentioned several distinct examples of times her displacement has been especially evident to her. One in particular is shaped by differing cultural constructions of family relationships in Newfoundland and the province where she lives now. She noted, in Newfoundland:

²³ More precise identification of family member removed at the request of the participant.

²⁴ See also the article "Living Away and Longing For Home: Newfoundland Outmigration, Diaspora, and the Question of Return" later in this thesis for additional discussion of this aspect of gender in relation to Rose and Keara's experiences.

It's nothing to drop in and have a meal with someone without being invited. You know if you showed up at your grandmother's house, well you'll just naturally be there, have a meal and stay all night if you wanted to. I don't perceive that as the way of [current province]. (interview, February 26, 2015)

She continued to say that her husband's family does not work in quite the same way, and dropping in or making plans to spend time with extended family spontaneously is not a common practice in her experience. Hallett (2010) writes that kinship and close family relations are important features of Newfoundland culture and this seems to resonate with Rose's experience.

Rose has said that a permanent move home to Newfoundland is "unlikely" (personal communication, November 28, 2015). The intersection of aging, rurality, and government service provision is evident in Rose's thought process. She said, "I'm not sure I could [live] in a small town, in small town Newfoundland, because there's certain challenges to living there for sure, not the least of which would be health care" (interview, February 26, 2015). The community Rose calls home is very small and rural, about 50 kilometers from the nearest larger centre that has doctors, a hospital, and other public services. There is no public transportation to this larger centre from Rose's home community. It is understandable that, anticipating the mobility limitations that often become part of our lives as we age, combined with Newfoundland's harsh winters which often impede driving long distances, and the lack of essential public services in the scattered small communities that line the coast, Rose, and many other Newfoundlanders, discourage a permanent return to their home community their retirement.

Summary

When we use an intersectional analysis to examine women's experiences of displacement, we can unsettle some of the dominant stories of displacement that exist in Newfoundland. In this summary, I purposefully do not make judgements about if one woman's experience of displacement has been 'worse,' 'more oppressive,' or 'more harmful' than another women's experiences, trying to acknowledge the differences in experiences and positionalities without attaching moral judgement to those differences, following Hillsburg's (2013) approach. In doing so, I recognize that each woman has a story to tell that has been silenced within the more dominant discourses of displacement that are prevalent on the island and every story is of value and should be heard.

The stories of the seven women who participated in this research show that for women in particular, gender is an aspect of their identity that greatly affects their experience of displacement. Age, ethnicity, Indigeneity, class, and ability are some other aspects of identity that also affect experiences of displacement. Systems of power associated with identity categories, including sexism, racism, colonization, and capitalism, are implicated these seven women's stories of displacement. Interactions with a number of institutions, including the legal system and the provincial and federal government, also shape displacement and are made visible through an intersectional analysis.

Even women who have experienced the same process of displacement can have different experiences. A comparison of Sheilagh and Mary's stories show this quite clearly. Both women identify as being displaced through colonization, and Newfoundland's culture, shaped

by its roots in English and Irish heritage, is a factor that has affected each woman's experience of displacement. For Mary, Newfoundland's culture has made her feel that she belongs. However, for Sheilagh, this has meant that her father's Irish heritage was dominant, and her mother's Mi'kmaq heritage remained unknown for a long time. A comparison of Margaret, Donna and Victoria's stories about resettlement, and Rose and Keara's stories about outmigration can reveal similar patterns, where interactions with the same structure or system of power have different effects for differently-positioned women.

This in-depth analysis shows that displacement affects women differently depending on their social locations, and their interactions with the wider historical, social, and political processes that shape the social construction of place in Newfoundland. These themes will be explored further in the three articles that follow.

Article – Exploring the Politics of Displacement: Neoliberalism, Neo-Colonialism, and Women's Lives in Newfoundland

(Article submitted to *Social Politics*)

The island of Newfoundland is one of two regions that make up the province of Newfoundland and Labrador in Canada, and was the last province to join Confederation in 1949.²⁵ The island has a history that is imbued in stories of displacement, which informs Newfoundlanders' sense of place (Blackmore, 2003). This article examines three processes of displacement that have occurred in Newfoundland – colonization, resettlement, and

²⁵ This research only considers the island of Newfoundland. Labrador has a distinctly different history and social and political context.

outmigration – that have affected Newfoundland women’s sense of identity and wellbeing. Similar processes of displacement have and are occurring elsewhere in the world. Many Global South countries and settler states are dealing with the legacies of imperialism and its contemporary challenges for social and economic development. Unfortunately, forced resettlement, in relation to resource extraction and development, infrastructure expansion, and urbanization, is a common story around the globe. Stanley (2004) suggests that over ten million people per year are displaced and involuntarily resettled by one or more of these phenomenon. Migration in search of work and economic prosperity is both a common reality in a rapidly globalizing world and a common solution when facing violence and conflict. Given the common themes found in a wider global context, the stories of displacement told by Newfoundland women and the insights of my analysis can inform work on displacement in other contexts and is relevant to both local and international audiences.

Using a feminist intersectional lens, this article explores how neoliberalism and neo-colonialism, and their related systems of power including racism and sexism, are evident in Newfoundland women’s experiences of displacement through the processes of colonization, resettlement and outmigration. Intersectionality helps make visible the discourses that shape displacement in Newfoundland, as well as its gendered and material effects. Many aspects of the experiences of displacement of the seven women who participated in this research can be linked to Newfoundland’s joining Canada in 1949. I argue that in the process of entering Canadian federalism, the provincial government agreed to or implemented a series of policies that today would be recognized as embodying neoliberalism and neo-colonialism, approximately thirty years before these agendas were widely embraced in the 1980s by global

governments, including Canada (Harvey, 2005; McBride, 2005). In implementing these neoliberal and neo-colonial policies, the Newfoundland government assumed the role of colonial power in relation to a number of Newfoundlanders (and Labradorians), particularly those who were Indigenous or lived in rural areas. An analysis of the women's stories reveals that the implementation of these neoliberal and neo-colonial policies carried consequences that resulted in new processes of displacement or changed the dynamics of existing processes.

In this article, I begin with an overview of the concept of displacement and its relationship to intersectionality, neoliberalism, and neo-colonialism. I provide context for the three of processes of displacement in Newfoundland. Following this, each process is examined individually and women's stories are used to illustrate the concrete impacts of neoliberal and neo-colonial policies. I then illuminate some of the political implications of displacement in Newfoundland and ask what critical questions emerge from women's displacement in Newfoundland that have implications for displacement in other contexts.

A Brief Note on Method

This article is a part of a wider research project, which explores the multiple ways that colonization, resettlement, and outmigration are related stories of displacement for Newfoundland women. In the wider project, I use seven semi-structured interviews as my main data source, supplemented by secondary data sources, such as government documents, media reports, and archival materials. All research participants identified as Newfoundland women and as having experienced one or more of the displacements that are the focus of this research. In this article, I draw primarily on interview data and use the lens of intersectionality to explore

how neoliberalism and neo-colonialism have shaped Newfoundland women's experiences of displacement and examine what insights women's stories might provide for understanding displacement in other contexts.

Displacement, Neoliberalism, Neo-Colonialism and Intersectionality

Displacement is a type of exclusion or separation from place, which can have psychological, social, and material effects. Displacement often occurs in the context of violence, dispossession, economic and political marginalization, and neoliberal development agendas (Cho, 2007; King, 1995; Lippard, 1997; Sider, 2014). This is true in both Newfoundland and in many other national contexts. Intersectionality²⁶ is an excellent fit for exploring experiences of displacement. Intersectionality recognizes that individual circumstances, aspects of identity, and systems and structures of power shape individual and collective lived experience and can result in experiences of privilege and oppression in different situations (Hankivsky, 2014). Intersectionality is useful in giving voice to the knowledge and material experiences of silenced and marginalized populations, and illuminating the social and political processes, such as neoliberalism and neo-colonialism, that have led to that silencing and marginalization (Dhamoon, 2011). Analyzing how power operates across multiple levels of experience as well as different levels of society is a political project central to intersectionality.

²⁶ The core ideas of intersectionality have long been present in the theorizing and organizing of women of colour and Indigenous women, as a way of making sense of their experiences at the intersections of multiple systems of power (May, 2012). However the term 'intersectionality' gained prominence in feminist scholarly and activist work in the early 1990s, in large part due to the influential work of Kimberlé Crenshaw (Yuval-Davis, 2006).

The creation of places and senses of place are also political processes. Feminist and human geography provide the understanding that place is socially constructed and that there can be multiple senses of place experienced by different people in a given physical location (Cresswell, 2004). Hallett (2010) writes that feminist geographers understand place as “social relations that are located in space and time, yet are implicated in wider historical, cultural and geographical processes” (p. 76). The social relationships that shape place facilitate inclusion for some people and exclusion, which is a type of displacement, for others (Massey, 1995). Sexism, racism, colonization, and capitalism are just four systems of power that may affect women’s senses of place and displacements. One of the most powerful effects of displacement can be a loss of a sense of community – feelings of belonging and being known in particular place – which are critical to sense of place, and inform wellbeing (Relph, 1976). Displacement, especially forms that involve migration, can also result a loss of social networks, experiences of discrimination, and facing negative stereotypes (Bella, 2002; Boym, 2001; Devine-Wright, 2013; Tilley, 2000). Displacement sometimes has material impacts and in Newfoundland, has resulted in economic hardship, unemployment, and poverty in certain cases (Kennedy, 1997; Sip’kop Mi’kmaw Band, 1998; Stuckless, 2003).

For the purposes of this article, it is helpful to understand neoliberalism and neo-colonialism as discourses with particular material effects. Following the work of Foucault, Lessa (2006) writes that discourses are “systems of thoughts composed of ideas, attitudes, courses of actions, beliefs and practices that systematically construct the subjects and the worlds of which they speak” (p. 285). Discourses thus affect people’s lives, especially when they influence policy decisions that result in displacement. Policies influenced by neoliberal and neo-colonial

discourses are often intended to promote economic development, but can result in displacement and disrupt sense of place. The imposition of neoliberal policies through neo-colonial practices by an economic elite within government is a common story across the Global South. Harvey (2005) asserts that the first example of this was the experiment in forming a neoliberal state in Chile in the mid-1970s. Neoliberalism was widely adopted throughout the early 1980s across the world.

Displacement in the Newfoundland context is primarily understood as local although applicable to displacement in other contexts. For Newfoundland women, displacement can be understood as a loss or disruption of sense of place, through a disconnection from home, culture or tradition, affecting an individual's sense of identity and wellbeing. Displacement may but does not necessarily involve a physical move to a new place. Feelings of loss, exclusion, and of being 'out of place,' 'not at home' or 'not belonging' are common responses to displacement. Displacement is gendered and a product of multiple systems of power, which affect women differently depending on their individual circumstances, social positions and identities.

A multi-level intersectional analysis allows us to ask some thought-provoking questions about the structural and political implications that emerge from women's stories of displacement. These questions include: how do women's stories enable us to understand the processes of displacement through colonization, resettlement, and outmigration, as product of the intersection between neoliberalism and neo-colonialism? How do governments assume the role of neo-colonial power over their own people and affect experiences of displacement?

What are the complications involved in being a government that is at the same time a colonized and colonizing power?

Displacement in Newfoundland

This research centres on three processes of displacement that have affected women's lives in Newfoundland: colonization, resettlement, and outmigration. These processes have the common theme of women not being in control of the changes to their lives, with political and institutional factors at play. Cumulatively, the policies that have resulted in displacement, many of which were influenced by neoliberal and neo-colonial discourses, have affected several hundred thousand²⁷ Newfoundlanders, including the seven women who participated in this research. Together, these processes of displacement inform both official and popular understandings of Newfoundland as place and many Newfoundlanders' sense of identity. Some background context for each of these displacements frames women's experiences of displacement and my analysis.

Newfoundland (Ktaqmkuk²⁸) has been the traditional territory of the Mi'kmaq and Beothuk peoples from time immemorial. Displacement through colonization began with the

²⁷ Exact numbers are impossible to determine but some numbers illustrate the potential impact of displacement. If we combine the total number of members of Miawpukek First Nation (Aboriginal Affairs and Northern Development Canada, 2010), applicants to Qalipu Mi'kmaq band (Friesen, 2014), resettlement estimates (Martin, 2006a, 2006b), and estimates of Newfoundlanders living away (Young et al., 2003), we come up with approximately 348,000 displaced Newfoundlanders. The number is likely much higher due to limited statistical data about each of these processes of displacement.

²⁸ The Mi'kmaw name for the island, meaning "across the waves/water" (Sable & Francis, 2012, p. 22).

Mi'kmaq's and Beothuk's first contact with European explorers, however relationships of colonization have changed over time, and taken new forms since Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949. In 1583, Sir Humphrey Gilbert claimed the island for Britain, though this sovereignty was contested by France until the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 (Jones, 1982). Large-scale permanent settlement along the coast by Europeans primarily of British and Irish origin followed shortly thereafter. A combination of deliberate violence by the settler population, the introduction of foreign diseases, and a lack of access to traditional hunting and gathering areas dealt a devastating blow to the Beothuk people. The last known Beothuk, Shawnadithit, died in 1829 (Neis, 1995). Until quite recently, the official position of the Newfoundland and Labrador (and Canadian governments since Confederation) was that the Beothuk were the only Indigenous people of the island, and that the Mi'kmaq had come to Ktaqmkuk after the Europeans, despite Mi'kmaq oral history and several interpretations of historical documents that counter that position (Martijn, 2003; Robinson, 2012). Thus, Mi'kmaq people have faced many challenges in their struggle for recognition on the island and within Canada. They are one of multiple Indigenous peoples in Canada whose claims to Indigeneity and territory are contested. Two Indigenous women, Sheilagh (Mi'kmaq) and Mary (Métis), participated in my research and identify as being displaced through colonization.

Large-scale displacement through resettlement on the island began when Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949. The new provincial and federal governments argued that the quality of life in many of Newfoundland's small and isolated outport communities was vastly poorer than most communities in mainland Canada, and that a significant financial investment would be needed to bring public infrastructure up to par with Canadian standards (Mayda, 2004).

Centralizing the population in regional growth centres was seen as a way to reduce the cost of public infrastructure, thus three separate government-sponsored resettlement programs were instituted between 1954 and 1975 as a solution to this problem. For most programs, a community vote of 80 or 90 percent in favour of moving was required and families received a small amount of financial compensation for agreeing to move (Morgan, 1997). There are many allegations that the government threatened to withhold vital services to force communities to vote in favour of resettlement (Wright, 2001). Over 28,000 people in 300 outport communities were resettled in just over two decades (Gushue, 2001). Wright (2001) asserts that the resettlement programs “left deep scars in the population” (p. 147). While mass resettlement had ended by 1975, localized resettlement programs continued after that time. In 2013, the provincial government increased the financial compensation available to families who agree to move to \$270,000 (Antle, 2015) – amounts unheard of in the days of mass resettlement. Two communities, Little Bay Islands and Nippers Harbour, have achieved the required vote to be resettled in recent years, however the provincial government has paused the process to wait for a cost-benefit analysis to be completed (CBC News, 2015a; Sherren, 2014). Another two communities, Williams Harbour and McCallum, have voted on resettlement in 2015 (Antle, 2015; Howells, 2015). Three women who experienced resettlement – Margaret, Donna, and Victoria – also participated in this research study.

Migration has long been a reality of life in Newfoundland, but accelerated in the post-1992 period, when the cod moratorium imposed by the federal government devastated Newfoundland’s economy (Nolan, 2007). For many Newfoundlanders, employment is the primary reason for living away, especially for men employed in resource industries (Bella,

2002). This has become the dominant story of outmigration on the island, which is shared through political rhetoric about job creation, folk traditions, and personal knowledge of those who have left the province to find work (Bannister, 2003; Thorne, 2007). However, many Newfoundlanders, women especially, also leave the province to pursue higher education opportunities not available on the island (Walsh, Johnson, & Saulnier, 2015). The 2003 Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place In Canada estimated that 220,000 Newfoundlanders were living away²⁹ (Young et al., 2003). Many people who leave the island for employment or education contemplate returning home someday. Two women who experienced outmigration, Keara and Rose, participated in my research.

Displacement Through Colonization

The excerpts from women's stories below reveal some of the subtle, yet substantive, ways that neoliberalism and neo-colonialism have affected their experiences of displacement through colonization. In Mary and Sheilagh's cases, experiences of displacement through colonization are due in part to the non-recognition of the province's First Nations peoples under the *Indian Act* in the Terms of the Union, the agreement under which Newfoundland joined Canada (Lawrence, 2009). This decision contributes to the lack of knowledge and inaccurate, often racist, stereotypes about Indigenous people in the province, and the lack of attention to the experiences of Indigenous peoples in provincial institutions, including the

²⁹ For comparison, the population of the island in 2003 was approximately 491,000 people (Economics and Statistics Branch, 2015). No calculations have been done since that time to estimate the number of Newfoundlanders currently living away.

education system. The policy of not including the province's First Nations peoples in the federal *Indian Act*, was in part justified, by both the Newfoundland and Canadian representatives in Confederation negotiations, with a notion that the Mi'kmaq on the island had largely been integrated into Newfoundland settler society (Lyon, 1997). Neoliberal policies are widely recognized to ignore structural inequalities (Kingfisher, 2002b), such as the widespread racism faced by Indigenous people in Newfoundland that Sheilagh and Mary's stories illustrate, and focus on minimizing government spending (McBride, 2005). Appropriate recognition as Indigenous peoples and under the *Indian Act* would have made the Mi'kmaq eligible for monetary benefits and social services provided by the federal government, as well as require consultation for any development projects occurring in their territory. Given the provincial government embarked on a widespread program of industrialization shortly after Confederation, appropriate recognition would certainly have impeded or at least slowed this neoliberal development agenda. Through sharing parts of Sheilagh's and Mary's stories below, I made some of the intersectional links between identities and systems of power visible, illustrating where political choices have had consequences for these women's lives and their sense of identity.

Sheilagh's Story

Sheilagh has recently discovered her Mi'kmaq heritage, which is an experience she holds in common with thousands of Newfoundlanders (Robinson, 2012). One of the reasons Sheilagh was so late to know her ancestry was that her mother had little knowledge of her Indigenous heritage. We can link this to historical colonial and more contemporary neo-colonial forces,

including the contested timing of Mi'kmaq arrival on the island, the non-recognition of the island's Mi'kmaq as Indigenous people when Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949, and the struggles for recognition since that time. Robinson (2012) and Lawrence (2009) credit these forces with causing many Mi'kmaq families on the West Coast of the island to hide or deny their Indigenous identities. Related to these forces, and affecting Sheilagh's family, is racism directed towards Mi'kmaq people on the island. Negative stereotypes, widespread discrimination, including employment-related discrimination, and racialized slurs like 'jackatar' were daily realities of life for Mi'kmaq people on the island until relatively recently, when the revival of Mi'kmaq culture began (Lyon, 1997; Robinson, 2012). They continue today, but to a lesser degree. Sheilagh told me that her maternal grandparents sent her mother to a boarding school on the West Coast of Newfoundland. She said "part of that effort was: (a) to get her to speak English cause she only spoke French, cause it was a French speaking family. And her mother wanted to do this for opportunities obviously" (interview, January 19, 2015). Sheilagh recognizes that one of the goals of this boarding school was homogenization, to encourage her mother to assimilate to English settler society and culture. However, the success of this assimilation, coupled with the systems of racism and colonialism which encouraged not probing too deeply into the possibility of Indigenous ancestry, meant that Sheilagh's mother was not in a position to learn about her Mi'kmaq heritage or tell her children about the other side of their family's story until very late in her life. This part of Sheilagh's story shows one of the devastating impacts of the imposition of neoliberal and neo-colonial policies for many Indigenous Newfoundlanders. Similar processes have taken place in other settler states, including Australia, New Zealand and the USA.

Mary's Story

Mary is a Métis woman who moved to Newfoundland about three years ago. Gender and Indigeneity are aspects of Mary's identity that have affected her experiences of displacement, which intersect with sexism, racism, and colonization as systems of power. Mary works for a well-known organization that advocates for Indigenous peoples' rights. She often encounters ignorance about the experiences of Indigenous Newfoundlanders and negative stereotypes about the place where she works, which are influenced by neoliberal and neo-colonial discourses. Mary said a common reaction when she reveals where she works is: "That must be really hard, working down there with all the drugs and the prostitution and the alcoholism" (interview, February 20, 2015). Substance abuse, criminal involvement, and prostitution are common stereotypes faced by Indigenous people throughout Canada. These stereotypes are influenced by racism and sexism, and are unfortunately stereotypes that go beyond individual prejudice to also regularly appear in media coverage and the Canadian health care, education, and justice systems (Browne & Smye, 2002; Harding, 2006). Stereotypes like these that are directed against Indigenous people are also influenced by neoliberal discourses similar to those that criminalize people who live in poverty and seek government income assistance. Chunn (2008) explains:

From a neoliberal perspective, any assumptions or suggestions that social programs and supports are basic necessities, never mind entitlements, are interpreted as unreasonable demands for special treatment. Arguably, then, individuals who seek income assistance are automatically viewed as potential criminals or 'fraudsters.' (p. 86)

In a similar way, the dominance of neoliberal discourses in Canadian society means that it is an easy step for many to move from knowing many Indigenous people receive certain entitlements from the Canadian state, under the *Indian Act* or through the Non-Insured Health Benefits program for example, to labelling those entitlements as “unreasonable” and “special treatment” while ignoring the harms of colonization, to criminalizing Indigenous people. Mary is often confronted by these stereotypes when she reveals where she works.

Mary also regularly encounters a general lack of knowledge about Indigenous peoples. She said that a teacher once asked her about the difference between Innu and Inuit³⁰, because he was not sure what the distinction was (interview, February 20, 2015). This lack of knowledge points to a wider systemic problem of colonization in Newfoundland that manifests in the education system and other public institutions, as a teacher who is supposed to be teaching students about Indigenous peoples does not know himself the basic distinctions between two different nations. A lack of knowledge about Indigenous peoples is a wider global phenomenon and points to the dominance of Western worldviews in government policy and programs.

Displacement Through Resettlement

Experiences of displacement through resettlement, in Margaret’s, Donna’s, and Victoria’s stories below, were shaped by efforts of the provincial-federal resettlement program to match Newfoundland’s standards of living to Canadian standards, centralize communities, and restructure the outport-based fishery (Mayda, 2004). Part of a greater plan to modernize

³⁰ Two of the Indigenous peoples of Labrador, the mainland portion of the province.

Newfoundland, resettlement emerged at a time when Newfoundland was experiencing “increased dependency on federal transfer payments and the courtship of big business to aid in natural-resource development” (Cadigan, 2009, p. 235). This was after the provincial coffers were drained from an “aggressive program” of local infrastructure expansion post-Confederation and the implementation of welfare state programs, including unemployment insurance and public pensions, for Newfoundlanders (Cadigan, 2009, p. 242). Centralizing the population into larger growth centres fits well with neoliberalism, as it reduces the government cost of administering public services to hundreds of small and isolated communities. Neoliberalism also advocates for a form of laissez-faire economics and integration into the global capitalist system as a means of promoting development (Harvey, 2005). This can be seen in government-sponsored resettlement programs aimed at restructuring what was largely a locally-based fishery and small-scale production system pre-1949, into an industrialized fishing and large-scale fish processing and export system after joining Canada. Neo-colonial attitudes were evident in the view of one of the provincial government’s central architects of the resettlement program, Frederick Rowe, who described outport life as “near-medieval, a life of continuous drudgery for the women, dole³¹ for the men, illiteracy for the children” (Gard, 1986, p. 28). The assumptions that a Western, industrialized, capitalist society is the only model that promotes wellbeing and that outport community members are living in a ‘primitive’ or ‘backward’ state and need to be saved from those conditions by outsiders, are assumptions embedded in colonization as a system of power, and underlie neo-colonial development agendas in the Global South as well (Butler, 2015). The excerpts from women’s stories below

³¹ Welfare payments

show how neoliberal and neo-colonial discourses present in resettlement policy affected their lives.

Margaret's Story

Margaret had just started a family when the island community she called home in Placentia Bay began to be resettled. Margaret and her husband discussed the situation and together they made the decision to move to a regional growth centre, because they felt that they had “no other choice” (interview, January 12, 2015). The parish priest was the person who Margaret recalls introduced the petition for resettlement to the community, and announced at the same time that he would be moved to another community soon. Margaret said that this was very upsetting to the community, as “the parish priest was our lifeline for health and wellbeing” (interview, January 12, 2015). Blackmore (2003) explains that faith and spirituality underlie Newfoundlanders' sense of place and identities, especially in conditions of hardship and isolation, which were the realities of many outports at the time of resettlement. Given the announcement of the priest leaving, it is little surprise that the majority of the community signed the petition to resettle. Here an intersectional analysis shows how the cooperation of two different institutions, the church and the government, affected Margaret's family's and other families' experience of resettlement, and the reliance of community members on the church gave them little choice but to move.

While resettlement was upsetting for Margaret, and she returned home often in the summer, she maintained “I don't regret resettlement” (interview, January 12, 2015). In her interview, Margaret suggests that her gendered role as mother led to this view. She explained:

I think my children got a better education because of the resettling. They had more opportunities, they could partake of more sports than I could when I was a child...there was television and electricity and everything was progressing in those years, so, you know, they did not feel that they were deprived of anything and because I was so pleased with the way that turned out, I didn't feel deprived either. (interview, January 12, 2015)

Margaret's story makes visible how government priorities in providing public services to larger centres instead of many isolated outport communities, which was a neoliberal policy choice, affected her family's wellbeing and decision to resettle. Centralizing government services and resources is a common feature of neoliberal policies in the Global South as well.

Donna's Story

Donna also grew up in a small island community in Placentia Bay. Her community began to be resettled when she was 14 years old. Donna said she was vehemently opposed to moving, but had little choice in the matter. In fact, she said "they [her parents] dragged me out cause I wouldn't go" (interview, January 14, 2015). Donna's story reveals some of the neo-colonial and neoliberal assumptions on the part of the federal and provincial governments that shape resettlement policy. Donna believes that her home community already provided a good quality of life when resettlement was introduced. The island had four stores, a school, electricity, antenna televisions, a party telephone system, wells with clean water, a coastal boat connection with nearby islands and the Newfoundland mainland, midwives and nurses that came by boat on a regular basis, and annual deliveries of coal for winter heating. She felt that her two outfits of clothes that she rotated on a weekly basis were more than adequate for her

needs at the time. Though her family only had money once a year when her father sold his fish, they were able to make that provide for what they needed. While this is certainly not the way of life that 'townies'³² and those living in growth centres were used to, Donna was not aware of anyone in the community who did not have a good quality of life by local standards. However, these local standards were not used to judge outport life when creating the resettlement programs, revealing one of the material implications of neo-colonial government policies.

Donna's family's life changed significantly when they moved to a growth centre. The life of an inshore fisherman's family in an outport community had a gendered division of labour, where all members of the family had a role (Porter, 1995). Donna described this in the context of her family:

My brother had to get down in the boat and throw the fish up on the wharf, and then when we started to clean it, Dad was doing one thing, Mom was doing something else.

My brother was doing his thing and I was doing my thing. We all had to help. (interview, January 14, 2015)

Post-resettlement, Donna's father stopped inshore fishing, first working on offshore draggers and then went to work in the fish plant in the growth centre. This changed their family dynamic, as there was no longer this type of family bonding activity on a regular basis. Davis (1995) notes similar effects on family and community dynamics in other communities affected by the restructuring of the fishery. Donna's family also became much more integrated into the cash economy, and found themselves having to purchase many more things, like food and clothing in a store. This is very different from the subsistence economy that characterized their

³² A colloquial term referring to people from St. John's.

outport life, where her mother grew or raised the bulk of the family's food, like many women in Newfoundland outport communities (Porter, 1995). This increased need for cash sometimes put a strain on her family's finances, which were borne by her mother when her father was away on the draggers. This is a common pattern worldwide under neoliberalism, where women are disproportionately the ones who fill in the gaps when neoliberal shifts family's ways of life and take responsibility for finding a solution when resources are limited (Kingfisher, 2002a).

Victoria's Story

When resettlement came to Victoria's community on Placentia Bay in the early 1990s, she was a teenager and happy to move. Centralization had been largely successful during previous resettlement programs and Victoria's community was one of only a few isolated communities left in the region. The schoolteacher and priest had left the community long before, the children had a 1.5 hour bus ride to the schools in the nearest growth centre, and going to church or purchasing something in a store required a minimum of a 20 minute drive to the nearest small community. While Victoria does miss the way of life in her home community – "it was quiet" and "there was always wildlife around" – sometimes, she said that resettlement was "definitely more convenient" for her and her family (interview, January 14, 2015). The intersection between two identity factors, aging and ability, in the context of poorly maintained public road infrastructure in her home community were also influenced the decision to resettle for Victoria's family. She said:

The decision was made by the roads. My parents were getting older, and it was a dirt road and there wasn't many people left...As they were getting older, I guess they were realizing

that retirement was gonna happen, sickness was gonna happen. (interview, January 14, 2015)

Victoria reported that it was not uncommon for the road to her community to be impassable for days in the winter after a harsh storm, or for it to be damaged in rainstorms in other seasons. She said that paving and plowing the road promptly were not priorities for the government, as there were only three families left in the community. It was a concern that should her aging father fall ill, that he would not be able to travel to the hospital about 45 minutes away or that an ambulance might not be able to get to the community. Victoria feels that this concern was alleviated when they moved to their new community, which was much closer to the hospital and connected to the nearby regional growth centre by a paved road. Cutting back state spending is a key feature of neoliberalism in Canada (McBride, 2005), as it is elsewhere in the world, and it is likely that paving or repairing the road to Victoria's community for so few people was not seen as a financially worthwhile decision by the provincial government.

Displacement Through Outmigration

Experiences of displacement through outmigration, in Rose and Keara's stories below, are informed by changes to Newfoundland's economy after Confederation and negative stereotypes about Newfoundlanders that exist in other parts of Canada. Giving control of the fishery to the federal government when Newfoundland joined Canada allowed it to become integrated into the global economy. This resulted in long-term overfishing followed by a cod moratorium in 1992, which put many Newfoundlanders out of work and forced them to

migrate to other parts of Canada. This reflects neoliberal principles which privilege profit and the pursuit of free markets over the wellbeing of people and environment (Harvey, 2005). There is also a widespread feeling among many Newfoundlanders that the overfishing and moratorium could have been prevented, however neo-colonial discourses prevailed, and “the [rural] fisher people, with their nonstandard English, were not perceived [by the federal and provincial government] as intelligent enough to know what was happening or how to best deal with a resource with which they have unquestionable expertise” (Winsor, 1998, p. 36). While Keara’s and Rose’s outmigrations were not necessarily as a direct result of these processes, they do inform Newfoundlanders’ collective understandings of outmigration.

Keara’s Story

Keara left Newfoundland immediately after high school to pursue an undergraduate degree in Ontario³³, and is currently completing a law degree on the mainland. Keara has largely enjoyed her time living away, admitting that she “always had this wanderlust” but there have been times where she has felt out of place, in part because “you end up having to defend yourself and your province a lot more” (interview, January 8, 2015). Her displacement has been shaped by her experiences of ethnicity and Newfoundland’s marginal place within Canada. Keara, like many other Newfoundlanders and a number of scholars (Delisle, 2008; Fuller, 2004; King & Clarke, 2002), understands ‘Newfoundlander’ as a type of ethnicity, in her words “a collective” with its own set of cultural practices and dialect (interview, January 8, 2015). While

³³ Ontario is the Canadian province with the highest population, is home to the nation’s capital, and is generally considered the center of political and economic power in Canada, especially for anglophones.

living on the mainland, the practices that are common in Newfoundland culture, such as waving or saying hello to everyone you see, or using particular words and expressions, can make Newfoundlanders feel out of place. Besides feeling out of place because of her ethnicity, Keara has had some experiences where she has been marginalized because of her ethnicity. She finds the assumption of many Canadians about Newfoundlanders' accents infuriating, saying, "Just because you're from Newfoundland doesn't mean that everybody's accent is the same" (interview, January 8, 2015). She also feels that Newfoundland is "butt of the rest of Canada's jokes" and noticed that, when she moved to Ontario, "there were very little reference to Atlantic Canada or Newfoundland except in a joking manner" (interview, January 8, 2015). Similar types of neo-colonial discourses imposed by Canada that have shaped federal fishery policy and devalued Newfoundlanders' knowledge about this resource, and are mentioned above, can be linked to Keara's experiences of feeling out of place and hearing her identity and her home province be devalued while living on the mainland.

Newfoundland's cultural constructions of gender also shape Keara's experience of outmigration. Newfoundland's particular cultural construction of womanhood almost exclusively in relation to a caregiving role within the family and wider community is one that Porter (1993, 1995) links to the history of the sexual division of labour within the fishery. This is an industry that has defined popular understandings of Newfoundland culture. In Keara's experience, this cultural construction has meant that she has faced harsh judgment and blame from family members for leaving the island and not staying to take care of her parents. The influence of neoliberalism can also be seen here, when family members, most often women,

are expected to take responsibility for the care needs of family members when there are cuts to the social infrastructure of the welfare state (Kingfisher, 2002a).

Rose's Story

Rose also left Newfoundland to pursue her education, in her case a graduate degree in Ontario. Class, education, kinship, aging, and rurality are all aspects of Rose's identity that have affected her displacement while living away. Rose said she was happy with her decision to leave the island. She described her experience:

I left from [first university in Newfoundland] to go do my PhD in Ontario. And never got back, simply because of education and employment...my own family, my parents very much wanted me to come back to Newfoundland, you know, small family and all. But I mean, it's also very realistic that you find a position that you're going to be happy with and this [job] worked out very well (interview, February 26, 2015).

After graduating with a PhD, Rose was able to secure a well-paying job that allows flexibility in working hours and location, and paid periods of leave. This flexibility and leave, along with her socio-economic status, has meant that Rose is able to return home frequently – “I go there usually every month, because my [family member]³⁴ is still in Newfoundland” (interview, February 26, 2015). These trips also help her to fulfill the gendered expectations of caregiving shaped by the cultural constructions of womanhood in Newfoundland discussed above.

Rose has said that a permanent move home to Newfoundland is “unlikely” (personal communication, November 28, 2015). The intersection of aging, rurality, and government

³⁴ More precise identification of family member removed at the request of the participant.

service provision has influenced one thought that has crossed her mind. She said, “I’m not sure I could [live] in a small town, in small town Newfoundland, because there’s certain challenges to living there for sure, not the least of which would be health care” (interview, February 26, 2015). The community Rose calls home is very small and rural, about 50 kilometers from the nearest larger centre that has doctors, a hospital, and other public services. There is no public transportation to this larger centre from Rose’s home community. Anticipating the mobility limitations that often become part of our lives as we age, combined with Newfoundland’s harsh winters which often impede driving long distances, and the lack of essential public services in the scattered small communities that line the coast, Rose, and many other Newfoundlanders, do not anticipate a permanent return to their home community in their retirement. The reduction of public services in Newfoundland’s small communities is part of the provincial government’s neoliberal agenda. Cuts to public services are a common experience in other contexts upon the adoption of neoliberal policies.

Political Implications of Newfoundland Displacement

This analysis shows that in the process of entering Canadian federalism, the provincial government agreed to or implemented a number of policies that today would be recognized as neoliberalism and neo-colonialism. These, in turn, contributed to displacement in the province and affected the lives of many, including the seven women who participated in this research. It is notable that this is approximately thirty years before these agendas were widely embraced by global governments, including Canada, in the 1980s (Harvey, 2005; McBride, 2005). Why these policies were implemented before neoliberalism gained prominence represents an

interesting question. Newfoundland's neoliberal and neo-colonial policies advanced the provincial government's attempt to not be an economic burden when joining Canada, despite its significant amount of debt and much less developed welfare state (Neary, 1996). The idea of not being an economic burden is itself a discourse influenced by neoliberalism, which prizes self-sufficiency and advocates for less reliance on the state for support (Kingfisher, 2002b). The Newfoundland government implemented these policies in attempts to become an equal player among the Canadian provinces within the federation, by contributing positively to the country's economic growth and providing resources, like the fishery and the hydroelectricity in Labrador, that could be of use to the other provinces. After Confederation, the provincial government embarked what is now remembered as a "disastrous program of industrial diversification" with large public subsidies to private companies in an effort to promote the development of megaprojects that were thought to have potential to modernize Newfoundland's economy, but which generally failed in achieving that goal (Cadigan, 2009, p. 241). As well, Newfoundland's fishery was used strategically by Canada in negotiating the international trade deals that were a key part of the country's formal entry into neoliberalism (Kennedy, 1997; McBride, 2005).

While the initial goal of these policies may have been to improve overall wellbeing for Newfoundlanders, these potential good intentions were not fulfilled for many, just as neoliberalism has not benefited many countries in the Global South (Harvey, 2005). These neoliberal and neo-colonial policies marginalized many Newfoundlanders (and Labradorians), especially those who were Indigenous or lived in rural areas, and resulted in their displacement. Neo-colonialism, evident in both Sheilagh and Mary's stories, intensified the negative effects with a devaluing of Indigenous identities and experiences. Neo-colonial attitudes and neoliberal

discourses also influenced resettlement policy, as government planners constructed ways of life in outport communities as 'backward' and 'primitive' as Donna's story shows, meaning these communities were deemed not deserving of government infrastructure and resources. Post-resettlement, many families increased their reliance on the welfare state and make-work programs for basic income, as the well-paying jobs that were promised in new communities often did not materialize (Cadigan, 2009). The remnants of neoliberal and neo-colonial resettlement policy, where more rural areas continue to be denied adequate healthcare and public caregiving infrastructure in particular, combined with Newfoundland's particular gendered constructions of caregiving, have also affected Rose's and Keara's experiences of outmigration, and placed those caregiving responsibilities for their aging family members on their shoulders. Kingfisher (2002a) reports that women worldwide tend to carry a disproportionate burden of care responsibilities when neoliberalism requires cuts to the public sector.

A contemporary example of the tensions involved in the provincial government implementing neoliberal and neocolonial policies is the Lower Churchill Hydroelectricity Project in Labrador. The project has attracted a significant amount of media attention in the province, and Canada more widely. Despite being branded under the slogan 'the power in our hands,' indicating an attempt to reclaim some political power, the province will export hydroelectric power to the province of Nova Scotia and eventually to the USA (Stienstra, 2015), fitting a neoliberal model of integrated globalized economies. In the context of that same hydroelectric project, the Newfoundland provincial government once again acted as a colonial power and only recognized the claims to the territory where the project is situated of one of three

Indigenous nations in Labrador, the Innu Nation (Stienstra, 2015). Two other indigenous groups, represented politically by the Nunatsiavut Government and the NunatuKavut Community Council, have also traditionally lived in or used the area around the project site, and will be affected by the development of the hydroelectric project. However, the federal or provincial governments have not recognized their claims to that particular area of land formally, nor have these groups had access to the same types of impact-benefit agreement processes that were available to the Innu Nation (Executive Council, 2011).

Newfoundland has received fewer benefits than likely anticipated in 1949 when joining Canada, despite taking the role of neo-colonial power over Newfoundlanders and Labradorians in implementing the policies discussed above. Many Newfoundlanders feel that the province was in 1949, and remains today, an Other (Delisle, 2013), a kind of a 'lesser than' and colonized subject in Canadian Confederation, profoundly mistreated by the federal government and judged unfairly other Canadians. Stereotypes of Newfoundlanders as poor, "welfare bums" (King & Clarke, 2002, p. 538), and the province as a "welfare ghetto" (Wente, 2005, p. A1) continue, despite the province's economy booming in recent years. These stereotypes affect Keara and Rose's experiences of outmigration. The politically-charged battles with the federal government over the Atlantic Accord, and the province's rights to its offshore oil revenue, remain present in Newfoundlanders' collective memory (Vézina, 2014). The federal government has also been accused of not following through on its agreement to offset Newfoundland fishers' profit resulting from Canada's free trade deal with the European Union (CBC News, 2015c). As well, Indigenous residential school survivors from the province are not eligible for the compensation awarded to all other Canadian survivors by the federal government, nor has

Newfoundland's newly recognized Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations band had their traditional territory designated federally as reserve land (Brake, 2015; Lawrence, 2009), which affects Sheilagh's experience of displacement. These are just some examples of neo-colonialism on the part of the federal government and wider attitudes in Canadian society. A particular type of Newfoundland defiance, in the form of nationalism, has developed in response to this marginal place within the federation, and has been used by provincial leaders, most recently the former Premier Danny Williams, to rally support against the federal government (Vézina & Basta, 2014). While very appealing to popular sentiments, and certainly affecting Newfoundlanders' voting patterns in recent federal elections (Vézina, 2014), this nationalism has not resulted in Newfoundland gaining any additional substantive political or economic power within the Canadian federation. The system of neoliberal colonialism that the provincial government has become entrenched in constrains its ability to counter its position within Canada.

Emerging Critical Questions

Newfoundland's experience of joining Canada, and the concurrent and subsequent implementation of neoliberal and neo-colonial policies, offers some insight into the political dynamics and displacement when 'less developed' nations, colonies, regions or territories attempt join a more developed nation or alliance of nations, or even integrate into a larger structure such as the global capitalist economy. In Newfoundland, we see neoliberal policies adopted around the world, including cutting government spending and integrating into global markets, in an effort to pursue development and find a place in the global capitalist and political economy. Kingfisher (2002a) puts it well when she states (neoliberal) "restructuring is

to the 'West' what structural adjustment is to the 'rest'³⁵" (p. 5). Like Newfoundland, many Global South countries, particularly in the African context, implemented structural adjustment policies post-independence, as part of their attempts to compete in the global economy, and have resulted in uneven development within countries and entire regions.

Given that Newfoundland began implementing neoliberal policies decades before the invention of structural adjustment policies in the Global South, we can ask some critical and thought provoking questions about the relationship between neoliberalism, neo-colonialism, and displacement. Is the implementation of neoliberalism a prerequisite for less developed nations, colonies, or regions joining a more developed nation, or wider structure, that is dominated by global capitalism? Is taking the role of a neo-colonial power over marginalized populations the only way the government of a less developed territory can implement neoliberal policies? Does implementing neoliberal policies always result in displacement for groups of people who are marginalized in multiple ways within the less developed territory? I do not have the answers to these particular questions but offer them as food for thought to other researchers considering the relationships between development, displacement, and neoliberalism. Harvey (2005) invites us to consider the possibility that the answers to these questions may indeed be yes. He states that neoliberalization has often "entailed much 'creative destruction', not only of prior institutional frameworks and powers (even challenging traditional forms of state sovereignty) but also of...social relations...ways of life and thought...attachments to land and habits of the heart" (p. 3). The stories of women in this

³⁵ The 'rest' is referring to the Global South

research suggest that neo-colonialism supports many of these forms of destruction that accompany neoliberalism.

To conclude, Newfoundland women's experiences of displacement offer insights into the gendered processes of displacement through neoliberalism and neo-colonialism that occur around the world. Colonization of Indigenous peoples, resettlement, and migration are displacements that affect women's lives in many contexts both in the Global North and the Global South. What the stories of Sheilagh, Mary, Margaret, Donna, Victoria, Keara, and Rose tell us is that looking for stories and experiences at the margins can give us much needed insight about the material effects of neoliberal and neo-colonial policy choices on women's lives. Using the lens of intersectionality is an important way of making visible some of the identity and structural factors that affect displacement. These women's stories also show that neoliberal and neo-colonial policy choices do not only negatively affect people of the Global South. There are pockets of the Global North, such as Indigenous and rural Newfoundlanders, who also experience consequences from these types of policy decisions.

Sounds of Identity

Where are you from?
Human obsession with place connection
revealed in the innocence of the question.

[With a smile]
the answer always
Newfoundland
or
Newfoundland and Labrador
a mouthful for the sake of the politically correct.

The breath fueling this statement
comes from the depth of my soul

the root in my heart where my memory of home resides.

[Abruptly]

Where's your accent?

You don't sound like a Newfie.

[Smile broken]

Breath crushed

by the harsh tone and the cutting question
accompanied by its statement of "fact."

[Anger first]

How dare you?

How dare you, you as outsider,
you as expert? Expert in what?

How dare you dismiss the validity of my claim.

I know where I am from.

[Worry comes next]

Your cutting question, your statement of fact
Is the voice of my fear.

[Home for Christmas]

You sound like a mainlander.

That one, a direct blow to the heart.

Breath catches, heart contracts.

My fear realized in that moment,
and confirmed by you, you as insider

you as knowledge holder about this place and our identity.

Speech becomes silence

as I try to pinpoint when this had happened

and the nausea that marks my anxiety

unsettling, deep in my belly.

Where am I from?

[Three days later, at home]

Yes b'y. You knows now what I means. Who owns her?

I stop speaking abruptly,

realizing the weight of my words.

The smile creeps back as the nausea flows out.

My breath once again fueling the words from my heart

As I revel in my identity,

defined, in part, by the sound of my words

and the knowledge that I am not so out of place after all.
I know where I am from.

Reflection – The Impetus of Outmigration

While all three processes of displacement are important, displacement by outmigration is certainly the one that is most close to my heart, given my own experience of outmigration. Outmigration is also a current hot topic in Newfoundland. The publication of two reports by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives which address outmigration (Shaker, 2014; Walsh et al., 2015), as well as the recent development of a provincial population growth strategy justified in part by high rates of outmigration (CBC News, 2015b), serve as evidence for the importance of this issue to Newfoundlanders and the Newfoundland government. Given this, and in the interests of publishing work that is timely and interesting to a broad audience, I have made the choice to devote one article in this thesis to outmigration alone.

The outmigration article plays with the question of ‘what happens when we think of outmigration as a diaspora for Newfoundlanders?’ building from the work of Jennifer Bowering Delisle (2005, 2008, 2013) and explores how it is possible to think that way, based on the experiences of women who participated in my research and myself. In a way, this article has been inspired a response to comments I have encountered several times when I attempt to explain to friends from other parts of Canada and the world, exactly how unsettling my experience of migration was for me and how close my ties to home remain. These comments are often some variation of “How can it be that different? It’s still Canada,” or “Isn’t this lake/river/waterway here pretty much the same as the ocean?” or “How come you don’t sound like a Newfie?” While often well meaning and coming from a place of simply not understanding

or not forming connection to place in the same way, these kinds comments indicate that Newfoundlanders' particular experiences of outmigration and connection to place are not well understood outside the province. Using the lenses of diaspora and intersectionality in the article that follows provides a way to answer some of those comments.

Article – Living Away and Longing For Home: Newfoundland Outmigration, Diaspora and the Question of Return

(Article submitted to the 'Destabilizing Canada' theme issue of *The Journal of Canadian Studies*.

This article emerged from two papers that were presented at the 2015 Canadian Sociological Association Annual Conference at the University of Ottawa, and the 2015 Contesting Canada's Future Conference at Trent University.)

Current economic conditions, limited higher education opportunities and high rates of unemployment have pushed many Newfoundlanders to migrate to other parts of Canada. Newfoundlanders have been identified as having incredibly strong connections to the places they call home – not simply the material structures of their houses but also the land and sea that surrounds their community and, for some, the island as a whole (Tilley, 2010). Geographers have named these connections between people and place as place attachment (Relph, 1976). Newfoundlanders' place attachment has been celebrated most prominently in Newfoundland folk traditions, especially the broad repertoire of folk songs that are loved at home and have made their way to other parts of Canada. Even while living in other parts of Canada, many Newfoundlanders affirm that the island is home and they remain

'Newfoundlanders first.' The experience of 'living away' can contribute to a loss of a vital piece of identity that is tied to Newfoundland's distinct culture and sense of place.

My research explores outmigration as one of several processes of displacements that have occurred in Newfoundland and have had an effect on the identity and wellbeing of Newfoundland women. Women's voices are often overlooked in the dominant stories of outmigration in Newfoundland, and their experiences often differ significantly from men's experiences. Including women's stories is important to ensuring a more accurate understanding of Newfoundlanders' outmigration. In this article, I give a brief overview of place attachment in relation to Newfoundland identity as well as Newfoundland outmigration and its relation to diaspora. Using an intersectional feminist qualitative approach, I argue that the lens of diaspora can give new insights into women's experiences of outmigration and what these experiences can tell us about Newfoundland identity and the marginality of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador within Canada that is felt by many on the island.³⁶ I also assert that an intercategorical approach to intersectionality can make visible some of the complexities of gender, class and ethnicity that affect women's experiences of outmigration, sense of identity and ease of return home to Newfoundland post-migration. These also challenge popular stories about outmigration and provide more nuance to the lens of outmigration as diaspora.

³⁶ This article focuses on the island of Newfoundland, one of two geographic regions that make up the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. I sometimes refer to the province as a whole when making a point about provincial policy.

Methodology

This article comes from a wider research project that explores how colonization, resettlement, and outmigration are related stories of displacement for Newfoundland women. I use a multi-method feminist, intersectional, qualitative approach, with seven semi-structured interviews as my primary data source. Two women who participated in interviews, Keara and Rose, had experienced outmigration and had left the island to pursue postsecondary education in other parts of Canada. The term intersectionality was first coined by Kimberlé Crenshaw in 1989 but the wider principles have been present in the activism and organizing of women of colour and Indigenous women for centuries (May, 2012). Intersectionality recognizes that experiences are shaped our memberships in multiple interconnected social categories, which in turn are shaped by institutions and systems of power, but also celebrates women's agency and strategies of resistance (Morris & Bunjun, 2007). In this article, I take what Leslie McCall (2005) considers an intercategory approach to intersectionality, which focuses on how relationships of power among groups and individuals with memberships in different social categories shape both individual and group experiences of inclusion and exclusion. In the context of Newfoundland, intersectionality helps to make visible some of the unspoken power relationships that shape the island, its people, and its relationship to Canada, and complicates the relationships to Newfoundland as home for women living away.

Feminist geographers have recognized that intersectionality adds an important lens to geographers' understandings of place and place identities. Place can be understood within this feminist geography as "social relations that are located in space and time, yet [that] are

implicated in wider historical, cultural and geographical processes” (Hallett, 2010, p. 76).

Feminist geographers ask how differences of gender, race, class and other social categories influence experiences of place (Kobayashi, 1997). Valentine (2007) writes that while gender and women’s experiences, and even the experiences of specific groups of women, have long been a focus of work in feminist geography, less attention has been paid to the intersections of gender with multiple other social categories and with wider structures and systems of power. She challenges feminist geographers to engage complexity in intersectional analyses within their work.

Place Attachment in Newfoundland

Drawing on postcolonial theory, Motapanyane (2013) suggests that for marginalized populations, migrants and those living in diaspora, home is intensely political. She writes: “home resonates as the familiar and familial site of one’s naming, as a sense of ownership and authentic participation in cultural evolution, as a place of intergenerational history and established roots, as well as a place of mutual recognition in the context of socio-cultural intimacy” (p. 15). This framework for understanding home as place corresponds well to Newfoundlanders’ understandings of home. Women who participated in my research talked of family history in place, knowing the members of their communities, and a sense of shared love for culture as defining their experiences of Newfoundland as home.

Motapanyane’s (2013) description of home invokes what human geographers understand as place attachment and humanistic geographers have understood as topophilia, both of which refer to the emotional bonds that people have with places that shape personal

and collective identities (Devine-Wright, 2013; Relph, 1976; Tuan, 1990). Place attachment can be defined as “the affective link that people establish with specific settings, where they tend to remain and where they feel comfortable and safe” (Hernández et al., 2007, p. 310). Place attachment also manifests as extensive knowledge of a place, both community and landscape, and intense feelings of belonging and concern related to place (Tuan 1990; Oliver 2008). Relph (1976) writes that place attachment is found in “knowing and being known *here*, in this place” (p. 37).

Hillier (1987) was one of the first scholars to publish about Newfoundlanders’ sense of collective identity and remarkably strong attachments to home, which he recognized as being unique among Canadians. The exact nature of this place attachment and the core of Newfoundlanders’ identity is harder to pinpoint (Crummey & Locke, 2004). Some point to emotional connections to the landscape and the ocean, for some a legacy of long family histories in the fishing, farming and forestry industries, or generations lived in small and isolated outport communities, where dependence on local resources was a necessity for survival (Baker, 2012; Blackmore, 2003). Others say that Newfoundlanders are set apart from other English speakers by a distinct dialect, shaped by the relative isolation of the island, with words and phrases that do not exist elsewhere, and what some consider a particularly prominent accent, both of which can be a source of pride for many Newfoundlanders (Baker, 2012; King & Clarke, 2002). Kinship and family relations are also important to many Newfoundlanders’ identities. Large, interconnected extended families are the norm, with family members often living quite close to one another, which forms a vital support system rooted in place (Hallett, 2010). In many small communities, even those not related by blood can be

considered part of the family (Baker, 2012). There is also a shared sense among many that Newfoundlanders are hard workers, friendly, generous, and kind people (Crummey, 2014; Thorne, 2007). As well, the large repertoire of folk songs as a form of oral history certainly help shape Newfoundlanders' collective understandings of the place they call home (Riordon, 2004). The perceived homogeneity of this collective identity is problematized in detail in the second half of this article.

Perhaps one of the strongest elements of this collective identity is a deep sense that Newfoundlanders are different from other Canadians and that the province occupies a marginal place within the country of Canada. Participants in this research, Rose and Keara, expressed that this sense of marginality has become quite clear to them while living on the mainland. The most apparent manifestation of this perceived difference is the separation of Newfoundlanders from 'mainlanders' – a colloquial term for all Canadians who are not from the island – and the use of these distinction to enforce boundaries of inclusion and exclusion among people on the island (Baker, 2012). For much of the time since Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949, it has been a 'have-not' province, and that economic marginality has made itself known through stereotypes of Newfoundlanders as poor and in need of government help (Thorne, 2007; Wente, 2005). Rose has encountered these stereotypes on the mainland, reinforcing the sense that Newfoundlanders were different than other Canadians. She said, "And it wasn't necessarily a good difference is what I perceived from others" (interview, February 26, 2015). As well, this economic and political marginality is reinforced by a perception that Newfoundland has gotten a raw deal in its negotiations with the federal government post-Confederation in relation to natural resources, particularly the Churchill Falls hydroelectric project, the cod fishery, and

most recently, the Atlantic Accord and offshore oil revenue (Ryan Research and Communications, 2003; Vézina, 2014). Keara attested that the topic of Newfoundland's unfair treatment in regard to natural resources was one that she encountered often, saying "you get in a lot of debates with the Québécois about your hydroelectricity" (interview, January 8, 2015).

Newfoundlanders' collective identity is also reinforced by a powerful Newfoundland nationalism or patriotism, which emerged when Newfoundland was invited and refused to join Confederation discussions in 1864, and has continued to thrive in the post-Confederation period (Baker, 2012). The memory of an independent Newfoundland is one which many Newfoundlanders hold dearly, even young people like Keara and myself, who have never lived in a Newfoundland that was not part of Canada (Colton, 2007). Provincial politicians use this discourse of nationalism to their strategic advantage, as it is a discourse to which many Newfoundlanders have a strong attachment. Former Premier Danny Williams, known for his antagonistic relationship with the federal government, successfully used a nationalist discourse around resource development and gimmicks like removing all Canadian flags from provincial government buildings to become the Premier with the most popular support in the history of the province (Vézina & Basta, 2014).

Newfoundland Outmigration

This research identifies outmigration in Newfoundland as a process of displacement – a loss or disruption of sense of place – which involves a physical move accompanied by a sense of disconnection from home, culture or tradition. Displacement is gendered and shaped by multiple systems of power. Migration has been a reality of life in Newfoundland since before

European settlement, however the process of outmigration has accelerated in the post-1992 period, when the cod moratorium delivered a substantial shock to Newfoundland's economy, employment prospects, and many Newfoundlanders' way of life (Department of Finance, 2007; Power et al. 2014). While the search for employment remains a primary motivation for many Newfoundlanders' outmigration, the pursuit of higher education opportunities not available on the island also accounts for many Newfoundlanders living away (Bella 2002; Walsh et al. 2015). A fact overlooked in much of the literature on outmigration is that men and women experience the motivations and effects of outmigration differently (Young et al. 2003). For women, education is a common reason for leaving, as the experiences of participants in this research show. For many Newfoundland men, employment in a resource extraction industry, where women still face substantial barriers to employment, is the dominant story (Walsh et al. 2015).

Even after leaving the province, many expatriate Newfoundlanders maintain that they remain 'Newfoundlanders first,' and have an identity and a homeland that is distinctly different from other Canadians, meaning they never quite feel as though they fully belong in their new place (Crummey & Locke, 2004). As Delisle (2013) states, "For those who do 'choose' to leave, the loss of homeland can still be extremely painful, as it often constitutes both a rupture from place and a rupture of identity" (p. 14). The phrase "home-haunted" has been used by Saunders (2012) to describe the condition of many Newfoundlanders living away (p. 22). Many, including the women who participated in this research, desire to return to Newfoundland some day.

The lens of diaspora

The lens of diaspora can give significant insight to women's experiences of displacement through outmigration, as well as our understandings of Newfoundland identity and Newfoundland's place within Canada. Several elements from the extensive global literature on diaspora are relevant to the context of Newfoundland outmigration. Safran (1991) asserts that the label of diaspora can be expanded beyond its original usage in the context of Jewish exile and be used to describe the condition of some modern collective migrations that meet six specific conditions³⁷ and involve a sense of marginality in the new place. Newfoundlanders living away satisfy many of Safran's conditions, and these characteristics of diaspora give additional insight into the deep connections Newfoundlanders maintain to home while living away. Brubaker (2005) writes that an additional condition of diaspora is "boundary-maintenance, involving the preservation of a distinctive identity vis-à-vis a host society (or societies)" (p. 6), which is also relevant to many Newfoundlanders' experiences. Cho (2007) reminds us that the lens of diaspora should not be separated from "histories of loss and

³⁷ "I suggest that...the concept of diaspora be applied to expatriate minority communities whose members share several of the following characteristics: 1) they, or their ancestors, have been dispersed from a specific original 'center' to two or more 'peripheral,' or foreign, regions; 2) they retain a collective memory, vision, or myth about their original homeland – its physical location, history, and achievements; 3) they believe that they are not – and perhaps cannot be – fully accepted by their host society and therefore feel partly alienated and insulated from it; 4) they regard their ancestral homeland as their true, ideal home and as the place to which they or their descendants would (or should) eventually return – when conditions are appropriate; 5) they believe that they should, collectively, be committed to the maintenance or restoration of their original homeland and to its safety and prosperity; and 6) they continue to relate, personally or vicariously, to that homeland in one way or another, and their ethnocommunal consciousness and solidarity are importantly defined by the existence of such a relationship" (Safran, 1991, pp. 83–84).

dislocation” (p. 12) or considerations of systems of power. While cautioning that the concept of diaspora is at risk of being overused, Brubaker (2005) affirms that many collective migrations for work opportunities can fall under the label of diaspora, if migrants continue their ties to home and their family there. Delisle (2013) was the first to suggest that Newfoundlanders living away can be seen as a diaspora. She writes:

While not every Newfoundlander’s reasons for leaving are the same, together they have formed a culture of out-migration, in which leaving is often expected or considered inevitable, and in which returning is a powerful but often unfulfilled dream. Together, these migrants constitute a Newfoundland diaspora. (p. 3)

The lens of diaspora is a way of recognizing the loss of sense of place felt by Newfoundlanders who live away in a way that the language of migration does not quite capture (Delisle, 2013).

What is a Newfoundlander?

The definition of a Newfoundlander is sometimes contested, thus one of the first questions I asked in my research interviews was: “Do you identify as a Newfoundlander and what do you think it means to be a Newfoundlander?” The answers to the first half of the question were always “yes,” but the articulation of what it meant to be Newfoundlander required a pause and more thought. However, there was startling resonance between the definitions of what it means to be a Newfoundlander by two women living away in my research interviews:

Rose: It's almost us versus them. As a Newfoundlander, I'm not so sure that I'm a Canadian, as much as I am a Newfoundlander first. I guess it's the whole history of Newfoundland, the politics around it, and the fact that we're the butt of a lot of jokes, as a have-not province. So it's very much a sense of being the underdog and having to prove that you're as good as [other Canadians]. (interview, February 26, 2015)

Keara: You have the Newfoundland pride and, I feel to be a Newfoundlander, it's a collective. It's a family, it's a tight knit unit; it's something that no one else in the world can understand. Even if they've experienced it, they don't understand that every community is a family and I think the saying "It takes a village to raise a child" is kind of the Newfoundland way and the Newfoundland spirit of community. And it's going out of your way to help somebody else and being the butt of the rest of Canada's jokes. (interview, January 8, 2015)

These two women show that the way they define being a Newfoundlander is implicitly tied to their sense of being different than other Canadians, and both invoke discourses of collective identity and nationalist sentiment in their interviews. Both also indicate that stereotypes and jokes about Newfoundlanders have informed their strong sense of Newfoundland identity, and contribute to their feelings of being out of place while living away.

Nolan (2007) suggests that attachments to Newfoundland as place and to Newfoundland's unique culture are actually strengthened by outmigration. Rose, one of the research participants, says after leaving the island to pursue a graduate degree:

I was even more aware that I was a Newfoundlander. It wasn't that I was rejecting what else was available to me in terms of an identity but it was more an endorsement of, yeah this is different and this is lovely, but it's not home. (interview, February 26, 2015).

In human geography literature, strong place attachment is often credited with living in a place for a very long time, among other factors (Hernández et al., 2007). However, Newfoundlanders develop these strong place attachments from a young age. Elementary school age children in both urban and rural areas told the Commissioners for the 2003 Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening our Place in Canada that their attachments to the island as home were a vital part of their identities (Young et al. 2003). Outmigration carries a substantial emotional cost for young people who move away and attempts to hold on to their sense of place can strengthen their attachments to Newfoundland.

Diaspora and Newfoundland Identity

The lens of diaspora lends much to our understandings of Newfoundland identity as distinct from the identity of other Canadians. Delisle (2013) argues that the nationalist sentiment that is shared by many Newfoundlanders makes this link to diaspora possible. Many diasporas involve a shared kinship identity, however Newfoundlanders' strong sense of identity tied to place is a fair substitute for that collective identity.

Using the lens of diaspora in relation to women's experiences of outmigration honours women's experiences of feeling profoundly different than other Canadians, both before and after migrating. Differences in language, being mocked for an accent, and being subject to

stereotypes are just some of the examples that appeared in my research interviews with Keara and Rose. Brubaker (2005) writes that the sense of having a unique cultural identity while living away from home, which he terms 'boundary-maintenance,' is one of the markers of diaspora. To some extent this boundary comes from within, as many Newfoundlanders feel they are different than other Canadians. This sentiment was revealed often in my research interviews, with women who had stayed and those that were living away. However, other Canadians also maintain this boundary. Pollara's (2003) survey found that 72 percent of Canadians see Newfoundlanders as having a different cultural identity than other Canadians. Most Newfoundlanders also believe that other Canadians stereotype Newfoundlanders (Ryan Research and Communications, 2003) and that is mentioned explicitly in both Rose's and Keara's descriptions of what it means to be a Newfoundlander above. This sense of being significantly different and being the target of negative stereotypes can intensify women's experiences of feeling out of place after migrating to other parts of Canada.

Part of Newfoundlanders' sense of unique identity comes from an embedded cultural memory of Newfoundland's time as an independent nation. This memory, closely tied to current nationalistic sentiments, shapes Newfoundlander's experiences of outmigration, and can often prevent them from fully assimilating into mainland Canadian society. This nationalism can manifest as an intense pride of place. Rose and Keara told of taking the role of advocates or defenders of the province while living away, by defending the way they speak, confronting stereotypes, and telling of their love for the places they call home. The lens of diaspora allows us to recognize this nationalism, in a way that a framework of inter-provincial migration cannot (Delisle, 2013).

The lens of diaspora for outmigration also recognizes Newfoundland as a homeland for women living away, which my research interviews affirm. Safran (1991) writes that a common story about homeland and a strong desire to return are elements of diaspora, and both elements appeared in my research interviews. Diaspora also recognizes that Newfoundlanders maintain close ties to home while living away, including frequent visits home and continued interest in the wellbeing of their home communities. Many Newfoundlanders who have outmigrated desire to return home someday.

Diaspora and Newfoundland's Place Within Canada

Since Confederation, Newfoundland's place within Canada has been of great concern to the provincial government and many Newfoundlanders. Reflecting this concern, the province established the Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada in 2002. The Commission delivered its final report in June 2003, which reaffirmed Newfoundlanders' sense of collective identity and distinct sense of place. The Commissioners reported that, at the time, there were over 220,000³⁸ expatriate Newfoundlanders living in other parts of Canada and the world (Young et al. 2003). The Commission also attested that there are significant tensions in Newfoundland's relationship with Canada, particularly around outmigration and the conditions that are felt to contribute to high rates of outmigration. Many of these tensions are felt by the women living away who participated in my research. This macro-context can add to

³⁸ To put this number in perspective, the 2014 population of the island was only 499,247 people (Economics and Statistics Branch, 2015)

our understanding of women's experiences of displacement through the lens of diaspora and help us make sense of Newfoundland's place within Canada.

Cho's (2007) reminder of the displacement that accompanies diaspora creates space for us to consider loss of sense of place embedded in the women's experiences of outmigration in my research, due to their strong place attachment to Newfoundland, and allows us to make the link between the displacement through outmigration and diaspora. Keara, one of the women who participated in my research, describes experiencing cold shoulders and feeling isolated from people she met in the large Canadian city where she moved initially after leaving Newfoundland. She states: "You go away and you walk down the sidewalk and no one says hi to you and you're waving and smiling at people and they're avoiding your eye contact and they're looking at you funny" (interview, January 8, 2015). She says experiences like that reinforce the loss of the sense of community and that she left behind at home, and make her feel she wants to go home "almost immediately" because she does not belong in the new place where "the whole culture is foreign to [her]" (interview, January 8, 2015). While living away, many women feel loss due to differences between their new place and their home and culture in Newfoundland. This loss or dislocation can be intensified because often this difference, as Rose, relates, "wasn't necessarily [perceived as] a good difference" (interview, February 26, 2015).

Loss and dislocation are part of a larger story in Newfoundland's relationship to Canada beyond these examples of individual experiences of displacement. On the island, the federal government, both past and present, is culturally constructed by many Newfoundlanders as holding a significant portion of the fault for the economic conditions which lead to high rates of outmigration and this loss of sense of place post-migration (Royal Commission 2003).

Nationalism works on the island to then understand high rates of outmigration as fundamentally a failure of Confederation, and thus the Canadian government, to provide the prosperity promised with an affirmative vote to join Canada in 1949. Newfoundlanders feel that they have made many contributions to Canada, particularly in terms of extractive resources, the fishery, and hydroelectricity, but have seen few of the economic benefits of those contributions return to them (Ryan Research and Communications, 2003). Many Newfoundlanders feel that these contributions, which accompanied a substantial loss of control and independence for Newfoundland, are not recognized for their value by the federal government or other Canadians (Thorne, 2007). Keara notes that hydroelectricity from Churchill Falls has been an issue that has not been recognized for its value by other Canadians in her experience, as illustrated above in reference to the Québécois. Mismanagement by the federal government is blamed on the island for the collapse of the cod stocks which led to the moratorium (Delisle, 2013; Royal Commission, 2003). For many on the island, the moratorium further reinforced the perception that Newfoundlanders were devalued in the context of Canada. Winsor (1998) writes that it was felt that “the fisher people, with their nonstandard English, were not perceived [by the federal government] as intelligent enough to know what was happening or how to best deal with a resource with which they have unquestionable expertise” (p. 36). The increase in outmigration after the moratorium is therefore also linked to the failures of the federal government (Royal Commission 2003). This sense of marginality and of being undervalued within Canada also helps to set the conditions for Newfoundlanders’ outmigration to be viewed through the lens of diaspora. Being dismissed or judged for the way they talked were also experiences that Keara and Rose had while living away, which have broader

connotations of positioning Newfoundlanders as having substandard collective intelligence as a people.

Further, Newfoundland's marginal place within Canada means that Newfoundland women who have outmigrated are often never quite recognized as Canadians by other Canadians or by themselves. This separation from wider society in a new place is one of the conditions of diaspora recognized by Safran (1991). Cho (2007) acknowledges that diaspora is intimately connected to systems of power. Indeed, both Rose and Keara's descriptions of what it means to be a Newfoundlander during my research interviews, as an "underdog" from a "have-not province," and "the butt of the rest of Canada's jokes" speak to their understandings that Newfoundlanders are perceived as an Other within Canada (interviews, January 8 & February 26, 2015). Their descriptions also indicate a sense of collective marginalization as Newfoundlanders living within mainland Canada based on wider social, political, and economic systems of power beyond their individual experiences of displacement.

Challenging Through Intersectionality

Living away also gives Newfoundlanders an essential distance that makes visible some of the particularities of Newfoundland life, not in a way that diminishes their love of home, but certainly gives a more critical perspective of the social dynamics that play out in Newfoundland society. Overton (1988) writes that there is a widely held understanding among Newfoundlanders that "Newfoundland culture unites people across social divisions based on class, religion, gender, region, etc." (p. 11). Looking below the surface to see how this may not be the case for some people is discouraged by cultural norms of solidarity. An intercategorical

intersectional approach can allow us to see how gender, class, and ethnicity as social categories with related systems of power together shape women's experiences of outmigration and relationship to Newfoundland as home. This approach can complicate our understandings of Newfoundland outmigration as diaspora and provide insight on the question of expatriate Newfoundlanders' return.

Gender

Power relations influenced by gender shape women's experiences of outmigration. Women living in Newfoundland have a much higher unemployment rate than other Canadian women, which encourages outmigration (Walsh et al. 2015). However, many Newfoundland women choose to remain close to home, despite limited opportunities for higher education or secure, well-paying employment (Walsh, 2014). Porter (1993) writes that women in Newfoundland have a long history of being the caretakers of the family and community during the height of the fishery, a paradigm that has continued in the post-cod moratorium period, with women still doing a greater proportion of caregiving work within families on the island. Caregiving responsibilities were identified by participants in my research as one of the key ways their experience of outmigration differed from men that they knew who were living away. Participants mentioned Newfoundland's particular gendered expectations of caregiving for parents living at home multiple times. Rose, a participant, made this point quite clearly:

...women traditionally provide care to their parents as they're aging. More is called upon the daughter than the son. And when you're away, and there's not another daughter at home in Newfoundland, I think there's a different

impact of that. You know, you have an expected role and responsibility and it's very hard to meet it. (interview, February 26, 2015).

The reliance on family support networks that is a marker of Newfoundland identity lends itself to this set of gendered relations, where caregiving roles are seen as a primary responsibility of women. In my research, the participants asserted that taking a caregiving role within the family and community is seen as a marker of being a proper Newfoundland woman. Some have faced negative judgement by peers, family or community members when they move away, because they are seen as neglecting their care responsibilities. Keara, in her research interview, described a situation in which a non-immediate family member effectively placed the blame for Keara's mother's health condition on Keara moving away from the province and not being at home with her mother. Intersectionality also encourages us to recognize that, in rural Newfoundland especially, the intersection between limited infrastructure and services and a rapidly aging population make it difficult to find paid caregivers or a space in a caregiving facility for a sick or aging parent. This places even more responsibility on daughters to provide that care. Many women living away feel torn between their own lives and responsibilities away and their perceived responsibilities at home.

Class

Class has always been an important organizing principle in understandings of Newfoundland identity, and certainly shapes women's experiences of outmigration. Class within the province has several dimensions. Firstly, there is a history of exploitation and mistrust of the merchant class among working class fisherman, which Baker (2012) cites as one

of the driving forces behind Newfoundland joining Confederation. Secondly, for many years post-Confederation, Newfoundland and Labrador was a 'have-not' province, reinforcing Newfoundlanders' collective sense of marginality within Canada, and negative stereotypes held by other Canadians (King & Clarke, 2002). Margaret Wente (2005), *Globe and Mail* columnist, giving voice to a widely-held stereotype, famously referred to rural Newfoundland as "probably the most vast and scenic welfare ghetto in the world" (p. A19). The valuing of hard work and overcoming hardship as a marker of Newfoundland identity has strengthened as a method of resistance to these stereotypes, and is associated with a class-based politics (McDowell, 1999). Thirdly, the precarious and insecure nature of work in resource industries in Newfoundland forces many working class workers to leave the province in search of more stable and permanent employment in other parts of Canada (Walsh, 2013). Finally, in national surveys, Newfoundland and Labrador consistently has the lowest levels of residents with undergraduate and graduate degrees relative to other Canadian provinces (Employment and Social Development Canada, 2015; Locke & Lynch, 2003). This potentially contributes to the non-recognition of the value of higher education to the collective wellbeing of the province, which affects the experiences of women who migrate for education reasons.

These dimensions of class relations in Newfoundland mean that leaving the province to pursue higher education is not valued in the same way as leaving for work in a resource-based industry. Intersectionality makes visible the intersections of class with gender in the many barriers for women to employment in resource industries. Another participant, Keara, illustrates how this intersection can play out:

You know going around on a turnaround³⁹...you're doing what you can for your province or your people. You got no other choice. You're going. But to go away for school, it's almost like you're abandoning the province and the people. And they don't see it as you gathering different experiences and different goals that could later help the province, should you choose to come back (interview, January 8, 2015).

As Keara points out, leaving for work resonates with the rhetoric of hard work and overcoming hardship that is a marker of a class-based Newfoundland identity. In a way, leaving for university, especially for a graduate or professional degree, can be seen as leaving to pursue a higher socio-economic status, a personal choice and a personal gain, rather than the perceived collective gain represented by leaving to work in resource extraction industry and sending money home. Women who migrated to pursue education can feel that their choice is less respected and judged more harshly than the choices of others who left for non-education reasons.

Ethnicity

The debate about whether Newfoundlanders embody a distinct ethnicity and/or national identity in technical terms is beyond the scope of this article, however the argument is supported by many in the field of Newfoundland Studies (Bella, 2002; Colton, 2007; Delisle,

³⁹ 'Turnaround' is a colloquial term referring to a common work arrangement in resource extraction industries in Western and Northern Canada where workers leave Newfoundland for a certain period of time and then come home for a shorter break before leaving to work once again. A 'six and two turnaround' where workers spend 6 weeks away and 2 weeks home is an example of this arrangement.

2013; King & Clarke, 2002). An intercategorical approach to intersectionality encourages us to remember that a very real concern in constructing 'Newfoundlander' as an ethnicity, Newfoundland as a nation, or the island as a homeland for expatriate Newfoundlanders is that the classification could potentially erase recognition of the presence of the Mi'kmaq and Beothuk people for whom the island is their traditional territory and home from time immemorial and continue a pattern of non-recognition for the experiences of the Mi'kmaq in contemporary Newfoundland and their land claims on the island (Delisle, 2013; Lawrence, 2009). What is certain is that many Newfoundlanders, both Indigenous and settler, hold a deep sense that they are different from other Canadians – colloquially referred to as the collective term 'mainlanders' – and that Newfoundland occupies a marginalized place within Confederation. While this fosters a climate of inclusion and solidarity among those considered Newfoundlanders, it also often works to exclude, so that new settlers are often not seen as Newfoundlanders by much of the local population, no matter how long they have lived on the island⁴⁰ (Kelly, 2010).

This sense of shared identity also sometimes works to culturally construct Newfoundlanders who have been living away as outsiders by those who have remained. Accusations of sounding "like a mainlander" when returning home, or of being "too good for Newfoundland," along with suspicions of women's motivations for leaving, were reported by some participants in my research. Keara says: "I still have that strong connection to Newfoundland but they associate being gone with being less of a Newfoundlander sometimes.

⁴⁰ There are of course exceptions to this pattern, including one woman who participated in my research.

Which is harm – well it’s hurtful when you hear that” (interview, January 8, 2015). While women still consider themselves to be Newfoundlanders, and maintain their relationship to the island, the sense of feeling excluded and judged when at home, especially by people who do not know them well, is a concern for women living away.

Many human and feminist geographers have noted that the creation of a sense of place often involves defining boundaries of inclusion and exclusion and the construction of insiders and outsiders (Rose, 1995). The construction of these boundaries can be a fear-based response to changing political contexts and the introduction of new people and ideas, with the goal of preserving a particular sense of place or cultural identity (Duncan & Duncan, 2001; Gilmartin, 2008). In Newfoundland, this process can mean that women who have been living away are shifted from insider to outsider when they return home, due in part to the complexities of gender, class and ethnicity made visible through an intersectional lens.

The Question of Return

Returning is the goal of most Newfoundlanders who leave the island. Many, including the participants in my research and myself, return as often as they can for short periods of time. Rose returns once a month if she can, while Keara returns at least twice a year. A permanent return can be complicated, and home can be a site of uncertainty once one has been living away for a time. An intersectional perspective can show us how some of those complications can be due to Newfoundland’s social dynamics and the ways gender, ethnicity, and class intersect to shape women’s experiences of inclusion and exclusion.

Unlike many other diasporas, most Newfoundland women living away retain the option to permanently return home, though that return might not always be easy. Safran (1991) writes that, in other diasporic contexts, people at home can be distrustful or judgemental of those who have migrated and returned, as well as fearful that those who return may “unsettle [the homeland’s] political, social, and economic equilibrium” (p. 94). The stories of women who participated in my research resonate with Safran’s statements, suggesting that fear and judgement can shape experiences of return in Newfoundland’s diaspora as well. Oxfeld and Long (2004) echo Safran’s sentiments and emphasize that the complications of return are due to both the changes experienced by the person who has left and the changes that have taken place at home while they have been away.

Wanting to be close to their extended family support system, the desire to feel rooted and ‘at home’ again, and the gendered expectation that women provide care for their sick and aging parents are all draws which encourage women living away to return home. Women of working age, who want to continue to pursue or start their careers at home, can face challenges. While there are few trades-based jobs at home, there are even fewer professional positions, which require a university education, available, especially in rural areas (Lynch, 2007). This creates few opportunities for highly educated Newfoundlanders to return and find a well-paying job that meets their education level in the area of the province they call home. Ethnicity and class also intersect to play a role in sometimes excluding women who have been living away from available jobs. The ways Newfoundlanders who have been living away can be constructed as outsiders or “less of a Newfoundlander,” can impede their consideration for certain professional positions. Keara, a research participant, perceives that in her field of law,

an employer “likely would pick someone that did their undergrad in Newfoundland and did their law degree in Atlantic Canada and then wanted to come back,” even if someone who had completed all their education away is more qualified (interview, January 8, 2015). There is also the concern that children and partners who have never lived in Newfoundland do not feel the same connections to the island, and would similarly be perceived only as mainlanders, even if the woman who had been living away is readily accepted as a Newfoundlander at home. These are just some of the intersections based on the particularity of Newfoundland’s social dynamics that can complicate returns home for some women who have experienced outmigration.

Conclusion

Returning to Motapanyane’s (2013) description of home – as a place that is familiar, where we contribute to culture, have a history, and feel rooted and included – we can see how outmigration is a political process, a diaspora, and a disconnection from home in Newfoundland on multiple levels, which is affected by systems of power, including those that involve gender, class and ethnicity. Newfoundland women living away who have experiences that make them feel distinctly not at home or that something is missing are experiencing the effects of this displacement.

While understandings of home may shift and become more nuanced while living away, women who participated in my research still consider themselves Newfoundlanders first – maintaining their connections to home, visiting often and contemplating a potential return. They tell other people they encounter away about their pride in the place they call home and act as passionate advocates and educators about the island and Newfoundlanders to other

Canadians. As Rose jokes, when speaking of her children who were born away and have lived in Nova Scotia all of their lives, “I keep reminding them that half of them is a Newfoundlander and it’s the better half” (interview, February 26, 2015). The lens of diaspora and an intersectional approach, which centers women’s experiences, offer much to our understandings of Newfoundland outmigration, Newfoundland identity, and Newfoundland’s place within Canada.

Something Was Different (Rose’s Story)

I.
Even as children,
I knew we were something different.
On the mainland, I perceived
Not a good difference.

Teased in junior high, for
My bad stomach –
 The way we express ourselves
Was a foreign term.

In graduate school,
My accent was in focus,
With people half believing
We traveled by dogsled.

II.
The whole area past Gander Bay,
That’s where my mother’s people come from

Coming home is my grandmother’s house
A pot of her homemade soup
Special little marshmallow squares
Where it’s nothing to drop in uninvited

When I go home
I’m a different person
I parachute in, wander with rubber boots on my feet

Tramping around in a red plaid jacket

It's the water,
Shining on the moon at night.
I learned to swim out there,
Behind our house.

It's challenging to get back now.
I miss the ocean.

Reflection – Finding Connections

Throughout this research I have wrestled with determining precisely how colonization, resettlement and outmigration are related processes of displacement. From the beginning, I have recognized that they have similar effects on identity and wellbeing and involve a loss or disruption of sense of place and thus are related on a more micro and individual level. But I have struggled with articulating how the collective processes of displacement through colonization, resettlement and outmigration are related on a more macro and structural level.

My thinking on this started to evolve as I thought through how I understand primarily understand colonization in the context of Newfoundland, in terms of the colonization of Indigenous peoples. I have come to realize through this research that this understanding is not the automatic association that many people in Newfoundland make when I use the term colonization. Many people understand colonization in terms of British and later Canadian colonial control of the island and do not recognize that the colonization of Indigenous peoples is an important and often overlooked process that occurs on the island. In thinking further about this automatic connection that is often made to the word colonization and asking how that may have come to be the dominant understanding of the word and exploring what

systems of power may have influenced that dominant view, I began to ask how we can acknowledge both versions of colonization as holding different but both valid truths and where that fits in relation to my research.

This train of thinking was the spark for the next article, which explores how resettlement and outmigration can be understood as process of displacement that are part of the story of British/Canadian colonization and how understandings of the colonization of Indigenous peoples disrupt and further nuance that story.

Article – Implicating Colonizations: (Re)Storying Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk As Place

(Article submitted to *Settler Colonial Studies*. A shortened version of this article was presented at the 2015 Atlantic Provinces Political Science Association Annual Conference at Mount Saint Vincent University)

The island of Newfoundland⁴¹ in Canada, known in Mi'kmaw⁴² as Ktaqmkuk, “across the waves/water,” is the traditional territory of the Mi'kmaq and Beothuk people since time immemorial (Sable & Francis, 2012, p. 22). However, this truth was often not, and is rarely today, acknowledged in the official and popular stories of the island as place. These stories illustrate that Newfoundlanders, people who come from and/or live in Newfoundland, have

⁴¹ This paper only considers the island of Newfoundland, one of two geographic regions that make up the present day province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Labrador has a distinctly different history and social and political context. I occasionally draw upon examples from Labrador to illustrate a point about provincial government policy.

⁴² I follow Sable & Francis' (2012) guidelines on the use of the terms “Mi'kmaw” and “Mi'kmaq.”

incredibly strong bonds to the island as compared to most other Canadians' attachments to their home regions and provinces (Hiller, 1987). A discourse of marginalization, which asserts that the province of Newfoundland and Labrador occupies a marginalized place within Canadian Confederation, is also invoked in these official and popular stories. In this paper, I follow the thinking of Veracini (2010) who writes that "Narratives and their availability matter. Narratives are a fundamental part of everyday life, and their construction constitutes an act that allows nations, communities, and individuals to make sense of the world" (p. 96). In the context of Newfoundland, dominant stories construct a particular sense of the island as place, which often work to displace and ignore the histories and experiences of Indigenous Newfoundlanders, especially the large population of Mi'kmaq people living on the island. They also displace and ignore the role that settler Newfoundlanders, past and present, play in perpetuating the colonization of Indigenous peoples on the island. The colonial mindset in Newfoundland must be contextualized within its history and its politics.

Generally, colonization is understood in terms of the British empire's exploitation of the island's settler population, given that Newfoundland was a colony of Britain until 1949. Newfoundland had a brief period of independent government and Dominion status, and then entered Canada's Confederation, with Canada assuming the role of quasi-colonial power upon that union (Baker, 2012; Fuller, 2004). As a person 'born and bred'⁴³ in Newfoundland, it has been my experience that, given this pervasive perspective, Indigenous peoples are only at times mentioned in the context of the European settlers' genocide of the Beothuk people, although typically without the application of the label of genocide. The understanding of the

⁴³ This is a popular expression in Newfoundland

displacement and violence caused by settler colonization, especially in reference to the Mi'kmaq people, is missing from the historical account and from consciousness of many Newfoundlanders. Given that over 100,000 Newfoundlanders have recently applied for membership to the Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations Band (Hopper, 2013), which is approximately one-fifth of the island's population, this a disturbing neglect. This article focuses on women's stories of these two colonizations, recognizing that women's stories often marginalized by dominant stories in Newfoundland, and recognizing that starting from a marginalized standpoint often reveals valuable knowledge and experiences that can unsettle dominant stories (Harding, 2012).

In this article, I ask what happens when we implicate these two colonizations in Newfoundland and how they might help us to restore and retell Indigenous stories and histories, ultimately (re)storying Newfoundland as place. One of the definitions⁴⁴ of implicate as a verb is "to connect or to relate to intimately; to affect as a consequence" (Dictionary.com, n.d.). These two senses experiences and understandings of colonization are intimately related, although this connection is largely ignored. First I give a brief theoretical overview of the two senses of colonization, empire colonization and settler colonization, that exist in tension in this context. I then relate the dominant understanding of colonization present in both official and popular discourses in Newfoundland. I ask how this understanding of colonization must change when we implicate the story of settler colonization in the official story of Newfoundland and in women's everyday lives.

⁴⁴ Thanks to Deborah Stienstra for drawing my attention to this lesser known definition of implicate.

A Brief Note on Methodology

As a settler Newfoundlander, who can trace my family's history on the island to the mid-1800s, I enter this work with a decolonizing intent. I understand decolonization to involve "a process of *acknowledging* the history of colonialism; working to *undo* the effects of colonialism; striving to *unlearn* habits, attitudes, and behaviours that continue to perpetuate colonialism; and *challenging* and *transforming* institutional manifestations of colonialism" (Reinsborough & Barndt, 2010, p. 161; emphasis original). It is time to become accountable for the histories of Ktaqmkuk that have been largely ignored and ask critical questions of our personal, family, and community histories and continued presence in Newfoundland. This accountability is rarely easy and in my case is particularly complicated because "in every index – economic, social, political – since its earliest days, Newfoundland has remained suspended somewhere between Third World colonial conditions and the more privileged status of the white settler states" (Lawrence, 2009, p. 47).

This paper comes from a research project that explored how colonization, resettlement, and outmigration are related stories of displacement for Newfoundland women. In this broader project, semi-structured interviews with Newfoundland women who identify as having experienced one or more of these displacements are my main data source. These interviews are supplemented with primary and secondary data obtained from previous scholarly work; media reports; provincial, federal, and Indigenous government documents; the collection of the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University; and the Legislative Library of the Government of Newfoundland Labrador. I looked to these data sources for points of

intersection, where both the story of colonization from a settler perspective and the story from an Indigenous perspective are implicated, and attempt to find possibilities for “unsettling the settler within” the official and popular stories of Newfoundland as place (Regan, 2010, p. 11).

Empire Colonization

Colonization is “the conquest and control of other people’s land and goods” (Loomba, 2015, p. 20) and involves the domination of one group by another (Chilisa, 2012). In the context of Newfoundland, Britain assumed the role of primary colonial power in the pre-1949 period. Many Newfoundlanders feel that Canada is now in this role, having taken over much of that control of Newfoundland’s ‘land and goods’ post-1949, especially the fishery, which falls under federal jurisdiction in the Canadian government system.

A primary goal of European colonization was the establishment of an empire of dependent colonies, a process often referred to as imperialism (Abernethy, 2000). The goal of imperialism is threefold: “access to, control of, and profit from the land, resources, and labour of dominated people” (Butler, 2015, p. 36). Newfoundland was a primary target of European colonial powers, due to its abundant fishery and accessible location on the eastern coast of North America. Once colonial control was established, European colonial powers typically ruled colonies from afar, with true political power and primary decision making resting in the mother country, which also received the flow of profits (Gilmartin, 2009). The colonial power would typically set up some form of government structure within the colony itself, which would carry out and enforce the will of the central government in Europe (Loomba, 2015). The people living

in colonies were particularly vulnerable to economic and labour exploitation by the colonial power due to the structure of imperial relationships (Abernethy, 2000).

Colonization, capitalism and racism are intimately related. Current forms of both colonization and capitalism emerged in Europe around the same time. As Loomba (2015) writes, “We could say that colonialism was the midwife that assisted at the birth of European capitalism, or that without colonial expansion the transition to capitalism could not have taken place in Europe” (p. 22). Colonization helped to set the groundwork for the conditions necessary for primitive accumulation, which is the necessary first step of capitalism – seizure of land with abundant natural resources and establishing control of less powerful Indigenous and poor settler populations whose labour could be exploited in this new system (Butler, 2015; Loomba, 2015). Abernethy (2000) writes that European colonial powers were the only empire builders in history who were convinced that those they conquered were fundamentally inferior to themselves. This belief in inferiority justified European feelings of entitlement to the land, resources and labour of colonized Others, which Butler (2015) argues is “fundamentally racist” (p. 28).

Settler Colonization

Settler colonization refers to a particular process of colonization, where large-scale settlement of settlers originating from the colonial power, overwhelming and often outnumbering the Indigenous populations, was the primary means of establishing colonial control over a territory (Veracini, 2010). It typically occurs within the context of empire colonization, and continues once the former colony has declared independence or joined an

independent country. Former European colonies that are now settler colonial states include Canada, the United States, Australia and New Zealand. Newfoundland can be considered a settler colony/state both before and after Confederation, and implicating the stories of settler colonization and empire colonization can help us see how this status has emerged.

Settler colonization differs across contexts, however can share a number of common features. These features include: the establishment of a racial hierarchy with white, European settlers at the top and Indigenous peoples and racialized Others below; enacting violence against Indigenous peoples to assert settler sovereignty; and seizing and occupying land through the displacement of Indigenous peoples (Loomba, 2015). The creation of a racial hierarchy justifies the violence and seizing of land (Harper, 2009). Essentially, “in order for the settlers to make a place their home, they must destroy and disappear the Indigenous peoples that live there” (Tuck & Yang, 2012, p. 6). The Europeanization of the Indigenous peoples and the concurrent Indigenization of the settler population is an instrumental practice of settler colonization (Veracini, 2010). Settler colonization also operates on a cultural and epistemological level. It devalues and marginalizes Indigenous ways of being and knowing, resulting in the delegitimizing of knowledge forms based on relationships to land and oral history (Loomba, 2015).

White settlers in settler colonial states may argue that they also experience hardships due to empire colonization. While this is often true, the magnitude of harm is substantially different than the harm faced by Indigenous peoples. As Loomba (2015) eloquently states, “No matter what their differences with the mother country, white populations here [Australia, New Zealand, Canada] were not subject to the genocide, economic exploitation, cultural decimation

and political exclusion felt by indigenous peoples or by other colonies” (p. 30). Settler colonization as a system of power continues in the present day in settler states in order to maintain the legitimacy and sovereignty of the state itself, as well as to justify contemporary settlers’ privilege, presence, and property ownership in Indigenous territory (Butler, 2015; Lawrence, 2010). Tension and denial are common responses of settlers when confronted with the realities of settler colonization, especially when coming to terms with their place and responsibilities within the system (Butler, 2015). These tensions are particularly evident in Newfoundland, given that extreme poverty and hardship were part of settler experiences of empire colonization as well.

Newfoundland’s Typical Understanding of Colonization

As mentioned in the introduction, the majority of settler Newfoundlanders think of colonization predominately in terms of a history of exploitation by the British Crown and now the Canadian government, not in terms of colonization of Indigenous peoples. This is not only a public opinion, but also one widely shared by government, educational institutions, and in folk traditions. This became particularly clear to me during one incident while doing research at the Centre for Newfoundland Studies at Memorial University. The Centre maintains a collection of periodical article files on a number of topics relevant to Newfoundland history and society. When I pulled the file called ‘colonization,’ I was surprised to see that it contained only periodical articles about John Cabot’s ‘discovery’ of the island and the trials of early European settlement, with absolutely no mention of the displacement of Indigenous peoples necessitated by that settlement. Given that Memorial University is a post-secondary institution with a

commitment to pursuing research concerning Indigenous peoples and includes social justice among its strategic research themes (Memorial University, 2015), this example indicates that despite progressive efforts on the level of policy, the dominant understanding of colonization is still quite prevalent. This typical understanding of colonization has several key elements including: original settlement and the establishment of a British colony, Confederation, government resettlement programs, and outmigration. In the sub-sections below, I explore how these events are understood today in the context of empire colonization by the women who participated in my research as well as in my secondary data sources.

British Colony

The British declared their sovereignty over the island of Newfoundland in 1583. In the centuries that followed, France and Britain wrestled for control of the island and its plentiful fishery, until the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 awarded control of much of the island to Britain (Jones, 1982). Permanent settlement started shortly after that time, with the bulk of new settlers forming small villages on the coast and islands in Newfoundland's inlets and bays, known colloquially as outport communities. Settlement was forbidden before that time, in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, but some early settlers defied the law and the Crown to stay on the island over the winter, instead of returning to Europe at the end of the fishing season. Blackmore (2003) credits stories of this early settler defiance with laying the groundwork for an understanding of Newfoundland identity and history that relies on celebrating tales of challenging authority and overcoming hardship. It has become part of the cultural memory of many Newfoundlanders.

Once more permanent settlement began, merchants assumed considerable political and economic power in the colony of Newfoundland, especially in the small outport communities that dotted the coastline (Bannister, 2003). The relationship between merchants and local fishing families was typically one of dependency, as “local merchants provided fishermen with boats and equipment for their work and food and supplies for their families” (Clover & Harris, 2005, p. 20). This created an environment where there was high vulnerability for exploitation and many fishermen in small and isolated outport villages often lived near poverty by today’s standards, while merchants profited from the results of their labour in the fishery, often dangerous work that took men away from their families for long periods of time (Baker, 2012). This system did not generally allow fishing families to accumulate wealth and often left fisherpeople feeling powerless against the monopoly of the merchant system. Despite the merchant system being removed during the industrialization of the fishery, the memory is still quite near for many Newfoundlanders. Sheilagh, one of my research participants, stated that this still has an effect on Newfoundlanders today, especially in regard to their place within Canada: “there’s also an ingrained mentality that is a constant battle of, you know, trying to prove your worth because of that old merchant mentality, that people were never enough” (interview, January 19, 2015). Much of Newfoundland’s literature, oral tradition and folk songs talk about the injustice of the merchant system on the island and Newfoundlanders’ resistance and persistence, which helps to fuel Newfoundland nationalism (Baker, 2012; Colton, 2007; Fowler, 2004).

Newfoundland enjoyed a brief period of independent government from 1855 until 1934, when the bankrupt government was replaced by a Commission of Government, with

commissioners appointed by Britain (Jackson, 1993). The return to more direct form of British control was widely supported among the merchant class, who felt the democratic, independent government was not representing their economic interests (Webb, 2001). The loss of independent government created pessimism among many working-class Newfoundlanders and opened the possibility of revisiting the question of Confederation (Blackmore, 2003).

Confederation as Shifting Colonial Powers

Newfoundland was the last province to join Canada, in 1949, after a referendum asking Newfoundlanders to choose between joining Canada or returning to independent government supported Confederation with 52 percent of the vote (Delisle, 2008). Forty-eight percent of voters wished to return to independence. When Newfoundland joined Confederation, the federal government took care of the former colony's remaining debts and extended the program and services of the Canadian welfare state to its residents (Thomsen, 2010). Many Newfoundlanders understand Confederation as shifting colonial power from Britain to Canada, and creating a new form of colonial relationship between Newfoundland and Canada. This move was marked by nationalistic understandings of Newfoundland identity, tensions around Canadian control of the province's resources, and perceptions of the province holding an unequal status within Confederation. For example, despite the affirmative vote in the referendum, many Newfoundlanders, including many of the women who participated in my research, describe themselves as "Newfoundlanders first," an identity distinct from other Canadians. Margaret describes this eloquently when she states, "Our Newfoundland island belongs to Canada now but I'm a Newfoundlander first" (interview, January 12, 2015).

Margaret's comment reflects the widely held understanding that Canada has assumed the role of colonial power in relation to Newfoundland and the sense of Newfoundland pride, and nationalism in some cases, that has emerged from that understanding.

In a 2003 survey commissioned for Newfoundland and Labrador's Royal Commission on Renewing and Strengthening Our Place in Canada, 65 percent of Newfoundlanders and Labradorians said that natural resources, including the fishery, minerals, hydroelectricity, oil, and forestry represented the province's most significant contribution to the country since joining Confederation (Ryan Research and Communications, 2003). The same survey showed that a significant portion of Newfoundlanders were dissatisfied with the province's place within Canada, and reasons relating to federal control of natural resources accounted for about one-third of dissatisfied responses (Ryan Research and Communications, 2003). There is a strong current of Newfoundland nationalism on the island, driven in part by feelings Newfoundland's resource contributions not being recognized by the federal government or other Canadians and Newfoundland is not getting a fair share of the profit from the resources. Sheilagh says that she feels that there is an "idea that in comparison to mainland Canada that we were always a dependent in some sort of way, when in reality we were the ones providing all their rich resources and such that benefited the country on a whole" (interview, January 19, 2015). This kind of thinking was drawn on in the early 2000s by then Premier Danny Williams, who pushed for a renegotiation of the Atlantic Accord and a more just profit-sharing agreement for offshore oil revenue between the provincial and federal government. Thorne (2007) writes that:

From the perspective of Newfoundlanders, this fight was a chance for Newfoundland to use its natural resources for local development instead of sending all profits to Ontario

and forcing Newfoundland into the continued status of an underdeveloped and unsustainable province. It was the image of a colony demanding the right to self-sustainability instead of being continuously raped of its resources in order to support the wealth of the more powerful colonizer. (p. 62)

Thorne's assessment rings true for many Newfoundlanders who feel the island has gotten a raw deal since joining Canada.

Many Newfoundlanders and the provincial government depict the province as not having an equal status within Canada. Provincial Speeches from the Throne regularly reaffirm that the provincial government feels that Newfoundland is not given equal power within Canada (Bannister, 2003). Many participants in my interviews pointed out that they felt the province was not respected. Rose said "we're the butt of a lot of jokes, as a have-not province" (interview, February 26, 2015). Newfoundlanders were publicly called "welfare bums" by former Alberta Premier Ralph Klein and a popular columnist, Margaret Wente, called the island "the most vast and scenic welfare ghetto in the world" in a national newspaper (King & Clarke, 2002, p. 538; Wente, 2005, p. A19). Decisions of Canadian institutions have also contributed to these feelings of inequality. The Supreme Court of Canada repeatedly ruled against the province in its efforts to reclaim some of the profits from the Churchill Falls hydroelectric agreement with the Province of Québec, as well as determined in the 1980s that the province had no rights to oil off its shores⁴⁵ (Baker, 2012).

⁴⁵ However, this decision was rendered null when a change in federal government resulted in a reopening of negotiations between the federal and provincial governments and the subsequent development of the first Atlantic Accord.

Resettlement

The primary goal of resettlement in Newfoundland was to promote economic development and illustrated colonial actions by the Newfoundland and Canadian governments. At the time of Confederation, the standard of living of the majority of outport communities was considered well below the Canadian standard by the federal and provincial government (Mayda, 2004). A member of the provincial government described outports as “near-medieval, a life of continuous drudgery for the women, dole⁴⁶ for the men, illiteracy for the children” (Gard, 1986, p. 28). Many rural Newfoundlanders who experienced resettlement felt that this view of their communities and ways of life were inaccurate and imposed by outsiders – ‘townies’⁴⁷ in the provincial government, particularly Premier Joey Smallwood – under substantial pressure from the federal government. The solution proposed was a series of three government-sponsored resettlement programs that lasted from 1954 until 1975 (Morgan, 1997). In total, over 300 small outport communities were resettled by 1975 (Gushue, 2001). The agenda for economic development that played out in Newfoundland, linked to perceptions of outport life as primitive or backward, closely resembles the neoliberal development agenda forced on many post-colonies in the Global South after the end of formal British colonialism.

Many Newfoundlanders allege that resettlement was forced on them, despite the illusion of choice in official resettlement policy (Boland, 2003; Matthews, 1987). One participant, Donna, says she felt like Smallwood and the provincial government “drove us [her

⁴⁶ Social assistance cheques from the provincial government

⁴⁷ Term for people who are from or live in St. John’s, the provincial capital, and often used in a derogatory sense when used by people from rural areas.

family] out” of their small island community (interview, January 14, 2015). The government threatened to remove essential services from many outport communities, such as the local priest or minister, the teachers, postal services and the coastal boat, which was the only mode of public transportation between many isolated communities, leaving many with the feeling they had no other choice but to leave (Gushue, 2001; Margaret, interview, January 12, 2015; Thurston, 1982). There is very little choice left when essential services are removed.

Outmigration

Many Newfoundlanders and provincial politicians blame the federal government for mismanaging and causing the collapse of the fish stocks and the subsequent outmigration (Delisle, 2008). When it assumed control of the fishery, the Canadian government allowed both foreign and Canadian boats with advanced, industrialized fishing technology to fish within the boundaries of the 200-mile limit. This placed much more strain on the cod stocks than previous, less technologically advanced, versions of the Newfoundland-based inshore and offshore fisheries (Kennedy, 1997). The dominant perspective of Newfoundlanders is that the Canadian government ignored warnings from local fisherpeople and scientific evidence and allowed the fish stocks to be decimated for its own gain, in particular to improve its relationship with other nations, to the detriment of Newfoundland’s culture and way of life (Kennedy, 1997; Thomsen, 2010; Winsor, 1998). This practice echoes vestiges of the past colonial model, when Britain also used Newfoundland’s fishing resources for its own gain, and is arguably a form of neo-colonialism. The moratorium on cod fishing that was imposed by the federal government in 1992 devastated Newfoundland’s economy. Despite retraining and make-work programs, many

former fisherpeople, fish processing workers, and those whose jobs were indirectly connected to the fishery were unable to find new jobs on the island and were forced to look elsewhere in Canada for work (Kennedy, 1997). Vézina (2014) asserts that after the cod moratorium, many Newfoundlanders “felt betrayed by the federal government. The government was seen as taking away a part of their pride, their main source of livelihood and, most importantly, their national identity” (p. 108). For many Newfoundlanders, this reinforces sentiments that joining Canada has not really resulted in the prosperity that was promised, and that the province may have lost more than it has gained (Marland, 2014).

Many Newfoundlanders also link current outmigration to the changes that came to Newfoundland with resettlement. Victoria, a research participant, said of one of her friends: “And when she came down here [new community], she moved after resettlement, of course she went away after the first year down here or so, and she hardly ever came back. She went to Alberta.” (interview, January 14, 2015). Matthews (1987) writes that this pattern of being resettled and then moving out of the province for work was a common one for Newfoundlanders. The jobs that were promised in new communities did not always come to be and those that found work in fish processing plants in the new growth centres were often out of a job after the moratorium (Morgan, 1997). Outmigration dramatically rose after the cod moratorium was put in place by the federal government (Lynch, 2007). Outmigration to other parts of Canada can be associated with an ongoing colonial process that historically involved the transfer of labour to other parts of the British empire.

Implicating Settler Colonization in the Official Story

Settler colonization in Newfoundland is evident primarily through the lack of knowledge about the realities of colonization regarding the Indigenous peoples of the island and Labrador, or even that there are Indigenous people in contemporary Newfoundland (Robinson, 2012).

This is expressed eloquently by Mary, one of the women who participated in my research. She says, “There are so, so many Newfoundlanders, even [in St. John’s], that have no awareness of even the new resurgence in identifying as Qalipu. And they don’t know about Conne River and they don’t know the difference between Innu and Inuit” (interview, February 20, 2015).

Countering this lack of knowledge is an essential step in a process of decolonization on the island.

Challenging the dominant discourse of colonization is another essential step. While the grievances of British and Canadian colonization are certainly material and felt in the lives of many Newfoundlanders, including many Indigenous Newfoundlanders, implicating the story of settler colonization is important to creating accountable stories of Newfoundland identity and Newfoundland as place. Veracini (2010) identifies multiple processes of displacement, which he calls transfers, that work alone and in conjunction to support settler colonization. Many of these processes can be identified in Newfoundland’s context of settler colonization. There are places where the official and popular stories of colonization from a settler perspective can be unsettled by stories of settler colonization and an Indigenous perspective.

Settlement and Colony

The story of Newfoundland’s settlement and time as a British colony is typically not one that recognizes the presence of and challenges faced by Indigenous peoples on the island. For

example, only one settler Newfoundland woman who participated in my research acknowledged the presence of Indigenous peoples when the Europeans arrived. One of the most visible examples of settler colonization in Ktaqmkuk is the genocide of the Beothuk (Pi'taw in the Mi'kmaw language) people. This is an example of what Veracini (2010) calls a "necropolitical transfer," where Indigenous peoples are displaced by settlers through violence, disease, policies, and practices which ultimately lead to mass death (p. 35). A number of scholars credit deliberate acts of violence of settler Newfoundlanders against Beothuk people, as well as the introduction of European diseases and settler encroachment on Beothuk coastal territory depriving them of access to essential food sources, as the primary causes of their deaths (Chafe, 2004; Harris, 2008; Marshall, 2009; Neis, 1995). Both official and popular stories of Newfoundland history suggest that Shawnadithit, who died in 1829 of tuberculosis, was the last surviving Beothuk, however Mi'kmaw oral history tells of Pi'taw people who were adopted into Mi'kmaq families to hide them from Europeans and of Mi'kmaq hunters finding Pi'taw camps in Ktaqmkuk's interior well into the 1870s (Marshall, 2009; Wetzel, 1995). The official position of the colonial government is clear in a 1837 report to the central British government, which reported "'In the colony of Newfoundland it may therefore be stated that we have exterminated the natives'" (Carter, 2010, p. 203).

A second example of where settler colonization can be implicated within the official story of Newfoundland history is the pervasiveness of the story that is known as the Mi'kmaq mercenary myth, by many Indigenous Newfoundlanders as well as settler allies and scholars who work within a decolonizing framework. The myth – "a pile of rubbish" in the words of one woman who participated in my research (Sheilagh, interview, January 19, 2015) – is still very

much alive and accepted as truth by many Newfoundlanders and government officials, and works to deny the Ktaqmkukewa⁴⁸ Mi'kmaq their identities and rights as an Indigenous people of the island (Lawrence, 2009). The myth is an example of “transfer by conceptual displacement,” another process identified by Veracini (2010), which he describes as “when indigenous peoples are not considered indigenous to the land and are therefore perceived as exogenous Others who have entered settler space at some point in time and preferably after the arrival of the settler collective” (p. 35). The myth denies the oral history that Ktaqmkuk has been the territory of the Mi'kmaq people since time immemorial, and asserts that the Mi'kmaq people currently living in Ktaqmkuk are descendants of Mi'kmaq men who were brought over from Cape Breton by the French and paid to kill Beothuk people in the eighteenth century and support the French war on the British (Martijn, 2003; Robinson, 2012). The myth has been proven false, but still lives on to assuage some settler guilt over the genocide of the Beothuk people (Bartels, 1992). Its pervasiveness can partially be explained in that the myth has been cited and re-cited widely as truth in many scholarly and peer-reviewed sources, including one as recently as 2010 (Carter, 2010). The myth, and other theories which place the Mi'kmaq on the island only after European arrival⁴⁹, have been tremendously harmful for Mi'kmaq people on the island. They have been used as a justification for their exclusion from Indian status in the Terms of Union when Newfoundland joined Confederation, greatly prolonged the land claim negotiation processes, and regularly reinforce racist attitudes (Jones, 1982; Lawrence, 2009; Martijn, 2003).

⁴⁸ People from Ktaqmkuk

⁴⁹ See Martijn (2003) for a thorough and well-documented refuting of multiple theories of contested timing for the arrival of the Mi'kmaq in Ktaqmkuk.

Terms of the Union and Joining Canada

Confederation is another important point where implicating settler colonization helps us better understand Newfoundland history. Four different processes of settler colonization have influenced official and popular stories of Newfoundland as place in relation to Confederation. The first process is one identified by Veracini (2010) as “perception transfer” (p. 37), which involves not acknowledging the presence of Indigenous peoples in a territory. Prior to Confederation, there was no formal colonial or representative government agency responsible for Mi’kmaq people on the island. Because of this, there was no accurate census data on Mi’kmaq people that could be used during the negotiations of the Terms of the Union, the agreement under which Newfoundland joined Canada (Wetzel, 1999). Tanner (1998) reports that several land grants were set aside for Mi’kmaq communities by the Colonial Government⁵⁰, however this was not recognized in negotiations or by Canada after Confederation. Lawrence (2009) writes that a 1947 draft did include entitlements for the Mi’kmaq and Innu in Labrador under the *Indian Act*, however that was written out before the final terms were agreed upon. Lyon (1997) reports that both parties felt that the Mi’kmaq people had been assimilated into wider Newfoundland society, thus did not need to be included under the *Indian Act*, and therefore were not recognized as Indigenous peoples when Newfoundland joined Confederation. As a result, “Newfoundland and Labrador is the only province in which Canada decided to entirely ignore its fiduciary responsibility to First Nations people” (Hanrahan, 2003,

⁵⁰ Referring to the period of government as a Crown colony before Newfoundland gained Dominion status.

p. 217). While the federal government did recognize a certain amount of their fiscal responsibility in 1953 (Proctor, Felt, & Natcher, 2012), providing the provincial government with funds for some social services for Indigenous people, until 1987 the Beothuk remained “the only official Aboriginal inhabitants of the island” (Robinson, 2012, p. 2). It is somewhat ironic that while Indigenous peoples were written out of the Terms of the Union, the production of margarine on the island was deemed important enough to have its own term in the agreement (Sip’kop Mi’kmaw Band, 1998), reflecting the success of displacement through perception transfers.

A second process, a process of transfer by “repressive authenticity” (Veracini, 2010, p. 40) supplemented the above arguments as to why the Ktaqmkukewaq Mi’kmaq were not recognized in the Terms of the Union and have struggled since in their attempts to gain rightful recognition. Repressive authenticity refers to the policies and practices which define what makes an Indigenous person ‘authentic’ and then construct only ‘authentic’ Indigenous people as deserving of land, rights and entitlements. Displacement by repressive authenticity works to support the argument that the Ktaqmkukewaq Mi’kmaq are not authentic Indigenous peoples and thus do not need or deserve to be recognized as such. The work of Proctor (2012) gives us further insight into this process of displacement, in the context of land claim negotiations in Labrador by the Labrador Inuit Association, now the Nunatsiavut Government. We can assume the federal and provincial governments hold similar standards for the Mi’kmaq people on the island. Proctor (2012) writes “According to a LIA negotiator, the federal and provincial governments followed a template for what constituted ‘Aboriginalness’ that was made up of lands, subsistence harvesting, and forestry” (p. 201). This type of thinking is very limiting for

Indigenous peoples, and represents a type of structural violence, where in order for Indigenous peoples to be considered authentic, they must limit their activities to those considered 'traditional' in the opinion of the colonial government. Any engagement in Western or settler activities makes Indigenous people seem less authentic in the eyes of the government, and therefore less deserving of recognition and entitlements (Proctor, 2012). At its core, this persistent need for Indigenous peoples to prove their authenticity represents racial discrimination, as no other ethnic or cultural group in Canada is required to limit their activities in this way to gain their constitutionally guaranteed rights. This process of repressive authenticity is particularly devastating for the Ktaqmkukewaq Mi'kmaq, as many years of intermarriage with settlers, language loss, denial of heritage, racial discrimination, and seeking jobs in Newfoundland's capitalist wage economy makes it very difficult to meet the government's standards for authentic Indigeneity (Lyon, 1997). Sharpe (2007) notes these difficulties in an account from a research interview with a Mi'kmaw woman: "She lists hunting, fishing and berry picking as 'typically' Aboriginal activities, while noting that European descended Newfoundlanders engage in the same activities" (p. 85).

One group of Mi'kmaq people on the island, those affiliated with Miawpukek⁵¹ First Nation, "achieved reserve status in 1987" after many years of struggle, including the writing of the Jones report, which commissioned by Premier Brian Peckford on behalf of the provincial government to discredit their land claim (Jones, 1982; Robinson, 2012, p. 2). However, the other Mi'kmaq people on the island, currently organized under the banner of Qalipu Mi'kmaq First Nations band, have faced additional challenges. Since 2007, those accepted as members of

⁵¹ Commonly known by its English name, Conne River.

the band have been given status under the *Indian Act*, but agreements have never involved designating reserve land for members of Qalipu like other First Nations across the country (Lawrence, 2009; Robinson, 2012). Relationships with land are at the core of Mi'kmaq identity (Lawrence, 2009), thus many members of Ktaqmkuk's Indigenous community feel that "a landless deal for a Mi'kmaq nation is absolutely ludicrous," to quote the words of Sheilagh, a research participant (interview, January 19, 2015). The process of transfer via repressive authenticity works to construct members of the Qalipu band as not as authentic as other Indigenous peoples in the eyes of some Newfoundlanders and the federal and provincial governments, and thus not deserving of land and other Indigenous entitlements in negotiations (Robinson, 2012). Sheilagh explains that the current Qalipu negotiation process sometimes seems as if the goal "is to weed people out and so the next generation, after that, everybody will be died off and it'll [Qalipu] be no more" (interview, January 19, 2015). The disappearance of Indigenous peoples is one of the goals of settler colonization more generally, showing that the process is not unique to Newfoundland.

The third processes of settler colonization that is relevant to Confederation and Newfoundland's joining Canada is a type of "narrative transfer" (Veracini, 2010, p. 42). One type of narrative transfer relies on the narrative that settlers have become indigenous in the absence of Indigenous peoples. This works to "deny a particular ontological connection linking indigenous peoples to their land" (Veracini, 2010, p. 43). The denial of the presence and rights of Mi'kmaq people in process leading up to Confederation works to support the dominant narrative of empire colonization and the prominent Newfoundland nationalism that has emerged from that understanding of Ktamqkuk's history. As Lawrence (2009) writes, "To claim

that the only Indigenous people on the island are extinct is to make contemporary Newfoundlanders unequivocally heirs to the land” (p. 47). The genocide of the Beothuk, along with the multiple methods of discrediting the Ktaqmkukewaq Mi’kmaq discussed above, left space for settler Newfoundlanders to make a claim of belonging to the island and being its only distinct culture and people. This narrative is widely shared in government documents, family oral histories, and Newfoundland’s folklore traditions. The 1982 Jones report, which refuted the Mi’kmaq land claim, was commissioned by Brian Peckford, one of the province’s most nationalist Premiers (Baker, 2012), and relied on this narrative, which works to support Newfoundland nationalism. The Indian and Inuit Support Group (1982) accurately pointed out that this intervention by a provincial government is unheard of in Canada, as Indigenous land claims are a federal issue in the Canadian government system. This example shows the strength of the process of narrative transfer for Newfoundlanders and the Newfoundland government and its connections to Newfoundland nationalism. Without implicating the story of settler colonization in our understandings of Newfoundland history, insights like these in relation to the process of joining Canada, would remain largely invisible.

Resettlement and Outmigration

Attempts to implicate settler colonization in official and popular understandings of resettlement and outmigration are a little more difficult. We know very little specifically about the magnitude and nature of the resettlement and outmigration experiences of Indigenous peoples in Newfoundland, unlike those of settler Newfoundlanders. However, given the number of Newfoundlanders who have recently reconnected to their Indigenous heritage, we

do know that Indigenous people must have been affected by these displacements. At the time of writing, I know of no source that disaggregates resettlement or outmigration statistical data by ethnicity, let alone by Indigenous nation. The West Coast of the province has historically the largest regional population of Mi'kmaq people on the island (Robinson, 2012), thus it is safe to assume that resettlement and outmigration in the Bay St. George and Port au Port areas in particular affected a significant number of Indigenous people. At least one resettled community, Sandy Point, had a documented Mi'kmaq population (Hanrahan, 2014).

Several examples of resettlement are worth mentioning here in the context of settler colonization, but are not evident in official stories of Newfoundland history. While not part of the formalized government resettlement programs post-Confederation, Robinson (2012) reports that, under the Commission of Government⁵², land belonging to Mi'kmaq families was forcibly seized in the late 1930s for the construction of the United States Air Force base in Stephenville, affecting the agricultural self-sufficiency of these families and forcing their resettlement. As well, forced resettlement of other Indigenous peoples, the Innu, Inuit and Métis, took place in Labrador, the mainland portion of the province, about ten years before mass resettlement was well underway on the island. The resettlement in Labrador was justified and carried out in similar ways to resettlement on the island. Indigenous ways of living were painted as 'backward' and essential services were withdrawn as a precursor to resettlement (Evans, 2012; Sider, 2014). The devastating legacies of the resettlement of two Inuit communities, Nutak and Hebron, were recognized by an official apology from the Premier of

⁵² The Commission of Government is the period between 1934 and 1949, when Newfoundland reverted to colony status and was ruled by a Commission appointed by the British government.

Newfoundland and Labrador in 2005 (Executive Council, 2005). No such acknowledgement has occurred for the Mi'kmaq people of Newfoundland.

In Everyday Lives

While certainly a wider structural issue, settler colonization has material effects in Indigenous peoples' everyday lives. The sections below explore several areas where women who participated in my research identified experiences of displacement through settler colonization.

Who Counts as Indigenous?

The question of who 'counts' as Indigenous is very divisive issue in Newfoundland, as it is in Canada more generally, and implicates some wider discourses of colonization. Lawrence (2010) informs us that "Canada is one of only two settler states globally who maintain a system of formal, legally encoded identity regulation for Indigenous people" (p. 508). Trying to count as an Indigenous individual under federal legislation typically requires extensive genealogical research and producing appropriate, usually written, evidence of a close ancestor with sufficient Indigenous blood or who lived in an Indigenous community before a certain time (Hopper, 2013; Lawrence, 2009). Sheilagh says that in the case of Ktamqkuk's Qalipu band, this process has been very difficult and harmful to many people. She says, "It's created divisions between families, like actual families, where somebody is eligible to become a Qalipu band member when another sibling, a brother or a sister is not" (interview, January 19, 2015). She believes that the government is concerned about the material cost of awarding status to large

numbers of Qalipu members, rather than giving appropriate acknowledgement to Qalipu members denied cultural and familial heritage.

The status negotiations for the Qalipu First Nations band is also an interesting example where the stories of empire and settler colonization are implicated in determining who counts as Indigenous. Qalipu chief, Brendan Sheppard⁵³, has been supporting federal government efforts to curtail the number of Qalipu members and one reason he gives is that “more than 70% of the applications had come not from Newfoundland, but from ‘elsewhere in Canada’” (Hopper, 2013). Given that large numbers of Newfoundlanders have been forced to migrate to other parts of Canada in recent years, as described in the outmigration section above, this is not surprising. Indeed, as Lyon (1997) aptly points out, had appropriate recognition been given in 1949 in the Terms of the Union, and those who qualified for status included in the *Indian Act*, the federal government might not be currently dealing with such a large influx of applicants who meet the ancestral criteria for Qalipu membership through years of intermarriage. While most Newfoundlanders have little problem in accepting people who have outmigrated as still being Newfoundlanders, the same standard of acceptance does not seem to carry over if you are an Indigenous Newfoundlander who has outmigrated and meet the initial criteria for Qalipu membership.

The divisiveness of who counts as Indigenous also has consequences for members of other Indigenous nations who call Ktaqmkuk home, but are not members of the Mi'kmaq, Innu or Inuit nations. Mary, a research participant, says she often encounters resistance when she

⁵³ Sheppard was not re-elected in the most recent band election, held in October 2015. The new chief of Qalipu is Brendan Mitchell.

reveals her Métis identity on the island:

If I introduce myself as a Métis here in Newfoundland, people from the Aboriginal community say for instance: 'You can't say that. Métis is not a real thing. You have to say what you were before you were mixed blood' you know. There are so many people who are mixed blood, you can't say that you're mixed blood. And I'm saying no, I'm saying St. Peter's Mission, Sun River settlement, Louis Riel's crowd. I'm saying Métis, you know, like the original. (interview, February 20, 2015).

Lawrence (2010) offers a probable explanation to this reaction to Mary's self-identification. She writes, "In the colonial discourse that still controls Indigenous identity, Indigeneity is presumed to cease to exist with racial mixing," thus identifying only with one's Indigenous nation and denying one's mixed blood heritage is a way of resisting this discourse and asserting one's right to Indigenous identity (p. 511). This is a very understandable reaction in Ktaqmkuk, where multiple processes of settler colonization have worked to delegitimize claims to Indigenous identity. But for Mary, her identity is Métis, which while a mixed blood identity, is in no way less authentic than other Indigenous identities and is recognized in the Canadian constitution as an Indigenous identity. She is still in the process of discovering which Indigenous nations contributed to her ancestors' Métis identity and cannot definitively say who her people were before they were Métis, as the colonial discourse pressures her to do. Indeed, as Bourassa, McKay-McNabb, and Hampton (2009) point out, these distinctions between Indigenous nations and peoples were not policed in this way or accompanied by the same power inequalities until the advent of Indigenous identity legislation by colonial governments, with its accompanying benefits and resources. The resistance Mary faces in her assertion of her Métis identity is a

product of processes of settler colonization and displacement in Ktaqmkuk.

Marriage

In Canada and Newfoundland, marriage between Indigenous women and settler men is a process that has often worked to support settler colonization, and can occur within the context of empire colonization. The section about the Terms of the Union describes how high levels of intermarriage have been used to discredit Mi'kmaq peoples' authenticity. On a micro level, sexism within Newfoundland culture has often worked so that the father's heritage is the one that is primarily recognized within families and passed along to children. Sheilagh, a research participant, told me that growing up, her father's Irish history was the only one that was spoken of and celebrated in her family. She says:

I still love that [Irish heritage] and I love that part of myself. But it's not the whole picture. And a huge chunk of that stuff was missing. My mother was French Mi'kmaq from a beautiful family, huge, with a completely different lifestyle than my father's ancestors. And so it's been really exciting for me to address that and invite it in. (interview, January 19, 2015)

Sheilagh is certainly not the only Indigenous Newfoundlander to recently connect with her mother's Indigenous history. This is an example of a wider structural issue, produced through the intersections of sexism, racism, and colonization that shape Newfoundland's culture and representations of Indigenous histories on the island and within families.

Under the *Indian Act*, until the passing of Bill C-31 in 1985, when a status Indian woman married a non-status man, she and her descendants lost their Indian status, place in their home

communities, and formal recognition as Indigenous people by the government (Bourassa et al., 2009). After the establishment of this marriage clause in 1869, Lawrence (2010) writes:

For the next 116 years, the children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren of the 125,000 women who lost their status over the years would be continuously be excluded from Indianness; the result was that between half a million and two million descendants of these women were eliminated from Indianness. Indeed, only 350,000 individuals still held Indian status in 1985, when the 'marrying out' policy was terminated. (p. 516)

This is just one way marriage has aided settler colonization in displacing Indigenous peoples from their Indigenous identities. Widespread assimilation through intermarriage is another key, but often unintentional, practice that has an effect on the everyday lives of Indigenous women in particular, as Sheilagh describes.

Racism and Stereotypes

Instances of racism and prejudicial stereotypes are a primary way settler colonization makes itself known in Ktaqmkuk. Indigenous people are constructed as racially inferior which supports the system of settler colonization and justifies the pervasive structural violence faced by Indigenous people (Harper, 2009). The Indigenous women who participated in my research shared many examples of racism and stereotypes they had encountered in Newfoundland because they were Indigenous. Implicating these stories with those that profess that Newfoundland culture serves as a uniting force across differences, allows us to unsettle some popular understandings of Newfoundland as a universally friendly and welcoming place.

One participant, Mary, works at a well-known Newfoundland organization that provides services, advocacy and is a gathering place for Indigenous peoples in the province. She says she often faces negative reactions from Newfoundlanders when she reveals where she works:

They go “oh well, that must be really hard, working down there with all the drugs and the prostitution and the alcoholism.” And I’m like “What? What planet are you on?” There’s no more drugs or prostitution or alcoholism there than anywhere else in any other ethnicity around here. (Mary, interview, February 20, 2015)

These racialized stereotypes of Indigenous people engaging in what are considered immoral activities by mainstream society are common across Canada. Mary is quite right in pointing out that activities like drugs and alcoholism are no more prevalent among Ktaqmkuk’s Indigenous population than the settler population in Newfoundland. This stereotype is used to discredit Indigenous people and their struggles for recognition. In her research interview, Mary also related an incident where she was called a ‘squaw’ by a coworker, after speaking about the results of her DNA testing, which revealed she had Indigenous heritage. ‘Squaw’ is a recurring harmful stereotype used against Indigenous women in Canada, carrying connotations of sexual promiscuity, immorality, and laziness, which works to deny the agency of Indigenous women and delegitimize their Indigenous identities (Robertson, 2014). Mary says she has experienced these types of racism and stereotypes about her Indigenous background fairly often.

Another participant, Sheilagh, acknowledged that she has also heard of racist stereotypes directed at Indigenous Newfoundlanders. She says that when her mother was growing up ‘jackatar’ was a derogatory term that was regularly directed at Newfoundlanders with darker skin, widely constructed as signifying Mi’kmaq heritage, or those with lighter skin who had

confirmed Mi'kmaq heritage. On the west coast of the island, 'jackatar' is used to place Mi'kmaq people at the bottom of the social hierarchy based on ancestral origin and functions to delegitimize their mixed blood heritage (Robinson, 2012). Racism also manifests around the Qalipu band enrolment process. Sheilagh describes this: "You know a lot of people will credit it [trying to gain status] to 'Oh, they're getting their status cause they want something' or whatever...There's not really much in terms of perks I gotta say, monetarily or otherwise" (interview, January 19, 2015). I have also heard this kind of talk from settler Newfoundlanders around the Qalipu band formation. This discourse draws upon colonial stereotypes of Indigenous peoples as dependent and continuously asking for money from the government. It attempts to delegitimize the struggle of Mi'kmaq people to have their Indigenous identity properly acknowledged, yet another example of how the process of transfer by conceptual displacement (Veracini, 2010) takes place in Ktaqmkuk.

Shame, Lost Heritage and Culture

For a very long time in Ktaqmkuk, Indigenous people have been shamed and silenced when they tried to explore their Indigenous identity, and faced discrimination from settler Newfoundlanders when they revealed their identity. This has resulted in a Mi'kmaq heritage and culture that has been lost and neglected until recently (Robinson, 2012). For Indigenous Newfoundlanders, this means that many are only just discovering that they have Indigenous heritage or reconnecting to parts of their family's history that they know very little about. In her research interview, Sheilagh described how her mother's Mi'kmaq heritage was deliberately kept from her:

Here's my mother, dark skinned and little tiny petite thing, but definitely looked, you know, like she had Aboriginal ancestry. She never spoke a word about it. It was never there. There was a really crucial part of our history that was not really spoken about.

(interview, January 19, 2015)

Indigenous people in the area where Sheila's mother grew up faced widespread discrimination and stereotypes, including being referred to as 'jackatars', so their Indigenous heritage was ignored and "swept under the table" in Sheilagh's words. Her mother was not able to learn about her heritage until shortly before she passed away (Sheilagh, interview, January 19, 2015). This is unfortunately not an uncommon story in Ktaqmkuk (Robinson, 2012).

Many Indigenous Newfoundlanders who are beginning to publically acknowledge their Mi'kmaq ancestry feel disconnected from their Indigenous culture. Mary says this is very common among the people she works with, including those who are affiliated with the Miawpukek as well as the Qalipu band (interview, February 20, 2015). After becoming aware of the Mi'kmaq heritage of her mother's side of the family, Sheilagh says that she began trying to learn everything she could about Mi'kmaq culture and history in Ktaqmkuk. She said she has thoroughly enjoyed the journey of reconnecting and met many wonderful Indigenous Newfoundlanders along the way. However, she did disclose that there were points in that journey where she felt vulnerable, fearful and unsure if she belonged. She says, "Sometimes you have to try to work with the feelings of feeling like a fraud sometimes" (interview, January 19, 2015). Several Indigenous women who were invited to participate in this research declined and told me their reason for doing so was a similar sentiment of disconnect and feeling 'like a fraud' that have been reported by Mary and Sheilagh. These types of disconnection and

uncertainty about belonging show how pervasive the process of displacement by repressive authenticity (Veracini, 2010) has been in women's lives in Ktaqmkuk.

Looking Forward

Implicating settler and empire colonization is important in the story of Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk, especially for countering dominant beliefs about the homogeneity of Newfoundland culture and identity. For both settler and Indigenous Newfoundlanders, this means we have to confront what settler colonization means for our understandings of Newfoundland culture. Sheilagh, a research participant, elaborates:

I think we have a very, very distinct culture and identity in Newfoundland...Of course we know that most of it is Anglo-Irish kind of, UK kind of derivative. But at the same time, for so long I've truly believed that we've neglected so much of the other fibres of our society. In terms of the island of Newfoundland, I think it's got a really interesting Aboriginal culture that we don't know hardly anything about. (interview, January 19, 2015)

Reclaiming and learning more about the history and culture of the Ktaqmkukewaq Mi'kmaq is an urgent and necessary step to decolonization for all Newfoundlanders.

Acknowledging this history does not necessarily mean abandoning our understanding of Newfoundland within the context of empire colonization, but does require nuancing the story a little more, and recognizing where settler colonization causes harm to Indigenous Newfoundlanders and how settler Newfoundlanders have intentionally or unintentionally contributed to that harm. Understanding and identifying the processes of settler colonization at work in Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk allows Indigenous Newfoundlanders to make sense of their

mixed blood heritage, identify as they choose, and not feel as though they need to completely repudiate their European ancestry to be accepted as 'authentically' Indigenous. The framework of implicated colonizations creates a place for building authentic and accountable solidarities between Indigenous and settler Newfoundlanders. It provides a way for us to understand where amends need to be made, and where official and popular stories of Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk as place need to be changed. This kind of an understanding makes a place for all of us as Newfoundlanders to celebrate our hybrid culture, with both its Indigenous and European influences, without dismissing our unique identity and place within Canada.

Broadening Stories (Sheilagh's Story)

I've always known this place
is where I want to be.
It's rugged and it's tough,
but it's beautiful.

Newfoundlanders,
we're a mixed bag of tricks.
My mother's family French Mi'kmaq
My father's ancestors Irish seamen.
In modern day, we're very multicultural.

My mother never spoke a word
of her ancestry.
A crucial part of our history
that was never there
'til she was nearing her deathbed.

There's been a lot of shame on the island
But it's the dawn of a renaissance
Healing circles, drumming,
sharing and rewriting.

Sometimes I feel like a satellite
But fear can't hold me back from learning

learning about me,
letting my children know who they are.

I don't like being pinpointed
We're very messy, all of us.
I will never deny my Irish heritage
My story is just a little more broad now.

Reflection – Political Commitments

As mentioned in previous sections, a commitment to social change is a central feature of both feminist research and intersectionality as a theoretical framework. As well, one of my research questions is “How can these understandings [of women’s experiences of displacement] inform and enrich future government policy that has the potential to affect displacement?” While some brief policy recommendations are given in one article, I feel that it is somewhat unlikely that a copy of that journal article or this thesis will make its way to the appropriate Newfoundland and Canadian government officials that shape policy. I am also aware that academic writing can be inaccessible to policy makers, non-governmental organizations with political commitments, and members of the general public. Thus, I have been pondering how to best represent my research findings to work towards my aims of social change.

Writing for diverse audiences is a skill I have been working on developing during my graduate degree. I think it is important to be able to present research in accessible formats and plain language, and to ensure our research results in documents and processes that have the potential to benefit the research participants and others who share their experiences, rather than just personal credit for academic publications. I felt that one way to achieve this in this

research project is to write a fact sheet about experiences of displacement in Newfoundland, tailored to current policy issues in the province, including education and recognition of Indigenous peoples, current resettlement of isolated communities, and high rates of outmigration. The section that follows presents a fact sheet that I will send to participants, relevant provincial and federal government departments, Members of the House of Assembly of Newfoundland and Labrador, and Newfoundland's members of Parliament and any relevant ministers, once my thesis has been defended.

Research Fact Sheet

Due to formatting, the fact sheet begins on the next page.

Weaving Our Stories of Displacement: Gender, Place, and Identity in Newfoundland

Research Fact Sheet



Key Findings

- Colonization, resettlement, and outmigration are related processes of displacement for Newfoundland women.
- Women's experiences of displacement are affected by their social positions and related systems of power.
- Exploring diverse women's experiences unsettles the dominant stories about each of these processes of displacement that currently exist in Newfoundland.

Key Policy Recommendations

- Include more contemporary Indigenous Studies content for all levels of education in the province.
- Ensure adequate supports for all members of communities who choose to resettle.
- Create hiring policies and employment opportunities that will entice well-educated young people to return to the province.

What Is Displacement?

The concept of displacement recognizes that place for many, is an essential component of one's personal identity. Newfoundlanders form very strong connections to place, which informs our sense of a collective cultural identity. Displacement is a loss or disruption of sense of place, which occurs through a disconnection from home, culture or tradition. Displacement often involves a physical move to a new place. Displacement can result in feelings of loss, exclusion, and of being 'out of place,' 'not at home' or 'not belonging,' affecting one's sense of identity and wellbeing. Displacement is gendered and is affected by multiple systems of power including racism, sexism, classism, colonization, and capitalism. Displacement affects people differently depending on their individual circumstances and social location.

"I claim, as many other Newfoundlanders do, an identity that evolves out of hard-felt connections to the concrete, material land and sea, to the island. I make claims to a home that is a fixed geographical space, a home that is solid, touchable and able to be seen"

Susan Tilley

The Researcher

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Processes of Displacement in Newfoundland

This research focused on three processes of displacement that have occurred on the island of Newfoundland and shape Newfoundlanders' collective identities:

- **Colonization** – Colonization of Indigenous peoples on the island, including the historical colonization of the Beothuk and historical and contemporary colonization of the Mi'kmaq people.
- **Resettlement** – Government sponsored resettlement of outport communities on the island from 1954 onward.
- **Outmigration** – Experiences of leaving the province for employment, education, and other reasons.

Methodology

This research followed a multi-methods, feminist, qualitative, intersectional approach. Intersectionality recognizes that individual circumstances, aspects of personal identity, systems of power, and institutions shape lived experience, including displacement. Feminist researchers are concerned with social justice and doing research that promotes social change. The primary data source was semi-structured interviews with 7 Newfoundland women who self-identified as having experienced one or more of the chosen processes of displacement. A number of secondary data sources were consulted to place their stories in context and are listed in the box on the right. An intersectional analysis of interview data was conducted to determine some ways that aspects of identity, systems of power and institutions affect diverse women's experiences of displacement. Some policy recommendations were developed that will be helpful to lessen the effects of future displacement.

Secondary Data Sources

- Provincial, federal, and Indigenous government documents
- Non-governmental organization publications
- Media articles
- Scholarly publications
- Think tank reports
- Stories, songs, and poems

Key Findings

Findings have been developed into four peer-reviewed scholarly articles. Below is a plain language summary of some of the main findings.

Related Processes of Displacement

Close readings of research interview transcripts and secondary data sources revealed that resettlement and outmigration are widely understood on the island to be part of a long process of colonization that began when the island was under the control of Britain and continued when Newfoundland joined Canada in 1949. Women who were resettled feel that their outport life was seen as inferior and backward by the federal and provincial government. They stated that they felt they had little choice but to resettle. Women who experience outmigration tell of stereotypes they face when living in other parts of Canada and how they perceive that the province is not widely respected. They point to current high rates of outmigration as a result of the province's poor economy and link this to the mismanagement of the fishery and inadequate control over resources like hydroelectricity and offshore oil.

The colonization experienced by Indigenous peoples on the island is connected to this system of British/Canadian colonization. The colonization of Indigenous peoples was a necessary first step to establishing the island as a British colony. A lack of recognition of the Mi'kmaq nation's claims to the island helps to justify current understandings of Newfoundland history and identity tied to place. First Nations people on the island were done a disservice when they were not recognized under the *Indian Act* when Newfoundland joined Canada. Today, Qalipu applicants' current struggles to reconnect to their culture and for status recognition show the power and harms of colonization. Many Newfoundlanders and Labradorians know very little about Indigenous peoples in the province.



Figure 1: Many Mi'kmaq families were displaced during the construction of the American Air Force Base in Stephenville.

Diversity of Experiences

A number of aspects of identity, related systems of power, and institutions shape women's experiences of displacement. An intersectional approach reveals that looking below the surface unsettles some of the dominant stories that exist on the island about each of these displacements.

Gender & Sexism: Women tend to consider the wellbeing of their families as a primary factor when making decisions that affect displacement. Women who were resettled often were able to find work outside the home, which was not always socially acceptable or possible in outport communities. Women are more likely to leave the island to pursue education opportunities than for employment reasons.

Age & Ageism: Women who were resettled at a young age feel their opinion was not taken into account. Older women who were resettled sometimes had problems adjusting to the different way of life in the new community. Women who leave the province for education at a young age experience difficulties in finding well-paid employment opportunities that would entice them to return.

Class & Capitalism: Integration into the wage economy sped up the process of assimilation for Mi'kmaq people on the West Coast. Living in big towns requires much more cash than outport living, which puts a strain on resettled women's finances. The stereotypes about Newfoundlanders that women who migrate encounter can rely on notions that Newfoundlanders are poor and demand too much federal financial support.

Ethnicity & Racism: There are many negative, racialized stereotypes about Indigenous people in the province and several are gendered. The common understanding 'Newfoundlander' as an ethnic identity tied to the island can displace Indigenous identities. Newfoundland women who have been living away can be labelled as 'mainlanders' when they return, which has a harmful effect on their sense of identity and wellbeing and contributes to social exclusion.

Indigeneity & Colonization: The diversity of Indigenous identities and distinctions between Indigenous peoples are not well understood in the province. Mi'kmaq women have faced many challenges in asserting their Indigenous identity and reclaiming their traditions.

Region & Resource Allocation: Indigenous Newfoundlanders tend to face less racism in urban areas and this can cause tensions when trying to become involved in Indigenous organizations based in rural areas. Rural areas generally receive less government funding for services and infrastructure and have less employment opportunities, which affects women's experiences of both resettlement and outmigration.



Figure 2: The community of Greenspond is an outport community that has successfully avoided resettlement.



Figure 3: Multiple factors shape displacement.

Dominant Stories of Displacement in Newfoundland

Colonization: The Beothuk were the only Indigenous people of the island. Because there are no Beothuk people anymore, now there are no Indigenous people who have claims to the island.

Resettlement: Resettlement was a much needed policy, but many people who were resettled regret it.

Outmigration: Newfoundlanders leave to pursue employment in resource industries in other provinces.

Policy Recommendations

An intersectional analysis allows us to see where changes might create more just and equitable policies for all people. A number of policy recommendations have emerged from this research and are listed below.

Resource for Policy Makers

[*An Intersectionality Based Policy Analysis Framework*](#), published by the Institute for Intersectionality Research and Policy, provides an excellent set of questions to evaluate the effects of a policy on diverse groups of people.

Indigenous Education: Women who experienced colonization in this research recognized education as an essential policy solution to counter the lack of knowledge about Indigenous peoples on the island.

- At all grade levels, give equal focus to the experiences of Beothuk and Mi'kmaq people on the island.
- Integrate contemporary Mi'kmaq, Innu, Inuit, and Métis experience into the required Newfoundland culture components of the English high school curriculum and the Grade 11 Newfoundland and Labrador Studies course. Spend at least one month on Indigenous content in the Grade 8 Social Studies course.
- Require all teacher candidates who wish to be licensed in the province to take a mandatory Indigenous Studies course.

Supports for Resettled Communities: Women who were resettled said that better supports for members of resettled communities need to be available and offered some suggestions for needed supports.

- Government supports in finding housing and employment in the new community are essential.
- Ensure that all members of resettled communities, especially older people, are able to successfully integrate into their new communities and have a quality of life that is at least equal to what they left. Consult communities about their anticipated needs post-resettlement.
- Reimburse non-permanent residents of resettled communities for the value of their property if they are not eligible for government supports given to permanent residents.
- When communities achieved the required vote to resettle, ensure the moving process begins promptly rather than leaving them in limbo for multiple years due to bureaucratic cost analysis processes.

Outmigration Policy: Women who outmigrate often say they have a strong desire to the return to the province someday, but face barriers, including a lack of understanding of why they left and harsh judgements for doing so.

- Collect statistics about reasons for leaving disaggregated by gender, ethnicity, and income, when former residents terminate their provincial medical coverage.
- Make jobs for university educated young people a priority in rural job creation programs.
- Create an official policy that will ensure that youth who were educated away and choose to return to the province will be considered equally for public sector jobs.
- Provide mechanisms to allow salaries and benefits in the province to be competitive with the mainland.



Figure 4: Many Newfoundland women migrate to pursue higher education opportunities on the mainland at institutions like the University of Toronto.

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Page 1 Header Image: Researcher's own photo.

Figure 1: Public domain. Retrieved from

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File%3AStephenville_NFLD_base_housing2.JPG

Figure 2: "Greenspond Newfoundland Canada" by Johnathan Nightingale - Own work. Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Commons -

https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Greenspond_Newfoundland_Canada.jpg#/media/File:Greenspond_Newfoundland_Canada.jpg

Figure 3: "Toronto - ON - Hart House" by Taxiarchos228 at the German language Wikipedia. Licensed under CC BY-SA 3.0 via Commons - https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Toronto_-_ON_-_Hart_House.jpg#/media/File:Toronto_-_ON_-_Hart_House.jpg

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If They Can Build a Bridge
(Donna's Story)

My home was where I was born and raised
Mom and Dad were born there too.
I loved the freedom,
Walked everywhere,
Didn't come home until it was dark.
We had no worries.

I have fond memories
Dad coming home with a barrel of apples
From selling fish in Nova Scotia
Dances and suppers in the old hall
Everyone went visiting at Christmas
We got a stocking and one gift.

Joey Smallwood drove my family out,
And my father, he dragged me out
Cause I wouldn't go
Didn't want to see the house
Bobbing behind the barge

It's like we were leaving everything,
All what we knew
It's a different life here.
A three room school house
To regional high school,
Getting on a school bus
After walking all those years.

I don't go back a lot,
There's too many emotions.
When I was younger,
It seemed we had to go so far
To get somewhere on the island.
When I go there now,
It seems like it shrank.

If they can build a bridge to PEI,
Why did we have to go?

Conclusion

Writing this thesis has been a long but rewarding process of personal, academic, and professional development. The project has grown, changed, and developed over time, in response to my own learning, insights from participants, and wonderful advice from my mentors. As a means of concluding, I offer some reflections on the research and thesis process as well as some reflections on the findings of this research and their wider significance.

Reflections on the Process

After living away for almost seven years, this thesis has provided me with an opportunity to renew and strengthen my connections with the island I call home. Focusing intensely on Newfoundland for a little over a year has given me new insights about the history, politics and cultures of our place, particularly an awareness of whose stories are silenced and marginalized within official and popular understandings of the island, and what systems of power have shaped that silencing. This work has also encouraged me to critically question what I have been taught about my family and community history and see whose stories were displaced to tell me that history. I have had to think through what it means to be a settler Newfoundlander and what my obligations as a feminist researcher are in relation to that positionality, such as a commitment to decolonization.

Creating a respectful and reciprocal relationship with the seven participants who offered their stories to this research has been one of the most rewarding parts of the research process for me. Each of these women was incredibly generous with her time and each story taught me

something different about the island we share. All women were offered the option of reading anything that appears in this thesis that references her specific experience before the final draft was produced. This can serve as a respectful way of doing research for other researchers committed to this type of approach. I hope that each woman has also gained something from her participation in this research and that the work I have produced is useful to her in some way.

I deliberately carved space in this research, through the poetic interludes and the intersectional analyses of displacement section, to honour individual women's stories and embodied experiences of displacement. This is a somewhat untraditional way of presenting and writing research, where only small and often disconnected pieces of individual women's stories appear in the final research products. I see featuring fuller stories of women's experiences of displacement as part of a wider process of respecting women's contributions to the research and ensuring they see that their story matters. It is also a way of acknowledging and honouring women's vulnerability in sharing what are often difficult stories.

I have cherished my ability to shape this thesis to reflect my personal aims and political commitments in relation to my research. The role of scholar and researcher as activist is one that I embrace, reflecting my feminist commitment to doing research that can lead to social change. I have also appreciated that I have been able to push the boundaries of a traditional thesis monograph, to create an article-based thesis with artistic pieces woven within it. This allows me to be a step ahead in the publishing arena from the beginning and also exercise some of my creative ways of thinking and representing information. These multi-method forms of

representation also allow for engagement with diverse ways of knowing and being, and giving readers multiple ways to enter and engage with the work.

I see one of the foremost successes of this project as doing research in a culturally appropriate way, which I hope can serve as an example for scholars doing future research in Newfoundland. The article “Collaborative Poetic Processes: Reflections and Insights from Newfoundland” describes the multiple reasons why a poetic methodology resonates so well with Newfoundland folk traditions and ways of sharing information. The focus on stories also has strong cultural resonance with the island. The tradition of sharing stories over a cup of tea at the kitchen table is one that is alive and well in Newfoundland, and in fact is how several of my interviews took place! I have also made deliberate choices to preserve women’s ways of speaking and their particular dialects in their poems and quoting from their interviews, rather than transforming their words into the ‘Queen’s English’ as it is known on the island. Where word meanings may be particularly obscure, I have provided an explanatory footnote.

I have had wonderful opportunities to share pieces of this research with members of the wider academic community as they were in development. Some of these opportunities came through conference presentations, such as those at the ‘Contesting Canada’s Future’ and Canadian Sociological Association conference in the spring of 2015, and the Atlantic Provinces Political Science Association conference in September 2015. I received many helpful comments and warm receptions to my work after these presentations. Informal conversations with program faculty members, fellow graduate students, and other academic colleagues were also very helpful in my thought process. I look forward to opportunities to share the articles contained in this thesis through publication in scholarly journals.

Reflections on the Findings

This project began with four interrelated research questions: How have Newfoundland women formed connection to the island as place? What has caused our displacement? How has this displacement affected our sense of identity and overall wellbeing? How can these understandings inform and enrich future government policy that has the potential to affect displacement? Different pieces of this thesis contain findings that answer pieces of those questions. I will briefly recap some of the main findings in relation to these questions before offering what I see as the wider relevance of this research to other contexts.

Women's connections to the island as place are revealed through their poems, the intersectional analysis section, and the parts of their stories that are featured in the four articles that form the body of this thesis. Many women identified Newfoundland culture and knowledge of Newfoundland history as central to their connections to place. A sense of community or long intergenerational family histories in place were also important to many participants. All women, with the exception of Mary, were born on the island and this was one way they measured their sense of belonging. Although Mary only moved to the island in the last couple years, she expressed that she feels at home in Newfoundland, due in part to being readily recognized by other Newfoundlanders as belonging, as well as finding experiences of Newfoundland's Indigenous peoples that resonate with her experience of her Métis identity. Rose and Keara's experiences, as well as my own, show that many Newfoundland women maintain their connections to home even after they have been living away for many years.

A number of factors have caused or affected Newfoundland women's experiences of displacement. The lens of intersectionality shows that institutions and systems of power shape women's experiences of displacement in Newfoundland. Some institutional factors that affect displacement in Newfoundland includes interactions with the provincial and federal governments, the Canadian legal system, land claims processes, the capitalist economy and the Newfoundland education system. Systems of power, including sexism, racism, colonization, classism, ethnocentrism, neoliberalism, and nationalism, also affect women's experiences of displacement. These factors are examined in relation to individual women's stories in the intersectional analysis section as well as on a more macro level in the last three articles.

My research has also shown that displacement does have an effect on Newfoundland women's identities and wellbeing. All seven women who participated in this research told me of times when they felt sadness, loss or frustration in relation to their experiences of displacement. Many of those experiences are shared in the intersectional analysis section and in the last three articles. There were several times during the research when I was surprised by women's answers in relation to this particular question. Two women who were resettled, Margaret and Victoria, said that they felt that and their families had a better quality of life post-resettlement, which was not necessarily a reply I was expecting at the time of their interviews. Keara and Rose, who have outmigrated, also told me that while they have had frustrating experiences on the mainland, they have valued their experience of outmigration because it has provided them with opportunities that they would likely not have had if they had stayed on the island. Both women also said that their connection to Newfoundland was actually strengthened by leaving, which was also somewhat surprising to me.

The last research question about policy implications comes from my commitment to creating research that has the potential to lead to social change. Some concrete policy recommendations that have emerged from this research are listed in the fact sheet and address the areas of Indigenous education, support for resettled communities, and outmigration policy. Broader political questions about the provincial and federal governments' roles in enabling, forcing, or being complicit in women's experiences of displacement are posed in the last three articles. "Exploring the Politics of Displacement" asks about the provincial government assuming the role of a colonial power in implementing neoliberal policies, and how displacement in Newfoundland relates to displacement in other contexts, particularly the Global South. "Living Away and Longing For Home" poses questions about the role of the federal government in the experiences of Newfoundland women who have outmigrated. The final article, "Implicating Colonizations," asks deeper political questions about responsibilities and accountabilities in countering colonization in Newfoundland on the part of both settler Newfoundlanders and the government.

This research is relevant to an audience beyond Newfoundlanders and those who have an academic interest in Newfoundland. Displacement happens in many contexts around the world. The European migrant and refugee crisis is a current example of displacement. Like displacement in the context of Newfoundland, this crisis raises broad questions about societal inclusion of marginalized peoples, power, and the role of governments in creating the conditions for displacement, as well as finding solutions for those who have been displaced. This research provides examples of questions, methodologies, and frameworks for analysis that can be useful to studying displacement in international contexts.

The Truth About Stories

Stories form roots for lives in Newfoundland
As essential as our inlets and bays
Vital to the language that marks our land.

Some tell of people displaced where they stand,
Traditions, dismissed, as well as life ways
Stories from roots for lives in Newfoundland.

Some tell of force by the government's hand
Preserved accounts of those voicing the nays
Vital to the language that marks our land.

Some stories are told by songs from a band
Of those gone to the mainland for long stays.
Stories form roots for lives in Newfoundland.

Stories take care to be sifted and panned
And the gems that arise out of the haze?
Vital to the language that marks our land.

Some stories take longer to tell than planned
Many cups of tea and very long days
But stories form roots for lives in Newfoundland
Most vital to the language that marks our land.

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Appendix A – Interview Guide & Informed Consent Forms

Interview Guide

Participants will be asked to bring an object with them to the interview that they see as symbolizing some aspect of Newfoundland as place in their understanding. With their permission, Susan will photograph the object to be potentially included in the final thesis text.

1. What object did you bring with you today? Can you tell me more about it?
2. Do you consider yourself a Newfoundlander? What do you think it means to be a Newfoundlander?
3. Can you tell me a little about a place in Newfoundland that is special to you or you consider your favourite place? Why is it so special to you?
4. Can you tell me about the place you call home?
 - a. What do you know about the place's history?
 - b. How long has your family lived (did your family live) in this place?
 - c. What do you love the most about this place?
 - d. If you don't currently live there, why did you or your family decide to move? What effects did this move have on you and your family?
 - e. If you don't currently live there, how do you maintain your connections with that place?
5. Can you tell me about some experiences that made you feel like you were 'out of place,' 'not at home' or that you 'did not belong' somewhere?
 - a. Where and when did this experience happen?
 - b. How did you know that you were 'out of place,' 'not at home' or that you 'didn't belong' in that moment?
6. Do you see those experiences of feeling 'out of place' or 'not at home' as having affected your identity?
 - a. How has it influenced whether or not you call yourself a Newfoundlander?
7. Do you see those experiences of feeling 'out of place' as having affected your wellbeing (including physical, mental, emotional, spiritual health and other ways of understanding wellbeing)?
8. Do you think women experience feeling 'out of place' differently than men, based on your experience or the experience of your family?
9. What do you think the government should do for people who share your experiences of feeling 'out of place' or could they have done to prevent you from having that experience?
 - a. If you could make any policy that would be of benefit to people like you, what would it be?
10. Is there anything else you would like to add?
11. Is there anything you would like to ask me?



Weaving Our Stories of Displacement: Gender, Place and Identity in Newfoundland

Informed Consent

The Researcher

Susan Manning is a student in the Master of Arts in Women and Gender Studies program at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. She is a Newfoundlander and grew up in an outport community called Epworth on the Burin Peninsula. This research is her thesis project for her Master of Arts degree. It is funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Canada Graduate Scholarship (Masters).

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to explore women's experiences of loss of sense of place in Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk because they are Aboriginal, their community has been resettled or they have left the province for work or school. Susan wants to discover the similarities and differences in these experiences and how they affect women's sense of their identities as Newfoundlanders and overall wellbeing.

Participant Criteria

You have been invited to participate in this research because you are a woman; you are between the ages of 21 and 85; you call Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk home; and you are Aboriginal or have experienced resettlement or have left the province for work or school.

What You Will Be Asked To Do In This Research

You will be asked to participate in one 1-2 hour interview with Susan in a place and time of your choosing. She will ask you about your feelings toward Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk as home, your experience of loss of sense of place, and its impacts on your sense of identity and wellbeing. You do not have to answer any questions that make you uncomfortable. She will ask you to bring an object with you to the interview that represents Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk to you. With your permission, she will photograph this object. This interview will be audio-recorded and later Susan will transcribe it. Susan will ask you to review and approve the typed interview after this has been done. Susan will be writing poems based on this interview to appear in the final thesis. She will ask you if you would like to co-write the poem with her, and be given credit as a co-author of the poem in the final thesis text. It is perfectly okay to say no. Once her thesis has been written, she will send you a draft of the part of the thesis text that contains your data for you to approve. If you would like, she is happy to send you the entire thesis draft to read.

Benefits of the Research

This research will give you the opportunity to discuss your experience of displacement with a researcher who is very interested in what you have experienced. She hopes that this will be a



beneficial and positive experience for you and that you will find comfort in the fact that you are not alone in this experience. The story of your experience that you tell Susan will add to the available knowledge of displacement in Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk. It may be of use to researchers, students, policy makers and the general public. It could potentially inform future government policy.

Susan would like the research to be of mutual benefit for both of us. In appreciation of your time, Susan would like to do something that would be of benefit to you. Some possibilities include lessons in technology and social media, research or writing for you or volunteering time with an organization you are involved with. Before signing this form, you and Susan will discuss what form this arrangement will take.

Risks of Research

Susan does not foresee any physical risks during your participation in this research. There is some potential for emotional harm if talking about your experience brings up negative or upsetting emotions for you. If this happens, the interview will stop. You and Susan will discuss if you would be comfortable continuing after a break or if the interview should be rescheduled for another day. Susan will provide a list of local support contacts and their contact information that you could use if you wish.

If you chose to receive documents containing personal information from Susan via email in a password-protected file, there are some things Susan cannot control. For example, servers might store a copy of the email even after Susan deletes it. As well, email can be intercepted or used without your or Susan's permission or knowledge. Susan will discuss these risks further with you if you would like to receive documents by email instead of mail.

Voluntary Participation

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary. You can choose to stop participating at any time. If you withdraw, any personal data collected from you will be destroyed and will not be used in the research. If you withdraw before the interview, Susan will not be providing you with the service discussed in the benefits section above.

Privacy and Confidentiality

You can choose to keep your information anonymous and confidential. If you say something in the interview that you do not want repeated in the research, you can let Susan know and she will respect your wishes. You have the choice of having your information linked to your first name or to a pseudonym. The name of your community will not be identified in the research. Only Susan and her supervisor will have access to your data and know your identity, unless you and Susan have a relationship outside the research. If you and Susan know each other well outside the research, a third party witness will be present during the interview to mediate any conflicts of interest. This person will sign a confidentiality agreement. Your personal data will be stored in a locked cabinet or in a password-protected and encrypted computer file when not in use. All personal data will be destroyed five years after the end of the research project or after the publication of all academic works based on the research (whichever is longer).



How The Research Will Be Shared

Excerpts from your interview, the poem(s) based on your interview, photographs of your object and references to your experience will appear in her final thesis text and will be identified by your first name or chosen pseudonym. Susan will provide you with a copy of the final thesis after it has been successfully defended. Susan may create a public art piece using the poems to share the research with the community.

Susan will create conference presentations and publish research articles or book chapters based on her thesis in the future. She will provide you with a copy of those publications if you would like.

If You Have Questions

If you have questions about this research or your role as a participant, please feel free to contact Susan by phone at (902) 209-4659 or by email at susan.manning@msvu.ca. If you have questions about how this study is being conducted and wish to speak with someone not involved in the study, you may contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Board (UREB) c/o MSVU Research Office, at (902) 457-6350 or via e-mail at research@msvu.ca.

Options and Signatures

____ I DO want my information linked to my first name.

____ I DO NOT want my information linked to my first name and the pseudonym I have chosen is

____ I DO agree that Susan can photograph the object I bring to the interview.

____ I DO NOT agree that Susan can photograph the object I bring to the interview.

I, _____ consent to participate in this research conducted by Susan Manning. I understand the nature of this research and wish to participate. I understand I can change my mind at any time. My signature below indicates my free and informed consent.

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Signature: _____ Date: _____



Weaving Our Stories of Displacement: Gender, Place and Identity in Newfoundland

Informed Consent (Substitute Decision Makers)

As a substitute decision maker for (name), you are asked to consider consenting for (name) to participate in a research project. Before you make your decision, it is important you and (name) read and discuss the information below and ask any questions you have. Please feel free to contact the researcher at (902) 209-4659 or susan.manning@msvu.ca if you have any concerns or questions.

The Researcher

Susan Manning is a student in the Master of Arts in Women and Gender Studies program at Mount Saint Vincent University in Halifax, Nova Scotia. She is a Newfoundlander and grew up in an outport called Epworth on the Burin Peninsula. This research is her thesis project for her Master of Arts degree. It is funded by a Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council Canada Graduate Scholarship (Masters).

Purpose of Research

The purpose of this research is to explore women's experiences of loss of sense of place in Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk because they are Aboriginal, their community has been resettled or they have left the province for work or school. Susan wants to discover the similarities and differences in these experiences and how they affect women's sense of their identities as Newfoundlanders and their overall wellbeing.

Participant Criteria

(Name) has been invited to participate in this research because she is a woman; she is between the ages of 21 and 85; she calls Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk home; and she is Aboriginal or has experienced resettlement or has left the province for work or school.

What (Name) Will Be Asked To Do In This Research

She will be asked to participate in one 1-2 hour interview with Susan in a place and time of her choosing. Susan will ask her about her feelings toward Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk as home, her experience of loss of sense of place, and its impacts on her sense of identity and wellbeing. She does not have to answer any questions that make her uncomfortable. Susan will ask her to bring an object with her to the interview that represents Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk to her. With your and (name)'s permission, Susan will photograph this object. This interview will be audio-recorded and later Susan will type it up. Susan will ask you and (name) to review and approve the typed interview after this has been done. Susan will be writing poems based on this interview to appear in the final thesis. She will ask (name) if she would like to co-write the poem with Susan, and be given credit as a co-author of the poem in the final thesis text. It is perfectly okay to say no. Once Susan's thesis has been written, she will send you and (name) a draft of the part of the thesis text that contains your data for you to approve. If you would like, she is happy to send you the entire thesis draft.



Benefits of the Research

This research will give (name) the opportunity to discuss her experience of displacement with a researcher who is very interested in what she has experienced. Susan hopes this will be a beneficial and positive experience for her and that she will find comfort in the fact that she is not alone in this experience. The story of her experience that she tells Susan will add to the available knowledge of displacement in Newfoundland/Ktaqmkuk. It may be of use to researchers, students, policy makers and the general public. It could potentially inform future government policy.

Susan would like the research to be of mutual benefit for both Susan and (name). In appreciation of (name)'s time, Susan would like to do something that would be of benefit to (name). Some possibilities include lessons in technology and social media, research or writing for her or volunteering time with an organization she is involved with. Before (name) gives assent, she and Susan will discuss what form this arrangement will take.

Risks of Research

Susan does not foresee any physical risks during (name)'s participation in this research. There is some potential for emotional harm if talking about her experience brings up negative or upsetting emotions for her. If this happens, the interview will stop. (Name) and Susan will discuss if she would be comfortable continuing after a break or if the interview should be rescheduled for another day. Susan will provide a list of local support contacts and their contact information that she could use if she wishes.

If you and (name) choose to receive documents containing personal information from Susan via email in a password-protected file, there are some things Susan cannot control. For example, servers might store a copy of the email even after Susan deletes it. As well, email can be intercepted or used without (name)'s or Susan's permission or knowledge. Susan will discuss these risks further with (name) if she would like to receive documents by email instead of mail.

Voluntary Participation

(Name)'s participation in this research and your consent for her to participate is completely voluntary. You or she can choose to stop her participation at any time, by contacting Susan. If she withdraws, any personal data collected from her will be destroyed and will not be used in the research. If she withdraws before the interview, Susan will not be providing her with the service discussed in the benefits section above.

Privacy and Confidentiality

You can choose to keep (name)'s information anonymous and confidential. If she says something in the interview that you or she does not want repeated in the research, you or she can let Susan know and she will respect your wishes. Her information can be linked to her first name or to a pseudonym. The name of her community will not be identified in the research. Only Susan and her supervisor will have access to her data and know her identity, unless she and Susan have a relationship outside the research. If she and Susan know each other well outside the research, a third party witness will be present during the interview to mediate any conflicts of interest. This person will sign a confidentiality agreement. (Name)'s personal data will be stored in a locked cabinet or in a password-protected and encrypted computer file when not in use. All personal data will be



destroyed five years after the end of the research project or after the publication of all academic works based on the research (whichever is longer).

How The Research Will Be Shared

Excerpts from (name)'s interview, the poem(s) based on her interview, photographs of her object and references to her experience will appear in Susan's final thesis text and will be identified by her first name or chosen pseudonym. Susan will provide you and her with a copy of the final thesis after it has been successfully defended. Susan may create a public art piece using the poems to share the research with the community. Susan will create conference presentations and publish research articles or book chapters based on her thesis in the future. She will provide (name) and you with a copy of those publications if she or you would like.

If You Have Questions

If you or (name) have questions about this research or (name)'s role as a participant, please feel free to contact Susan by phone at (902) 209-4659 or by email at susan.manning@msvu.ca. If you or she have questions about how this study is being conducted and wish to speak with someone not involved in the study, you may contact the Chair of the University Research Ethics Board (UREB) c/o MSVU Research Office, at (902) 457-6350 or via e-mail at research@msvu.ca.

Options and Signatures

___ I DO want (name) to choose if her information is linked to her first name.

___ I DO NOT want (name) to choose if her information is linked to her first name and would like her to choose a pseudonym.

___ I DO agree that Susan can photograph the object (name) brings to the interview if (name) agrees.

___ I DO NOT agree that Susan can photograph the object (name) brings to the interview.

I, _____ consent for (name) to participate in this research conducted by Susan Manning. I understand the nature of this research and wish to allow (name) to choose if she would like to participate. I understand I and she can change our minds at any time. My signature below indicates my free and informed consent.

Substitute Decision Maker's Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Signature: _____ Date: _____



Weaving Our Stories of Displacement: Gender, Place and Identity in Newfoundland

Assent for Women with Substitute Decision Makers

Susan Manning, a Master of Arts student in Women and Gender Studies at Mount Saint Vincent University, is doing this research. She grew up in Newfoundland and is now living in Halifax. You are being asked to participate in a research project about women's loss of sense of place in Newfoundland. Your substitute decision maker has given permission for you to participate in this project but Susan wants to give you an opportunity to decide for yourself whether or not you want to participate.

If you want to participate, you will do a 1-2 hour interview with Susan in a place where you feel comfortable and at a time that you choose. She will ask you about the places you love in Newfoundland and how not being in those places makes you feel and the effects it has had on you. Susan will tape record your words and then she will type them up. She will ask you to read the typed version and say that it is okay to use it in her research. She will ask you if you would like to help her write a poem about your experience. She will also ask you to read the piece of her research that talks about you and say that you are okay with the way she has written it. Susan would like to do something for you to thank you for helping her.

You can tell Susan if you would like for other people who read the research to know your first name or if you would like to choose a fake name so that readers do not know who is speaking when they read about you in Susan's research **(OR)** Your substitute decision maker wants you to choose a fake name so that readers do not know who is speaking when they read about you in Susan's research **(delete as appropriate)**. Susan will try her best to make sure that no one that you have not told, except her supervisor, knows you have helped her. If you and Susan know each other well, someone else will come to the interview. This person will agree to not tell anyone you helped Susan or what you and Susan talked about.



Your substitute decision maker will have Susan's phone number and email if you or he/she have questions. You can stop participating at any time. You do not have to answer any questions that you do not want to answer. If you change your mind about participating, please tell Susan. Her email and phone number are below.

If you agree to participate, please sign below:

Participant Name: _____

Chosen Fake Name (if needed): _____

Participant Signature: _____ Date: _____

Researcher Signature: _____ Date: _____

Contact Information: Email susan.manning@msvu.ca Phone (902) 209-4659