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RESEARCH NOTE / NOTE DE RECHERCHE

Employment-Related Mobility and the Health of Workers, Families, and Communities: The Canadian Context

Julia Temple Newhook, Barbara Neis, Lois Jackson, Sharon R. Roseman, Paula Romanow, and Chrissy Vincent

Introduction

A NEW BODY OF LITERATURE – mobility studies – argues that mobility is a ubiquitous, normal, ongoing, and patterned aspect of all human societies.¹ It treats mobility as socially produced, embodied, and mediated by class, gender, and ethnicity.² This research suggests that mobility is underpinned by ideological meanings and material realities including issues related to social citizenship, as well as inequalities in access to mobility, in conditions of mobility, and in its consequences, all of which vary across situations, social classes, and genders.³ Employment-related mobility is a pervasive feature of many occupations. In this research note, we are particularly interested in employment-related mobility in the Canadian context. We define employment-related mobility as situations where workers regularly and repeatedly cross municipal,

1. Zygmunt Bauman, *Globalization: The Human Consequences* (New York 1998); Timothy Cresswell, *On the Move: Mobility in the Modern Western World* (New York and London 2006); John Urry, "Mobile Sociology," *British Journal of Sociology*, 51 (2000), 185–203; Andreas Wimmer and Nina Glick Schiller, "Methodological Nationalism, the Social Sciences and the Study of Migration: An Essay in Historical Epistemology," *The International Migration Review*, 37 (2003), 576–610.

2. Peter Adey, *Aerial Life: Spaces, Mobilities, Affects* (Oxford 2010); Cresswell, *On the Move*.

3. Adey, *Aerial Life*; Winnie Lem and Pauline Gardiner Barber, eds., "Introduction," in *Class, Contention, and a World in Motion* (New York 2010), 1–20.

provincial or national boundaries to get to and from their place of employment (sometimes working in multiple or transient worksites as with construction workers and home care workers), and work involving mobile workplaces such as cruise and cargo ships, planes, trains, trucks, and fishing vessels.

Although employment-related mobility has a lengthy history in Canada⁴ and globally,⁵ the current context of neo-liberal economic restructuring, associated policy changes, and industry rationalization⁶ means that for more and more Canadian workers and employers, employment-related mobility is an inherent part of working life.

This paper synthesizes results from existing Canadian and international research on the relationship between *intra-national* employment-related mobility and the health and well-being of workers, their families, and their communities. The key objectives of this research note are: a) to outline what is known about how employment-related mobility can affect workers' health and the health of their families and communities; and, b) to identify research opportunities and priorities for future Canadian research on the health consequences of short-term, repetitive intra-national employment-related mobility and employment in mobile workplaces.

The Spectrum of Employment-Related Mobility

THERE IS A BROAD SPECTRUM of different kinds of employment-related mobility. Temporally, the spectrum includes daily, overnight and prolonged regular, sporadic and sometimes even permanent movement away from one's usual place of residence,⁷ sometimes in association with employment in multiple or mobile work sites. Spatially, the spectrum of employment-related mobility ranges from relatively short commutes to nearby communities to the lengthy distances associated with international migrant work. Employment-related mobility can be a requirement of the job, as in work camp situations

4. Ingrid Botting, "Getting a Grand Falls Job: Migration, Labour Markets, and Paid Domestic Work in the Pulp and Paper Mill Town of Grand Falls, Newfoundland, 1905–1939," (PHD diss., Memorial University, 2000); Kao Lee Liaw and Mingzhu Qi, "Lifetime Interprovincial Migration in Canada: Looking Beyond Short-Run Fluctuations," *The Canadian Geographer*, 48 (2004), 168–190; Mark L. Thompson, *Steamboats and Sailors of the Great Lakes* (Detroit 1991).

5. Isa Blumi, "Defining Social Spaces by Way of Deletion: The Untold Story of Albanian Migration in the Postwar Period," *Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, 29 (2003), 949–965; Caroline B. Brettell, *Men Who Migrate, Women Who Wait: Population and History in a Portuguese Parish* (Princeton 1986); Heather Holmes, "Remembering Their History: Memories of Irish Migratory Agricultural Workers in Scotland," *Human Affairs*, 12 (2002), 139–152.

6. David Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism* (Oxford 2005).

7. N. Bates and E. R. Gerber, "Temporary Mobility and Reporting of Usual Residence," *Survey Methodology*, 24 (1998), 89–98; Elin Charles–Edwards, Martin J. Bell, and Dominic S. Brown, "Where People Move and When: Temporary Population Mobility in Australia," *People and Place*, 16 (2008), 21–30.

and mobile occupations such as trucking, or an economic necessity linked to limited employment opportunities in home communities caused by a range of factors including resource depletion, industry restructuring, capital mobility (including capital flight) and precarious work. Among workers and their families, a variety of motivations influence decisions to engage in employment-related mobility.⁸ For young people, seasonal work away from home might be a necessity given limited employment and training opportunities there, or as a rite of passage into adulthood, or both. For those with dependents, employment-related mobility can help resolve spatial disjunctures between work opportunities, family responsibilities, friendship networks, and leisure activities. It can exacerbate or improve work-life balance issues,⁹ and can create new child and elder care challenges by extending care-givers' time away from home and the distance between home and work.¹⁰ Moving to a rural area can provide growing families with access to more suitable lower-cost housing while they retain their urban jobs, but it may also separate them from social supports (such as grandparents). Whatever the origins of employment-related mobility, it has the potential to positively or negatively affect the physical, mental, emotional, and social health of workers and their family members, including spouses, children, and those in the extended family. Employment-related mobility can enhance community well-being by generating increased resources and opportunities, but it can also generate significant vulnerabilities within home and host communities. The remainder of this research note

8. Construction Sector Council, *Working Mobile: A Study of Labour Mobility in Canada's Industrial Construction Sector* (Ottawa, ON 2005); Construction Sector Council, *Working Local: A Study of Labour Mobility in Canada's Industrial Construction Sector* (Ottawa, ON 2007); George Gmelch, "Return Migration," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 9 (1980), 135–159; Harry H. Hiller, *Second Promised Land: Migration to Alberta and the Transformation of Canadian Society* (Montréal and Kingston 2009); Harry H. Hiller and Kendall McCaig, "Reassessing the Role of Partnered Women in Migration Decision-Making and Migration Outcomes," *Journal of Social and Personal Relationships*, 24 (2007), 457–472; P. Levitt and N. Glick Schiller, "Conceptualizing Simultaneity: A Transnational Social Field Perspective on Society," *International Migration Review*, 38 (2004), 1002–1040.

9. Construction Sector Council, *Working Mobile*; Natasha S. Mauthner, Catherine Maclean, and Lorna McKee, "My Dad Hangs Out of Helicopter Doors and Takes Pictures of Oil Platforms: Children's Accounts of Parental Work in the Oil and Gas Industry," *Community, Work & Family*, 3 (2000), 133–162; L. McKee, N. Mauthner, and C. Maclean, "Family Friendly' Policies and Practices in the Oil and Gas Industry: Employers' Perspectives," *Work, Employment & Society*, 14 (2000), 557–571; Nova Scotia Construction Sector Council, *Labour Mobility, Retention and Succession: A Study of Nova Scotia's ICI Construction Sector* (Halifax, NS 2009).

10. W. Bhatt, "The Gender Dimension of Migration in India: The Politics of Contemporary Space in Orissa and Rajasthan," *Development in Practice*, 19 (2009), 87–93; Ingrid Botting, *Restructuring, Out-Migration, and the Health and Well-Being of Mothers Who Stay Behind. Working Paper* (St. John's, NL 2005); Debbie Martin and Lois Jackson, "Young Women in Coastal Newfoundland and Labrador Talk About Their Social Relationships and Health," *Newfoundland and Labrador Studies*, 23 (2008), 61–77.

describes the search strategy we developed to locate existing research on employment-related mobility and health, summarizes the existing research with a focus on intra-national mobility and Canadian studies and concludes with a discussion of gaps in the existing research and of future research needed to develop a comprehensive understanding of how the various types of employment-related mobility affect the health of individuals, families and communities.

Search Strategy

THE LITERATURE ON employment-related mobility (as we are defining it) can be found across multiple academic disciplines. Researchers employ diverse methods, and approach the problem from multiple, often widely-varying perspectives. For this paper, we conducted our literature search using a combination of formal and informal search methods. An initial formal search was conducted using three academic article indices: *Sociological Abstracts*, *Academic Search Premier*, and *PubMed*. Search terms included *mobile worker*, *migratory worker*, *circular migration*, and *internal migration*. From this search, we selected research articles in English and French and manually searched relevant citations within these articles. This search strategy revealed little research on intra-national employment-related mobility in Canada. Using the *migratory* search terms, 77 articles were found, all of which focused on international migrant workers. The *mobile* search terms resulted in 53 articles, all of which were also international. The *circular migration* term generated 92 articles, all of which were international in focus. The search using *internal migration* resulted in 1163 articles. Forty-seven of these focused on Canada, but none of these articles examined short-term, periodic mobility or employment in mobile workplaces. Our formal search found a body of literature on *internal migration* within Canada, but it tends to focus on inter-provincial migration of international immigrants once they have moved to Canada.¹¹ There is relatively little research on short-term, repetitive employment-related mobility among Canadians.

In our informal search, we collected resources on an *ad hoc* basis. Throughout the literature review process, as our attention was brought to various elements of employment-related mobility and health, we also searched a variety of academic databases trying to identify specific useful terms, including *commuting*, *out-migration*, *boomtown*, *place attachment*, and *parent-child attachment*. In addition, in June 2009 we held a research team-building workshop on employment-related mobility and health at Memorial University, and from members of the network established at that meeting we received new

11. For example, see Don J. DeVoretz and Sergiy Pivenko, "The Immigration Triangle: Québec, Canada, and the Rest of the World," *Journal of International Migration and Integration*, 9 (2008), 363–381.

citations and suggestions for relevant material. This variety of search methods allowed us to better explore this topic given that the research literature on employment-related mobility can be found in a variety of academic disciplines.

The Wider Context

EMPLOYMENT-RELATED MOBILITY is a pervasive, volatile and multi-faceted aspect of contemporary societies. The United Nations now estimates that there are 200 million international migrants worldwide,¹² nearly double the number from 1985.¹³ Many of these individuals have migrated for employment reasons, working temporarily as unskilled or deskilled labourers,¹⁴ in informal sector jobs such as the sex trade,¹⁵ in domestic service or personal care,¹⁶ as trades workers, or as professionals.¹⁷ These workers are also sometimes *doubly mobile*, migrating to work and then working in mobile workplaces such as in seafaring.¹⁸

Intra-national employment-related mobility also appears to be on the rise, with growing numbers of workers commuting between municipalities,

12. Cited in Helen Crowley and Mary J. Hickman, "Migration, Postindustrialism and the Globalized Nation State: Social Capital and Social Cohesion Re-Examined," *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 31 (2008), 1225.

13. Rinus Penninx, Dimitrina Spencer, and Nicholas Van Hear, *Migration and Integration in Europe: The State of Research. Report Commissioned for New Opportunities for Research Funding Cooperation in Europe* (NORFACE, 2008), <<http://www.compas.ox.ac.uk/publications/Reports>> (17 November 2010).

14. Ann E. Hiott, Joseph G. Grzywacz, Stephen W. Davis, Sara A. Quandt, and Thomas A. Arcury, "Migrant Farmworker Stress: Mental Health Implications," *The Journal of Rural Health*, 24 (2008), 32–39.

15. Leyla Gülcür and Pinar Ilkcaracan, "The 'Natasha' Experience: Migrant Sex Workers from the Former Soviet Union & Eastern Europe in Turkey," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 25 (2002), 411–421.

16. Colette V. Browne and Kathryn L. Braun, "Globalization, Women's Migration, and the Long-Term Care Workforce," *The Gerontologist*, 48 (2008), 16–24; PINAY Filipino Women's Organization and McGill University School of Social Work, *Warning! Domestic Work Can Be Dangerous to Your Immigration Status, Health, Safety, and Wallet! Report on the Findings of a Community-Based Survey on the Work Conditions of Montréal Domestic Workers* (Montréal 2008), 24.

17. João Peixoto, "Migration and Policies in the European Union: Highly Skilled Mobility, Free Movement of Labour and Recognition of Diplomas," *International Migration*, 39 (2001), 33–61.

18. Penny McCall Howard, "Aspects of Employment That Affect the Health, Safety and Well-Being of Seafarers," (paper presented at the 10th International Symposium on Maritime Health, Goa, India, 23–26 September 2009); Barbara Neis, "Industry Dynamism and the Risk of Occupational Respiratory Illness in Global Fisheries," (paper presented at the 10th International Symposium on Maritime Health, Goa, India, 23–26 September 2009).

counties, states, or provinces.¹⁹ Rural to urban commuting or *rurbanisation* is widespread.²⁰ Within the European Union (EU), mobility has recently been enhanced by legislation relaxing restrictions on the rights of EU nationals to work in other EU countries.²¹

Existing research indicates that while international mobility was historically male-dominated, it has become increasingly feminized.²² With changing gender roles in both home and host countries,²³ and a growing demand for workers in the female-dominated informal sectors, such as personal care for the elderly,²⁴ sex work,²⁵ and domestic service,²⁶ more and more women are migrating for work on their own, often from poorer to wealthier countries.²⁷ Despite the growing number of women engaged in employment-related

19. "Long Commute, Huge Rewards: Alberta Oilpatch Changing N.L. Labour Force." *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 29 October 2007, <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2007/10/29/big-commute.html> (8 November 2010); Hiller, *Second Promised Land*; Alan E. Pisarski, "Commuting in America," *Issues in Science and Technology*, Winter (2007), 76–80.

20. G. Á Bauer and Jean Michel Roux, *La rurbanisation ou la ville parpille* (Paris 1976); Catherine Mougenot, "Les mécanismes sociaux de la 'rurbanisation'," *Sociologia Ruralis*, 22 (1982), 264–278; X. Pereiro Perez, *Galegos de vila. Antropoloxia dun espazo urbano* (Santiago de Compostela 2005); Naxhelli Ruiz Rivera and Javier Delgado Campos, "Territorio y nuevas realidades: un recorrido teórico sobre las transformaciones de la relación campo-ciudad," *EURE (Santiago)*, 34 (2008), 77–95.

21. John R. Dobson and Irena Sennikova, "From Fundamental Freedom to Political and Economic 'Hot Potato' in 50 Years: Labour Mobility and Migration within the EU," *Journal of Business Economics and Management*, 8 (2007), 123–136; Sjeff Ederveen, Richard Nahuis, and Ashok Parikh, "Labour Mobility and Regional Disparities: The Role of Female Labour Participation," *Journal of Population Economics*, 20 (2007), 895–913.

22. Giovanna Campani, "Les femmes immigrantes et le marché du travail: intégration et exclusion. Le contexte italien," *Recherches Feministes*, 13 (2000), 47–67; Stephen Castles and Mark J. Miller, *The Age of Migration* (London 1993); Eleonore Kofman, Annie Phizacklea, Pavarti Raghuram, and Rosemary Sales, *Gender and International Migration in Europe: Employment, Welfare and Politics* (London 2000).

23. Campani, "Les femmes immigrantes et le marché du travail," 47–67.

24. Browne and Braun, "Globalization, Women's Migration, and the Long-Term Care Workforce," 16–24.

25. Gülcür and Ilkcaracan, "The 'Natasha' Experience," 411–421.

26. Pei Chia Lan, "Maid or Madam? Filipina Migrant Workers and the Continuity of Domestic Labour," *Gender and Society*, 17 (2003), 187–208; Janet Henshall Momsen, *Gender, Migration and Domestic Service* (London 1999); PINAY Filipino Women's Organization and McGill University School of Social Work, *Warning! Domestic Work Can Be Dangerous to Your Immigration Status, Health, Safety, and Wallet!*, 24.

27. Gülcür and Ilkcaracan, "The 'Natasha' Experience," 411–421; Kofman *et al.*, *Gender and International Migration in Europe*.

mobility, researchers have noted the continuing invisibility of skilled women workers in migration research.²⁸

The Canadian Context

SINCE THE 1970S, Canada has been experiencing a period of neo-liberal policy reform designed to encourage labour (and capital) mobility as a key mechanism for promoting growth and prosperity within a larger institutional framework characterized by private property rights, free markets and free trade, as well as reduced state intervention into markets.²⁹ One overall result of this approach is that paid work has become increasingly important for the economic survival of Canadians even as economic restructuring has dramatically altered the employment landscape – undermining traditional livelihoods (as in the fishing industry in Atlantic Canada) and opening up opportunities in new geographic locations, often requiring different skills.

In Canada and elsewhere, there is *no* “single, comprehensive source of data on temporary population movements that captures the full diversity of the space-time dynamics of such moves.”³⁰ As in the US, census questions about “usual residence” assume that each person can be uniquely and unambiguously attached to a household where he or she ‘lives and sleeps most of the time.’³¹ While the Canadian census has informed a growing literature on commuting, most of it focuses on daily inter-urban and inter-regional mobility.³² Research using other datasets usually looks at inter-provincial mobility³³

28. Kofman *et al.*, *Gender and International Migration in Europe*.

29. Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*.

30. Martin Bell, *Measuring Temporary Mobility: Dimensions and Issues* (Queensland Centre for Population Research, 2004), 4.

31. Elizabeth Martin, “Strength of Attachment: Survey Coverage of People with Tenuous Ties to Residences,” *Demography*, 44 (2007), 427.

32. Kamar Ali, M. Rose Olfert, and Mark D. Partridge, “Urban Footprints in Rural Canada: Employment Spillovers by City Size,” *Regional Studies*, (21 January 2010), <http://pdfserve.informaworld.com/823452_731199576_918787993.pdf> (8 November 2010); Milford B. Green and Stephen P. Meyer, “An Overview of Commuting in Canada with Special Emphasis on Rural Commuting and Employment,” *Journal of Rural Studies*, 13 (1997), 163–175; Spencer Harris, Alessandro Alasia, and Ray D. Bollman, “Rural Commuting: Its Relevance to Rural and Urban Labour Markets,” *Rural and Small Town Canada Analysis Bulletin*, 7 (2008); Stephen P. Meyer and Milford B. Green, “Occupational Stratification of Rural Commuting,” in R. D. Bollman and J. M. Bryden, eds., *Rural Employment: An International Perspective* (Wallingford, UK 1997), 225–238; Richard Shearmur and Benjamin Motte, “Weak Ties That Bind: Do Commutes Bind Montréal’s Central and Suburban Economies?,” *Urban Affairs Review*, 44 (2009), 490–524; Richard Shearmur and Mario Polèse, “Do Local Factors Explain Local Employment Growth: Evidence From Canada, 1971–2001,” *Regional Studies*, 41 (2007), 453–471.

33. Ross Finnie, “Who Moves? A Logit Model Analysis of Inter-Provincial Migration in Canada,” *Applied Economics*, 36 (2004), 1759–1779.

with an eye to permanent relocation in response to regional labour market differences, rather than temporary migration or commuting for the purpose of employment.

We recently developed an analysis of Canadian census data using a new system of employment-related mobility categories.³⁴ Based on that analysis, in Canada in 2006, nearly 32 per cent of Canadians worked outside of their census subdivision, 1.4 per cent worked in a different province or country, and slightly more than 10 per cent had no fixed workplace address (many of these individuals work outside their communities or provinces).³⁵ Thus, according to the 2006 census, up to 44 per cent of Canadians crossed at least one jurisdictional boundary on their way to and from work. In some provinces and industrial sectors, the proportions working outside of the province or at no fixed workplace was substantially higher, up to 2.7 per cent out of province/out of country for Newfoundland and Labrador in 2006, and 49.2 per cent of those employed in the construction sector reported no fixed workplace in the 2001 census. As is the case in other countries, numerous residents of Canada travelled as part of their work on a more intermittent basis, to attend events such as meetings and conferences;³⁶ in addition, approximately 200,000 international migrant workers, not tracked in the census, were employed in Canada in 2007.³⁷

Within Canada, the flow of migratory workers has historically been from rural to urban areas and from provinces that received federal equalization payments, particularly Atlantic Canada, to those that did not, such as Ontario and Alberta.³⁸ Despite evidence that permanent or semi-permanent intra-national migration may have decreased somewhat in recent years,³⁹ this westward, often rural to urban, flow of workers continues today. In addition, due in part to improved transportation and communications, patterns of

34. Deatra Walsh, Sandra Cooke, and Barbara Neis, "On the Move: Using the Canadian Census to Profile Employment-Related Mobility," *The Canadian Geographer*, (Submitted).

35. Statistics Canada, *Commuting Patterns and Places of Work of Canadians, 2006 Census* (Ottawa, ON 2008).

36. E. Jeffrey Hill, Chongming Yang, Alan J. Hawkins, and Maria Ferris, "A Cross-Cultural Test of the Work-Family Interface in 48 Countries," *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 66 (2004), 1300–1316.

37. Malcolm Sargeant and Eric Tucker, "Layers of Vulnerability in Occupational Health and Safety for Migrant Workers: Case Studies From Canada and the United Kingdom," *Policy and Practice in Occupational Health and Safety*, 7 (2010), 51–73.

38. Ross Finnie, "Inter-Provincial Migration in Canada: A Longitudinal Analysis of Movers and Stayers and the Associated Income Dynamics," *Canadian Journal of Regional Science*, 22 (1999), 227–262; Finnie, "Who Moves? A Logit Model Analysis of Inter-Provincial Migration in Canada," 1759–1779; Liaw and Qi, "Lifetime Interprovincial Migration in Canada," 168–190.

39. Patrice Dion and Simon Coulombe, *Portrait of the Mobility of Canadians in 2006: Trajectories and Characteristics of Migrants, Report on the Demographic Situation in Canada: 2005 and 2006* (Ottawa 2008).

employment-related mobility are changing. In Atlantic Canada, for example, increasing numbers of workers are engaged in long-distance travel to work on a daily, weekly, monthly, or seasonal basis.⁴⁰

Historically, not all employment-related mobility has been rural, east to west or north to south. As company towns were developed to extract resources, many workers and their families moved into rural and remote environments with prospectors and geologists starting the migration, followed by construction, building trades and transportation workers, and then by the mine, mill, forestry and other workers and their families. This pattern continues today, although in most cases company towns housing families and other infrastructure have been replaced by fly-in/fly-out operations and associated work camps.⁴¹

In addition to the above, many types of work in Canada and elsewhere have mobility built into them as with the mobile workplaces associated with fishing, shipping and transportation; the transient worksites associated with much construction, oil and gas sector and temp agency work; professional occupations, such as teaching and health care, where workers commute to remote regions to work for periods of time for higher pay; as well as travelling executives and businesspeople often employed by large national and multi-national companies.

Employment-Related Mobility and Health

THERE IS A SUBSTANTIAL body of literature on international, long-term or permanent migration and health, but the literature on shorter-term employment-related mobility and health is relatively limited in comparison. In this section, we draw on the literature on international migration and health, commuting and health, out-migration and health, and other relevant areas, to identify some of the potential key health implications of intra-national mobility including in mobile and transient workplaces such as trucking and work camps. We cluster the results of our review into sections on the following health areas: (1) physical health; (2) mental and emotional health; (3) social health; and, (4) community well-being.

Employment-Related Mobility and Physical Health

Literature on the links between migration and mobility and physical health, indicates that cardio-vascular health, sexually transmitted diseases (STDs),

40. "Long Commute, Huge Rewards: Alberta Oilpatch Changing N.L. Labour Force;" Michael Corbett, "All Kinds of Potential: Women and Out-Migration in an Atlantic Canadian Coastal Community," *Journal of Rural Studies*, 23 (2007), 430–442.

41. Rex A. Lucas, *Minetown, Milltown, Railtown: Life in Canadian Communities of Single Industry* (Toronto 2008); D. S. Houghton, "Long-Distance Commuting: A New Approach to Mining in Australia," *The Geographical Journal*, 159 (1993), 281–290; Keith Storey and Mark Shrimpton, *Long Distance Commuting in the Canadian Mining Industry* (Kingston, ON 1988).

transportation injuries and fatalities, and occupational injury and illness may be important health concerns for Canadian mobile workers and their families.

a. Cardiovascular health

Research on permanent or semi-permanent international migration and poor cardiovascular health is not consistent. Many studies compare the cardiovascular health of international migrant and native populations within the same country, and they have demonstrated that migrant populations tend to have higher blood pressure levels than native populations.⁴² In cases where workers migrate to regions with a lower incidence of cardio-vascular problems, however, the situation appears to be reversed. A recent study showed that Finnish twins who had migrated to Sweden, which has a lower incidence of coronary heart disease, presented a reduced prevalence of heart disease compared to their co-twins who remained in Finland.⁴³ Gender may be an important factor here. In a second study of Finnish labour migrants in Sweden, women and men showed opposite tendencies: female migrants reported poorer cardiovascular health than their counterparts in Finland while male migrants reported better health.⁴⁴ In Denmark, male Inuit migrants were shown to have significantly higher cardiovascular risk factors than their Greenland counterparts, but the relationship was not as clear for women migrants from the same population.⁴⁵ The research therefore suggests that any link between migration and poor cardiovascular health may be highly dependent not only on gender but also the conditions within the host community including the food culture and supports for migrants.

b. Sexually Transmitted Diseases

Studies linking migration with the spread of sexually transmitted infectious diseases such as hepatitis C and the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV) also tend to come from the international migration research.⁴⁶ Much

42. Michael G. Marmot, "Geography of Blood Pressure and Hypertension," *British Medical Bulletin*, 40 (1984), 380–386.

43. Ebba Hedlund, Jaakko Kaprio, Anders Lange, Markku Koskenvuo, Laura Jartti, Tapani Ronnema, and Niklas Hammar, "Migration and Coronary Heart Disease: A Study of Finnish Twins Living in Sweden and Their Co-Twins Residing in Finland," *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 35 (2007), 468–474.

44. Jeanette Westman, Tuija Martelin, Tommi Harkanen, Seppo Koskinen, and Kristina Sundquist, "Migration and Self-Rated Health: a Comparison Between Finns Living in Sweden and Finns Living in Finland," *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 36 (2008), 698–705.

45. Peter Bjerregaard, Marit Eika Jorgensen, and Knut Borch-Johnsen, "Cardiovascular Risk Amongst Migrant and Non-Migrant Greenland Inuit in a Gender Perspective," *Scandinavian Journal of Public Health*, 35 (2004), 380–386.

46. For example, see Christophe Béné and Sonja Merten, "Women and Fish-for-Sex: Transactional Sex, HIV/AIDS and Gender in African Fisheries," *World Development*, 36 (2008), 875–899; Monique Brammeier, Joan M. Chow, Michael C. Samuel, Kurt C. Organista, Jamie

of the research on migrant workers and sexually transmitted diseases has been conducted in China, a country with an immense, temporary and vulnerable intra-national migrant worker population. These studies have shown that temporary migrants are particularly vulnerable to risky sexual behaviour that transmits STDs and HIV.⁴⁷ This pattern has also been noted in many other parts of the world, including other parts of Asia, Africa, and North America.⁴⁸ This suggests that STDs may be an important health concern relevant to the context of intra-national Canadian mobility as well.

c. Commuting Injuries and Fatalities

Literature on frequent and long-distance commuting suggests that employment-related mobility may enhance the risk of commuting hazards, including injury and fatality caused by driving or flying during bad weather.⁴⁹

Miller, and Gail Bolan, "Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Risk Behaviours Among California Farmworkers: Results From a Population-Based Survey," *The Journal of Rural Health*, 24 (2008), 279–284; Francesco Croce, Paolo Fedeli, Mohamed Dahoma, Lorenzo Deh, Mahdi Ramsan, Fulvio Adorni, Stefano Corvasce, and Massimo Galli, "Risk Factors for HIV/AIDS in a Low HIV Prevalence Site of Sub-Saharan Africa," *Tropical Medicine*, 12 (2007), 1011–1017; Michael R. Duke and Francisco J. Gómez Carpinteiro, "The Effects of Problem Drinking and Sexual Risk Among Mexican Migrant Workers on Their Community of Origin," *Human Organization*, 68 (2009), 328–339; Rosete Martinez, Daniel Hernández, Gabriela Sánchez Hernández, Blanca Pelcastre Villafuerte, and Clara Juárez Ramirez, "Del riesgo ala vulnerabilidad. bases metodologicas para comprender la relation entre violencia sexual e infeccion por vih/its en migrantes clandestinos," *Salud Mental*, 28 (2005), 20–26; Janet Seeley, Grace Tumwekwase, and Heiner Grosskurth, "Fishing for a Living but Catching HIV: AIDS and Changing Patterns of the Organization of Work in Fisheries in Uganda," *Anthropology of Work Review*, 30 (2009), 66–76; Xiushi Yang and Guomei Xia, "Temporary Migration and STD/HIV Risky Sexual Behaviour: A Population-Based Analysis of Gender Differences in China," *Social Problems*, 55 (2008), 322–346.

47. A. F. Anderson, X. Hua, and B. Jianfeng, "China's Floating Population and the Potential for HIV Transmission: A Social-Behavioural Perspective," *AIDS Care*, 15 (2003), 177–185; Xiaoming Li, Xiaoyi Fang, Danhua Lin, Rong Mao, Jing Wang, Lesley Cottrell, Carole Harris, and Bonita Stanton, "HIV/STD Risk Behaviors and Perceptions Among Rural-to-Urban Migrants in China," *AIDS Education and Prevention*, 16 (2004), 538–556; Christopher J. Smith and Xiushi Yang, "Examining the Connection Between Temporary Migration and the Spread of STDs and HIV/AIDS in China," *The China Review*, 5 (2005), 109–137; Yang and Xia, "Temporary Migration and STD/HIV Risky Sexual Behaviour," 322–346.

48. Brammeier *et al.*, "Sexually Transmitted Diseases and Risk Behaviours Among California Farmworkers," 279–284; Ronald Skeldon, *Population Mobility and HIV Vulnerability in South East Asia: An Assessment and Analysis* (Bangkok, Thailand 2000); UNAIDS, *Population Mobility and AIDS* (Geneva 2001); Stevan Weine, Mahbat Bahromov, and Azamdjon Mirzoev, "Unprotected Tajik Male Migrant Workers in Moscow at Risk for HIV/AIDS," *Journal of Immigrant Minority Health*, 10 (2008), 461–468; Iva Wolffers, Irene Fernandez, Sharuna Verghis, and Martijn Vink, "Sexual Behaviour and Vulnerability of Migrant Workers for HIV Infection," *Culture, Health, and Sexuality*, 4 (2002), 459–473.

49. "Helicopter Crash Sparks Discussion of Safety Measures," *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 16 March 2009 <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2009/03/16/safety-oilrig-discussion.html>> (8 November 2010); Jillian Dorrian, Carolyn

Long-distance daily commuting is also linked to shortened sleep hours, which in turn is associated with higher morbidity and mortality.⁵⁰ For those working night shifts, commuting may be particularly hazardous. An Australian study by Dorrian *et al.*⁵¹ found that nurses who worked night shifts were more likely to report drowsiness and near-accidents during their commute. In Canada, concerns have recently been raised about the role that pilot fatigue can play in airplane crashes, particularly since pilots report feeling pressure to work beyond the regulatory guidelines for consecutive flying hours. In addition, unlike in Europe, Canadian duty times do not vary depending on whether pilots start work at night or in the day, despite concerns about how the disruption of circadian rhythms affects pilots' flight performance.⁵² Studies show that pilots have poorer response times and make more flying errors when sleep-deprived.⁵³

Air pollution caused by petroleum-powered vehicles may also be a hazard to the health of mobile workers who travel frequently in automobiles and trucks. Research has shown that chronic exposure to air pollution from traffic is associated with numerous health impacts including an overall risk of earlier

Tolley, Nicole Lamond, Cameron van den Heuvel, Jan Pincombe, Anne E. Rogers, and Dawson Drew, "Sleep and Errors in a Group of Australian Hospital Nurses at Work and During the Commute," *Applied Ergonomics*, 39 (2008), 605–613; Michael Quinlan, Claire Mayhew, and Philip Bohle, "The Global Expansion of Precarious Employment, Work Disorganization, and Consequences for Occupational Health: A Review of Recent Research," *International Journal of Health Services*, 31 (2001), 335–414; Matthew J. S. Windle, Barbara Neis, Stephen Bornstein, Marian Binkley, and Pablo Navarro, "Fishing Occupational Health and Safety: a Comparison of Regulatory Regimes and Safety Outcomes in Six Countries," *Marine Policy* (2008), 701–710.

50. Masahiro Umezaki, Hitoshi Ishimaru, and Ryutaro Ohtsuka, "Daily Time Budgets of Long-Distance Commuting Workers in Tokyo Megalopolis," *Journal of Biosocial Science*, 31 (1999), 71–78; Deborah L. Wingard, Lisa F. Berkman, and Richard J. Brand, "A Multivariate Analysis of Health-Related Practices: a Nine-Year Mortality Follow-Up of the Alameda County Study," *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 116 (1982), 765–775.

51. Dorrian *et al.*, "Sleep and Errors in a Group of Australian Hospital Nurses at Work and During the Commute," 605–613.

52. "Dead Tired," *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 24 March 2010, <<http://www.cbc.ca/thenational/indepthanalysis/story/2010/03/24/national-deadtired.html>> (8 November 2010); "Pilot Fatigue Raised in Canadian Crashes," *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 25 March 2010, <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/story/2010/03/25/pilot-fatigue025.html>> (8 November 2010).

53. Nicole Lamond, Renée M. Petrilli, Drew Dawson, and Gregory D. Roach, "Do Short International Layovers Allow Sufficient Opportunity for Pilots to Recover?," *Chronobiology International: The Journal of Biological & Medical Rhythm Research*, 23 (2006), 1285–1294; Fred H. Previc, Nadia Lopez, William R. Ercoline, Christina M. Daluz, Andrew J. Workman, Richard H. Evans, and Nathan A. Dillon, "The Effects of Sleep Deprivation on Flight Performance, Instrument Scanning, and Physiological Arousal in Pilots," *International Journal of Aviation Psychology*, 19 (2009), 326–346.

death,⁵⁴ respiratory problems such as asthma,⁵⁵ cardio-pulmonary problems;⁵⁶ and pre-term birth.⁵⁷

In many cases, workers engaged in frequent work-related travel use a variety of mobile devices while driving, particularly mobile phones. Although we were unable to find studies directly examining the use of such devices by mobile workers, a large body of research links mobile phone use while driving to higher rates of automobile accidents.⁵⁸ Such workers may include travelling businesspeople as well as health professionals, trades workers, and truckers, and workers in the mining industry who frequently communicate by mobile phone while travelling considerable distances between mines.⁵⁹

d. Occupational Injuries and Illness

In some cases, and for certain types of employment-related mobility, the literature suggests that mobile workers may enjoy some protection from certain health and safety risks compared to stationary workers. For example, Glass and Kromhout *et al.* demonstrated that itinerant workers who travelled between

54. Murray M. Finkelstein, Michael Jerrett, and Malcolm R. Sears, "Traffic Air Pollution and Mortality Rate Advancement Periods," *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 160 (2004), 173–177.

55. K. Sekine, M. Shima, Y. Nitta, and M. Adachi, "Long Term Effects of Exposure to Automobile Exhaust on the Pulmonary Function of Female Adults in Tokyo, Japan," *Occupational and Environmental Medicine*, 61 (2004), 350–357.

56. Gerard Hoek, Bert Brunekreef, Sandra Goldbohm, Paul Fischer, and Plet A. van den Brandt, "Association Between Mortality and Indicators of Traffic-Related Air Pollution in the Netherlands: a Cohort Study," *Lancet*, 360 (2002), 1203–1209.

57. Chun Yuh Yang, Chih Ching Chang, Hung Yi Chuang, Chi Kung Ho, Trong Neng Wu, and Shang Shyue Tsai, "Evidence for Increased Risks of Preterm Delivery in a Population Residing Near a Freeway in Taiwan," *Archives of Environmental Health*, 58 (2003), 649–654.

58. For example, see Kristen E. Beede and Steven J. Kass, "Engrossed in Conversation: The Impact of Cell Phones on Simulated Driving Performance," *Accident Analysis & Prevention*, 38 (2006), 415–421; Samuel G. Charlton, "Driving While Conversing: Cell Phones That Distract and Passengers Who React," *Accident Analysis & Prevention*, 41 (2009), 160–173; "Dangers of Driver Distractions," *Industrial Engineer*, 41 (2009), 13; Bor Shong Liu and Yung Hui Lee, "Effects of Car-Phone Use and Aggressive Disposition During Critical Driving Maneuvers," *Transportation Research: Part F*, 8 (2005), 369–382; Suzanne P. McEvoy, Mark R. Stevenson, Anne T. McCartt, Mark Woodward, Claire Haworth, Peter Palamara, and Rina Cercarelli, "Role of Mobile Phones in Motor Vehicle Crashes Resulting in Hospital Attendance: a Case-Crossover Study," *British Medical Journal*, 331 (2005), 428–430; David L. Strayer and Frank A. Drews, "Profiles in Driver Distraction: Effects of Cell Phone Conversations on Younger and Older Drivers," *Human factors*, 46 (2004), 640–649; David L. Strayer, Frank A. Drews, and Dennis J. Crouch, "A Comparison of the Cell Phone Driver and the Drunk Driver," *Human factors*, 48 (2006), 381–391; John M. Violanti, "Cellular Phones and Fatal Traffic Collisions," *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 30 (1998), 519–524; John M. Violanti and James R. Marshall, "Cellular Phones and Traffic Accidents: an Epidemiological Approach," *Accident Analysis and Prevention*, 28 (1996), 265–270.

59. James Sharpe, "Extend Mine Safety to the Open Roads," *Rock Products*, 112 (2009), 8.

multiple job sites suffered less chemical exposure than workers working at single job sites.⁶⁰

Much of the literature related to employment-related mobility and occupational health and safety deals with international migration, documenting an increased risk of occupational injury and illness for those who migrate internationally for work,⁶¹ particularly those who have newly arrived in a host country,⁶² and for those with limited rights and legal protections.⁶³ Such workers may also have difficulty accessing workers' compensation benefits in their host country.⁶⁴

There is a considerable body of literature on the exposure of international migrant workers to chemicals that can cause occupational illness, including pesticides,⁶⁵ and also to hazards like asbestos.⁶⁶ In Mexico, seasonally migrant Indigenous workers employed in agriculture are often forced to take their children with them into the fields where they often become child labourers and

60. D. C. Glass, "An Assessment of the Exposure of Water Reclamation Workers to Hydrogen Sulphide," *The Annals of Occupational Hygiene*, 34 (1990), 509–519; Hans Kromhout, Elaine Symanski, and Stephen M. Rappaport, "A Comprehensive Evaluation of Within- and Between-Worker Components of Occupational Exposure to Chemical Agents," *The Annals of Occupational Hygiene*, 37 (1993), 253–270.

61. Emily Q. Ahonen, Fernando G. Benavides, and Joan Benach, "Immigrant Populations, Work, and Health – a Systematic Literature Review," *Scandinavian Journal of Work Environment and Health*, 33 (2007), 96–104; Sargeant and Tucker, "Layers of Vulnerability in Occupational Health and Safety for Migrant Workers," 51–73.

62. Carlos F. Corvalan, Timothy R. Driscoll, and James E. Harrison, "Role of Migrant Factors in Work-Related Fatalities in Australia," *Scandinavian Journal of Work Environment and Health*, 20 (1994), 364–370.

63. Ahonen *et al.*, "Immigrant Populations, Work, and Health," 96–104; Howard, "Aspects of Employment That Affect the Health, Safety and Well-Being of Seafarers;" PINAY Filipino Women's Organization and McGill University School of Social Work, *Warning! Domestic Work Can Be Dangerous to Your Immigration Status, Health, Safety, and Wallet!*, 24; Sargeant and Tucker, "Layers of Vulnerability in Occupational Health and Safety for Migrant Workers," 51–73.

64. Sylvie Gravel, Jean Marc Brodeur, François Champagne, Katherine Lippel, Lous Patry, Laurence Boucheron, Michel Fournier, and Bilkis Vissandjée, "Critères pour apprécier les difficultés d'accès à l'indemnisation des travailleurs immigrants victimes de lésions professionnelles," *Pistes*, 8 (2006), <<http://www.pistes.uqam.ca/v8n2/articles/v8n2a6.htm>> (8 November 2010).

65. Deborah Barndt, *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain: Women, Food, and Globalization* (Toronto 1999); Jennifer Griffin and Varda Soskolne, "Psychological Distress Among Thai Migrant Workers in Israel," *Social Science and Medicine*, 57 (2003), 769–774.

66. Lundy Braun and Sophia Kisting, "Asbestos-Related Disease in South Africa: The Social Production of an Invisible Epidemic," *American Journal of Public Health*, 96 (2006), 1386–1396; Jock McCulloch and Geoffrey Tweedale, "Double Standards: The Multi-National Asbestos Industry and Asbestos-Related Disease in South Africa," *International Journal of Health Services*, 34 (2004), 663–679.

are potentially exposed to pesticides and other hazards.⁶⁷ Securing treatment for occupational illness and access to benefits may be challenging for migrant workers who develop occupational illnesses after returning to their homelands, and particularly so for those without documentation.⁶⁸ Employment-related mobility can also complicate the diagnosis, treatment, and recording of occupational illness. For example, efforts to establish a registry of former miners at Baie Verte, Newfoundland have been challenged by the fact that many of the miners migrated to mines in other parts of Canada during the operation of the mine and afterwards.⁶⁹

Employment-related mobility, both international and intra-national, as well as that involving mobile workplaces, also tends to involve *precarious work*.⁷⁰ Precarious work includes work that is temporary, casual or on-call, that involves multiple employers, entails shift-work or other non-standard work schedules, or lacks access to benefits or employment rights and job security, often with low wages.⁷¹ Prolonged commutes over several weeks or months are generally associated with heightened worker willingness and employer pressure to work non-standard work hours. Barton reports that in remote worksites in northern British Columbia, Canada, companies “require workers to leave their communities and work 12 hour shifts and 42 days straight before having 14 days off.”⁷² These types of schedules have been associated with many physical and mental health problems,⁷³ including stress and fatigue, which

67. Barndt, *Women Working the NAFTA Food Chain*.

68. Braun and Kisting, “Asbestos-Related Disease in South Africa,” 1386–1396.

69. Stephen Bornstein, personal communication to authors, 2010.

70. Marlea Clarke, Wayne Lewchuk, Alice de Wolff, and Andy King, “‘This Just Isn’t Sustainable’: Precarious Employment, Stress and Workers’ Health,” *Journal of Law and Psychiatry*, 30 (2007), 311–326; Alice de Wolff, *Employment Insecurity and Health. Literature Review and Environmental Scan*, (Toronto 2008).

71. Richard P. Chaykowski and George A. Slotsve, “The Extent of Economic Vulnerability in the Canadian Labour Market and Federal Jurisdiction: Is There a Role for Labour Standards?,” *Social Indicators Research*, 88 (2008), 75–96; de Wolff, *Employment Insecurity and Health*; Sylvia Fuller and Leah F. Vosko, “Temporary Employment and Social Inequality in Canada: Exploring Intersections of Gender, Race and Immigration Status,” *Social Indicators Research*, 4 (2008), 334–352; Ron Saunders, *Defining Vulnerability in the Labour Market* (Ottawa 2003).

72. Sylvia S. Barton, “Aspects of the Effect of Substance Use on Health, Wellness and Safety of Employees and Families in Northern Remote Work Sites,” *Social Indicators Research*, 60 (2002), 267.

73. Carina Eriksen, “How Cabin Crew Cope With Work Stress,” in Todd Hubbard, ed., *Aviation Mental Health: Psychological Implications for Air Transportation* (Hampshire 2006), 209–226; Katherine R. Parkes, *Psychosocial Aspects of Work and Health in the North Sea Oil and Gas Industry: Summaries of Reports Published 1996–2001*, (University of Oxford 2002); Ann Williamson, “Predictors of Psychostimulant Use by Long-Distance Truck Drivers,” *American Journal of Epidemiology*, 166 (2007), 1320–1326; Windle *et al.*, “Fishing Occupational Health and Safety,” 701–710.

may in turn lead to higher occupational safety risks.⁷⁴ Employment-related mobility – in itself, but also because it contributes to the increase in precarious employment – may also undermine the efficacy of policies designed to protect workers, ensure safe working conditions, and provide workers' compensation for occupational injury.⁷⁵

Employment-Related Mobility and Mental and Emotional Health

In this section, we examine potential mental and emotional health consequences of employment-related mobility in the context of intra-national Canadian mobility: stress and burnout, depression, substance abuse and other addictions, children's emotional and mental health, and potential positive impacts.

a. Stress and Burnout

Stress and *burnout* have been identified as health risks among workers in multiple mobile occupations including flight attendants,⁷⁶ offshore oil workers,⁷⁷

74. Howard, "Aspects of Employment That Affect the Health, Safety and Well-Being of Seafarers;" Quinlan *et al.*, "The Global Expansion of Precarious Employment, Work Disorganization, and Consequences for Occupational Health," 335–414; Michael Quinlan, Claire Mayhew, and Ron Johnston, "Trucking Tragedies: The Hidden Disaster of Mass Death in the Long-Haul Road Transport Industry," in Eric Tucker, ed., *Working Disasters: The Politics of Recognition and Response* (Amityville, NY 2006), 19–63; Valerie J. Sutherland and Cary L. Cooper, *Man and Accidents Offshore: An Examination of the Costs of Stress Among Workers on Oil and Gas Rigs* (London 1986).

75. Joan Benach, Carles Muntaner, and Vilma Santana, *Employment Conditions and Health Inequalities: A Synthesis of the WHO Employment Conditions Knowledge Network Final Report* (Antigonish, NS 2007); Stephanie Bernstein, Katherine Lippel, Eric Tucker, and Leah F. Vosko, "Precarious Employment and the Law's Flaws: Identifying Regulatory Failure and Securing Effective Protection for Workers," in Leah F. Vosko, ed., *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montréal and Kingston 2006), 203–220; Martha Macdonald, Barbara Neis, and Grant Murray, "State Policy, Livelihood Protection, and Gender on Canada's East Coast," *International Journal for Canadian Studies* (2009), 149–179.

76. Vivian Shalla, "Time Warped: The Flexibilization and Maximization of Flight Attendant Working Time," *Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 41 (2004), 345–368; Drew Whitelegg, *The Big Squeeze: The Time and Space of Flight Attendants Since 9/11. The Emory Center for Myth and Ritual in American Life Working Paper No. 32* (2004), <http://www.marial.emory.edu/pdfs/Whitelegg_32_04.pdf> (8 November 2010).

77. David L. Collinson, "'Shift-ing Lives': Work-Home Pressures in the North Sea Oil Industry," *The Canadian Review of Sociology and Anthropology*, 35 (1998), 301–324.

truckers,⁷⁸ seafarers,⁷⁹ urban transit workers,⁸⁰ and travelling businesspeople.⁸¹ Gilgen *et al.* argue that “[b]oth forced and voluntary migration can be stressful and damaging to health particularly when associated with traumatising events or with unfavourable living conditions in different settings.”⁸² A study of sex trade workers in Halifax, Nova Scotia found that it can be stressful for some sex trade workers to leave their home community to travel to another city or province for work particularly if they have children or if they are attempting to hide the reasons for their mobility from family and friends.⁸³ Dimberg *et al.* looked at the frequency of mental health insurance claims among spouses of frequent business travellers, and found that among both male and female spouses, mental health claims were about 16% higher than among spouses of non-travellers, and stress-related psychological disorder rates were triple those of non-traveller spouses.⁸⁴

The isolation and separation from family and community linked to many forms of employment-related mobility appear to be associated with elevated stress levels among many mobile workers and their families.⁸⁵ When families

78. Quinlan *et al.*, “The Global Expansion of Precarious Employment, Work Disorganization, and Consequences for Occupational Health,” 335–414.

79. David Walters, “Managing Psychosocial Risks at Sea: Globalisation, Precarious Work, and a Failure of Regulation?,” (paper presented at the Third INCO International Conference on Psychosocial Factors at Work, Québec City, QC, 1–4 September 2008).

80. Meng Jinn Chen and Carol Cunradi, “Job Stress, Burnout and Substance Use Among Urban Transit Operators: The Potential Mediating Role of Coping Behaviour,” *Work & Stress*, 22 (2008), 327–340.

81. Anne Aguilera, “Business Travel and Mobile Workers,” *Transportation Research Part A: Policy & Practice*, 42 (2008), 1109–1116; Lennart A. Dimberg, J. Stiker, C. Mordanlycke-Yoo, Lorraine Nagy, Kenneth A. Mundt, and Sandra I. Sulsky, “Mental Health Insurance Claims Among Spouses of Frequent Business Travellers,” *Occupational Environmental Medicine*, 59 (2002), 175–181.

82. Denise Gilgen, Daniel Maeusezahl, Corina Salis Gross, Eduoard Battegay, Peter Flubacher, Marcel Tanner, Mitchell G. Weiss, and Christoph Hatz, “Impact of Migration on Illness Experience and Help-Seeking Strategies of Patients from Turkey and Bosnia in Primary Health Care in Basel,” *Health and Place*, 11 (2005), 262; Marjorie A. Muecke, “New Paradigms for Refugee Health Problems,” *Social Science and Medicine*, 35 (1992), 515–523.

83. Lois A. Jackson, Carolyn G. Bennett, and Barbara A. Sowski, “Stress in the Sex Trade and Beyond: Women Working in the Sex Trade Talk About the Emotional Stressors in the Working and Home Lives,” *Critical Public Health*, 17 (2007), 257–271.

84. Dimberg *et al.*, “Mental Health Insurance Claims Among Spouses of Frequent Business Travellers,” 175–181.

85. Aguilera, “Business Travel and Mobile Workers,” 1109–1116; David Clark, Kathryn McCann, Ken Morrice, and Rex Taylor, “Work and Marriage in the Offshore Oil Industry,” *International Journal of Social Economics*, 12 (1985), 36; Eriksen, “How Cabin Crew Cope With Work Stress,” 209–226; Mauthner *et al.*, “My Dad Hangs Out of Helicopter Doors and Takes Pictures of Oil Platforms,” 133–162; Rosemary E. Ommer and Coasts Under Stress Team, *Coasts Under Stress: Restructuring and Social-Ecological Health* (Montréal 2007);

accompany mobile workers to their employment destination, the link between health and place attachment may be an important factor in their experience of stress. The place that a person considers to be *home* tends to be an important part of one's identity, and because people form emotional links to a particular site, this "place attachment" has consequences for other aspects of a person's life.⁸⁶ Research from the United Kingdom indicates that most people who move from a rural area to an urban area experience stress in adjusting to the move, at least initially.⁸⁷ Conditions of work and the dynamics of work camps and host communities may constrain the development of positive attachments to temporary residences. The potential negative consequences in terms of stress for families are likely to be exacerbated when employment-related mobility is to a site lacking affordable housing, good schools, health care and employment opportunities for women, making it difficult for families to stay together and stressful for those who try to relocate even temporarily closer to work.

b. Depression

The literature on seafarers and offshore oil workers indicates that depression may be an important mental health concern for the spouses of mobile workers who are required to be away from their families for extended periods of time. A Norwegian study of seafarers' wives found that two per cent suffered from severe depression, a similar rate to that found in the control group;⁸⁸ however, this same study concluded that the long weeks of separation may exacerbate existing acute and chronic shore-side problems. Isay found that the spouses of submariners had a high incidence of depression when their husbands left, and when they returned from extended sea duty.⁸⁹ This finding was echoed in the work of Morrice *et al.* in their study of Scottish spouses of offshore oil

Katherine R. Parkes, S. C. Carnell, and E. L. Farmer, "Living Two Lives: Perceptions, Attitudes, and Experiences of Spouses of UK Offshore Workers," *Community, Work & Family*, 8 (2005), 413–437.

86. Lee Cuba and David M. Hummon, "A Place to Call Home: Identification with Dwelling, Community and Region," *The Sociological Quarterly*, 34 (1993), 111–131; Melinda J. Milligan, "Interactional Past and Potential: The Social Construction of Place Attachment," *Symbolic Interaction*, 21 (1998), 2.

87. Andy Furlong and George H. Cooney, "Getting on Their Bikes: Teenagers Leaving Home in Scotland in the 1980s," *Journal of Social Policy*, 19 (1990), 535–551; Gill Jones, "The Same People in the Same Places? Socio-Spatial Identities and Migration in Youth," *Sociology*, 33 (1999), 1–22; Aileen Stockdale, "Migration: Pre-Requisite for Rural Economic Regeneration?," *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22 (2006), 354–366.

88. Arne Johan Ulven, Knut Arve Omdal, Henrik Herløv-Nielsen, Ågot Irgens, and Eilif Dahl, "Seafarers' Wives and Intermittent Husbands – Social and Psychological Impact of a Subgroup of Norwegian Seafarers' Work Schedule on Their Families," *International Maritime Health*, 58 (2007), 115–128.

89. Richard A. Isay, "The Submariners' Wives Syndrome," *Psychiatric Quarterly*, 42 (1968), 647–652.

workers.⁹⁰ They note that while many of these wives coped very well with their husbands' absence, about ten per cent had symptoms that merited psychiatric intervention, including depression. The authors termed the combination of distress and behavioural changes, "Intermittent Husband Syndrome." Cooper and Sloan found similar results in their study of spouses of commercial air crew.⁹¹ However, more recent research on the effects of offshore oil and gas commute work on wives found most had adapted well to the intermittent presence of their spouses and some found it increased their independence.⁹²

c. Substance Abuse and Other Addictions

Addictions of various types, including increased alcohol consumption, illicit drug consumption, and gambling, have been linked to certain types of employment-related mobility, although it is not clear to what extent people engaging in some types of mobile jobs are already predisposed to substance use and other addictions, and to what extent the mobility and the work are causal factors. However, high levels of substance abuse have been found among many types of mobile workers⁹³ including long-distance truckers,⁹⁴ urban transit workers,⁹⁵ and offshore oil workers,⁹⁶ and are associated with high levels of mobility generally.⁹⁷ High rates of alcohol use have also been noted among Mexican migrant workers in the United States, and have been linked to fatal motor vehicle accidents among this group.⁹⁸ Research in Alberta and in

90. J. K. W. Morrice, R. C. Taylor, D. Clark, and K. McCann, "Oil Wives and Intermittent Husbands," *British Journal of Psychiatry*, 147 (1985), 479–483.

91. Cindy L. Cooper and S. Sloan, "The Sources of Stress on the Wives of Commercial Airline Pilots," *Aviation, Space and Environmental Medicine*, 56 (1985), 317–321.

92. Parkes *et al.*, "Living Two Lives," 413–437.

93. Maria Louisa Alaniz, "Migration, Acculturation, Displacement: Migratory Workers and 'Substance Abuse,'" *Substance Use and Misuse*, 37 (2002), 1253–1257.

94. Nick A. Mabbott and Laurence R. Hartley, "Patterns of Stimulant Drug Use on Western Australian Heavy Transport Routes," *Transport Research Record*, Part F (1999), 115–130; Williamson, "Predictors of Psychostimulant Use by Long-Distance Truck Drivers," 1320–1326.

95. Chen and Cunradi, "Job Stress, Burnout and Substance Use among Urban Transit Operators," 327–340.

96. G. Aiken and C. McCance, "Alcohol Consumption in Offshore Oil Rig Workers," *British Journal of Addiction*, 77 (1982), 305–310; Marla Jackson, *Health and Wellness Trends in the Oil and Gas Sector* (Toronto: ON 2009); Karen M. Sutherland and Rhona H. Flin, "Stress at Sea: A Review of Working Conditions in the Offshore Oil and Fishing Industries," *Work and Stress*, 3 (1989), 269–285.

97. David J. DeWit, "Frequent Childhood Geographic Relocation: Its Impact on Drug Use Initiation and the Development of Alcohol and Other Drug-Related Problems among Adolescents and Young Adults," *Addictive Behaviours*, 23 (1998), 623–634.

98. Duke and Gómez Carpinteiro, "The Effects of Problem Drinking and Sexual Risk Among Mexican Migrant Workers on Their Community of Origin," 328–339.

northern Canada has found that working at a remote site and being required to travel as part of one's job are linked to high levels of alcohol consumption.⁹⁹

d. Children's Mental and Emotional Health

The research on children's emotional health and their parents' employment-related mobility is quite complex, and varies greatly according to whether or not children accompany their parents to their employment destination. Many studies have suggested negative consequences for children whose parents are absent for employment for extended periods of time. Much research has focused on the impact that mothers' employment-related absence has on children's behaviour in school and academic achievement.¹⁰⁰ Research has found that the children of mothers who work non-standard hours, such as night shifts, are less well-prepared for school.¹⁰¹ A Canadian study found that children whose fathers were absent for long periods in military service performed less well in school.¹⁰² Studies in South Africa and the United States found that children of migrant labourers had poorer academic performance than children whose fathers were at home,¹⁰³ and a study of male Scottish offshore oil workers found high levels of behaviour problems among their children.¹⁰⁴ Fowler and Etchegary's study of two rural fishing communities in

99. Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission, *Substance Use and Gambling in the Alberta Workplace, 2002: A Replication Study* (Edmonton, AB 2002); Alberta Alcohol and Drug Abuse Commission, *Impacts and Costs of Substance Use in the Alberta Workplace* (Edmonton AB 2003); Barton, "Aspects of the Effect of Substance Use on Health, Wellness and Safety of Employees and Families in Northern Remote Work Sites," 263–274.

100. Charles L. Baum, "The Long-Term Effects of Early and Recent Maternal Employment on a Child's Academic Achievement," *Journal of Family Issues*, 25 (2004), 29–60; Jeanne Brooks-Gunn, Jane Waldfogel, and Wen Jui Han, "Maternal Employment and Child Outcomes in the First Three Years of Life: The NICHD Study of Early Childcare," *Child Development*, 73 (2002), 1052–1072; Wendy A. Goldberg, JoAnn Prause, Rachel Lucas-Thompson, and Amy Himself, "Maternal Employment and Children's Achievement in Context: A Meta-Analysis of Four Decades of Research," *Psychological bulletin*, 134 (2008), 77–108; Suzanne James-Burdumy, *The Effect of Maternal Labor Force Participation on Child Educational Attainment* (Princeton, NJ 1999); Ann M. Milne, David E. Myers, Alvin S. Rosenthal, and Alan Ginsburg, "Single Parent, Working Mothers, and the Educational Achievement of School Children," *Sociology of Education*, 59 (1986), 125–139.

101. Wen Jui Han, "Maternal Nonstandard Work Schedules and Child Outcomes," *Child Development*, 76 (2005), 137–156.

102. Chok C. Hiew, "Separated by Their Work: Families With Fathers Living Apart," *Environment and Behavior*, 24 (1992), 206–225.

103. Scott W. Henggeler and Joseph B. Tavormina, "The Children of Mexican-American Migrant Workers: A Population at Risk?," *Journal of Abnormal Child Psychology*, 6 (1978), 97–106; Mzobanzi M. Mboya and Ralintho I. Nesengani, "Migrant Labor in South Africa: A Comparative Analysis of the Academic Achievement of the Father-Present and Father-Absent Adolescents," *Adolescence*, 34 (1999), 763–767.

104. Morrice *et al.*, "Oil Wives and Intermittent Husbands," 479–483.

Newfoundland and Labrador found that participants reported that children's emotional well-being was negatively affected when one or both parents travelled to other provinces in Canada for work.¹⁰⁵

Overall, however, there is no clear consensus on the effect of parental employment-related absence on children. A Mexican study examining the adolescent children of fathers who regularly migrated away for work for extended periods found that factors such as poverty, lack of education and occupational opportunities are more predictive of poor mental health than paternal absence, and that the presence of a *culture of migration* in communities of origin seemed to be protective of the health of these children.¹⁰⁶ Similarly, Mauthner *et al.*'s study of children of offshore oil workers found that, while children often had some difficulties adjusting to their fathers' continuous departures, for the most part they adapted to the schedule and enjoyed the extended period of time when their fathers were at home during onshore time.¹⁰⁷

Children sometimes accompany their parents to the employment destination. Certain studies, particularly those conducted on military families, have indicated that there can be benefits for children of frequent relocation if there is adequate preparation and support.¹⁰⁸ Jensen *et al.* demonstrated that although the common perception is that psychopathologies are more prevalent among military children, in fact they are no higher than in the population as a whole.¹⁰⁹ However, a considerable body of research indicates that frequent mobility is associated with a number of emotional and behavioural problems, including academic problems and misbehaviour at school,¹¹⁰ sexually

105. Ken Fowler and Holly Etchegary, "Economic Crisis and Social Capital: The Story of Two Rural Fishing Communities," *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 81 (2008), 319–341.

106. Aguilera, "Business Travel and Mobile Workers," 1109–1116.

107. Mauthner *et al.*, "My Dad Hangs Out of Helicopter Doors and Takes Pictures of Oil Platforms," 133–162.

108. Faris R. Kirkland and Pearl Katz, "Combat Readiness and the Army Family," *Military Review*, 69 (1989), 63–74; Robin Martin, "Adjusting to Job Relocation: Relocation Preparation Can Reduce Relocation Stress," *Journal of Occupational and Organizational Psychology*, 72 (1999), 231–235; Jerry Lavin McKain, "Alienation: A Function of Geographical Mobility Among Families," in E. J. Hunter, ed., *Families in the Military System* (Beverly Hills, CA 1976), 69–91; Cale Palmer, "A Theory of Risk and Resilience Factors in Military Families," *Military Psychology*, 20 (2008), 205–217.

109. Peter S. Jensen, Henry K. Watanabe, John E. Richters, Rosa Cortes, Margaret Roper, and Sharon Liu, "Prevalence of Mental Disorder in Military Children and Adolescents: Findings from a Two-Stage Community Survey," *Journal of the American Academy of Child & Adolescent Psychiatry*, 34 (1995), 1514–1524.

110. Christiane Humke and Charles Schaefer, "Relocation: A Review of the Effects of Residential Mobility on Children and Adolescents," *Psychology: A Journal of Human Behaviour*, 32 (1995), 18–24; Gloria A. Simpson and Mary Glenn Fowler, "Geographic Mobility and Children's Emotional/Behavioural Adjustment and School Functioning," *Pediatrics*, 93

promiscuous behaviour,¹¹¹ drug use,¹¹² and criminal activities such as vandalism and theft.¹¹³ These problems might be particularly acute in situations where children move with their families on a seasonal basis to work in fish processing, agriculture or construction – disrupting their school lives and friendship networks.

e. Positive Mental/Emotional Health Consequences

The large majority of studies indicate that employment-related mobility is associated with negative effects on mental and emotional health, but some studies have indicated very few negative or even positive effects of certain types of employment-related mobility.¹¹⁴ This may be particularly the case for highly paid professionals, such as travelling business people and locum physicians. Locum physicians work in multiple worksites, *substituting* for other physicians who are absent for a period of time. Alonzo and Simon studied locum physicians in a large American city, and found that they tended to be quite satisfied with their work, and appreciated the flexibility that it offered.¹¹⁵ The authors argue that the higher levels of pay, human capital, and autonomy protect such *gold collar* workers from the negative aspects of their work. It may also be that certain types of individuals or personalities prefer work that does not require the responsibility of an office, and enjoy the variation in the work sites. The links to positive mental health may also not hold in rural regions of Canada, where more extensive travel might be required, and where attachment to rural place may be strong. Borg and Kristensen studied Danish travelling salespeople, and found that the number of kilometres travelled and the number of nights away from home were not associated with poorer mental

(1994), 303–309; Judy A. Temple and Arthur J. Reynolds, “School Mobility and Achievement: Longitudinal Results From a Large Urban Cohort,” *Journal of School Psychology*, 37 (1999), 355–377.

111. Steven Stack, “Relocation: The Effect of Geographic Mobility on Premarital Sex,” *Journal of Marriage and the Family*, 56 (1994), 204–208.

112. DeWit, “Frequent Childhood Geographic Relocation,” 623–634; Robert L. Flewelling, S. T. Ennett, J. V. Rachal, and A. C. Theisen, *National Household Survey on Drug Abuse: Race/Ethnicity, Socioeconomic Status and Drug Abuse: 1991* (Durham, NC 1993).

113. Robert J. Sampson and John H. Laub, *Crime in the Making: Pathways and Turning Points through Life* (Cambridge, MA 1993).

114. Angelo A. Alonzo and Arthur B. Simon, “Have Stethoscope, Will Travel: Contingent Employment Among Physician Health Care Providers in the United States,” *Work, Employment and Society*, 22 (2008), 635–654; Vilhelm Borg and Tage S. Kristensen, “Psychosocial Work Environment and Mental Health Among Travelling Salespeople,” *Work & Stress*, 13 (1999), 132–143.

115. Alonzo and Simon, “Have Stethoscope, Will Travel,” 635–654.

health.¹¹⁶ Nevertheless, the authors caution that the salespeople spent only about two nights per month away from home.

Employment-Related Mobility and Social Health

Social health is a term used to refer to the health of one's social relationships. Donatelle and Thompson define social health as "the part of psychosocial health dealing with our interactions with others on an individual and group basis, our ability to use – and to provide – social resources and support in time of need, and our ability to adapt to a variety of social situations."¹¹⁷ Employment-related mobility has the potential to affect the social health of mobile workers and their families in a number of ways. In this section we discuss potential impacts of employment-related mobility on spousal relationships and on the availability of social support for the extended family.

a. Spousal Relationships

Research on how employment-related mobility affects spousal relationships has produced contradictory results. Many mobile occupations (including trades occupations such as trucking, offshore oil work, and construction, as well as business travellers) are male-dominated, and so employment-related mobility is strongly connected to the periodic absence of male partners/fathers, with female partners sometimes left with sole responsibility for the household, children, and/or other dependents for extended periods of time. Many researchers have found that both mobile workers and their spouses identified these lengthy absences and the non-standard work hours associated with employment-related mobility as a significant strain on their relationships.¹¹⁸ However, some other studies have found that spouses may adjust well to the extended absences of their mobile partners.¹¹⁹ Shrimpton and Storey, for example, studied spouses of periodically-absent workers and concluded that such work "can be largely positive for many families and have some positive advantages for most."¹²⁰ In addition, there is some research indicating that for female mobile workers, the independence and income provided by

116. Borg and Kristensen, "Psychosocial Work Environment and Mental Health Among Travelling Salespeople," 132-143.

117. Rebecca J. Donatelle, *Health: The Basics* (Toronto 2002), 32.

118. Clark *et al.*, "Work and Marriage in the Offshore Oil Industry," 36; Collinson, "'Shift-ing Lives,'" 301-324; Construction Sector Council, *Working Mobile*; Construction Sector Council, *Working Local*; Nova Scotia Construction Sector Council, *Labour Mobility, Retention and Succession*; Sutherland and Flin, "Stress at Sea," 269-285; Sutherland and Cooper, *Man and Accidents Offshore*.

119. Parkes *et al.*, "Living Two Lives," 413-437; Mark Shrimpton and Keith Storey, *The Effects of Offshore Employment in the Petroleum Industry: A Cross-National Perspective (Draft)*, (Herndon, VA 2001), <http://www.energybc.ca/Shrimpton_Storey_2001.pdf> (8 November 2010).

120. Shrimpton and Storey, *The Effects of Offshore Employment in the Petroleum Industry*, 11.

employment-related mobility may improve spousal relationships by enabling women to alter the gendered power relations within their families.¹²¹

b. Loss of Social Support for Extended Family

Employment-related mobility may also impact the social health of elderly relatives of mobile workers who are left behind when younger adults leave the community (for shorter or longer periods) for work. For example, Canadian research has indicated that the loss of social support for older parents and relatives is an important consequence of employment-related mobility. Botting studied the impacts of out-migration on the health and well-being of middle-aged women in rural Newfoundland.¹²² She found that these “mothers who stay(ed) behind” lost a great deal of their social support with the out-migration of their adult children. This loss of support was a key focus of these women’s lives, with a negative effect on their emotional health and on their ability to cope with challenges such as poverty, age-related health concerns, and the health problems of their partners. Similarly, King and Vullnetari use the term “the ‘orphan pensioners’ syndrome” to describe the “sense of depression and abandonment” felt by elderly Albanian men and women who had lost the social support of their adult children after they migrated away for work.¹²³

The social health of younger adults in declining rural communities may also be affected by the employment-related absence of friends and family who make up their social support base. One study of young women living in Newfoundland and Labrador communities with high levels of employment-related mobility found that family and friend relationships within the community were very important to the women’s emotional well-being.¹²⁴ The women in this study talked about the difficulty of coping with the loss of relationships with those who had migrated away, either on a permanent or a temporary basis. This study and others point to the links between social and emotional health.

121. Laura Vidal Fernández, Esperanza Tuñón Pablos, Martha Rojas Wiesner, and Ramfis Ayús Reyes, “De Paraíso A Carolina del Norte. Redes de apoyo y percepciones de la migración a Estados Unidos de mujeres tabasqueñas despulpadoras de jaiba,” *Migraciones Internacionales*, 1 (2002), 29–61.

122. Botting, *Restructuring, Out-Migration, and the Health and Well-Being of Mothers Who Stay Behind*.

123. Russell King and Julie Vullnetari, “Orphan Pensioners and Migrating Grandparents: the Impact of Mass Migration on Older People in Rural Albania,” *Ageing and Society*, 26 (2006), 793 citing Hermine De Soto, Peter Gordon, Ilir Gedeshi, and Zamira Sinoimeri, *Poverty in Albania: A Qualitative Assessment* (Washington, DC 2002), 46.

124. Martin and Jackson, “Young Women in Coastal Newfoundland and Labrador Talk About Their Social Relationships and Health,” 61–77.

Employment-Related Mobility and Community Well-Being

COMMUNITY WELL-BEING is a broad concept that includes physical, psychological, social, and economic dimensions.¹²⁵ The World Health Organization's definition of a healthy community is "one that is continually creating and improving those physical and social environments and expanding those community resources which enable people to support each other in performing all the functions of life and in developing their maximum potential."¹²⁶

Employment-related mobility can affect the well-being of communities both in *home* regions and *host* regions. Below, we examine four potentially important aspects of employment-related mobility relevant to the well-being of home communities: remittances, rural out-migration, changes in social capital and social cohesion, and availability of and access to health services.

Home Communities

a. Remittances

Research indicates that home communities, provinces, and countries often benefit economically from remittances from mobile workers,¹²⁷ and such remittances tend to reach poorer areas in the home countries.¹²⁸ Intra-national remittances are less well-studied and less visible than international remittances, but both kinds of remittances tend to be used for immediate consumption to a greater degree than for investment or community development.¹²⁹ Remittances may directly fund mobility,¹³⁰ encourage a *culture of*

125. Doug Ramsey and Barry Smit, "Rural Community Well-Being: Models and Application to Changes in the Tobacco-Belt in Ontario, Canada," *Geoforum*, 33 (2002), 367–384.

126. Ramsey and Smit, "Rural Community Well-Being," 369 citing Monique Bégin, *Our Environment, Our Health: Healthy Ecosystems, Healthy Communities, Healthy Workplaces* (Toronto 1993), 41.

127. Caroline B. Brettell, "Adjustment of Status, Remittance and Return: Some Observations on 21st Century Migration Processes," *City and Society*, 19 (2007), 47–59; Hiller, *Second Promised Land*; Niamh Humphries, Ruairi Brugha, and Hannah McGee, "Sending Money Home: a Mixed-Methods Study of Remittances by Migrant Nurses in Ireland," *Human Resources for Health*, 7 (2009), 66–78; United Nations Development Program, *Human Development Report 2009. Overcoming Barriers: Human Mobility and Development* (Houndmills, UK and New York 2009); Steven Vertovec, *Transnationalism* (London and New York 2009).

128. Valentina Mazzucato, Bart van den Boom, and N.N.N. Nsawah-Nuamah, "Remittances in Ghana: Origin, Destination and Issues of Measurement," *International Migration*, 46 (2008), 103–122.

129. David C. Griffith, "Women, Remittances, and Reproduction," *American Ethnologist*, 12 (1985), 676–690; Michelle J. Moran-Taylor, "Guatemala's Ladino and Maya Migra Landscapes: The Tangible and Intangible Outcomes of Migration," *Human Organization*, 67 (2008), 111–124.

130. Robert J. Grace, "Irish Immigration and Settlement in a Catholic City: Québec," *The Canadian Historical Review*, 84 (2003), 217–251.

migration,¹³¹ and contribute to consumption gaps between families of mobile workers and those of people working locally. With employment-related mobility, the flow of goods is generally assumed to occur from the worker back to the family and home community, but some goods, particularly food, flow from families to workers and from rural to urban areas.¹³²

b. Rural Out-Migration and Well-Being

Employment-related mobility is strongly connected to rural out-migration. Many rural communities throughout Canada and the world are decreasing in population every year as young people migrate to find work in other parts of the region, the country and the world.¹³³ For example, Corbett's study of a rural Nova Scotian community found that over 70 per cent of the population born in the area had moved away.¹³⁴ *Coasts Under Stress*, a multidisciplinary research project conducted from 2000–2005, showed that out-migration had extensive impacts on community well-being on both the east and west coasts of Canada,¹³⁵ including reduced community services and a loss of social cohesion.

Many studies in Canada and elsewhere have shown that out-migration is linked to increasing regional and rural/urban inequality.¹³⁶ American research has shown how the out-migration of educated and skilled workers

131. Brettell, "Adjustment of Status, Remittance and Return: Some Observations on 21st Century Migration Processes," 47–59; Doreen Massey, "Power-Geometry and a Progressive Sense of Place," in J. Bird, ed., *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change* (London 1993), 59–69.

132. Bruce Frayne, "Migration and Urban Survival Strategies in Windhoek, Namibia," *Geoforum*, 35 (2004), 489–505; Sharon R. Roseman, "Quen Manda? (Who's in Charge?) The Politics of Household Authority in Rural Galicia," *Anthropologica*, XLI (1999), 115–130; Sharon R. Roseman, "Strong Women and 'Pretty Girls': Self-Provisioning, Gender, and Class Identity in Rural Galicia (Spain)," *American Anthropologist*, 1104 (2002), 22–27; Sharon R. Roseman, "Bioregulation and Comida Caseira in Rural Galicia, Spain," *Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power*, 11 (2004), 9–37.

133. Thoroddur Bjarnason and Thorolfur Thorlindsson, "Should I Stay or Should I Go? Migration Expectations Among Youth in Icelandic Fishing and Farming Communities," *Journal of Rural Studies*, 22 (2006), 290–300; Richard Dupuy, Francine Mayer, and René Morissette, *Rural Youth: Stayers, Leavers and Return Migrants* (Ottawa 2000); Finnie, "Inter-Provincial Migration in Canada," 227–262; Finnie, "Who Moves?," 1759–1779.

134. Michael Corbett, "'It Was Fine, If You Wanted to Leave.' Educational Ambivalence in a Nova Scotian Coastal Community 1963–1998," *Anthropology and Education Quarterly*, 35 (2004), 451.

135. Ommer and Coasts Under Stress Team, *Coasts Under Stress*.

136. Matt Foulkes and K. Bruce Newbold, "Poverty Catchments: Migration, Residential Mobility, and Population Turnover in Impoverished Rural Illinois Communities," *Rural Sociology*, 75 (2008), 440–462; Paul Norman, Paul Boyle, and Philip Rees, "Selective Migration, Health and Deprivation: A Longitudinal Analysis," *Social Science & Medicine*, 60 (2005), 2755–2771; Ommer and Coasts Under Stress Team, *Coasts Under Stress*.

from economically depressed regions can generate “poverty catchments,” or regions with very high rates of poverty.¹³⁷ Sinclair and Felt write that it is “not that migration causes regional inequality, but that it reflects a complex process through which those with the most resources and the most innovative capacities congregate at the developed core and help to keep the core economically ahead.”¹³⁸

c. Changes in Social Capital and Social Cohesion

Changes in social capital may be an important community consequence of employment-related mobility. Fowler and Etchegary define social capital as “the prevailing features of social organizations including networks, norms, and social trust that facilitate coordination and cooperation for mutual benefit, and also serve as vital resources for individual health and wellness.”¹³⁹ The authors studied two rural Newfoundland communities where employment-related mobility increased after the codfish moratorium in the 1990s. They found that in one community:

the emerging competition for scarce employment opportunities and developing economic status disparities served to adversely affect the greater environment of cohesion and mutual trust which compromised the quality (and perhaps the effectiveness) of social interactions occurring within the community.¹⁴⁰

The second community, with less employment-related mobility, was able to maintain higher levels of social and economic well-being, as well as better overall health status among its residents. The authors suggest that “when individuals’ primary concern is to ensure the well-being of themselves and their immediate families during crisis, broader community concern might well be compromised, even in areas traditionally high in social capital.”¹⁴¹

Community well-being can have consequences for individual health,¹⁴² although the exact nature of the relationship between social cohesion and health is far from clear. Numerous studies from North America and the United Kingdom demonstrate that neighbourhood cohesion is associated with improved health.¹⁴³ Other studies, however, have questioned the

137. Foulkes and Newbold, “Poverty Catchments,” 440–462.

138. Peter R. Sinclair and Lawrence Felt, “Coming Back: Return Migration to Newfoundland’s Great Northern Peninsula,” *Newfoundland Studies*, 9 (1993), 22.

139. Fowler and Etchegary, “Economic Crisis and Social Capital,” 320. See also, Robert D. Putnam, “The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life,” *American Prospect*, 13 (1995), 35–42 citing Robert D. Putnam, “The Prosperous Community: Social Capital and Public Life,” *American Prospect*, 13 (1995), 35–42.

140. Fowler and Etchegary, “Economic Crisis and Social Capital,” 337.

141. Fowler and Etchegary, “Economic Crisis and Social Capital,” 337.

142. Fowler and Etchegary, “Economic Crisis and Social Capital,” 319–341.

143. Teresa Abada, Hou Feng, and Bali Ram, “Racially Mixed Neighbourhoods, Perceived

simplicity of this link, indicating that individual and household factors are much more important than neighbourhood cohesion,¹⁴⁴ and even indicating that higher levels of social cohesion can be associated with poor health in certain circumstances.¹⁴⁵ There may also be a circular relationship between employment-related mobility, social cohesion, and health, since those who live in areas of increased social cohesion may be less likely to migrate.¹⁴⁶

d. Availability of and Access to Health Services

Research indicates that employment-related mobility may affect the availability of health and other services in home communities, as well as workers' and families' access to those services. Healthcare professionals in Canada tend to be more intra-nationally mobile than the general Canadian workforce.¹⁴⁷ When health professionals migrate frequently, the quality of health services in a community may be affected. Audas *et al.* explain that many rural communities in Newfoundland and Labrador depend on provisionally-licensed physicians from other countries, yet once these physicians become fully-licensed, they tend to leave the province for other parts of Canada and the United States of America.¹⁴⁸ In fact, the researchers found that only 20 per cent

Neighbourhood Social Cohesion, and Adolescent Health in Canada," *Social Science and Medicine*, 65 (2007), 2004–2017; Sandra Echeverria, Ana V. ez-Roux, Steven Shea, Luisa Borrell, and Sharon Jackson, "Associations of Neighbourhood Problems and Neighbourhood Social Cohesion With Mental Health and Health Behaviors: The Multi-Ethnic Study of Atherosclerosis," *Health and Place*, 14 (2008), 853–865; Róbert Pampalon, Denis Hamel, Maria De Koninck, and Marie Jeanne Disant, "Perception of Place and Health: Differences Between Neighbourhoods in the Québec City Region," *Social Science & Medicine*, 65 (2008), 95–111; Alison Parkes and Ade Kearns, "The Multi-Dimensional Neighbourhood and Health: a Cross-Sectional Analysis of the Scottish Household Survey, 2001," *Health and Place*, 12 (2006), 1–18; Mai Stafford, Mel Bartley, Amanda Sacker, and Michael Marmot, "Measuring the Social Environment: Social Cohesion and Material Deprivation in English and Scottish Neighbourhoods," *Environment & Planning A*, 35 (2003), 1459–1475; Mai Stafford, Steven Cummins, S. Macintyre, Anne Ellaway, and Michael Marmot, "Gender Differences in the Associations Between Health and Neighbourhood Environment," *Social Science and Medicine*, 60 (2005), 1681–1692.

144. Carol Propper, Kelvyn Jones, Anne Bolster, Simon Burgess, Ron Johnston, and Rebecca Sarker, "Local Neighbourhood and Mental Health: Evidence From the UK," *Social Science and Medicine*, 61 (2005), 2065–2083; Mai Stafford, Mary De Silva, Stephen Stansfeld, and Michael Marmot, "Neighbourhood Social Capital and Common Mental Disorder: Testing the Link in a General Population Sample," *Health and Place*, 14 (2008), 394–405.

145. Richard Carpiano, "Neighbourhood Social Capital and Adult Health: An Empirical Test of a Bourdieu-Based Model," *Health and Place*, 13 (2007), 639–655.

146. Bjarnason and Thorlindsson, "Should I Stay or Should I Go?," 290–300.

147. Canadian Institute for Health Information, *Internal Migration of Canada's Health Care Workforce: Summary Report – Update to 2006* (Ottawa 2010).

148. Rick Audas, Ann Ryan, and David Vardy, "Where Did the Doctors Go? A Study of Retention and Migration of Provisionally Licensed International Medical Graduates Practicing in Newfoundland and Labrador Between 1995 and 2006," *Canadian Journal of Rural Medicine*,

of provisionally-licensed physicians remained in Newfoundland and Labrador for five years. Intra-national recruitment and incentive programs introduced by employers in host areas may endanger the retention of skilled and professional labour, including health professionals, in home regions.¹⁴⁹

Host Communities

The following section focuses on two potentially important impacts of employment-related mobility on host community well-being: changes in social capital and social cohesion and changes in availability of and access to health services.

a. Changes in Social Capital and Social Cohesion

We found little research that directly examined the results of repeated intra-national employment-related mobility on Canadian host communities, although there is some literature on the effects of more permanent in-migration.¹⁵⁰ Media coverage of *boomtowns* such as Fort McMurray, Alberta, has often pointed towards multiple negative consequences associated with the loss of social cohesion in such communities.¹⁵¹ A significant body of American studies has examined large-scale employment-related mobility and how it affects such boomtowns. For example, Freudenberg found that young people in American boomtowns “have significantly lower evaluations of their community, more negative attitudes toward growth, lower levels of satisfaction, and higher levels of alienation.”¹⁵² Other research has also found indicators of decreased well-being in boomtowns,¹⁵³ and has linked the rapid growth of

14 (2009), 21–24.

149. Ronald Labonté, Corrine Packer, and Nathan Klassen, “Managing Health Professional Migration From Sub-Saharan Africa to Canada: a Stakeholder Inquiry into Policy Options,” *Human Resources for Health*, 4 (2006), 22–37.

150. Hiller, *Second Promised Land*.

151. For example, see “Fort Mac and Back.” *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, <<http://www.cbc.ca/nl/features/fortmcmurray/>> (8 November 2010); Kate Fillion, “Interview with Melissa Blake: The mayor of Fort McMurray on the oil boom, cocaine, and how she’s actually not a single mom,” *Maclean’s Magazine* 6 December 2006, <http://www.macleans.ca/article.jsp?content=20061204_137417_137417> (8 November 2010); “Boomtown on a Bender,” *The Economist*, 383 (2007), 46.

“Long Commute, Huge Rewards: Alberta Oilpatch Changing N.L. Labour Force.” *Canadian Broadcasting Corporation*, 29 October 2007, <<http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2007/10/29/big-commute.html>; <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2007/10/29/big-commute.html>> (8 November 2010).

152. William R. Freudenberg, “Boomtown’s Youth: The Differential Impacts of Rapid Community Growth on Adolescents and Adults,” *American Sociological Review*, 49 (1984), 697.

153. W. R. Freudenberg, L. Bacigalupi, and C. Landoll-Young, “Mental Health Consequences of Rapid Community Growth: A Report From the Longitudinal Study of Boomtown Mental Health Impacts,” *Journal of Health and Human Resources Administration*, 4 (1982), 334–352; William R. Freudenberg, “The Density of Acquaintanceship: A Overlooked Variable in

these communities with social problems, social isolation, and loss of social capital, a sense of community and social cohesion.¹⁵⁴ Foulkes and Newbold explain that “high mobility also makes it difficult to provide critical social services as clients continually move in and out of jurisdictions, and it may disrupt social capital in communities.”¹⁵⁵ However, other studies have found that boomtowns eventually experience a “social rebound,” when the initial negative consequences of boomtowns improve after the initial *boom* has slowed down.¹⁵⁶

b. Availability of and Access to Health Services

Literature on employment-related mobility and health indicates that availability of and access to health and social services may be negatively affected in host communities. Where employers rely on existing adjacent or nearby communities to provide access to health and other services, employment-related mobility can create major challenges.¹⁵⁷

Employment-related mobility may also affect access to a regular health care site. For example, Fowler *et al.* analyzed data from the National Health Interview Survey of Child Health in the United States of America from 1988, which surveyed 17,110 American children and their families.¹⁵⁸ The authors found that children who had moved more than twice in their lives were three

Community Research,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 92 (1986), 27–63; Richard S. Krannich and Thomas Greider, “Personal Well-Being in Rapid Growth and Stable Communities: Multiple Indicators and Contrasting Results,” *Rural Sociology*, 49 (1984), 541–552; J. Grayson Osborne, William Boyle, and Walter R. Borg, “Rapid Community Growth and the Problems of Elementary and Secondary Students,” *Rural Sociology*, 49 (1984), 553–567.

154. Krannich and Greider, “Personal Well-Being in Rapid Growth and Stable Communities,” 541–552.

155. Foulkes and Newbold, “Poverty Catchments: Migration, Residential Mobility, and Population Turnover in Impoverished Rural Illinois Communities,” 442 citing James S. Coleman, “Social Capital in the Creation of Human Capital,” *American Journal of Sociology*, 94 (1988), 95–120. See also, Janet M. Fitchen, “Residential Mobility Among the Rural Poor,” *Rural Sociology*, 59 (1994), 416–436; Willis J. Goudy, “Community Attachment in a Rural Region,” *Rural Sociology*, 55 (1990), 178–198; Glenn D. Israel, Lionel J. Beaulieu, and Glen Hartless, “The Influence of Family and Community Social Capital on Educational Achievement,” *Rural Sociology*, 66 (2001), 43–68; Katherine MacTavish and Sonya Salamon, “Mobile Home Park on the Prairie: A New Rural Community Form,” *Rural Sociology*, 66 (2001), 487–506.

156. Lori M. Hunter, Richard S. Krannich, and Michael D. Smith, “Rural Migration, Rapid Growth, and Fear of Crime,” *Rural Sociology*, 67 (2002), 72 citing Michael D. Smith, Richard S. Krannich, and Lori M. Hunter, “Growth, Decline, Stability, and Disruption: A Longitudinal Analysis of Social Well-Being in Four Western Rural Communities,” *Rural Sociology*, 66 (2001), 425–450.

157. Construction Sector Council, *Working Mobile*; Michel Sauvé, “Canadian Dispatches From Medical Fronts: Fort McMurray,” *Canadian Medical Association Journal*, 177 (2007), 26.

158. Mary Glenn Fowler, Gloria A. Simpson, and Kenneth C. Schoendorf, “Families on the Move and Children’s Health Care,” *Pediatrics*, 91 (1993), 934–940.

times more likely to lack a family physician or regular health care site. In Fort McMurray, a *host* community for many oil sands workers and their families, Sauvé reported in 2007 that 44 per cent of the population had no family physician.¹⁵⁹

Similarly, employment-related mobility may be linked to increased dependence on emergency room services for health care. Fowler *et al.*'s above-mentioned study found that children who had moved more than twice were approximately 1.6 times more likely to be brought to emergency rooms for health care when ill than were children who had never moved.¹⁶⁰ Gilgen *et al.* found that those who had recently moved to a large Swiss city, both from elsewhere in the country as well as from international destinations, depended more on out-patient departments for health care than on family physicians.¹⁶¹

Finally, provincial policies on health care insurance and workers' compensation may affect availability of and access to health services in host communities. For example, routine health exams are not covered by provincial health care insurance (Medicare) for Canadians outside their home province. As well, Medicare plans vary between provinces, with different regulations for eligibility and access to benefits, and an individual is not permitted to obtain coverage in multiple jurisdictions.¹⁶² A worker who travels from one province to another will have to be aware of the sometimes complex differences between Medicare systems and will have to figure out how to juggle these different plans in order to best address their family's health care needs. For example, Alberta's regulations stipulate that if an individual's dependents remain in another province, health care coverage for both the individual and the family must be maintained in the other province not in Alberta. This means that inter-provincial migrant workers may not be eligible for the Alberta Health Care Insurance Plan if their dependents remain in the home province.¹⁶³

Conclusion

OUR EXAMINATION of multiple bodies of literature relevant to understanding the relationship between employment-related mobility and health indicates

159. Sauvé, "Canadian Dispatches From Medical Fronts: Fort McMurray," 26.

160. Fowler *et al.*, "Families on the Move and Children's Health Care," 934–940.

161. Gilgen *et al.*, "Impact of Migration on Illness Experience and Help-Seeking Strategies of Patients From Turkey and Bosnia in Primary Health Care in Basel," 261–273.

162. *Newfoundland and Labrador Medical Care Plan*, <http://www.health.gov.nl.ca/mcp/html/info_ben.htm> (8 November 2010); Alberta Health and Wellness, *Alberta Health Care Insurance Plan*, <<http://www.health.alberta.ca/health-care-insurance-plan.html>> (8 November 2010); Eric Tucker, "Diverging Trends in Worker Health and Safety Protection and Participation, 1985–2000," *Relations Industrielles*, 58 (2003), 395–426.

163. *Newfoundland and Labrador Medical Care Plan*; Alberta Health and Wellness, *Alberta Health Care Insurance Plan*.

that employment-related mobility takes different forms and that each of these has a number of characteristics that can negatively or positively affect the health of workers, their families as well as the host and home communities. Our overview also indicates that research on short-term, repetitive, intra-national employment-related mobility and its health consequences is scarce in Canada and elsewhere. The research that does exist has tended to focus on daily commuting and permanent migration, certain occupational sectors, and on either individual, family or community-level effects. Daily commuting,¹⁶⁴ semi-permanent interprovincial out- and in-migration,¹⁶⁵ and international migration¹⁶⁶ have been studied in Canada and elsewhere. There is research on particular industrial sectors associated with different types of employment-related mobility such as the offshore oil and gas sector¹⁶⁷ and tree-planting.¹⁶⁸ There is a growing body of research on work in mobile workplaces such as

164. Jamie Partridge and James Nolan, "Commuting on the Canadian Prairies and the Urban/Rural Divide," *Canadian Journal of Administrative Sciences*, 22 (2005), 58–72; Pisarski, "Commuting in America," 76–80; Statistics Canada, *Commuting Patterns and Places of Work of Canadians, 2006 Census*; Umezaki et al., "Daily Time Budgets of Long-Distance Commuting Workers in Tokyo Megalopolis," 71–78.

165. Finnie, "Inter-Provincial Migration in Canada," 227–262; George Gmelch and Sharon Bohn Gmelch, "Gender and Migration: The Readjustment of Return Migrants in Barbados, Ireland, and Newfoundland," *Human Organization*, 54 (1995), 470–473; George Gmelch and Barnett Richling, "'We're Better Off Here': Return Migration to Newfoundland Outports," *Anthropology Today*, 4 (1988), 12–14; Harry H. Hiller, "Gateway Cities and Arrivist Cities: The Role of Migration in Urban Change," *Prairie Forum*, 32 (2007), 47–66; Hiller, *Second Promised Land*; Hiller and McCaig, "Reassessing the Role of Partnered Women in Migration Decision-Making and Migration Outcomes," 457–472; Peter R. Sinclair, "Moving Back and Moving in: Migration and the Structuring of Bonavista," in R. Byron, ed., *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland* (Toronto 2003), 199–225; Sinclair and Felt, "Coming Back," 1–25.

166. Pauline Gardiner Barber, "The Ideal Immigrant? Gendered Class Subjects in Philippine-Canada Migration," *Third World Quarterly*, 29 (2008), 1265–1285; Denis Spitzer, Anne Neufeld, Margaret Harrison, Karen Hughes, and Miriam Stewart, "Caregiving in Transnational Context: 'My Wings Have Been Cut: Where Can I Fly?'," *Gender and Society*, 17 (2003), 267–286.

167. Ronald J. Burke, Stig Berge Matthiesen, Stale Einarsen, Lisa Fiskensbaum, and Vibeke Soiland, "Gender Differences in Work Experiences and Satisfactions of Norwegian Oil Rig Workers," *Gender in Management: An International Journal*, 23 (2008), 137–147; Katherine De Guerre, *Temporary Foreign Workers in Alberta's Oil Sector. Working Paper, Sussex Centre for Migration Research* (Sussex 2009); Parkes et al., "Living Two Lives," 413–437.

168. Brendan Sweeney, "Producing Liminal Space: Gender, Age and Class in Northern Ontario's Tree Planting Industry," *Gender, Place, and Culture*, 16 (2009), 569–586; Brendan Sweeney, "Sixty Years on the Margin: The Evolution of Ontario's Tree Planting Industry and Labour Force, 1945–2007," *Labour/Le Travail*, 63 (2009), 47–78.

fisheries,¹⁶⁹ seafaring,¹⁷⁰ trucking,¹⁷¹ and the airline industry.¹⁷² Some researchers have looked at specific types of work that frequently take place in multiple work sites including temporary placement agencies, the sex trade, home care work, and locum physicians.¹⁷³ Other research has examined workers involved in routine travel – although such research focuses much more often on *gold collar* workers such as travelling businesspeople, or salespeople,¹⁷⁴ than on tradesworkers (such as construction workers) or *caring* professionals (such as public health nurses and home care workers).¹⁷⁵

There is, however, relatively little comprehensive research on the health consequences of employment-related mobility for workers who regularly commute intra-nationally, those for their families, and also very little on the consequences of employment-related mobility for social health in home and host communities. Furthermore, in research on mobile workplaces, multiple worksites, or routine work-related travel, the consequences of *mobility* itself on health are rarely the focus and the research that exists generally does not incorporate insights from class and gender analysis. It also does not systematically and critically link the human and social costs associated with employment-related mobility to neo-liberalism and the pursuit of profit.

169. Marion Binkley, "Getting By' in Tough Times: Coping With the Fisheries Crisis," *Women's Studies International Forum*, 23 (2000), 323–332; Marion Binkley, *Set Adrift: Fishing Families* (Toronto 2002); Brenda Grzetic, *Women Fishes These Days* (Halifax, NS 2004); Barbara Neis, Marian Binkley, Siri Gerrard, and Christina Manesch, *Changing Tides: Gender, Fisheries, and Globalization* (Halifax 2005).

170. Walters, "Managing Psychosocial Risks at Sea."

171. Quinlan *et al.*, "Trucking Tragedies," 19–63.

172. Shalla, "Time Warped," 345–368; Claire Williams, "Sky Service: The Demands of Emotional Labour in the Airline Industry," *Gender Work and Organization*, 10 (2003), 513–550.

173. Alonzo and Simon, "Have Stethoscope, Will Travel," 635–654; Jackson *et al.*, "Stress in the Sex Trade and Beyond," 257–271; Leah F. Vosko, *Precarious Employment: Understanding Labour Market Insecurity in Canada* (Montréal and Kingston 2006); Isik U. Zeytinoglu, Margaret Denton, Sharon Davies, M. Bianca Seaton, and Jennifer Millen, *Visiting and Office Home Care Workers' Occupational Health: An Analysis of Workplace Flexibility and Worker Insecurity Measures Association With Emotional and Physical Health* (Hamilton, ON 2008).

174. Paul Ammons, Josie Nelson, and John Wodarski, "Surviving Corporate Moves: Sources of Stress and Adaption Among Corporate Executive Families," *Family Relations*, 31 (1982), 207–212; Borg and Kristensen, "Psychosocial Work Environment and Mental Health Among Travelling Salespeople," 132–143; Barry Brown and Barry Kenton O'Hara, "Place As a Practical Concern of Mobile Workers," *Environment & Planning A*, 35 (2003), 1565–1587; Dimberg *et al.*, "Mental Health Insurance Claims Among Spouses of Frequent Business Travellers," 175–181; H. Lynn Rogers and Sandra M. Reilly, "A Survey of the Health Experiences of International Business Travelers. Part One – Physiological Aspects," *AAOHN Journal: Official Journal of the American Association of Occupational Health Nurses*, 50 (2002), 449–459.

175. Construction Sector Council, *Working Mobile*; Lynn Skillen, "Nurses' Work Hazards in Public Health Units," in L. Dumais, ed., *Invisible: Issues in Women's Occupational Health* (Charlottetown, PEI 1995), 150–173.

The forces that have been contributing to employment-related mobility in Canada include demographic, socio-economic and policy changes. Canada's aging population is also a factor in that it is adding to existing and anticipated labour shortages and to efforts to recruit workers from other regions and provinces, as well as outside the country.¹⁷⁶ The shortage of affordable housing (partially policy-driven), coupled with relatively stagnant real wages, is encouraging young families to look for cheaper housing outside of large urban centres.¹⁷⁷ In terms of inter-provincial and international employment-related mobility, Alberta's robust economy has, in the past decade, attracted tens of thousands of Canadian, and increasingly also foreign, workers.¹⁷⁸ Mobility has also been encouraged by labour shortages in agriculture, the expansion of industry and services in parts of the Canadian north, restructuring of industry and government from company towns to turn-key operations and labour camps and towards increased subcontracting, the regionalization of services, and a greater reliance on temporary workers - all linked to efforts to increase profits. Economic decline in other regions (such as the collapse of the fisheries in Atlantic Canada in the 1990s),¹⁷⁹ and the more recent recession-induced crises in Canada's forestry and manufacturing sectors have also pushed workers into jobs requiring short or longer commutes to work.

At the policy level, provincial and territorial governments are introducing new labour mobility legislation designed to further boost employment-related mobility among professionals, semi-professionals and tradespeople in response to modifications to the Canadian Agreement on Internal Trade.¹⁸⁰ In its 2007 Budget Plan, the federal government presented the Temporary Foreign Worker Program as its, "principal tool to help employers meet immediate skill requirements when qualified Canadian workers cannot be found."¹⁸¹ These policy changes and statements are only the most recent example of a series of

176. Julie Ann McMullin and Martin Cooke (with Rob Downie), *Labour Force Aging and Skill Shortages in Canada and Ontario. Work Network Project W-092* (Ottawa 2004).

177. Statistics Canada, *Commuting Patterns and Places of Work of Canadians, 2006 Census*; Martin Turcotte and Mireille Vézina, "Migration From Central to Surrounding Municipalities in Toronto, Montréal and Vancouver," *Canadian Social Trends*, 90 (2010), 3–24.

178. De Guerre, *Temporary Foreign Workers in Alberta's Oil Sector*; Hiller, *Second Promised Land*.

179. Ommer and Coasts Under Stress Team, *Coasts Under Stress*.

180. "Backgrounder – Agreement on Internal Trade," Prime Minister of Canada, Stephen Harper, 16 January 2009, <<http://www.pm.gc.ca/eng/media.asp?id=2385>> (8 November 2010); "Labour Mobility," *Human Resources and Skills Development Canada*, 26 February 2010, <http://www.hrsdc.gc.ca/eng/workplaceskills/labour_mobility/index.shtml> (8 November 2010).

181. Judy Fudge and Fiona MacPhail, "The Temporary Foreign Worker Program in Canada: Low-Skilled Workers as an Extreme Form of Flexible Labor," *Comparative Labor Law Policy Journal*, 31 (2009), 5 citing Department of Finance Canada, *The Budget Plan*, 19 March 2007 <<http://www.budget.gc.ca/2007/pdf/bp2007e.pdf>> (8 November 2010), 217.

reforms that have encouraged employment-related mobility both directly, by introducing new mobility legislation, and indirectly through a range of social and economic policies that have weakened the welfare system and put pressure on people to obtain jobs wherever they can be found. These neoliberal reforms, introduced over the last three decades, have been guided by a set of ideas and practices emphasizing the role of the market in the organization of social, economic, and political life.¹⁸² Examples include policies encouraging trade liberalization, public-private partnerships, the trimming and targeting of the public provision of social welfare, and an emphasis on individual and familial responsibility.¹⁸³ This regime change has not necessarily meant less government (except rhetorically), but has shifted what governments and related agencies do and is linked, in part, to a change in responsibility across governments (federal to provincial and provincial to municipal) and from government to industry and civil society.¹⁸⁴ The changes have also fuelled industrial restructuring and employment volatility and made paid work and private investment critical to the survival of households and communities within Canada and beyond.

Our overview of the literature suggests that further research is needed to document the diverse and changing scope of employment-related mobility in Canada during the neoliberal era and to map the pathways through which different types of employment-related mobility, involving different kinds of workers and work situations, affect health – both positively and negatively. We need to know more about how such factors as class, gender, age, ethnicity, and ability intersect to shape the relationship between employment-related mobility and the physical, mental, emotional, and social health of workers and their families. We also need to conduct more research on both urban and rural home and host communities, and on how employment-related mobility is affecting community-level formal and informal supports and services. By conducting research that analyzes how employment-related mobility affects individuals, families and communities, we will be able to gain a better appreciation of the complexity of employment-related mobility, and the types of problem areas that need to be addressed by programmes and policies.

182. Massimo De Angelis, "Neoliberal Governance, Reproduction and Accumulation," *The Commoner*, Spring/Summer 2003, <<http://www.commoner.org.uk/07deangelis.pdf>> (8 November 2010); Harvey, *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*; Jan Aart Scholte, *The Sources of Neoliberal Globalization* (Geneva 2005).

183. J. Fudge and B. Cossman, eds., *Privatization, Law and the Challenge to Feminism* (Toronto 2002); Gardiner Barber, "The Ideal Immigrant?," 1265–1285; Jim Stanford and Leah F. Vosko, eds., *Challenging the Market: The Struggle to Regulate Work and Income* (Montréal 2004).

184. Allan Tupper, "The Contested Terrain of Canadian Public Management in Canada's Third Century," *Journal of Canadian Studies*, 35 (2001), 142–161.

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