

## **"Goin' Down the Road" or "The Island Way of Life"?: Student Attitudes and Values in the Hinterland**

Thomas N. Trenton  
Department of Sociology and Anthropology  
University of Prince Edward Island  
Charlottetown, PE C1A 4P3

Young people living in an economically depressed region or province such as Prince Edward Island have their lives shaped by hinterland status. Not only are their attitudes toward the local community affected, but so are their personal aspirations. In fact, the metropolis-hinterland relationship forces them to face a form of love-hate dilemma. A native Island author refers to the ambivalence Islanders perceive about themselves, their home, and big cities: feelings of "smugness" and "self-satisfaction" are mixed in with "a massive provincial inferiority complex . . . resulting from our love-hate relationship" (Hennessey 1989: 21). Through an eight-year analysis of the attitudes and backgrounds of university students, this study seeks to examine how students view the attractiveness of long-term residence on Prince Edward Island in conjunction with the desirability of increased linkages between the Island and the mainland. This research, therefore, links the social-psychological level of attitudes and values with the social-structural dynamics between metropolis and hinterland. The thesis states that at least four theories from the research literature on community attachment and rural outmigration are needed to account for this metropolis-hinterland, love-hate ambivalence. Briefly, these theories will be named: a. rural mystique or counterurbanization, b. systemic model, c. boom-town growth, and d. rural outmigration. Merton's (1957) local-cosmopolitan model, in particular, will be shown to be too simplistic and inadequate. A more valid model needs to be developed based on the literature and data.

The attitudinal ambivalence is two-fold. The Island hinterland, itself, can be a repulsion or attraction. The modern urban-industrial mass society re-

presented by the metropolis can also be a repulsion or attraction. From the individual's worldview, both dilemmas can be conceptualized in terms of two personal and community perceptual continua.

### **The Community Dimension: A Perceptual Continuum Maintain Island Isolation or Integrate With Metropolis**

In terms of the social-structural dynamics at the macro-community level, PEI society has been subject to continuous domination and exploitation by the metropolis, importing manufactured goods and services while exporting agricultural/fishing resources and people in search of educational/occupational opportunities (Davis 1971; Sharpe 1976). But, as a relatively isolated island community which is well-endowed with a pastoral, unspoiled, ocean-front landscape and with a small-town type of environment, PEI society epitomizes the rural mystique behind recent North American anti-urbanism/counter-urbanization ideological-demographic trends. Many urban and rural residents hold positive images of rural life, agrarianism, and wilderness values (Willits and Bealer 1989).

North American urban decentralization into nonmetropolitan areas (especially suburbs) has been occurring for the last few decades (Wilson 1986; Johnson 1987; McGahan 1986). In Canada, urban-to-rural migration has recently been stronger than rural-to-urban migration (McGahan 1986; Driedger 1991). Even Prince Edward Island, the most rural of all provinces and territories (63.7% in 1981), experienced a decline in urban and an increase in rural population from 1976 to 1981 (Driedger 1991). The Maritime provinces, from 1971-1981, for the first time, experienced a net gain of interprovincial immigration (Teevan 1989). The North American counterurbanization movement has produced a wide range of concepts for various new urban-like areas, for example, "urban village", "new city", "edge cities" (Fishman 1991: 23-24), and "new towns" (Galantay 1975; Evans 1991). As a result of this rapid growth, the distinction between rural, urban, and suburban increasingly becomes blurred and "the very concept of 'center' and 'periphery' becomes obsolete" (Fishman 1991: 24).

The escape from the metropolitan area and the search for a better physical and social environment has brought the spread of urban problems to previously rural areas. Urban decentralization has reintroduced crowding, impersonalization, congestion, inadequate services, racial/ethnic segregation, crime, drugs, etc. and a lack of sense of community.

Prince Edward Island society remains somewhat an exception. Physically isolated from the metropolis, small enough in total population (about 122,500) which has remained relatively constant for generations, and well equipped with services, it avoids most urban 'excesses'. The prevailing economic basis of

farming, fishing, and tourism may have helped; Saenz and Colberg (1988), for example, find that small American communities relying on agriculture rather than manufacturing and certain service industries experience lower net immigration. An obvious sense of community exists for 'the Island' as a whole and within each town or village. The local residents refer to 'an Island way of life' which, in many ways, is defined in opposition to the urban-industrial life of the modern metropolis. In other words, as a hinterland, 'the Island' has acquired a distinctive identity. Regional economists and geographers would say that 'the Island', and its smaller communities, have place prosperity (Bolton 1992). The term refers to a depressed or declining hinterland where there is little individual material, economic success (people prosperity) but where, because of specific geography, social history, etc., an intangible and valuable 'sense of place' or 'sense of community' prevails. However, a measure of ambivalence appears to be part of such a hinterland identity. For many, it is source of pride; for others, it is a reminder of second-class status.

In terms of social-psychological perceptions of the community, the rural mystique surrounding 'the Island way of life' pertains to both physical and social quality of life components. Fishman (1991:24) observes that a decentralized environment "fulfills its residents basic hopes for comfortable homes in sylvan settings with easy access to good schools, good jobs, and recreational facilities of many kinds." But other studies find that the natural environment (residential location, natural ecological preservation, less pollution) is more important than the community ties (children's sake, quality schools, neighbouring, community affairs) at least for white, upper-middle class, city-to-suburb, recent movers (Rabinovitz and Lamare 1971; Sinclair and Westhues 1974). Still other studies detect that rural and urban community attachment or satisfaction is a function of length of residence, social interaction with relatives and neighbours, age, and often income (for example, Young and Willmott 1957; Goudy 1990; Austin and Baba 1990; Brown 1989). The systemic model which emphasizes friendship-kin social networks and traditional religious sentiments is a stronger predictor of the individual's community attachment than the linear development model which emphasizes size, density, heterogeneity, physical appearance, noise level, and type of neighbours (Goudy 1990; Brown 1989; St. John et al., 1986; Stinner et al., 1990). For Islanders, this study expects that both physical/demographic and social-environmental factors are germane for different levels of the individual's attachment to, or satisfaction with, the community. In addition, migration may be related to community attachment. Islanders react to people and change coming to the Island, and Islanders may feel more or less prepared to leave the Island. Ambivalent feelings may be in evidence in both instances.

Modern urban-industrial influences and migrants, even boom-town growth, may be welcomed and/or disliked. Substantial change initiated by the larger metropolitan society need not actually weaken a smaller community's cohesion; rather, its local leadership and organization may become more vibrant (Israel

and Wilkinson 1987). On the other hand, rapid social change, and even its anticipation, may be perceived as disruptive to rural areas (Brown et al., 1989; Kennedy 1983). This sentiment is conveyed in the Island expression 'people from away', although it does not, by itself, refer to people who necessarily bring rapid growth with them (Hennessey 1989). Friction and conflict between long-term residents and newcomers, who tend to be more urban and middle class, often occur over various community issues related to community growth (Sinclair and Westhues 1974; McVey 1978). In addition, there is the question of how much newcomers are perceived to have a stake in the local community. Jobses (1988) finds that while quality of life reasons may be initially important for migration to a high natural amenity area, over the years, most high-income persons eventually leave. Even retirement immigration can be an economic or social burden rather than a boon to the host community (Haas 1990; Marshall and Tucker 1990; Longino 1990). Whether growth is rapid or slow, many inhabitants of PEI are expected to fear that the 'Island way of life', and the rural mystique associated with it, are constantly threatened or encroached upon by the urban-industrial, bureaucratic forces of modern mass society. Local pride in a conservative distinct society may be a defensive reaction of hinterland resistance. Understandably, many local residents apparently perceive the single greatest threat to the 'Island way of life' as being the proposed building of the fixed link connecting Prince Edward Island to the mainland. However, a province-wide plebiscite (held in 1988) showed most residents (59.5%) actually favoured a fixed link. The decades-long fixed-link controversy, itself, has strongly symbolized Islanders' historical ambivalence regarding isolation versus integration.

### **The Personal Dimension: A Perceptual Continuum Hinterland Attachment or Metropolis Attraction**

Young people may choose to stay or leave the Island. Such personal inclinations are influenced by the macro social structure. As hinterland residents since birth, they have had their values, attitudes, and behaviour both positively and negatively influenced by the modern, urban-industrial, mass society represented by the metropolis. The local economy offers a limited number and range of educational and occupational opportunities. Merton's (1957) local-cosmopolitan dichotomy suggests that cosmopolitan personalities may be attracted to the metropolis whereas individuals with local identities may be attached to the hinterland. Others, so repelled by perceived metropolitan crowding, impersonalization, congestion, pollution, drugs, crime, etc., may wish to avoid these experiences by remaining on 'the Island' with its relatively pleasant physical and social environment. Much literature has studied rural outmigration.

The level of education is an important factor in hinterland outmigration in two ways: it equips people with employment training, flexibility and knowledge which facilitate the move, and, people without it suffer negative socio-economic consequences which force them to move (Dasgupta 1988). Pollard and O'Hare (1990) report that better-educated American rural youth with better-educated parents are more likely to migrate out of their communities and, subsequently, obtain more education, white-collar jobs, and higher incomes. In his Canadian study of single-industry communities, Lucas (1971) finds that some young people definitely want to leave, and that although the majority wish to remain, they overeducated themselves for the local jobs and are forced to migrate. Long-range American migration patterns reveal that migrants still have more education than nonmigrants but that core-periphery socio-economic differences are relevant (Wilson 1988). In accordance with these findings, since the metropolitan destinations would have higher socio-economic development than the Island hinterland, one anticipates that well-educated PEI youth would be more inclined to migrate.

The push-pull migration hypothesis maintains that disadvantageous local socio-economic factors repel one from a rural community while advantageous socio-economic opportunities attract one to an urban area. Local labour-market supply and opportunity for young people (Lyson 1986) and the underprivileged general population (Dugas 1988), in addition to local educational opportunity, are important for decisions to leave or remain in the rural area. However, non-economic factors not covered by the push-pull theory and social-structural factors not covered by social-psychological theories are important for understanding migration (Hamilton 1985) from a hinterland such as PEI. While most of those discussed by Hamilton are beyond the scope of the present data and study, the structural conditions of the society from which outmigration occurs seem pertinent.

According to the "transfer dependency thesis" (Courchene 1978, 1984), economic transfers to the hinterland such as equalization payments and social programs function to inhibit regional adjustment and to retard out-migration of labour to other regions. Researching rural North Eastern New Brunswick communities, Clark finds "the poorer the community the less likely were people to move out of it" (1978: 53). Ironically, economic considerations such as welfare, unemployment insurance, rent-free living or easier home ownership perhaps on parental land, etc., "served to reduce the forces compelling out-migration to the point where ties of community could act as an almost decisive counter-force in discouraging such an out-migration" (Clark 1978: 53-54, 70). Clark finds "What had developed in these rural communities was a social system which acted to tie the population to its place of residence." Younger (and older) residents held a set of values and attitudes that expressed "a sentimental attachment to the home community" and "a dislike of life in the city" (1978: 62). Education was de-emphasized, a move to the city was perceived to hold great risks, and parents strongly wished their offspring to remain

nearly. This phenomenon would help explain why Atlantic (with Western) Canada experiences the highest rate of return migration (McGahan 1986). Transfer dependence, by retarding out-migration and encouraging return migration, can contribute to place prosperity. Thus, the hinterland is expected to represent social (and economic) security for students with lower socio-economic backgrounds.

## Methods

The love-hate ambivalence regarding the metropolis-hinterland relationship's psychological effect on young people can be operationalized as in Table 1. At the personal perceptual level, one can feel attached to the Island or attracted to the metropolis (a continuum analytically divided). At the community perceptual level, one can wish the Island to remain relatively isolated from or to become increasingly integrated with the metropolis (another continuum analytically divided). That is, there are two dimensions of parochialism-cosmopolitanism with four different possible combinations.

A polarized response is possible -- dual parochialism with dual cosmopolitanism (cells 1 and 4). Table 1 summarizes how the four theories from the research literature could be used to describe this possibility. In particular (cell 1), dual parochialism could be anchored in: a. the 'rural mystique' whereby the hinterland community is perceived to be threatened by rapid social change emanating from the metropolis, and b. the 'systemic model' of rural community attachment whereby social interpersonal roles and sentiment are organized around traditional values of family, religion, and conservative morality. Likewise (cell 4), dual cosmopolitanism could be centred around: a. the intended 'rural outmigration' of liberal-minded, well-educated young people desirous of escaping from what they perceive as a backward, local community without job opportunities, and b. the willingness to have the hinterland community rapidly transformed by metropolis-originating 'boom-town growth' in order to share in the big-city socio-economic rewards and adopt liberalized values and behaviour. This general working hypothesis can be simplified to a more specific one as follows: are the two parochialism-cosmopolitanism attitudinal dimensions indeed polarized (along cells 1 and 4)? Such polarization, itself, would represent love-hate ambivalence among the student population as a whole. That is, students, among themselves, would be divided and polarized on the issue. But ambivalence would also be represented by students found in the rather curious intermediate mixed-types (cells 2 and 3). That is, students, within themselves, would hold both parochial and cosmopolitan views. Thus polarized ambivalence among students would appear if the joint frequency distribution were polarized along cells 1 and 4 and generalized ambivalence would appear if it were widely distributed among all four cells. Personalized ambivalence within students would be increasingly

**TABLE 1 Crosstabulation of the Two Dimensions of Parochialism-Cosmopolitanism**

Community Dimension	Personal Dimension	
	Hinterland Attachment	Metropolis Attraction
Hinterland Isolation	1 Attachment-Isolation  (Dual Parochialism) "systemic model" "rural mystique"  20.9% 304	2 Attraction-Isolation  (Mixed Type) "rural outmigration" "rural mystique"  25.9% 376
Metropolis Integration	3 Attachment-Integration  (Mixed Type) "systemic model" "boom-town growth"  29.3% 426	4 Attraction-Integration  (Dual Cosmopolitanism) "rural outmigration" "boom-town growth"  23.8% 346

Phi = 0.10, p < 0.001

apparent the more the joint frequency distribution fell into cells 2 and 3.

Merton's local-cosmopolitan model would reflect only the systemic and outmigration theories from the working hypothesis. From his perspective alone, one would expect that cosmopolitans have higher socio-economic backgrounds, more ambitious educational/occupational aspirations, and more liberal values and that parochialists have more traditional attitudes regarding family, marriage, religion, and morality. Thus, the working hypothesis has greater scope to analyze ambivalent orientations.

The working hypothesis was tested using a population of 1510 students in attendance from every introductory sociology class each Spring at the University of Prince Edward Island (UPEI). Data were gathered from a standard questionnaire administered in class over eight consecutive years from 1983-1990. Typically, in any given year, approximately 90% of the respondents are from PEI. Almost all are between 18-20 years of age; mature students are quite rare. Virtually all had taken only one introductory sociology course in a previous fall semester. Most are in the Faculty of Arts with others scattered in Science, Business, Nursing, and Education. Very few contemplate a Sociology major (perhaps less than 5%). Each class would have only a few non-first-year students. Although females form a substantial majority of students (73.7%), gender had no significant effect on the working hypothesis. Since the ques-

tionnaire was initially constructed and used for instructional purposes, the items available do not facilitate extensive sample delineation or probing of some aspects of this paper's hypothesis.

Obviously, the population 'sample' poses serious limitations in terms of generalizing the findings below. It does not represent a cross-section of Islanders. Students enrolled in university may be less parochial and more cosmopolitan than those who do not pursue higher education. There might even be a bias toward the issues researched here since students enrolled in a sociology course, compared to other university students, may have unique views on community attachment and integration. The small proportion of students who were non-Islanders or mature or potential Sociology majors had to be included. Thus any attempt to generalize must remain merely suggestive.

### Empirical Results

Extensive exploratory factor analyses of several questionnaire items pertaining to perceptions of and commitments to 'the Island' led a reduction down to five key variables delineating two distinct, unrelated factors (see Table 2) which are operationally defined as follows.

The first factor centred around attachment to PEI; that is, the personal desire to remain on the Island. Attraction to the metropolis (the desire to leave the Island) is simply defined as the obverse of this first construct. The second factor coalesced around Island isolation; that is, the societal desire for PEI to remain isolated from modern urban-industrial influences from the outside society. The desire to integrate with the metropolis is simply defined as the obverse of this second construct. 'Prefer living in a rural area' was the only variable that loaded somewhat modestly on the other factor ( $r = 0.29$ ). Varimax orthogonal rotation was used to ensure that variables load, as much as possible, on only one factor. A zero-correlation solution was set between the two factors in order to determine if the multiple regression analysis discriminated a radically different set of determinants for each distinct factor. Composite factor scores were created and retained in each case. Obviously, because there was zero correlation between these factors, students' scores on one factor were unrelated to their scores on the other factor. Both Island attachment and Island isolation were to be treated as dependent variables.

Table 1 shows how these continuously measured variables were conceptually transformed into categorical, ideal-typical form. The table is based on a detailed scattergram plotting the two variables (not shown) which did not reveal any obvious patterns, although a 'natural break' in the distribution of scores for each dimension was chosen to generate the joint frequency distributions shown. The relatively equal distribution of scores in the four cells reflects the scattergram configuration. The scores are not concentrated in cells 1 and 4. Consequently, the students are not polarized along a simple dual parochialism-

**TABLE 2** Factor-Score Coefficient Matrix of Questionnaire Items Regarding 'The Island'<sup>a</sup>

FACTOR 1 "Island Attachment" ("Hinterland Attachment")	
Would prefer making your home on PEI all your life	0.80
(Not) willing to leave PEI in pursuit of a better career	0.75
Would prefer living in a rural area	0.51
FACTOR 2 "Island Isolationism" ("Hinterland Isolationism")	
Would (not) like a fixed link (causeway) built joining PEI to the mainland	0.82
Would (not) approve of PEI becoming an urban-industrial society if this would bring high-paying jobs to all Islanders	0.74

a. Only the strongest factor loadings, that is those greater than 0.30, are presented. Listwise deletion of cases with missing values (58). Total cases = 1452.

dual cosmopolitan dimension. The polarized form of ambivalence among students suggested by the working hypothesis is not substantiated. But since the joint frequency distributions are somewhat equally spread out among all four cells (note the low phi) there is generalized ambivalence among students. Finally, since a large percentage of cases fall into cells 2 and 3, which represent mixed parochial and cosmopolitan types, there is considerable personalized ambivalence within students.

A large number of relevant independent variables were available to measure the correlates suggested by the research literature.

No *a priori* attempt was made to operationalize each of the four theoretical perspectives from the general working hypothesis. Simplified and reduced by factor analysis, the predictors are presented and operationalized in Table 3. Again, weighted factor scores were created and retained in each case for regression resolution. These factor scores, as well as several residual items not included in the factor analyses, were considered as independent variables in predicting Island attachment and Island isolation. The results of simple and multiple regression analysis appear in Tables 4 and 5. Contrasting profiles emerge from the determinants of Island attachment and Island isolation retained in the multiple regression equations. Initially, there is some overlap; the strongest predictor in both cases is a rural background. The only other common predictor is being children, rather than career-oriented. After that, the two profiles diverge.

Students attached to the Island hinterland (Table 4) tend to be rural, lower-class, and family-oriented. Being practical, they want an education to prepare them for local jobs that provide them with a large, steady income, without going on to graduate or professional school. Children are more important than a career. Traditional marriage and gender roles appeal to them, males should ask females for dates and marriage, 'Miss' and 'Mrs.' should still be used instead of 'Ms', husband and wife marriage ages should be conventional, and the

**TABLE 3 Factor-Score Coefficient Matrices of Questionnaire Items Used as Independent Variables (Only the strongest factor loadings are presented)**

<b>EDUCATIONAL/OCCUPATIONAL BACKGROUND AND ATTITUDES</b>	
<b>FACTOR 1 "Socio-Economic Background"</b>	Father's: education 0.80/ job status 0.74/ income 0.68/ Mother's education 0.56
<b>FACTOR 2 "Job Confidence"</b>	No worry re postgrad job 0.76/ Good chance for well-paying job 0.75/ Chosen career 0.70
<b>FACTOR 3 "Educational/Occupational Idealism"</b>	Creative-original vs well-paying job 0.72/ General-ideas vs job-skills education 0.72/ Go on to graduate or professional school 0.49
<b>MORALITY, FAMILY AND MARRIAGE</b>	
<b>FACTOR 1 "Sex/Violence Censorship"</b>	Censor violent PEI theatre movies 0.73/ Censor violent prime-time TV shows 0.73/ Censor pornographic PEI theatre movies 0.65/ Censor X-rated prime-time TV movies on PEI 0.57
<b>FACTOR 2 "Sexual Suppression"</b>	Never read sex magazines 0.73/ No Playboy late-night pay-TV movies 0.69/ No nude PEI beach 0.59/ No premarital cohabitation 0.52
<b>FACTOR 3 "Gender-Role Inequality"</b>	No stay-home-with-kids husband while wife works 0.74/ Keep conventional marriage ages 0.62/ Females not ask males for dates & marriage 0.54/ Keep Miss & Mrs. vs Ms 0.42
<b>FACTOR 4 "Children (vs. a Career)"</b>	Want more children 0.84/ Children more important than career 0.79
<b>LEGAL-MORAL COMMUNITY ISSUES</b>	
<b>FACTOR 1 "Pro 'Sin' Laws"</b>	No legal prostitution 0.77/ No legal marijuana 0.73/ No PEI casinos 0.62/ No Abortion on Demand 0.50
<b>FACTOR 2 "Anti-Homosexuality"</b>	No open homosexual PEI elementary teachers 0.84/ No legal homosexual marriages 0.82
<b>RELIGIOSITY</b>	
<b>FACTOR 1 "Religious Beliefs"</b>	Belief in existence of: Hell 0.87/ Devil 0.85/ Heaven 0.78/ Biblical God 0.69
<b>FACTOR 2 "Religious Knowledge and Explanation"</b>	Not believe in evolution 0.80/ Prefer religious to scientific explanations of natural phen. 0.75/ Compulsory religion in PEI elementary schools 0.52

**TABLE 4 Regression Analyses of Island Attachment**

VARIABLES IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATION	ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION	PARTIAL REG. COEFFICIENT
Rural Background	0.26	0.16
Children vs. career oriented	0.18 <sup>a</sup>	0.16
Lower socio-economic background	0.22 <sup>a</sup>	0.14
Sexual suppression	0.15 <sup>a</sup>	0.12
(Not) willing to marry someone from another race (i.e., different skin color)	0.15	0.08
Oppose gender-role equality	0.13 <sup>a</sup>	0.07
Support traditional two provincial political parties vs. N.D.P.	0.10	0.08
Less educational/occupational idealism	0.10 <sup>a</sup>	0.07
MULTIPLE R = 0.40    R <sup>2</sup> = 0.16		
<b>OTHER VARIABLES (Selected)</b>		p's > 0.05
Conservative re laws on prostitution, drugs, gambling, abortion	0.17 <sup>a</sup>	
Oppose homosexual teachers and marriages	0.15 <sup>a</sup>	
Stronger religious beliefs	0.14 <sup>a</sup>	
(Not) willing to have a non-Christian marriage	0.13	
Fewer provinces visited	0.12	
More frequent attendance at religious services or meetings	0.10	
More children in family of origin	0.10	
Oppose compulsory sex education at P.E.I. elementary schools	0.10	
Would (not) allow 11-13 year old to read or look at sex magazine	0.10	

a. Based on weighted composite factor score discussed above. All results are statistically significant at p = 0.01.

wife should stay home to raise the children. Inter-racial marriage is not an option. Support for the distant-third provincial political party, the NDP, is nonexistent. Sexually suppressive, these students have never read or looked at a sexually explicit magazine, do not believe Playboy movies should be permitted on pay T.V. after midnight, do not want PEI to have a nude bathing beach, and do not approve of living together with one's fiancé(e). Religiosity appears as a spurious, secondary predictor (partial correlation analysis is not presented here). In sum, the systemic model of rural community attachment appears to describe this parochialism whereby interpersonal roles and sentiments are organized around traditional values of family, conservative morality and (indirectly) religion. This socio-economic security offered by the local community can act as a counterforce to outmigration.

**TABLE 5 Regression Analyses of Island Isolation**

VARIABLES IN MULTIPLE REGRESSION EQUATION	ZERO-ORDER CORRELATION	PARTIAL REG. COEFFICIENT
Rural Background	0.18	0.17
American influence on the Canadian way of life has (not) been generally good for Canada	0.16	0.12
Conservative re laws on prostitution, drugs, gambling, abortion	0.15 <sup>a</sup>	0.12
More educational/occupational idealism	0.12 <sup>a</sup>	0.10
Oppose a guaranteed annual income in Canada	0.09	0.10
Children vs. career oriented	0.12 <sup>a</sup>	0.08
MULTIPLE R = 0.32    R <sup>2</sup> = 0.10		
OTHER VARIABLES (Selected) <span style="float: right;">p's &gt; 0.05</span>		
More frequent attendance at religious services or meetings	0.12	
Would feel more at home in Quebec than in U.S.	0.11	

a. Based on weighted composite factor score discussed above.  
All results are statistically significant at  $p = 0.01$ .

On the other hand, students sympathetic to Island isolation (Table 5), while also tending to be rural and family oriented, apparently exhibit more community defensiveness. Such students blend idealistic educational-occupational aspirations with conservatism. They are more likely to feel that the purpose of higher education is to be general and develop ideas, to prefer a job that allows one to be creative and original, and to want to go on to graduate or professional school. Fearing negative community consequences, they tend not to think the American influence on the Canadian way of life has been generally good for Canada; they are more likely to oppose liberal legalization of prostitution, marijuana, Island casinos, and abortion on demand, and to oppose a guaranteed annual income. In sum, this parochialism echoes the rural mystique perspective in which residents feel the community must be protected from rapid social change emanating from the metropolis.

Generally, both profiles of determinants above represent divergent aspects of rural, family-oriented parochialism. The systemic model explains a greater proportion of the Island attachment variance ( $R^2 = 0.16$ ) than the rural mystique model explains of the Island isolation variance ( $R^2 = 0.10$ ). Hence, the former is a stronger multiple regression predictor. (Some key variables such as 'job confidence' are unexpectedly excluded from both multiple regression equations.)

Island attachment and Island isolation are continuous variables which also

measure the extent to which students are attracted to the metropolis and desire integration with the metropolis, respectively. Accordingly, an obverse profile of predictor determinants emerges in each case.

Students attracted to the metropolis tend to be higher class, urban and career-oriented, and upwardly mobile. Having idealistic-occupational aspirations, they are willing to leave the province for graduate or professional school in pursuit of an ideal career and broader horizons. Being liberal, they favour gender-role equality, interracial marriage and openness toward sexuality and local politics. In sum, students attracted to the metropolis seem to approximate the individualistically upwardly-mobile cosmopolites described by rural out-migration theories.

Students supporting Island integration with the metropolis desire a fixed link joining PEI to the mainland and want an urban-industrial society if it means high-paying jobs for Islanders. These more urban young people tend to be secular and career oriented and have practical, materialistic educational-occupational aspirations. Believing the American influence on the Canadian way of life has been generally good for Canada, they tend to approve liberalized laws on prostitution, marijuana, Island casinos, abortion on demand, a guaranteed annual income, and feel more at home in the United States than in Quebec. Apparently, their continentalist world view encompasses the spread of modern urban-industrial society to the Island. This cosmopolitanism is consistent with the boom-town growth perspective in which residents want the hinterland community to share rapidly in metropolitan-generated materialism and liberalism.

Longitudinal linear analysis over eight years shows relatively constant feelings over Island attachment (and metropolis attraction) and Island isolation has not really been giving way to integration with the metropolis ( $r = -0.08$ ). Multiple regression analysis reveals less than one percent of the variance is explained by year. No particular year begs an explanation as an anomaly. Anova analysis shows only a few determinants of isolation/integration exhibit any change over time, and this change is very small.

## Conclusion and Future Research

Two distinct types of rural, family-oriented parochialism emerge: the personal desire to remain on the Island apparently because of cherished ties in local, interpersonal networks, and the desire to keep the Island community pristine, protected from outside urban-industrial effects. Likewise, two distinct forms of cosmopolitanism appear: the personal wish to leave PEI because of desires for upward mobility, and the wish to open the floodgates to the liberal-materialistic good life for the community. Many students embrace both parochial types, being not only attached to the Island but also desirous of a pristine community. Likewise, others cherish both cosmopolitan forms, wishing not only to leave

PEI but also to have it modernize. However, parochial-cosmopolitan polarization along these dual dimensions did not occur.

This working hypothesis was undermined by the emergence of the two fascinating, crossover possibilities (from cells 2 and 3, Table 1). Some students, while attached to the Island, want urban-industrial integration. Others, while wanting to leave, desire a pristine community left behind. Both curious patterns which represent local-cosmopolitan ambivalence at the personal level, beg some plausible explanation. In the first case, perhaps students wish long-term residence on the Island because of the close emotional ties to family, friends, and community; but, at the same time, want local access to the materialistic and liberated lifestyle benefits of the larger society. That is, they might want the best of both worlds. This possibility would represent a unique combination of the systemic and boom-town growth perspectives. In the second case, perhaps students are quite willing to leave the Island either temporarily or even permanently in search of socio-economic mobility and/or adventurous experiences; but, at the same time, desire that the Island community retain its unspoiled integrity for the benefit of family and friends left behind. There might even be anticipated nostalgia that things 'back home' should always be preserved, without any major transformation by the problems of a large, urban-industrial society. After all, return visits and even return migration to this alternative to big-city life remain as possibilities. This pattern would represent a unique combination of the outmigration and rural mystique perspectives. Both crossover patterns suggest intriguingly complex place prosperity interpretations which need to juggle both personal and community dimensions.

Needless to say, the patterns of orientational combination for first-year students may change, perhaps more than once, during and by the end of four years at university. Profiles of determinants for each possible combination and temporal permutation could be explored. Even the psychological causal dynamics between dimensions could be investigated.

Over time, young people may face internal stress or ambivalence trying to resolve these dichotomous dilemmas. As a decision sets in on one dimension, psychological compensating mechanisms may begin to operate in the other dimension. For example, under dual parochialism (cell 1, Table 1), after a student acknowledges that he/she would not or could not leave the Island because of close interpersonal ties, he/she might trump up the advantages of Island community isolation. In this case, hinterland community pride may become a form of consolation for opportunities foregone or out of reach. A 'sour grapes' attitude may emerge directed against metropolitan dominance whose modern urban-industrial influence would only bring bad development, congestion, pollution, crime and moral decadence to the local community. Of course, the causal relationship could also be reversed for others; that is, after one develops or reinforces an attitudinal aversion to the negatives of modern urban-industrial development, one decides, or reaffirms, it best to remain on the Island.

Internal stress could create different causal possibilities under dual cosmopolitanism (cell 4, Table 1). One may so dislike the negative consequences of closely-knit interpersonal relationships (for example, gossip, patronage, etc.) that one wants not only to leave but also to modernize and liberate the community (for example, by building the fixed link). In single industry communities, Lucas found that one mechanism by which residents in these geographically and socially isolated communities reacted to the interminable and unbearable "social observability" was "withdrawal" to "civilization" by means of road, water, rail, or air travel (Lucas 1971:178-85). Or, to reverse the causal order, one could be so committed to the liberal-material benefits of urban-industrial society that one feels parochial role relationships are bound to, or should, change accordingly. A little imagination would uncover crossover patterns of stress resolution between the two dimensions in alternate causal sequences (that is, for cells 2 and 3, Table 1).

Only a small percentage of the variance of Island attachment, Island isolation, or their counterparts was explained by the profiles in this study. While these  $R^2$  are acceptable by cross-section study standards, it remains important to account for the residual variances ( $1-R^2$ ) which amount to 84% and 90%. The discovery of additional contributing nodes of determinants for these variables would contribute depth and complexity to the forgoing discussion. For example, a central role could be given to the attitudes and behaviour of positive and negative reference individuals or groups, such as other students, relatives, friends, or neighbours--concerning Island attachment or isolation. Do university youth in other UPEI fields or other Canadian hinterland areas behave similarly? No doubt, some segments of non-university youth from the Island or from other hinterland areas are "Goin' Down the Road" motivated by job insecurity. What are their profiles, and how are they different from university students? How do young people from different types of hinterland areas view their situations, for instance, rural-agricultural regions (such as PEI) versus single industry communities (such as natural resource towns in Canada's northland).

Rather than just outmigration, hinterland profiles could be used to explain return migration and new migration. Local interpersonal role networks, described by the systemic model of community attachment, are probably important to youth who return after dissatisfaction with big city life and/or chronic unemployment or underemployment, and to the elderly who return for retirement. Community isolation and preservation, described by the rural mystique model, are probably important to 'back-to-the-earth' youth and to older folks who wish to get away from urban problems. These forms of return and new migration, of course, depend on the amenities of the hinterland; a pastoral Island vacationland would be more attractive than a single-industry mining wasteland. Local friendship/kin social networks would be far more extensive and functional in a hinterland, such as the Island, where generations form long, unbroken links than in a single-industry community with a recent and transient



population. One would also expect community defensiveness to be much weaker in a mining town. In fact, hinterland amenities obviously increase the saliency of local kinship/friendship ties and community preservation for those who wish to or who decide to remain put.

In conclusion, the variety of profiles produced and suggested by this study is made possible because the Island hinterland is multidimensional. On the one hand, it is economically and politically oppressed, isolated from any metropolis, and condemned to a slow rate of growth. On the other hand, it is a viable rural-agricultural community with an unspoiled, pastoral, natural environment, extensive generational links, and a relatively stable population pattern. Such multidimensionality invites a love-hate ambivalence directed toward both hinterland and metropolis and necessitates the application of several theoretical perspectives from the research literature to explain it.

### References

- Austin, D.M., and Y. Baba. 1990. "Social Determinants of Neighbourhood Attachment", *Sociological Spectrum*, 10: 59-78.
- Bolton, R. 1992. "'Place Prosperity vs People Prosperity' Revisited: An Old Issue with a New Angle", *Urban Studies*, 29: 185-203.
- Brown, R.B., H.R. Geersten, and R.S. Krannich. 1989. "Community Satisfaction and Social Integration in a Boomtown: A Longitudinal Analysis", *Rural Sociology*, 54: 568-586.
- Brown, S.R. 1989. "Community Attachment in the United States: A Critique of Two Models", Paper presented to American Sociological Association.
- Clark, S.D. 1978. *The New Urban Poor*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Courchene, T.J. 1978. "Avenues of Adjustment: The Transfer System and Regional Disparities". In Michael Walker (ed.). *Canadian Confederation at the Crossroads: The Search for a Federal-Provincial Balance*. Vancouver: The Fraser Institute.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1984. *Equalization Payments: Past, Present, and Future*. Ontario: Ontario Economic Council.
- Dasgupta, S. 1988. *Rural Canada: Structure and Change*. Lewiston, New York: Edwin Mellen Press.
- Davis, A.K. 1971. "Canadian Society and History as Hinterland Versus Metropolis". In Richard J. Ossenberrg (ed.). *Canadian Society: Pluralism, Change, and Conflict*. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.
- Driedger, L. 1991. *The Urban Factor: Sociology of Canadian Cities*. Toronto: Oxford University Press.
- Dugas, C. 1988. "Economic Marginality and Geographical Mobility in Rural Quebec", *Recherches Sociographiques*, 29: 431-44.
- Evans, M.L. 1991. "Garden City, USA: Are New Towns the Way Around

- Growth Controls?", *Annual Editions: Urban Society*. 5th ed. Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin Publishing Group.
- Fishman, R. 1991. "America's New City: Megalopolis Unbound", *Annual Editions: Urban Society*. 5th ed. Guilford, Conn.: Dushkin Publishing Group.
- Galantay, E.Y. 1975. *New Towns: Antiquity to the Present*. New York: Braziller.
- Goudy, W.J. 1990. "Community Attachment in a Rural Region", *Rural Sociology*, 55: 178-98.
- Hamilton, G.G. 1985. "Temporary Migration and the Institutionalization of Strategy", *International Journal of Intercultural Relations*, 9: 405-25.
- Haas, W.H. 1990. "Retirement Migration: Boom or Burden?", *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 9: 387-92.
- Hennessey, M.F. 1989. "Praising PFAs\*: (\*People From Away)". *IslandSide Magazine*. 1: 20-23.
- Herington, J. 1985. "The Outer-City Problem", *New Society*, 73: 187-90.
- Israel, G.D., and K.P. Wilkinson. 1987. "Persistence and Change in a Growing Community: A Case Study of Seabrook, New Hampshire", *Journal of the Community Development Society*, 18: 64-77.
- Jobes, P.C. 1988. "Economic and Quality of Life Decisions in Migration to a Natural Amenity Area", Paper presented to American Sociological Association.
- Johnson, K.M. 1987. "Population Redistribution Trends in Nonmetropolitan America, 1970 to 1985", Paper presented to Rural Sociological Society.
- Kennedy, L.W. 1983. *The Urban Kaleidoscope: Canadian Perspectives*. Toronto: McGraw-Hill.
- Longino, C.F., Jr. 1990. "Retirement Migration Streams: Trends and Implications for North Carolina Communities", *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 9: 393-404.
- Lucas, R.A. 1971. *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Lyson, T.A. 1986. "Migration Selectivity and Early Adult Attainments", *Rural Sociology*, 51: 328-42.
- Marshall, V.W., and R.D. Tucker. 1990. "Canadian Seasonal Migrants to the Sunbelt: Boon or Burden?", *Journal of Applied Gerontology*, 9: 420-32.
- McGahan, P. 1986. *Urban Sociology in Canada*. 2nd ed. Toronto: Butterworth.
- Merton, R.K. 1957. *Social Theory and Social Structure*. New York: The Free Press.
- McVey, W.W., Jr. 1978. "Migration and the Smaller Community", *Canadian Studies in Population*, 5: 13-23.
- Pollard, K.M., and W. O'Hare. 1990. "Selective Migration of Rural High School Seniors in the 1980s", Paper presented to Rural Sociological Association.

- Rabinovitz, F.F., and J. Lamare. 1971. "After Suburbia, What?--The New Communities Movement in Los Angeles", cited by Sylvia F Fava, "Beyond Suburbia" in Roland Warren and Larry Lyon (eds.). *New Perspectives on the American Community*. Chicago: Dorsey Press.
- Saenz, R., and E. Colberg. 1988. "Sustenance Organization and Net Migration in Small Texas Nonmetropolitan Communities, 1960-1970", *Rural Sociology*, 53: 334-45.
- Sharpe, E. 1976. *A People's History of Prince Edward Island*. Toronto: Steel Rail.
- Sinclair, P.R., and K. Westhues. 1974. *Village In Crisis*. Toronto: Holt, Rinehart and Winston.
- St. John, C., D.M. Austin, and Y. Baba. 1986. "The Question of Community Attachment Revisited", *Sociological Spectrum*, 6: 411-31.
- Stinner, W.F., M. Van Loon, S.W. Chung, and Y. Byun. 1990. "Community Size, Individual Social Position, and Community Attachment", *Rural Sociology*, 55: 494-521.
- Teevan, J.J. 1989. *Introduction to Sociology: A Canadian Focus*. 3rd ed. Scarborough: Prentice-Hall.
- Willits, F.K., and R.C. Bealer. 1989. "The Rural Mystique: An Empirical Assessment Using Data from a Pennsylvania Survey", Paper presented to Rural Sociological Society.
- Wilson, F.D. 1986. "Temporal and Subnational Variations in the Reversal of Migration Flows between Metropolitan and Nonmetropolitan Areas: 1935-80", *Social Forces*, 65: 501-24.
- \_\_\_\_\_. 1988. "Aspects of Migration in an Advanced Industrial Society", *American Sociological Review*, 53: 113-26.
- Young, M., and P. Willmot. 1957. *Family and Kinship in East London*. Middlesex, England: Routledge and Kegan Paul.