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ABSTRACT

A study examined the role of education in outmigration from the rural coastal community of Digby Neck, Nova Scotia. Data gathered on 756 Grade 6 students who left Digby Neck Consolidated School between 1957 and 1992 were supplemented by in-depth interviews with 36 of those former students, 12 area educators, and community members. Findings indicate that area residents define migration according to a spatial geography that is connected to economic activity and the social character of the region--"around here" is within 50 kilometers of Digby Neck, "not far" is within 250 kilometers, and "away" is beyond 250 kilometers. Both males and females who moved to the "not far" and "away" regions had acquired considerable educational credentials. Nearly a third of this group had a university-level education. Women were much more likely to move from Digby Neck than men, but their migrations tended to be to the "around here" and "not far" regions. Nearly two-thirds of the population studied remained "around here," which was not considered outmigration. Women who stayed on Digby Neck had considerably more educational credentials than men, reflecting the higher male resistance to formal education and their greater work opportunities in the area fishery. Male stayers were represented far more pervasively in the lowest educational category. Education was clearly linked to migration beyond the "around here" region, while those who remained were marked by low literacy level and poverty. (Contains 16 references.) (TD)

Learning To Leave: The Irony Of Schooling In A Coastal Community . . . Some Preliminary Findings

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Introduction to the problem

On the first day of May the boats raced out as they had always done, laden down almost to the gunwales with their heavy cargoes of traps. They were almost like living things as they plunged through the waters of the spring and maneuvered between the still floating icebergs of crystal white and emerald green on their way to the traditional grounds that they sought out every May. And those of us who sat that day in the high school on the hill, discussing the water imagery in Tennyson, watched them as they passed back and forth beneath us until by afternoon the piles of traps which had been stacked on the wharf were no longer visible but were spread about the bottom of the sea ... And the spring wore on and the summer came and school ended in the third week of June and the lobster season on July first and I wished that the two things I loved so dearly did not exclude each other in a manner that was so blunt and too clear (MacLeod, 1976 143-145).

Paul Willis' (1977)ethnographic study of working class life and schooling in an English industrial city is introduced with the direct and poignant subtitle "how working class kids get working class jobs." Indeed, one of the central questions for the sociology of education has been and continues to be the role that schools play in reproducing class structure. Willis' question is central to understanding the relationship between schooling and class in urban communities. A similar yet seldom analysed problem confronts the educational researcher attempting to analyse the experience of schooling in rural areas. Alister MacLeod's fiction cited above, along with a large body of fictional accounts of coming of age in Atlantic Canada, work with a similar kinds of questions. Where Willis' lads learned to enact a working class identity which rubs hard against the middle class norms of school, MacLeod's rural Nova Scotian male characters wrestle not only with how to construct their class based identities, but also where. In rural communities school serves a number of functions including both the reproduction of labour in traditional local industries, and paradoxically, migration away from life in the communities to urban centres.

This study is an attempt to understand how it is that certain people remain in coastal communities and others leave, and specifically, what is the place of formal education in the migration process. In other words, how do some rural youth learn to leave while others learn to stay? To understand this problem, I employ quantitative and qualitative methods and the conceptual frame of resistance theory. This research comes out of a practical struggle with professional and personal issues connected to living and teaching in a coastal community. While Digby Neck is a typical, single industry, fisheries focused Atlantic Canadian coastal community, this community was chosen for study because it is where I have worked since 1990, and it is where I continue to work. In my thirteen years of professional practice as a teacher in coastal communities it is obvious to me that significant levels of resistance to schooling are rooted in rural identity constructions which are themselves connected to community based economic opportunities in the fishery and its spin off industries. On Digby Neck, these opportunities have persisted until the late 1980s.

The kind of "resistance" to which I am referring here is not necessarily opposition to the logic of capitalism or a "penetration" of how "the system" works to exclude rural youth. In fact, resistance to school seems to be an accommodation of individuals to the need for labour (in the case of working class youth), or opportunities for significant incomes (in the case of privileged children whose families worked in fish dragging) in the industrialising fishery of the 1970s and 80s. In my view, place attachment is also at the root of school resistance in local communities and it represents the incompatibility of integration into local culture and what I call the migration imperative in rural schools. Several researchers have found the nature of secondary and post secondary education to be deeply problematic for rural youth because it necessarily involves leaving home (Looker, 1993; Looke and Dwyer, 1998; Jones, 1995, 1999a, 1999b). The implication of these findings for this study is that emotional and economic connections of rural spaces may work to impede the acquisition of educational credentials for rural youth in ways not experienced by urban young people. At one level the decision to leave school and remain in the rural community amounts to the 'choice' of a known, integrated rural subjectivity, one which is systematically demeaned in school (Creed and Cheng, 1997; Brandau and Collins, 1994). On the other hand, the decision to pursue higher education may well be understood as a choice to leave the community in which one was born and which contain virtually all of one's social networks. Education is resisted because it implies leaving both geographic places and identity forming life worlds. This is the variety of resistance I analyse the

theoretical sections of the dissertation, the post structural and postcolonial sense of resistance as a practice that opposes power in large measure by virtue of its alterity.

In this paper I will discuss the research setting, methodology, and some preliminary findings with respect to out-migration patterns from the quantitative part of the analysis of staying or leaving Digby Neck.

Research Setting Digby Neck

Digby Neck is a 30 km long, narrow peninsula jutting into Bay of Fundy in southwestern Nova Scotia. Never exceeding 5 kilometres in width, bounded on the North by the Bay of Fundy and on the south by St. Mary's Bay. To the west are a narrow passage and two small islands and to the north are several small villages and the town of Digby. "The Neck" as it is known is comprised of nine villages which extend from the head of St Mary's Bay in the east to East Ferry (so named from the point of view of the island joined from the east to the mainland by this ferry)at the western extremity. I refer to this collection of villages as a community because the discrete settlements that comprise the Neck are generally seen as belonging to the larger collective. Older residents remember the time, dating back to the mid 1950s before school consolidation and the paving of the highway when each village on Digby Neck had more of its own identity, but these days the 'community' is generally meant to refer to the nine villages that comprise Digby Neck. These villages are similar in that they were all settled in order to access the rich fishery on both St. Mary's and the Bay of Fundy.

The houses are predominantly wood frame and most are painted white and set close to either the main road (Highway 217)or one of the community access roads that branch off the main highway leading to a community wharf. The properties are generally well kept and neat in appearance. Some have the look of prosperity about them while others do not, but the norm is a modest respectability. Beside most houses are workshops and wood sheds. Many families in the community heat their homes with the abundant softwood that grows on family wood lots. Four wheel drive vehicles and half-ton pickups are the conveyance of choice and motorized four wheeler cycles are seen in the door yard of most houses. Many homes show signs of a connection to the fishery as lobster traps and assorted kinds of fishing gear are often stored near houses in the off season. Most of the villages continue to have more or less active wharves. The wharves continue to be the focal point of the economic life of communities on Digby Neck. During any given part of the year, there is some fishery in operation and the wharf is the landing and departure point for all fishing operations.

Despite the general consensus that the population and economic vitality of Digby Neck are both in decline, historic population figures show that the population has remained relatively stable from the 19th century into the 1980s when significant population decline began (See Tables 1). While the enumeration areas used by Census Canada and the Dominion Bureau of Statistics changed over the years, the overall population of the communities of Digby Neck fluctuated approximately 20% between 1871 and 1981. Generally the population has shifted down the Neck with population remaining far more stable in the western as opposed to the eastern part of Digby Neck.

> This is probably due to the decline of the small boat hook and line fishery and the rise of the small boat dragger fleet which has been documented by other studies of the area(Hughes et. al., 1960, Davis, 1991, Kearney, 1993).

The fishery has been, and continues to be, the economic lifeblood of Digby Neck. As one resident commented, "around here you either fish, cut fish, or throw rocks at gulls, there ain't nothing else" (Davis, 1991 15). Both traditional and modern methods of fishing for ground fish have been in decline on Digby Neck for at least the past decade, but both remain a shadow of their former economic importance. For instance, many lobster fishermen, fish with hand line and gill net from the end of the lobster season at the end of May until the late Fall when lobstering opens again. Other small boat fishermen who do not have lobster licenses also fish using traditional "fixed gear" (hand lines and gill nets mainly) during the Spring, Summer and Fall. The two large government wharves in Sandy Cove and Little River also serve as home for a mostly offshore dragger fleet ("mobile gear")which continues to operate on a limited basis despite restrictive government quotas and dwindling stocks. Several fisheries are emerging in formerly ignored species such as, herring roe or diving for sea urchins sold mainly on the Japanese market.

The population of this area remains remarkably homogeneous in terms of ethnicity. The limited amount of immigration of full time residents to Digby Neck which does occur comes in the form of women relocating to the area from surrounding villages in the Digby area or from Clare to marry or co-habitate with a Digby Neck fisherman. Few Digby Neck women bring husbands or lovers to live on Digby Neck. There is a well established and growing immigrant population of summer residents, particularly in the village of Sandy Cove and this group is said to be slowly but surely changing the way of life in the villages. In the village of Sandy Cove in particular and all along Digby Neck, large 19th century homes are still common. While some have been remodeled and updated, many retain most of their original architectural and design features.

A handful of small village convenience stores and one small general store currently operate on Digby Neck

replacing the community general stores which supplied virtually all community needs until the opening of the highway in the mid 1950s. Recently a gasoline outlet has opened up midway between East Ferry and the "head of the Bay" which marks the eastern end of geographic Digby Neck. Several fish plants can still be found on the Neck, but most of these are either out of business or operate for only very limited periods. Most of the local fish processing is now done on Long and Brier Islands to the west or in the Acadian District of Clare on the other side of St. Mary's Bay. These plants are owned by local "fishtocrats" who have been relentlessly expanding their operations buying gear and licenses and controlling an increasing share of fish production in the area. Recently a salmon hatchery has opened in Mink Cove to supply the growing fish farming industry in the Annapolis Basin to the east.

The community has been, up until very recently, the source of significant employment for certain youth. It follows that Digby Neck is not necessarily constructed by inhabitants as a place to leave behind, but rather as a place in which one might make a living, albeit a difficult one requiring a variety of skills and capacities. Significantly, this complex of abilities is rooted in the traditional community and despite its challenges if offers both rewards and the comfort of the familiar (Brandau and Collins, 1994, Porter, 1996).

Methodology

To conduct the analysis I have employed multiple methods. I carried out participant observation in the community between August of 1998 and April 20. This participant observation involved taking part in community activities of a wider variety including both formal and informal social functions, school related events, home visits, conversations in stores, post offices, kitchens, fish sheds and on wharves. I also participated in several commercial fishing trips on both small inshore boats and larger mid-shore vessels. These trips ranged from a few hours to a five-day voyage.

I have been and continue to be in regular contact with many residents of Digby Neck both as a part of this project and as a normal feature of my personal and professional life. Indeed, this participant observation might be described as what Stenhouse (1975) calls teacher-research, or the systematic, critical investigation of one's professional practice. But I think it is more than that, there is more than my professional self in play here. In many respects it is difficult to separate this research from my life because both overlap and interweave in a variety of ways. For example, while I am a participant observer, I may also at the same time be a teacher giving advice about a child's reading or personal problem, or planning strategy with my informants/colleagues/friends about how to keep the school open in the face of declining enrolment, or helping to clean up after a community supper, or baiting traps on several small inshore lobster boat, or shucking scallops on a 65 foot dragger, or playing music at a social function, or building a greenhouse with a group of children and their parents, or giving advice in the community computer centre. These kinds of activities have both contributed to my growing understanding of community issues, ongoing and changing fisheries struggles, educational problems, and the generalised social context within which all of these interconnected currents take place.

To establish actual patterns of migration I have surveyed historic Grade 6 students who left Digby Neck Consolidated School between 1957 and 1992. I obtained school records from former administrators and teachers as well as from the Nova Scotia Provincial Archives in order to establish the target population. From these records I generated a list of all students who have completed Grade 6 on Digby Neck between 1957 and 1992. These classes correspond with the potential high school graduating classes of 1963-1998, a 36 year period. The individuals in this population range in age between 19 and 56 as of 1999. Because this is the only elementary school surviving on Digby Neck, its graduates represent virtually the entire native born population. Using local informants I then tracked each student in the sample to his or her present location, either on Digby Neck or elsewhere. I was able to locate all but three of the 756 students for whom I could find Grade 6 attendance records. I then conducted a simple survey which investigated work and educational histories for this population. I have able to find basic educational attainment data for approximately 70% of the total population. From this data I have established out-migration rates and correlate these rates with key variables such as high school completion, gender, and village of origin.

From this population I also selected informants for a series of ethnographic interviews. These interviews probed the experience of coming of age on Digby Neck investigating the central question concerning the relationship between formal schooling and migration in the coastal community. The sample was purposively selected for gender, village of origin, and age. I interviewed eighteen men and eighteen women, one half of whom had stayed on Digby Neck, the other half of whom were living further than 250 kilometres from Digby Neck at the time of the interview. In depth interviews were thus conducted with approximately five percent of the total population (thirty-six individuals)or twelve individuals (i.e. six stayers and six leavers) from each of three age cohorts. Cohort I are the potential high school graduating classes 1963-1974; Cohort 2 are the potential high school graduating classes 1975-1986; and Cohort 3 are the potential high school graduating classes 1987-1998). In addition, I interviewed a sample of twelve key educators who have served the people of Digby Neck

through the period of study. This sample included both elementary and secondary school teacher sand school and system level administrators.

All 48 interviews were conducted between November 1998 and February 20. The interviews were supplemented by follow-up interviews with key informants and further formal and informal conversations on fishing boats, in fish shacks, in kitchens, in meetings of various types, at the community school and at various community functions. The interviews lasted between 45 and 90 minutes and focused on the five general themes work, community, family, schooling and mobility. The interviews were tape recorded, transcribed and given to the informant for verification. Most interviews with stayers were conducted in the homes of the informant. Interviews with leavers were conducted via telephone and tape recorded. Typically the informant was alone with me during the live interviews, but occasionally a spouse, child, friend or extended family member was also present, though these people rarely spoke during the formal part of the interview process. Virtually all live and telephone interviews were followed by extended general conversation (often lasting several hours) about educational, economic and social issues on Digby Neck.

Among the sample of educators, five of the twelve interviewees are currently working in the educational system, seven are retired, all but two within the last ten years. Nine of the twelve interviewees are women. The combined experience of these twelve educators is nearly 350 years, most of it spent either teaching on Digby Neck in the consolidated elementary school (and its one or two room community school predecessors before 1957), or in the regional high school which serves both children from Digby Neck as well as from other parts the immediate area surrounding Digby town. Half of the educators interviewed have worked in the consolidated elementary school, and thus, have experience with former students at the first part of their school careers. All but one of these six interviewees have lived full time in the community virtually throughout their lives. All but one are retired. The majority of these educators have worked children professionally in their elementary school careers, but have also been a part of the communities in which these people lived out their early lives. The other half of this sample of educators is drawn mainly from the regional high school where the majority of Digby Neck students go to attend secondary school. Two of these six informants are presently retired active service. All but one of these individuals have spent significant parts of their respective careers in school or system administration and/or counselling. These informants have experience with students from Digby Neck throughout their secondary school experience and are particularly well placed in the secondary school system to have a window on the career and academic decisions made by high school students from Digby Neck.

Who leaves, who stays, and where do they go?

First of all I sought to establish out-migration rates and patterns from Digby Neck. As Table 2 indicates, less than 30% of each of the age cohorts remain on Digby Neck. A surprising finding is that Digby Neckers appear to be less mobile in the more recent cohorts than in Cohort 1. Given the much publicised downturn in the fishery and the general "brain drain" hypothesis, one might have predicted that more recent generations of Digby Neckers would be more mobile. This data show a population that became less mobile through the "boom" period of the mid 1970s-1980s.

Migration is not a monolithic category. People migrate different distances and to different kinds of places. In the participant observation and interview parts of this research I asked long time Digby Neck residents to define what counts as "home" and what other kinds of places one finds in proximity to home. In addition to Digby Neck itself (home), three other spatial categories emerged. The first is "around here" and it encompasses an area within 50 kilometres of Digby Neck. People who are still "around here" are not really considered to have moved. The second spatial category is "not far." This is the area within approximately 250 kilometres of Digby Neck, and area, given improved transportation links, which can be accessed in an afternoon's drive. This is a median area and opinion is divided as to whether people now living in this region are migrants. As one resident put it, they have to be out of the province before I'd call them migrants. The final spatial category is away, and this is the area beyond 250 kilometres. People living beyond this region are universally considered to be migrants. When I analyse where those who migrate actually go an interesting pattern emerges. Table 3 shows that while approximately 70% of the population born on Digby Neck between the mid 1940s and the early 1980s moved from Digby Neck, more than 60% of this population remains within the around here spatial locus. When the frame is expanded to the not far region more than 80% remain within the circle. So while Digby Neckers are mobile in terms of leaving their fishing villages, they are far less mobile in terms of leaving the immediate locale and the Annapolis Valley and Southwest Nova Scotia. The brain drain hypothesis is far less convincing than anticipated and indeed, a great many Digby Neckers seem able to remain in the immediate region surrounding communities of origin.

Analysis of the gender structure of out-migration from Digby Neck shows that women are far more mobile than women in terms of actually leaving Digby Neck. Table 4 shows that more than 40% of men born on Digby Neck remain there. For women the rate is less than half that of men. Women have a stronger tendency to migrate to the

"around here" region, and especially into the "not far" region. So while women are more mobile, they tend to move relatively short distances. Migrants who move into the area beyond the 250 km band are approximately equally represented by both genders. It is true that the coastal community of Digby Neck is mobile in the sense that people do not stay in their communities of origin. However, this data shows how the rate and distance of migration are influenced by gender. Surprisingly, migration rates remain fairly stable across the three age cohorts questioning the idea that people from single industry coastal communities migrate rationally or for purely economic reasons.

Education and migration

The data reported in this section are based on 505 telephone interviews conducted between November 1998 and April 20. Educational and work history data were gathered on 71.2% of the total female population and 66.5% of the total male population. The interviews were very brief consisting of 7 questions and focusing mainly on the level of education and current employment of respondents. Since this dissertation is attempting to establish and understand the connection between education and migration, this data is designed to gauge the extent of the migration/ education connection. Not surprisingly these data show significant educational differences between stayers and leavers in the population (See table 5). As anticipated, education is strongly linked with out-migration, particularly at the university level. Out-migrants who moved to the "away" region were more than eight times more likely to have attended university and thirty percent more likely to have graduated high school. They were also four to five times less likely to be in the lowest educational group never having made it into high school.

When the same data are analysed by gender the differences between male stayers and leavers becomes even more stark (see Tables 6 and 7). Male stayers are represented far more pervasively in the lowest educational category.

Both male and female migrants have acquired considerably more high school and higher educational credentials than their stayer counterparts. The differences are particularly acute among males where high school dropout rates were approximately 70% for the non migrant and "around here" populations. By contrast, more than 60% of women in all migration groups have completed at least high school. Also striking is the similarity of educational profiles between stayers and those remaining in the immediate local ("around here") region. This similarity holds for both men and women. Males who migrate into the local area actually tend to have fewer formal education credentials than their stayer counterparts.

Women who moved into this same area had acquired slightly more educational credentials than their stayer counterparts. As expected, it is very clear from this data that those who migrated were much more likely to have acquired higher level credentials. The gender differential which is evident for most all forms and levels of education disappears at the university level.

Conclusion

Digby Neck is a coastal community which is losing a large percentage of its population to out-migration. However, out-migration is not a simple phenomenon. Residents of the coastal communities in which this research was conducted define migration according to a spatial geography that is connected to economic activity and social character of the region. In other words, while the "village" no longer exists as an economic and social entity that holds many individuals (particularly women), the local area "around here" does. Short range migrations are not considered to be migrations at all and indeed, the educational profiles of short range migrants are similar to those who stay on Digby Neck. Nearly two-thirds of the population studied here remained within the "around here" area, within 50 kilometres of Digby Neck. This shows that a majority of Digby Neckers remain within easy reach of their communities of origin and perhaps suggests that this coastal community remain quite resilient, albeit in a slightly larger geographic space. Improved highway travel in the past several decades may allow individuals to remain connected to their "home" communities while living closer to services, employment and recreational opportunities for their children. This may reflect fundamental changes in coastal communities which are now organised around small, remote service centres. The small town of Digby is the case in point here. It is a community of slightly more than 20 residents but it offers a wide and expanding array of services and large retail outlets which service surrounding villages. If postmodern social theorists are correct and contemporary culture is organised around consumption rather than production, then what I am describing here may be the incursion of consumerism into the rural margins.

Both male and female out-migrants from Digby Neck who move to the "not far" and "away" regions also appear to have acquired considerable high level educational credentials. Nearly one in three of these out migrants have university level education. This suggests that high school education in rural high schools may have been particularly beneficial for this migrant population. It is clear that a strong segment of this population did indeed "learn to leave"

Gender is clearly a factor in terms of understanding educational credentials. Predictably, women are much more likely to move from Digby Neck than men. However, women's migrations tend to be of shorter

distance into the "around here" and "not far" regions. Women who stay on the Neck and remain within the "around here" region have acquired considerably more educational credentials than men. This reflects the higher levels of male resistance to formal education and their much greater work opportunities in the fishery which is the economic lifeblood of the local area. These tend to be opportunities which require little formal schooling. Since women cannot access many fisheries related jobs, they are required to obtain more formal educational credentials and/or move. Women, as a group, have more educational credentials than men reflecting local understandings of women's greater success in institutions of formal education. But these educational credentials probably tend to be put to use in family fishing enterprises as the data also show that forty percent of Digby Neck women list their occupation as "housewife." The differential between men and women's educational performance narrows with migration.

These preliminary findings demonstrate very clearly that education is linked to migration beyond the "around here" region. Migrants, both male and female have significantly higher levels of education. These findings also raise questions about the nature of contemporary rural communities which may remain able to hold large numbers of their "native" population because of expansion of transportation, communication and decentralization consumer services. However, in coastal communities, it is an odd rural renaissance' marked by continuing low levels of literacy (Willms, 1997) and poverty (Corbett, 20) in the case of Southwest Nova Scotia. What remains in this project is to explain the meaning of these differences in educational experience and arrive at an understanding of how it is that individuals from each of these generational cohorts came to have the educational, work and migration trajectories they did.

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Table 1 Historic Population of Digby Neck Communities- Pre 1951 Census Counts for Digby Neck

	1871	1881	1891	1901	1911	1921	1931	1941
Population	1520	1504	1491	1593	1461	1507	1450	1502

	1951	1956	1961	1966	1971	1981	1991
Population	1360	1318	1234	1287	1285	1366	1055

Table 2 Percentage of Historic Graduates of DNCS Remaining on Digby Neck
(Note Percentages do not include deceased and unknown)

	N	Deceased Or unknown	N Revised	Digby Neck 1999	Percentage
Cohort 1 1963-1974	**306**	**25**	**281**	**73**	**26%**
Cohort 2 1975-1986	**236**	**12**	**223**	**65**	**29.1%**
Cohort 3 1987-1998	**214**	**5**	**209**	**66**	**31.6%**
Total (63-98)	**756**	**42**	**714**	**204**	**28.6%**

Figure 1 Interview subjects

	Cohort 1 1963-74		Cohort 2 1975-86		Cohort 3 1987-98	
	Male	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**	**Male**	**Female**
Stayers	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**
Leavers 3	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	**3**	
Educators	3	9				

Table 3 Out-migration rates from Digby Neck, Classes of 1963-1998

	N	N Revised*	Around here**	Not far	Away
Cohort 1 1963-1974	**306**	**281**	**155 (55.2)**	**62 (22.1)**	**64 (22.8)**
Cohort 2 1975-1986	**236**	**224**	**144 (64.3)**	**53 (23.7)**	**27 (12%)**
Cohort 3 1987-1998	**214**	**209**	**137 (65.6%)**	**40(19.1%)**	**33 (15.8%)**
TOTAL	**756**	**714**	**436 (61.1%)**	**155 (21.7%)**	

124 (17.4%)

* Excludes deceased and unknown
**Includes people living on Digby Neck and those within 50 km.

Table 4 Out migration rates from Digby Neck by Gender, 1963-1999

	Male	(%)	Female	(%)
No migration	148	(41.5)	60	(17.2)
Local migration	103	(28.9)	129	(37.0)
Subtotal ("Around here")	251	(70.3)	189	(54.1)
"Not far" migration	40	(11.2)	99	(28.4)
"away" migration	66	(18.5)	61	(17.5)
Total	357		349	

Table 5 Education and out-migration from Digby Neck
The classes of 1963-1998(percentages in parentheses)

	No migration		Away migration	
Less than grade 10	40	(23.8)	5	(05.7)
At least some h.s	107	(63.7)	79	(90.8)
At least h.s. graduation	69	(41.1)	62	(71.3)
University	7	(04.1)	29	(33.3)
Total	168		87	

*Totals will not necessarily match column numbers because the at least high school graduation category also includes university and college graduates

Table 6 Education and out-migration from Digby Neck by gender
The classes of 1963-1998(percentages in parentheses)

	No migration		"Around here" migration	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less than grade 10	36(30.2)	4 (08.2)	22 (32.3)	10 (10.3)
At least some h.s.	66(56.2)	41 (83.6)	30 (44.1)	79 (81.5)
At least h.s. graduation	39(33.6)	30 (61.2)	23 (33.8)	70 (72.2)
University	5(04.2)	2 (04.2)	4 (05.9)	8 (08.2)
Total*	119	49	68	97

*Totals will not necessarily match column numbers because the at least high school graduation category also includes university and college graduates

Table 7 Education and out-migration from Digby Neck by gender
The classes of 1963-1998 (percentages in parentheses)

	"Not far" migration		"Away" migration			
	Male	Female	Male	Female		
Less than grade 10	14(31.8)	15 (32.6)	5 (12.2)	0		
At least some h.s.	21(91.3)	57 (83.8)	33 (80.5)	43 (93.5)		
At least h.s. graduation	17(73.9)	54 (79.4)	23 (56.1)	39(84.8))	University	8
(34.7) 21 (30.9)	14 (31.8)	15 (32.6)				
Total*	23	68	41	46		

*Totals will not necessarily match column numbers because the at least high school graduation category also includes university and college graduates.

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