

WOMEN, HOME CARE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN
A RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITY

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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WOMEN, HOME CARE AND SOCIAL CHANGE IN
A RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND COMMUNITY

by

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Abstract

This thesis is an examination of women and social change in a rural Newfoundland fishing community. Social change is documented and is investigated through the shift in women's employment from the fishery to home care. This thesis argues that the groundfish moratorium, coupled with shifts in governmental health care policy, has radically reconfigured the nature of women's social space in rural Newfoundland society and created a complex medical and social scenario. The move to home care, as an economic and health issue, is one which provides some social advantages to workers and clients but also one that remains financially exploitative and medically suspect.

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List of Abbreviations

DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans
EI	Employment Insurance
HRDC	Human Resources Development Canada
NCARP	Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program
TAGS	The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy

INTRODUCTION

1.0.0 INTRODUCTION OF THE RESEARCH PROJECT

This thesis is an examination of women and social change in a rural Newfoundland fishing community. Social change is documented and is investigated through the shift in women's employment from the fishery to alternative employment that is home care. This thesis argues that the groundfish moratorium, coupled with shifts in governmental health care policy, has radically reconfigured the nature of women's social space in rural Newfoundland society and created a complex medical and social scenario. The move to home care, as an economic and health issue, is one which provides some social advantages to workers and clients but one that remains financially exploitative and medically suspect. The fieldwork for this study was conducted from October 1998 to February 1999. It was at this time that The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS)¹ was coming to an end. TAGS and its predecessor Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Programme (NCARP) were programmes designed to provide income support for individuals most affected by the crisis in the fishery (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997:22). I will use a pseudonym for the community in which I conducted my fieldwork and call it "Bog Harbour"². It suffered economic hardships due to the moratorium. As a consequence, the lives of most people in

this community changed drastically in the 1990's. However, fishing for cod began again in the summer of 1998, six years after the northern cod moratorium had been declared³.

One of the issues that this thesis will address is women's perceived sense of not having someone in the community to talk to about issues revolving around home care. In particular, I will examine various aspects of change since the moratorium and how they affect most women. Mechanisms such as gossip⁴ and the designation of public and private space⁵ are such that the majority of women felt there were few with whom they could discuss serious issues about home care with. That is, they believed they could not converse about their employment or employees (i.e. home care workers) or other personal aspects of their lives. They were concerned that if they did discuss personal issues that they would become public knowledge through gossip. I believe that this fear existed because they lacked a private space in which such conversations could take place on a regular basis. This was due to the increase of time men were spending in spaces that were previously dominated by women.

1.0.1 WHAT I HAD INITIALLY SET OUT TO DO

I should state what I had initially hoped to study. Before entering the field I had planned to study post-moratorium employment of women. That is, I wanted to study

employment strategies women were utilizing as TAGS was coming to an end. However, to my surprise the community had already started to fish for cod again. In the summer of 1998 the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) initiated an experimental cod fishery in several areas to assess the condition and size of cod stocks. Bog Harbour was located in one of these areas.

It was my original hypothesis that women would be utilizing "homework⁶" as a strategy to counter balance the absence of wage work at fish processing plants that were lost due to the moratorium. The International Labour Conference defines homework as "the production of goods or the provision of service for an employer or contractor under an arrangement whereby the work is carried out at a place of the worker's own choosing, often the worker's own home" (1994:5). This seemed plausible as I also hypothesized that some of the women would be utilizing craft production as a form of homework in order to supplement incomes. This seemed a reasonable assumption to make as there was a craft store in the community that did sell some local women's handicrafts. As well, I assumed that the tourism⁷ industry would also be of relevance in regards to craft production and contribute to the sale of their goods. However, during my stay in the field the craft store closed. A woman who had worked at the store said that it was not the tourists who spent the most money at the store but local

people who purchased gifts for each another and that the woman who owned the store was "barely breaking even." The fact that local people were producing and purchasing local hand-made crafts, even on a minor scale, gave me some hope.

As a first time field-worker, I was unsure of letting go of my original focus. I was still interested in craft production as a form of homework. I also thought that if the homework portion of my hypothesis was incorrect then I could at least focus my attention on crafts as I had invested a lot of time researching crafts in Newfoundland. I thought that focussing on crafts and craft production would enable me to learn more about the community. I wanted to know if people were still producing "traditional"⁸ crafts⁹ such as sweaters for personal and local use, or if the craft items they were producing changed to suit the tourists or fashion trends. In this way I would be able to gain access to craft producers and through them the town and its past, present, and future¹⁰. Instead I shifted my focus to a different kind of homework, home care.

1.0.2 WHAT ACTUALLY HAPPENED

As is often the case with fieldwork things do not go as planned¹¹. Through talking with women and getting to know them and their lives I began to take notice of certain issues, some they brought up and others that I observed. Issues included

having "no one to talk to" within the community, "nowhere to go," and, as I observed, having no private space to talk in. I also noticed that most of these concerns were in relation to home care. That is, workers did not feel that they could discuss the client they were looking after or the client's family, likewise, clients and their families felt they could not complain about their home care workers. Those familiar with rural Newfoundland are aware of the public nature of the kitchen¹². Visitors are only welcome in the kitchen, as it is viewed as a public place, whereas the rest of the house is considered private¹³. However, there are some exceptions such as the parlour or living room in some homes. Consequently, a conversation that occurs in a kitchen may become public. That is, it may become gossip as it is carried out in a public space. This does not appear to be as troublesome for men as they have other spaces in which to talk privately, spaces which are less public such as their sheds, stores, boats, and the outdoors. These spaces are not normally open to women and, while the kitchens are freer when the men are gone, they are still not safe places to talk as there are usually children around¹⁴. Consequently both the space in which women may discuss private matters and the time in which they may hold such discussions are limited (e.g., while the men and the children are both gone at the same time).

1.1.0 SITUATING THE RESEARCHER:

In Bog Harbour I was viewed as an outsider, particularly when people would stare at me trying to figure out who I was. I found it odd that residents thought of me as a "townie," (Story, eds. *et al.* 2002:576), that is, someone from St. John's. This was aggravated by my "townie" accent. However, as time passed the woman I was staying with began to call me a "mainlander" (Story, eds. *et al.* 2002:320). She obviously noticed that I did not possess all of the cultural capital¹⁵ of a townie for if I did I would not have asked as many asinine questions.

These distinctions would suggest that I was an outsider but it was acknowledged that I had some insider insights as well. This was due in part because my family had lived in the community for several months when I was an infant. This explained my presence somewhat to the people who knew my family then. In fact, several of the men my father had fished with came to visit me within the first two weeks I was in Bog Harbour. This was awkward as it seemed like these men were coming to pay their respects to my father. It was also odd because men do not typically visit women, least of all single women. However, since I was living with a family, by community norms it was acceptable for these men to come and visit. As well, I was usually forewarned of their visits by Joel, the son of the couple I was staying with. He would

mention that one of these men was going to come over to visit me because he used to be a good friend of my father. I found this odd as my father had not talked to anyone in the community for well over twenty years. However, the fact that they came to visit me gave me a tenuous connection to the community as my father's daughter.

The family that I was staying with also provided a connection to Bog Harbour; they had been friendly to mine when we lived there and it was expected that I would stay with them. Also, I was viewed as a relative of the family since the mother of the household was born in St. John's and it was presumed that I was her 'relation'. It became evident to me that I was not always my father's daughter. I also became "the one who's staying with Blanche and Alfred" as I became an extension of their household. It is also important to situate me within the categories that the people used themselves. I was never called a "stranger" which in itself is important as a stranger is someone no one knows. I only knew the family I was staying with and I did not know them very well. It is due to the above that I was not viewed as a stranger and this allowed me to integrate into the community with less difficulty. Nevertheless, I was "in the peculiar situation of being neither completely a cultural insider, nor a total outsider" (Abu-Lughod, 1988:141).

1.1.1 OBJECTIVITY:

The issue of objectivity is confounded when one is attempting to observe a group of which one is a part¹⁶. Looking at Newfoundland places me within this conundrum as I am half Newfoundlander. The other half, is "mainlander," creating a somewhat awkward configuration given that I consider myself Canadian. However, given Newfoundland's entry into Canada, in 1949¹⁷ it is not surprising that a variety of strong distinctions are still drawn.

My objectivity was not hindered by being a "halfie"¹⁸ or from living in St. John's for seven years prior to going into the field, as my life on the Canadian mainland and in St. John's was significantly different from living in a small, rural Newfoundland fishing community. Therefore, I believe my objectivity was not significantly diminished. As well, given the short duration of my stay in the field I believe my connections facilitated my relatively rapid integration into the community thereby giving me improved access to residents who might serve as consultants.

1.1.2 MARGINALITY

Bog Harbour is a marginal place not only within Newfoundland but also within Canada as a whole¹⁹. It is a place that is marginal not only in terms of geography. Lowenhaupt-Tsing sees marginal places as "sites of exclusion"

within dominant cultures (1993:143). Bog Harbour is excluded from the dominant culture as it is in an "out-of-the-way-place" (Lowenhaupt-Tsing 1993). Residents of Bog Harbour are excluded from economic, social, medical, and educational programs that are taken for granted in larger Canadian centres. They are also excluded from basic infrastructure, such as fibre-optic phone lines that would be capable of handling the internet. It is also a place where federal and provincial budget cuts are felt in regards to health and education. When I was in the field the Newfoundland government wanted to take away the ambulance service from the community, which is an essential service as there are no medical personnel in the community and it is at least a half hour drive, weather and road conditions permitting, to a cottage hospital or a two hour ride to a larger centre which offers better facilities. Thankfully, the vast majority of people in the community and the surrounding communities signed a petition to ask that this not happen. If this would have occurred, then it would have been the marginal people within this community (e.g., the poor, elderly, young) that would be excluded from health care facilities. It would appear then that sites of exclusion can and do exert themselves when significantly provoked by outside sources.²⁰

Glynis George views the concept of "marginalization" as "a way to consider the ways in which men and women are

categorised through culturally constructed systems of power" (1996:6). Traditionally, women in Newfoundland have been considered marginal in comparison to men. In the past, Newfoundland society has been noted for being male dominated²¹. Some women were and still are marginalized in rural Newfoundland not only by the dominant culture of the outside world but also by the patriarchal bias that functions within their own community that makes adult males superior.

George also asserts that marginalization "permits an analysis of the hegemonic processes which construct and codify groups of people as 'marginal' or 'others' within a broader domain" (1996:6). This can also be considered in terms of how "marginal" people "marginalize" others within their own group and how the state is partially responsible for this. The home care program which has been devised by government has created a system where neighbours have become employers or employees and the most marginal, that is the elderly and disabled, are the most effected by it.

1.1.3 RURALITY:

Building on the theme of marginality it is also important to look at rurality, as rural areas are typically marginal compared to their urban counterparts. While most scholars who look at rural settings usually do so in agrarian societies it is still a body of literature which is relevant in regards to

studying in a rural Newfoundland fishing community. Through looking at Bog Harbour as a rural area we can broaden the scope of comparison to areas outside of a maritime environment²².

When researching in a rural area we sometimes fail to realize that the people we are studying are aware of some of the complex webs which function in keeping them marginal. Rural people are aware of the rural urban dichotomy and are more than aware of how it affects them. Davis noted people are aware(via t.v., etc.) of how decisions elsewhere influence local life (1995:281). In the course of my fieldwork I observed that local residents were often well aware of some of the factors that function to marginalize them.

In regards to studying a rural society some scholars have in the past viewed this as "studying down". Creed and Ching (1997) assert that when some study rural areas it is from an urban (us) versus rural (them) viewpoint and they do so in a manner which assumes rural areas need help. That is why they approach rural areas under the guise of "development" and "improvement" which, as Creed and Ching suggest, validates the researchers "own culture and place" (1997:10). This diminishes the rural "other". In doing so these researchers have acted in a way which is based on a biased worldview.

With urban and rural distinctions being made and acknowledged some researchers are looking to rural areas as a

place of study. This may be problematic as it could be argued that the more educated we become the more "backward" rural and under educated people appear and this could be where the interest in studying rural areas stems from. That is, studying the ways of rural people in terms of how foreign they appear to us. Creed and Ching suggest that "by providing ever more vivid images of rural backwardness, such resistance could actually sustain the rustic low that underwrites the relative value of the urbane high (1997:30). Nevertheless, "rural communities continue to experience changes and new needs but have few resources for responding" (Havir, 1995:xiii). The responses of rural communities is one area that warrants study and that is what this thesis hopes to document in one particular case.

1.2.0 HOME CARE²³

Home care is a program that was introduced to the province in St. John's in 1973 as a pilot project. The program was incorporated in 1975 and was funded 100% by the Department of Health throughout the 1970's. Initially the program was only available to seniors but now it is also available to people with physical limitations under the age of 65 and/or acute care patients. The care provided was originally contracted out to both private for-profit and non-profit providers (Botting et al. 2002:81). Currently home

care is provided through two different models, private agencies(private for-profit and non-profit providers), and the self-managed care model. Under the self-managed care model the client chooses his or her own home care worker as long as that person is not related to them. This is the model that is followed in Bog Harbour.

The care as suggested by the name is normally carried out in the client's home or some other form of supportive housing. The program was designed by government to help shorten hospital stays and to delay or substitute institutional care. The care provided by home care workers, that is workers that are not professional medical personnel, is varied and can range from house cleaning and cooking to providing personal grooming and limited medical procedures as well as administering medications. Home care will be discussed in further detail in chapter four.

1.3.0 RESEARCH METHODS:

Due to my short stay in the field it was impossible to learn as much as I hoped. Initially, I had planned to conduct several life history²⁴ interviews²⁵ in a formal interview setting, with tape recorder and note pad and pen in hand; this did not happen. Because formal interviews are so clearly artificial, they would most likely put people "on guard". Instead, I chose more informal methods. In this fashion, I

did gain several women's life histories by spending time with them and engaging in open dialogue which revolved around our lives. My inexperience may have hindered the research in some ways yet allowed me to figure out what had to be done and enabled me to develop ways of obtaining information in locally acceptable ways. Thus, the experiences I had and the information I gained outweighed the use of more sociological methods such as formal life history interviews, printed questionnaires, and surveys. By not behaving formally as a researcher at all times I was able to mix with residents and experience some of what they do on a daily basis.

Nevertheless, I did conduct some interviews and had a standard interview schedule which I created after I was in the field. Some of the interviews revolved around craft production and various forms of "homework" such as home care. Some of these interviews were tape-recorded and others I recorded by hand. Once the interviews were over women would begin to talk more freely. In retrospect, participant observation was my main research method. I participated through the roles of researcher, daughter, sister, and friend, which I will discuss in the next section.

1.3.1 FIELD EXPERIENCE: HOW I MET PEOPLE

During the first week in the field I met people through the couple I was staying with. I was introduced as my

father's daughter as older people, as mentioned earlier, had known him from when we had lived in the community over 20 years ago. Introduced this way, people asked how my parents and grandparents were and this usually led into a discussion of them and of some stories about my parents from when we lived there. The men he fished with came to visit me, as well as some of his old friends. All of these people were men and were older than my father who was at the time fifty. These meetings were usually brief and after a few minutes the conversation would turn towards the other people in the house at the time. Meeting these men was a bit awkward at first. I initially had a hard time understanding some of them as their dialect differed from my own. I was also unsure of what to say to them but after several visits we developed more rapport and our conversations seemed less awkward. The man of the house and I visited some of these men when we would go for 'strolls' on sunny afternoons. I escorted him because he was in a wheelchair and was unable to go by himself. We would go under the premise of going up the lane to take pictures of someone's ducks, which we did but, more importantly we would often visit his friends in the neighbourhood. We always met them outside as they would come out to talk with us as it was too difficult for him to get into their homes.

Meeting adult males ('men') was not a difficult task as they visited or I visited them during 'strolls.' That was the

extent of socializing with men, however, as it would have been inappropriate for me to visit them on my own. For example, the second week I was in the community a friend of Joel's asked me if I wanted to go for a walk and I did want something from the store, so I said all right, but immediately regretted it. For I realized that he had misinterpreted my agreement and it was too late to refuse as I already had my coat and boots on. So we walked to the store and stopped at his neighbour's house as he had to return something to them and we looked at his neighbour's new horse. Then we proceeded to the store and finally returned to where I was living. Although nothing of a romantic nature occurred, it did become the subject of gossip. In fact, until my last week in the community I was teased about it by a wide variety of area residents. I was asked where we were going to live and I was asked if we would like to move into someone's woodshed on several occasions, and if I wore make-up or a skirt (which did not happen often) I was asked if I was 'made up' for him. In ignorance I had not realized until it was too late that a walk after dark with someone of the opposite sex even if nothing of a romantic nature happened was locally interpreted as a date. Needless to say I learned that if I associated with an adult male and others were not present, gossip would arise.

This incident also illustrated some concerns of those I boarded with. For later that night after the young man

finally departed, they warned me about him, and said, "it's your choice". It was also funny as that night when Alfred had gone to bed we heard him laughing and his wife went in to see what he was laughing about and he said because this young man had taken me to a stable to see someone's horse. When I thought about it, it did seem pretty funny especially considering that, after all, this was supposed to be a date. Needless to say, I did not go for any more walks with him. Even so, he visited the house frequently. I soon realized that we were visited more often by men than women and that it was easier to gain access to men. This said, such interactions were not worth the gossip which would inevitably ensue, gossip that would jeopardize my reputation in the community.

Meeting women was more difficult as they did not always visit. Therefore, I had to rely on others to help me meet them. Initially, I met women through the people I stayed with and through other women I became acquainted with. Two women I came into contact with every day were the two home care workers that were employed within the household. Through them I met other people. I also met people by going to the stores and the post office and within a few weeks all residents seemed to know who I was and where I was staying and treated me as a relation of the people I was staying with. This was reinforced by my initial appearance at a bingo game. Held in the school cafeteria, the game allowed people to meet and

converse and to observe me at close proximity. Attended primarily by adult women they had an opportunity to observe and discuss me.

Going back to my first day there, I met a woman with whom I interacted with on a daily basis and she introduced me to many people including some of her in-laws who live in the community. She did this by bringing me to their homes when she was running errands. For example, she first brought me to her mother-in-law's when she had to pick something up from her. Later, she brought me to her sister-in-law's when she was dropping off her niece. It was on these occasions that I explained I was doing research for a thesis leading to a my Master's degree in Anthropology and asked if they would let me interview them. After the usual "well I don't know how much I'll be able to help you," I was usually granted an interview with them at a later date. After these interviews these women felt more relaxed around me and we began to meet and converse on a regular basis.

1.3.2 FIELD EXPERIENCE: THE ROLES I PLAYED

I was in the field from October 1998 to February 1999. I stayed with a middle aged couple and their son who is a year older than I am. The husband was disabled and he had two home-care workers that would come to the house six hours a day seven days a week. This meant that for twelve hours a day

there was at least one extra person in the house and often more as the home care workers' children often visited the house as well.

A large part of field work is based on participant observation and part of that is acting in certain roles²⁶. As a field worker I participated in some of the daily activities of the family I lived with such as; tending to the wood stove, laundry, making beds, cleaning, baking bread, helping with Alfred, going to the Post Office and the local stores. Besides fulfilling my role as a researcher I also performed other roles as well such as; daughter, sister, friend, and unpaid caregiver. It was with the people with whom I resided and the home care workers, and the family's extended kin and neighbours that some of these primary roles emerged. Thus in regards to the couple with whom I was boarding, I became a surrogate daughter²⁷. While I did not perform all the duties of a daughter I nevertheless did perform some aspects. This was reflected in the couple's behaviour towards me and by young men seeking my attention. In addition, I served as an unpaid caregiver to Albert, the father of the family.

For their son I behaved like a sister. We discussed his parents' health, home care, and his wish to leave the community. We also teased and tormented one another. Being viewed as part of the family (or at least the household) took away from any possibility of a sexual relationship. Given the

confined space of the house, if I were viewed as anything but family I doubt I would have been able to be left alone with Joel or had access to his room.

I also fulfilled the role of friend to several women, especially Alfred's two home care workers. I visited the two home care workers at their homes frequently and also met people through their households. I would visit one of the workers, who was a widow, to have alcoholic 'drinks' when she was not working nights. Through these interactions I became acquainted with her sons who were in their twenties and their friends, who all happened to be male. Through the other home care worker I got to know her in-laws that lived in the community. With both home care workers I discussed their jobs as well as local politics and numerous other personal topics. Several of the other women I befriended were linked with these three households. I also drank with several older women, one who would come to visit me at the house I was staying at, and two that I would go and visit in 'the home'. Another woman I visited was the local store-keeper; I became her "helper" as she called me. I helped her with the fall fair (basically a rummage sale or flea market in the school) and I also helped her decorate the Roman Catholic church for advent. Through this woman I met a few of her daughters as well as other women who were involved with the fall fair and the church. So through these few women I gained access to more and more

people and was quickly recognized within some circles.

These women were exceptional individuals who not only provided me with insight and information but also shared their lives with me. One of these women was thumbing through my copy of Meg Luxton's **More Than A Labour of Love** (1980) and said that the women of Bog Harbour needed a book about them as people elsewhere do not appreciate what they do. This study hopefully will serve to record their contributions. I also hope to illustrate how the moratorium and the emergence of home care has reconfigured women's space and has altered the cohesive nature of Bog Harbour. My thesis also proposes to illustrate the undervalued and over exploited side of home care and how it does not meet the minimal requirements for clients in rural areas where there are no medical professionals.

THE SETTING

2.0.0 NEWFOUNDLAND

For those unfamiliar with the history of Newfoundland and Labrador it is complex and seemingly full of contradictions. It is therefore important to provide a brief overview of the province's history as a backdrop to the thesis for those unfamiliar with the Province's history. For example, the island portion of the province has been inhabited by a variety of peoples including several aboriginal groups¹, Norse², Basques³, Spanish, Portuguese⁴, French, English, as well as the Irish⁵ who are the direct ancestors of the residents of Bog Harbour.

The early and colonial history of Newfoundland is based on marine resource utilization (Alexander 1977:1, Faris 1966:5, Davis 1983a:37). In fact, if it were not for the cod fishery in particular the island might not have been utilized by Europeans for as long as it has been. The inshore and offshore cod stocks, especially those of the Grand Banks, have been utilized by Europeans since the early 1500s⁶. However, as Matthews points out, of the tens of thousands of fishers that fished off Newfoundland almost none chose to settle (1976:13). Evidently, settlement on a full-time basis did not begin to emerge until the eighteenth century. This may be partially true because in 1633 under the pressure of West Country merchants, who had a near monopoly on the cod fishery,

Charles I made year round settlement illegal. In fact it was not until 1811 that such rules were repealed and that the erection of buildings on the island became legal (Matthews 1976:13, Davis 1983a:38). There is some speculation as to the validity and the extent to which these measures were enforced given the fact that there were three colonies established in Newfoundland by the 1620s and several forts established in St. John's by the late 1600s⁷.

Historically, the lack of women⁸ on the island also contributed to the low population increase of settlers until late in the eighteenth century (Davis 1983a:39-40, Handcock 1977:19-24, Thornton 1977:166-167). But as Matthews puts it: "because Newfoundlanders have been among the world's most prodigious producers of children the population of the province has grown rapidly⁹" (1976:13). Matthews also states that "throughout her recorded history, Newfoundland has probably had fewer than 35,000 immigrants for the simple reason that around most of her ice-locked coast there was no work during the longer winter months" (1976:13). While this may be partially true, there were people who lived here year round and managed not only to survive but work as well. Through making boats that would be purchased by foreign fishers (e.g., the English) and partaking in various other activities such as the seal hunt and logging (Handcock 1972: 17, 18, 24) the early settlers ensured their survival.

However, it is also important to note that the population was dispersed all along the coasts; this functioned in part to prevent the tragedy of the commons¹⁰ from occurring, especially in regards to the fishery (Brox 1972:1). This said, the population was only along the coastline, not the interior until the late 19th century. It was also important to settlers that nearby wood supplies were not devastated nor local wildlife (e.g., for hunting and gathering), as such things were crucial to survival.

The immigrants that moved to Newfoundland mostly came from southwest England and southeast Ireland. Several families would settle in one place. Choosing a location to settle was important, as one wanted to be close to the locally available resources¹¹ especially the fishing grounds. However, as populations grew, the "system of partible inheritance resulted in the formation of localized kin groupings and proliferation of households in a single harbour. Eventual overcrowding forced out-migration to nearby harbours¹² the major mode of settlement expansion throughout the 1800s¹³" (Mannion qtd. in Davis 1983a:40). Clearly, settlement was slow at first but as more women arrived and it became economically feasible to settle here the population grew rapidly.

2.0.1 MERCHANTS

The struggle for survival by settlers was mediated by merchants or their agents. Initially it was the West Country merchants from Devon, Dorset and Somerset who controlled the cod fishery in Newfoundland and provisioned fishers, both migratory and sedentary. They controlled the fishery until the end of the Napoleonic Wars (Davis 1983a:41). Afterwards the price for salt cod plummeted and some merchants went bankrupt. Besides merchants, there was a class of fisher-folk called planters whose presence dates at least to 1610. The planters were not indentured to the merchant for supplies as fishing servants were. However, they like the West Country merchants also became financially unstable during this time and eventually became the same as other fishers in that they had to rely on self-sufficiency (e.g. gardens, support of kin, etc.) and credit in order to survive.

A later group of merchants were based in St. John's and their local agents took over after some West Country merchants withdrew. These merchants did not last either, however, as it was not viable for fisher persons living away from St. John's. Hence a shift to local small scale merchants and shopkeepers began.

The local economies of emerging 'outports' was based in part on the truck system (Porter 1986, 1988, Sider 1986, Davis 1989). It was a non-cash system in which fisher folk would

exchange their salt-fish for necessities, such as food, clothing and fishing gear¹⁴. This system kept fishers in a seemingly perpetual cycle of indebtedness to merchants as they set the prices paid for the various grades of fish and the supplies needed by fishers. Nevertheless, fisher households, especially families would have been unable to survive in rural settings without the supplies brought in by merchants. If one compares this to the social programs that would later be provided by the Canadian government after Confederation one can see similarities in the fisher families' dependence on social programs. The truck system enabled families to survive and reside in their communities.

In some cases, those families in debt to merchants shared and cooperated to survive. They formed the poor, the great majority of the Island's working class. However, local merchants or their agents were not always affluent and did not function as the wealthy benefactors from the West Country. With hard times due in part to the decline in cod prices, more and more residents were having to rely on government support when available. However, Newfoundland as a colony since 1824 was unable to provide adequate relief to its working poor or underclass. To avoid bankruptcy due to the amount of relief being doled out the Dominion voted to suspend self-government in 1933. Within fifteen years (1949) two referenda were held and the Dominion became the tenth province of Canada.

Through looking at the merchant system we can see how a dependence on external sources of supplies became crucial to survival in hundred's of fishing communities¹⁵. As well, we can see the perseverance of some fisher folk to stay in their communities and continue to fish despite harsh conditions.

2.0.2 CONFEDERATION¹⁶

In 1855 Newfoundland obtained Responsible Government from England. However, in 1933 self-government was relinquished to the British, who formed a Commission of Government and in 1948 51% of Newfoundlanders voted in favour of Confederation with Canada. With Confederation came economic supports for families and individuals. No longer were most fisher families as dependent on credit from merchants to ensure their livelihood. Now there were social programs such as Unemployment Insurance (now called Employment Insurance), Old Age Pension, Social Assistance, and child allowances¹⁷. Prior to Confederation the great majority of Newfoundlanders depended upon the inshore cod fishery and lived what some social scientists have called a "peasant" existence (Matthews 1976:1, Sider 1986, Philbrook 1966, Szwed 1966). Confederation promised a new way of life that would be less impoverished.

Joseph R. Smallwood helped lead the Confederation movement and then served as Newfoundland's premier for twenty-

three years. He had high hopes of diversifying Newfoundland's economy as Confederation's most pressing concern was ameliorating widespread poverty (Alexander 1977:1-17). Self-government had ended in the 1930s mainly due to massive debt, economic depression, an incapable government and the populations' dependence on subsistence production and relief. The use of relief eventually rose to upwards of 25 per cent of the population which, although meagre, was an unbearable burden for the government (Long 1999). MacLeod posits that "as is commonly believed, the community or nation that had grown up on the big island by 1900 formed a society that was not only distinct but socially self-contained and impervious to much contact" (1999:ix). However, all this changed with Confederation as Newfoundland was being opened up to industrialization, and modernization¹⁸. This meant that "traditional" ways of doing things were changing as well as basic components of society and culture¹⁹. For example, the diets²⁰ of many people were changing with the influx of Canadian provisions. Media such as radio, newspapers and magazines were also infiltrating rural areas and this new media originated in Canada and the United States. Therefore, new ways of thinking and doing things were changing "traditional" life-ways. As well, new physical infrastructure and the jobs necessary to create it were appearing. For example, prior to Confederation either roads did not exist or

the few that did were in disrepair. With more and better roads it became easier for previously unavailable goods and services to find their ways into formerly remote settlements such as Bog Harbour. Improved transportation and communication also made it easier for people to leave²¹.

2.0.3 RESETTLEMENT

The most devastating program that followed Confederation was the centralization or resettlement program²². At the time of Confederation with Canada, Newfoundland had well over 1000 communities with less than 300 residents (Matthews 1976:1, Iverson and Matthews 1968:1). With small settlements all requiring infrastructure, in 1953 the provincial government developed the Resettlement Act and in 1965 it was revised to give participants more money to move. This program was devised to ensure that basic infrastructure would be available to all Newfoundlanders and would help bring everyone within Canadian standards (Matthews 1976:1). Since many communities were very isolated and it was cheaper for the government to move households or populations than to provide expensive services such as schools, medical facilities, postal services, electricity, phone lines, and paved roads for transportation (Robb and Robb 1969), the resettlement program was considered essential. As well the government wanted industrialization (Skolnik 1968). That is, they wanted the fishery to move from

the low-technology seasonal inshore fishery to large steel-hulled trawlers supplying processing plants year round. However, as Wadel points out, few people who resettled changed their occupation (1969:12). And as Iverson and Matthews state "resettlement in itself does not necessarily benefit those who move" (1968:38). Evidently, the resettlement program was not as advantageous for individuals as the government had led residents to believe it would be²³. "Between 1953 and 1965 the provincial programme had evacuated only 115 communities containing 7,500 persons (Lane, 1967:564). In its first five years the revised programme had depopulated 119 communities and relocated 16,114 occupants (Government of Newfoundland, no date cited in Matthews 1976:2).

Following Confederation, many changes occurred, the most drastic being the resettlement program. This program entailed mass migration from outports to larger centres. While most residents who participated in the program moved to other rural communities, others migrated to more urban areas²⁴.

2.0.4 OUT-MIGRATION

One of the perennial problems facing rural Newfoundland is out-migration. This problem is compounded by high levels of unemployment and underemployment due in part to the drastic decline in northern cod stocks. This also relates to the Island's early settlement pattern (e.g., families dispersing

to unsettled coastal niches along the island's and Labrador's 17,000 km coastline). Increasingly since 1949, it has become necessary for individuals to move to urban or mainland settings in order to obtain employment. This is also due in part to the inability of both government and the private sector to provide diversified sources of long-term employment in rural areas.

Chantraine claims that "the human tragedy resulting from the accelerated industrialization of the fishery over the last thirty-odd years has culminated in the progressive extinction both of the inshore fishermen, the historical guardians of the fishing resource and the cod stocks" (1993:29). He could have pushed this further and said that it is not only affecting the inshore fishermen but also their families whom they take with them when they leave, and it also affects the community as more and more migrate. And as Iverson and Matthews point out in regards to resettlement "the loss of a large number of people from a community has a profound psychological effect on those who remain" (1968:32). This is the situation with which many rural fishing communities must cope, as large numbers of people migrate and may never return. Thus, the effects of out-migration are not only problematic on an emotional or psychological level but also effect the community's ability to provide services for those who want to stay.

2.1.0 THE FISHERY AND ITS CRISIS

The purpose of this section is to provide a general overview of the changes that have occurred in the fishery within the province²⁵. Essentially, the fishery in Newfoundland has moved from domestic commodity production, that is a small-scale, pre-industrial household fishery producing a surplus of light-salted, sun-dried cod, to a fishery based on 'draggers' and fish plants operating year-round. Socio-cultural change followed technological and economic changes. With this shift has come social change. For example, previously women were not normally paid directly for their labour within the fishery (e.g., the salt-fish trade) whereas with modernization they were paid cash for their labour within the fish-plant. Thus, not only had the fishery become more technologically advanced, but the household's economic basis has changed since the advent of mechanized processing plants²⁶. This all changed again when the moratorium on cod was announced in July 1992 and the effects and repercussions of this are still emerging and will continue for the foreseeable future.

As well, the shift away from the inshore fishery has resulted in more men in particular working from home and for longer periods of time. Even so, there are still some inshore fishermen and they are striving to cope with the moratorium by fishing for what had been under utilized species.

Essentially, the fishery crisis and the poor catches that precipitated the cod moratorium, as well as the reduced quotas on other groundfish (such as plaice, flounder, and redfish) have devastated rural Newfoundland both socially and economically. Government mismanagement²⁷ has been a huge source of blame for the fishery's current state of disrepair. However, mismanagement of stocks is not the only source that has been blamed for the crisis. Draggers that destroy the ocean's floor where eggs are laid and also catch bottom dwelling species indiscriminately are also blamed as well as massive over-fishing (both foreign and domestic), natural or unknown causes, and Fishery Products International stockholders expectation of profits regardless of how it may effect the ecosystem (Robinson 1995:167-169).

Some of the most famous fishing grounds in Newfoundland are those at Cape St. Mary's; in fact, there is a saying; "Cape St. Mary's pays for all". That is to say, if a fisher had a poor season, he should fish off Cape St. Mary's to make up for it. But as of 1990 this was no longer true. According to Martin (1992:125) "Cape St. Mary's can't pay for all any more and can hardly pay the fishermen of the Cape Shore itself". This was devastating not only for the local fishers but for all fishers. For there to be little to no fish at Cape St. Mary's was a historic low point; it was disastrous. The absence of fish was apparent all along the coasts of the

province which meant that fishers lost their livelihood.

2.1.1 TAGS

NCARP and TAGS were developed and implemented to help those who were displaced due to the northern cod moratorium²⁸. It was a Federal program initiated to provide income support to those whose income had been decreased or eliminated due to the moratorium. In May of 1994 there were approximately 40,000 people in the Atlantic and Quebec regions that were still being affected by the moratorium and with no signs of groundfish stocks recovering HRDC and DFO developed TAGS. In addition to income support TAGS also offered several "interventions" such as access to EI and HRDC programs, training, employment interventions²⁹, mobility³⁰, early retirement for those between the ages of 55 and 64 (prior to May 15 1995), licence retirement³¹ and counselling³². According to the government of Newfoundland and Labrador "50 percent of those eligible for the program participated in one or more of the interventions" (1997:9). However, the funding for these interventions was withdrawn by the Federal Government in July 1996.

It was hoped that the clients of these programs would avail themselves of the re-training options³³ that were being offered so that they could find work in other fields. However, what policymakers failed to realize was that people

were unwilling to move in order to find these positions as they did not exist in their communities or regions. In order to relocate families would lose their homes and everything that they had worked for. They knew that they would never get market value for their homes, if in fact they could sell them, and they also knew that they would never be able to duplicate what they had anywhere else (Robinson 1997). Another obstacle that program developers should have realized was the overall lack of education of the TAGS recipients. 41.2 percent of recipients had achieved less than grade 9, 29 percent had attained grades 9-11 and only 19.2 percent had graduated from secondary schools (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997:7). Obviously education was not as high a priority as entering the work force at an early age. This combined with the age of the recipients should have caused the policy planners to come up with better options³⁴.

The point of the federal programs was to reduce the number of fishers³⁵. This was inherently problematic in Newfoundland where 69.8 percent of the TAGS recipients were located (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997:6). Once TAGS ended fishers' life styles had to change. With inadequate educations and their investments in homes, fishing premises, boats and gear which were decreasing in value they had not choice but to migrate for employment³⁶, seasonally or permanently, or devise a new lifestyle founded on a

combination of income sources: government sponsored make-work projects which provided EI benefits, subsistence production, local and/or seasonal wage labour, and if eligible government social assistance.

Women connected to the fishery have had an especially hard time with the moratorium in a number of ways. Not only have such women had to grapple with unemployment but they are also struggling to support the household and caring for children and elderly relatives and housework (Rowe 1991:31). In regards to the escalating stress levels of having poorer job prospects and a declining income within the household "women [have had to] bear the brunt, physically or emotionally, of the frustration when it peaks" (Rowe 1991:32).

2.2.0 BOG HARBOUR

Bog Harbour is a wind swept community with a population that hovers around 500. As the pseudonym suggests, Bog Harbour is surrounded by bog. In fact, the main water supply for the community comes from a dammed up bog³⁷ on the outskirts of the town. An old drainage system called "the gully" twists and turns throughout the community. It is a system of ditches that wind their way to the harbour and it was used to dispose of refuse. Even though they have not been used for years they are still viewed as being 'dirty' and as something to avoid.

Occupied houses are usually well cared for and fenced in to keep livestock out. On more than one occasion I saw work horses walking around freely and feeding any where they liked, including the school lawn. Wood piles are usually situated in close proximity to the homes. Chopped wood is normally stored in a shed. Wood locally cut is the chief source of home-heating. However, most homes have an alternate form of heat. The house I stayed in had a wood stove which heated the entire house, as well as an oil furnace which was used some mornings until the stove had begun to heat up the house, it also had electric heaters which were never used. Most men in the community cut their own firewood. To do this legally they obtained domestic cutting licenses which outlines where and how much wood may be taken.

The government wharf is nestled at the bottom of a hill along with the local fish plant. Neither one is visible from the main road. Most houses are situated at a safe distance from the sea and 'landwash' (tidal zone). There are few street lights as householders have to pay extra for the electricity. This makes walking at night challenging as the shoulder of the road is usually alongside a ditch or hill. The community still has an obsolete telephone system. At times one cannot use the phone as all of the circuits are busy; this usually happens between 6:00 and 8:00 pm when people are utilizing the current \$20.00 a month long distance package offered by the

local phone company. Services such as "caller i.d." and "call display" are not accessible, neither are the internet or "person to person" collect calls. All collect calls are made via the operator. The poles that carry the phone, power, and cable lines into the community are perched in wooden boxes filled with rocks due to high winds. This, in addition to adverse weather conditions, contribute to frequent power outages. There are no bank machines in the community and only one interac machine. If a resident wishes to access cash via interac, as opposed to driving to the closest bank machine half an hour away in good weather, the store charges 10 percent of the purchase. There is no grocery or liquor store; there are two gas bars, two stores which do provide some groceries, one restaurant that also sells beer and chips, two hotels and one guest home (which houses several of the teachers). In addition, the community includes one Roman Catholic church along with the priest's residence, one all grade school which services the region, one seniors complex known as 'the home', a government sponsored rural development office, a very small community centre which houses the library, one bar (a tavern which is rarely open except for an occasional bingo game and an infrequent 'dance').

Bog Harbour itself is largely devoid of trees. This relates to the age of the community as the area has been utilized for several centuries. As well, some areas of land

have been cleared to create 'meadows'. Hay is harvested in the meadows during the summer when livestock (mostly sheep) are 'in the commons' (a large tract of land which is largely uninhabited). In the fall the livestock are brought back to the meadows to graze. Hay as well as the livestock are housed in stables. Livestock include sheep, pigs, ducks, horses, and cattle. There has been a decline in the raising of livestock as well as horticultural pursuits³⁸. Many people have or had gardens, some within their yards and some on the back of their meadows or further away³⁹.

2.2.1 THE HISTORY OF THE COMMUNITY:

Western European recognition of the area on maps dates to the 1530s when the French and Portuguese fished in the area. However, it seems unlikely that they would have utilized the land for more than processing (salting and curing) their fish. Even that was problematic as the harbours in the area are all dangerous to access, due to 'sinkers' (rocks) and shoals. It is believed that the community's first European name was French and that a modified version of it became the name of the community until 1870 when the parish priest took it upon himself to sanctify it with a saint's name.

2.2.2 SETTLEMENT:

Merchants played a large role in the history of Bog

Harbour, as they were the ones who initially recruited people to reside in the area. The merchants wanted a cheaper and more reliable way to feed their fishermen and their families so they brought several men to the area from Ireland to pursue horticulture and animal husbandry. These people were brought over from Ireland in the early 1800s and by 1840 there was little immigration into Bog Harbour and the population grew through natural increase (Encyclopedia of Newfoundland and Labrador). It is interesting that Bog Harbour sits just outside excellent fishing grounds and it is here they chose to initiate cultivation. It is also interesting that merchants would have taken an active interest in agriculture when it was the fishery that provided most of their financial gains. Evidently, horticulture and animal husbandry were viewed as important. This may be due to the fact that the shipment of food was expensive and precarious, as foodstuffs may go bad or become contaminated during the lengthy voyage to Newfoundland.

Not all of the people who settled in Bog Harbour continued in their agricultural pursuits as the first colonial census in 1836 illustrates that between then and the 1901 census the community's livelihood had switched from mixed horticulture and animal husbandry to the cod fishery. However, some horticulture and animal husbandry are still practised in Bog Harbour today.

2.2.3 CONFEDERATION:

Confederation with Canada brought about various changes within rural Newfoundland communities. The switch from a salt cod fishery to one in which the fish was fresh frozen after processing in a plant altered many things. A road connection to other communities also brought about many changes. The road to Bog Harbour was paved in the 1980's; it followed an old cow path used to bring cattle to market. With the road came other changes such as more frequent visitors, daily mail delivery, more and varied goods, frequent deliveries of supplies. It also made it easier for people to migrate. During World War II emigration increased as young men and their families migrated to seek employment elsewhere. With major developments such as the construction and maintenance of American military bases on the island and in Labrador, during the war and after Confederation construction of roads, schools and government office buildings, employment opportunities outside the fishery appeared for many Newfoundlanders at the time. Thus, at least seasonal wage labour outside of the fishery was readily available.

One of the other effects of Confederation on Bog Harbour in the 1960s was the addition of eleven families from nearby communities that had been relocated due to the resettlement program. Bog Harbour was officially deemed to be a "growth centre⁴⁰." That is, it was a destination promoted by

government to those being resettled. The reasons people settled in Bog Harbour vary; some had relations in the community; others fished out of the community in the summer; others saw it as being close to their previous homes; while still others viewed it as a possible business opportunity. Even so, this influx has not had a significant impact as natives now view them as part of the community.

2.2.4 BOUNDARY DIVISIONS

Bog Harbour is divided into four distinct sections⁴¹; I have assigned pseudonyms to each: a) Goodview, b) The Harbourside, c) Smith's Corner and, d) The Flats. These four areas are recognized, discrete neighbourhoods within the community. Other parts of the town and surrounding areas are covered by other names of reference which are widely known to residents. There is, however, one exception to all of the above: a small area which is not noticeable from the road that consists of about 10 households which remains nameless. When a native refers to this area it is usually done by referring to a specific household within it. Other areas, such as prime hunting and rabbit snaring locations are talked about as frequently as various parts of the town.

It is interesting to note that Goodview was probably the last of the four sections to be settled, as the people with the surname which is common in that area are among the more

recent additions to the town. The people of Goodview settled in Bog Harbour during the early 1950s, prior to the first resettlement program. They had migrated from their original community, a few kilometres away from Bog Harbour. This is an example of informal migration within regions that has occurred for centuries.

The Flats is one of the older portions of town and has gone through a name change. As well, this area is further away from the wharf and is surrounded by meadows. This probably relates to the area initially being settled for farming purposes.

Harbourside is the portion of the town which is closest to the harbour and is not on the main road, unlike the other three sections. Eponymously named, Smith's Corner is the forth section and is populated with people with the surname Smith. It is situated between The Flats and Goodview while the Harbourside is off to the side but is connected to Goodview.

These four sections include most residential areas in the town and are used as a common frame of reference. For example, when looking out of the kitchen window, a customary behaviour in rural Newfoundland, a native could tell where any cars and/or pedestrians were at in regards to which section of town they were located. As well, each section is bounded geographically and is associated with different things, such

as surnames.

People with surnames that are in a numerical majority as landowners in any given section are not the sole occupants, as other surnames are scattered throughout the community. It is interesting to note that according to local residents, the more common surnames do not necessarily imply that their carriers are recognized as kin.

With regards to post-marital residence, men usually live close to their parents which confines them to the section they grew up in, whereas women tend to be more fluid in that they can marry across these sections thereby practising neighbourhood exogamy. However, there are exceptions to this as well, such as families who moved into the community from resettled areas. The majority of these families do not have a strong affiliation to any one particular section. As well, within these sections the proximity to other people's homes is relatively close, and, consequently, the majority of social visiting is done within one's own section (though not strictly limited to it).

I should also mention that my fieldwork focussed on one of these sections but was not exclusive to it, as not everyone I interviewed or associated with lived in this particular section. I focused my attention on the people of this area as I came into contact with them more frequently, simply due to our proximity to one another. This made it easier for me to

get to know them. As well, living with a particular family provided an opportunity to become incorporated as part of their household, albeit a temporary one.

2.2.5 OUT-MIGRATION

When I first arrived in the community several people told me that Bog Harbour was like a "ghost-town"⁴². Staring out the kitchen window it was almost as if one could hear the hustle and bustle they were talking about, of cars going up and down the lane, of people coming and going between the houses. Now there was so little in comparison: the roads empty except for the occasional car, only the occasional person going to the store to purchase something they had forgotten to pick up earlier in the day, etc. This initial description of the town perplexed me as I heard the very same words from several different people. It seemed so pessimistic and gloomy considering some fishers had finally resumed fishing for cod again. As such, I assumed that people's description of the place would have been more optimistic or hopeful. But several years away from the sea had obviously taken its toll on this town and its people. Even some people who were in no way connected to the fishery shared this same view. I believe this stemmed from a sense of nostalgia which was linked to feelings of loss over those who had left the community, those who continue to leave and uncertainty about the future.

People's children were disappearing from the community one at a time. No longer were girls getting pregnant in high-school and setting up their households in the community. Now they were getting their education and migrating. Some have not gone so far: the next town, or up the shore, but others have moved to St. John's or the mainland. These were the one's who may or may not come back. Those who moved short distances were more likely to return or stay in the area. In some cases, the ones who moved further away may come back once they earn Employment Insurance benefits or experience unsuccessful attempts to find employment. Those who were financially successful elsewhere tended not to return.

2.3.0 SOCIAL REPRODUCTION

Depopulation is not a new phenomenon in rural areas. Poland, Germany, France, the United States, and Ireland have been dealing with a decline in population in rural areas for several generations (Guinnane 1997:3-9). Unlike these areas rural Newfoundland is unusual in that with the cod moratorium a significant proportion of the Province's work force (40,000) lost employment within a short period. It was the largest lay-off in Canadian history. Nevertheless, large lay-offs are not in and of themselves unique, as other rural areas have had to deal with unexpected wide spread unemployment, e.g. plant closures, droughts, etc. (Fitchen 1991).

However, like Ireland, Newfoundland has several factors contributing to the overall depopulation of its rural communities⁴¹. The social and economic realities of rural Newfoundland compound the high rates of out-migration. First, there is the lack of employment in rural areas and in order to gain employment people are forced to migrate. Secondly, with more people leaving fewer services are being provided as there are fewer people requiring them. Third, the increasing effects of modernization and rapid sociocultural change is also having an impact. Finally, the shortage of marriageable women in rural areas is not a new problem, but has played a role in the depopulation of small remote communities. All of these factors have contributed to the high levels of out-migration and they have also altered ways in which rural Newfoundland communities have functioned. Nevertheless, those Newfoundlanders who have stayed had to cope with adult out-migration throughout their history and have always managed to persevere. Still, as Gourlay posits, "In the bays, guts and coves that lie between Quirpon and Trepassey there are no fewer than 600 communities. Most have lost schools or services. Almost all are battling to survive. All told, Newfoundland's population has dropped from 581,000 in 1992 to an estimated 530,000-540,000 today" (2000:43).

The lack of employment in rural areas since the moratorium may be viewed as the leading catalyst in the

current out-migration crisis. With the current levels of unemployment and underemployment people are forced to leave in order to find work to provide for themselves and their families. Davis found that in Grey Rock Harbour (pseudonym) "the community no longer binds people in; instead it pushes them out" (1995:281). There is not enough work in these rural areas for everyone to earn federal Employment Insurance benefits, those ineligible or who refuse to be reduced to social assistance are forced to leave. While I was in Bog Harbour there were several "make work" projects which allowed people to earn E.I. benefits as their TAGS payments were about to be cut off. One make work project involved repairing the wharf but it was delayed indefinitely due to inclement weather. The other make work project involved cutting brush away from the side of the highway. Although necessary for various reasons, this was considered demeaning by men and a waste of time. Evidently, some work that is available may be just as degrading as not working at all.

Communities that are becoming too small are currently losing institutions and services, government offices, clinics and schools. With a decrease in services it is becoming more expensive and burdensome for those who remain in these areas. Children are no longer being offered a variety of courses as school boards cannot afford to offer them to such small numbers. They are also being bussed greater distances.

Therefore, children are at a disadvantage to those who live in more urban settings. The quality of medical services is also declining as illustrated by the provincial Government's proposal to eliminate the ambulance service at Bog Harbour. Services provided by the Roman Catholic Church are also being scaled back. Priests are unwilling to stay in such remote areas for any length of time. It is even a bigger problem trying to recruit medical doctors to stay in remote, rural areas. With fewer services available it will be more difficult to keep small rural communities alive. The fear of resettlement has become a real issue for some places as quality education and access to medical services is being threatened. The current situation has become aggravated by communities on the margins of the Province and Country becoming even more marginalised. This phenomenon is not unique to rural Newfoundland. Elsewhere rural areas are becoming more marginalized as people increasingly migrate to urban, metropolitan regions for gainful employment and access to various services.

The decline in the "traditional" way of life is also having a negative impact, as is the increase in industrialization. There is a nostalgic sense of loss for the way things used to be. Young people cannot be blamed for leaving as they are experiencing cultural disintegration and rising expectations for a new life in urban centres. The

disruption in the fishery leaves young adults little choice but to migrate. They cannot live their adult lives waiting for the fish to return, as they have come to expect more of life and want more from it. With the loss of the cod fishery has come the loss of a whole way of life which is changing the communities in which these people live. Bog Harbour is no exception to this. With the loss of the fishery has come the loss of many traditional aspects of their society. People no longer visit the way they once did nor do they share and cooperate as much. Mummering is no longer a part of the twelve days of Christmas, nor is firing the guns on New Year's Eve. Even the diet of many households have changed as there is not enough fish salted or in the freezer and people are resorting to having store-bought meal replacements which weighs heavily on the household purse. Evidently, the despair over the loss of the fishery has exacerbated the decline of traditional lifestyle. Add to this the current pressures of industrialization and it is no wonder why people are leaving. No longer are people generating their own entertainment ('times'), as they increasingly depend on TV and VCRs, shopping and trips to urban centres. Migrating seasonally or permanently is often the only option.

While I was in the field I did not meet any young women around my age (mid-20s). If there are no young women, how can the community survive? Young women fleeing rural areas is not

an uncommon phenomenon. It has been going on in rural Ireland for generations, yet the communities survive. Scheper-Hughes (1979) states that in rural Ireland mothers told their daughters to leave. Likewise in Bog Harbour it was not uncommon for mothers to urge their children to leave to get an education. It was also common to hear people say that "there's nothing here for the young people," an idea shared by both young and old alike.

The abundance of young men in the community may be due in part to the men having employment through fishing with their fathers while the work in the plant is much more precarious. As well, women are more educated and are equipped, therefore, to find work elsewhere (Rowe 1991). This may be due in part to males leaving school early to fish with their fathers. Evidently, the economics of the situation exacerbate the decline in marriageable females.

This said, some women do marry into the community. Women leave Bog Harbour to find husbands so that men do not migrate into the community. This prevents the creation of new fishing crews who would compete for scarce resources. This is not new. In fact it has been a system that has been working for generations (Mannion 1976:7), but with fewer women in rural Newfoundland one has to wonder about future demographics.

While it is not my intention to cover all of the social ramifications of the lack of young women and its impact on

social reproduction it is nonetheless important to note that in a case in which there are so few young women, they become a contested resource and are watched very carefully. This may also add to the increased sense of bravado\machismo amongst males (Davis 1993, Szwed 1966), and it may act as yet another catalyst for women to leave for the freedom and amenities of larger centres.

2.4.0 SUMMARY:

It is safe to assume that life in rural Newfoundland has never been easy. Confederation did bring some modern conveniences and socioeconomic cushions but it has also brought about the downfall of the fishery through the Federal government's mismanagement. Add to the fishery crisis the current depopulation of the island, especially the rural areas, and one has to wonder if and/or when resettlement will re-appear as a proposed solution. The current out-migration rates are problematic as "demographic and economic changes in rural areas suggest that more services will be necessary to meet the needs of a growing older population" (Havir 1995:xiii). This being the case, home care may be among the only viable ways of retaining more women in communities like Bog Harbour.

CHAPTER THREE

3.0.0 GENDER¹ IN NEWFOUNDLAND: A QUICK LITERATURE REVIEW

Initially ethnographers came to Newfoundland to study what Philbrook calls "rapidly vanishing phenomena" (1966:1). That is, at that time it was "one of the few areas of North America still in considerable measure untouched by industrialization. As the processes of modern society penetrate[d] this area it offer[ed] a virgin field for research in the transformation of the small community" (1966:1). The ethnographic work that came out of this era tends to take the stance that the people of Newfoundland should be studied before they became transformed by "modern society" and its new technology, values and beliefs. However, a major shortcoming of the work that came out of this time period is that these studies rarely focussed on women. In fact, the only time women are mentioned is when they are being compared to men (Davis 1983a:212), primarily in relation to the division of labour. According to ethnographers writing at this time there was a strict division of labour that existed throughout Newfoundland² (Chiaramonte³ 1970:13, Philbrook⁴ 1966:47, Wadel⁵ 1973:55, Firestone⁶ 1967:74, Szwed⁷ 1966:57,83).

It was not until the late 1970s that the role of women in Newfoundland began to be contested. Ellen Antler⁸ (1977,

1980, 1981), Hilda Chaulk Murray⁹ (1979) and Dona Lee Davis¹⁰ (1983a) pioneered in female centred Newfoundland ethnography. Collectively their work illustrated that women's roles were complementary to men's (Davis 1983a), that women contributed financially to the household through the work that they performed (Antler 1977, 1982) and that women at Elliston at least contributed 50% of the household income through the work they performed that would have to be paid for otherwise (Murray 1979).

During the 1980s other female centred works began to appear in abundance which picked up where these studies left off¹¹. There became an urgency to document ways of life that were vanishing but still in living memory. This has continued to the present day.

3.1.0 DIVISION OF SOCIAL SPACE IN BOG HARBOUR¹²:

A gendered division of labour still exists in Bog Harbour. Women still work primarily in female sectors such as at the fish-plant and now, increasingly, in home care. While most men fish. The dichotomy of gendered work manifests itself in the domestic space which is seen as the domain of the feminine, as opposed to the outside world which is viewed as masculine. Simply stated, women work inside and men work outside. There is of course overlap as women have chores and activities outside such as berry picking and tending to their

clothes lines. Likewise, men have some chores inside such as home repairs and renovations. Nevertheless, the majority of social interactions follow the dichotomy, home versus land and sea. Thus, women are less visible in Bog Harbour than their male counterparts. Now, normally the only time one sees women in Bog Harbour is when they are walking or driving somewhere (e.g., the school to pick up children or to pick up the mail) or they are at their clotheslines tending to their laundry. Men on the other hand are everywhere. They are walking, driving, on ATVs, standing around talking, in the woods, in sheds, stores, on their boats, on the wharf, or intersecting with women's activities at the school, in the stores, and at the mail. During my stay in the field men were even found in the kitchen during the day. This meant that the home was no longer an exclusive domain for women and was no longer a place where they could socialize without interference from men.

Desplanques looked at women's informal gatherings in Cape St. George, Newfoundland in the late 1980s early 1990s and found that "the traditional social context specifically allocates time for men's leisure activities, while women must secure their own. Women's roles as wives, mothers, and householders are so demanding that they must actively create opportunities to meet with other women"¹³ (1997:234). Unlike Desplanques (1997) the issue for women in Bog Harbour was space, not time. While being able to make the time to talk and

have informal gatherings, women had no place for them that was free of men or children. However, like Desplanques, picking up the mail was considered a social activity as was picking up the children from school. Driving children to and from school people would arrive early so that they could speak with the person parked next to them. Men would sit in one another's vehicles whereas women rarely did.

In my opinion, the division of labour and social space has changed as it is not as well entrenched as earlier works have documented. It would now appear that men have invaded women's space over the duration of the moratorium and at the time of my fieldwork it seemed unlikely that women would regain this space in the foreseeable future. Evidently, there was no common space for women to commune and talk that was free of men. Women had to find time to meet and talk with one another which they had not been doing since men had been home due to the moratorium.

3.2.0 DIVISION OF LABOUR IN BOG HARBOUR

Besides sex and gender, labour can be divided by social stratification. Bog Harbour was becoming increasingly stratified on the basis of who had access to the fishery and fish.

Towards the end of the TAGS program there were several 'make work' projects designed to prolong benefits. In Bog

Harbour one such project took the form of cutting brush away from the side of the road. This form of employment was stigmatized albeit useful given the moose and caribou that forage along the roadside. However, few men availed of this option. This left women to cut the brush, which would normally be considered 'men's work'. The men who did choose this option acted like foremen, overseeing the women. Previous to the moratorium it was not uncommon for fishers to partake in 'make work' projects to qualify for Employment Insurance if they needed 'stamps' (benefits). Men who were neither fishing nor taking part in the brush work were not looked down on but were talked about in nostalgic terms such as: "they used to be good workers and now they don't do anything but mope around." Evidently, neither the brush cutters or this group of men were doing anything to obtain fish as both had to rely on the kindness of others for 'a feed of fish'. The men involved in cutting brush had been less successful fishers than those who did not cut brush, but then the men who were not cutting brush were not as successful as those still fishing in the "experimental" fishery.

Those who were fishing were taking part in a government sponsored experimental fishery that permitted catching cod. These men were highly respected because they retained access to cod. Before the moratorium they may not have been as respected because all adult male residents had access to fish.

Before the experimental fishery the men fishing had spent several years away from the fishery, unlike most of the retired fishers who had fished up until their retirement. Fish catch quotas and jobs with the experimental cod fishery were not given to "active" fishers of cod, because there weren't any, but were given to those who had been away from the fishery for some time. The men who were retired from the fishery did not have to partake in the demeaning work offered through TAGS. Likewise, they were not encouraged to retrain or migrate. Most retired fishers who were bachelors or had no children fishing were offered fish, game and bread when they visited residents. But this hospitality was not offered to everyone. In such a small community where residents' personal situations were common knowledge and where people are aware of how much fish is caught and brought to the fish plant it is not surprising when people's "noses get out of joint" for not being offered the same pleasantries as their neighbours. For example, if I went visiting I may be offered supper but I would not be offered "something from the freezer," (that is fish) whereas if an older bachelor was there at the same time he might be offered supper, a loaf of home-made bread and fish from the freezer. If the particular household did not have enough codfish for home consumption he might be offered salmon, partridge, rabbit or some other kind of game instead.

Before the moratorium most families in Bog Harbour ate fish at least three times per week with poorer families consuming fish more often than that. In addition to fishing, men were also expected to hunt for a variety of fowl both on land and at sea, including moose, caribou and rabbits. Some men were also involved in horticultural pursuits, such as growing vegetables and raising a few sheep.

Despite changes in employment patterns, since 1992, women were still expected to perform domestic chores, including baking their own bread. Those displaced from the fish plant were working in home care and those that could not find similar work or who were hoping to return to the fishery were cutting brush at the side of the main road. Women in the plant had some access to fish whereas others did not. The women cutting brush were admired for their dedication and the home care workers were thought to be wise for getting out of the fishery altogether. Nevertheless, I repeatedly heard about how difficult it had become to live in Bog Harbour. However, this sentiment was most common among women who were not born in the community.

Given the conditions outlined above, women were finding life more difficult without space or a time in which they could talk to one another. The time and the spaces in which women previously communicated with one another had been taken over by men during the moratorium and given that women were being watched closely¹⁴ they felt they no longer had the

freedom to have a frivolous or personal chat at the mail about their husbands, about what Victor and Nikki were up to on the TV soap opera, "The Young and the Restless" or about their daughters who were living away. In the new context, it was a polite hello and a quick informal question before they separated. Gone were the shared tea breaks at one another's homes in the middle of the day and, and most seriously, gone was the sense of intimacy shared among the women. Now the women were feeling the pressure of not having a sympathetic female friend to talk to within the community. Nevertheless, there were enough women with daughters, sisters and friends living elsewhere that they could talk to on the phone, and they did. Every evening at 6:00 p.m. due to telephone company restrictions, inadequate phone lines were overloaded as too many tried to make contact at the same time. While I was in Bog Harbour the phone services had yet to be improved to allow for "message manager" or even "call waiting." So from 6:00 to 9:00 p.m. contact outside the area was difficult to achieve¹⁵. Nevertheless, women were still communicating, just not directly with one another. Without their traditional methods of communication, which are becoming increasingly outdated, technological substitutes were employed.

As all of the above suggests, the division of labour was shifting in Bog Harbour. Women had begun to take over some male roles, not only in regards to contributing to the household financially but also in regards to labour, such as

home care and cutting brush. Likewise, men had begun to take over female roles, moving into spaces previously considered as female. This said, fish continues to influence status. The retired male fishers still retained their privileged place within the community as did the men who were still fishing. The men who were still fishing had fish and after all that is what Bog Harbour has always revolved around so now the families who have fish are looked up to because everyone wants to eat fish regularly. However, more than just the local diet has changed in Bog Harbour. The roles of women within the community have shifted, as have their relationships with one another, and with men who have been idle for a lengthy period.

3.3.0 DIFFERENT KINDS OF WOMEN:

There are, of course, many ways to categorize people: sex, age, religion, occupation, class, ethnicity, and on and on. When grouping the various kinds of women in Bog Harbour, differentiation becomes difficult because women of differing income levels and age groups appear to be experiencing similar problems revolving around the decline in the fishery.

Women in Bog Harbour can be divided into four categories that Davis (1995) outlines. They are: 1. the "up-and-outs" or

young women completing high school or pursuing post secondary education who feel pushed or pulled out of the community; 2. the "trapped" or more settled, young to middle-aged women with young children who feel trapped in the community; 3. the "satisfied" or middle-aged women, with grown or nearly grown children, who have come to terms with the life choices they have made or who see their most important wants and needs as still being met

by the community; and 4. the "pensioners" or elderly women who feel that the times have already passed them by and who are embedded in worlds of meaning that are no longer seen as relevant to contemporary life" (1995:283).

I was not in regular contact with any high school girls but I knew one woman who was steadily preparing for her two daughters to go away to university. Other women had already experienced the loss of their daughters as they migrated elsewhere. Some of the older women still had a daughter in the community but were missing their granddaughters. The community seemed void of any women aged 19-29. This is not surprising when most mothers were telling their daughters to leave as "there's nothing here for them," and maintaining that their children "don't want the same life I had".¹⁶ Women also spoke about the lack of worthwhile men in the area and suggested their daughters would have a better chance of meeting a better man elsewhere¹⁷. Since I have left the community, some girls have come and gone from it and some of the young men have enticed girlfriends from outside the community to live with them.

I met several women who fell into Davis' "trapped" category (one even went so far as to attempt suicide). As Davis proposed, women's fear of leaving the community seemed to come from inadequate formal education, both their own and their husbands, which inspired fear among married women regarding migration. The desire to leave was also due to social isolation. This was especially true for women who had married into the community as they had no connection to the

place other than their spouse. Some women felt especially trapped around the Christmas holidays, when some men would consume excessive amounts of alcoholic beverages for the "Twelve Days of Christmas" and more for several weeks. It is also interesting to note that some widows felt trapped in the community, leading to extended "vacations" and a few outright "escapes". There were some women that I did not have an opportunity with whom to speak as they never left their homes and people did not feel welcome to visit them. As a result, it is difficult to judge which category they would belong. Nevertheless, most of the women in this group did not leave the immediate area citing that they had no time because they were too busy looking after the house and children.

Davis' "satisfied" group of women were married to men who owned boats or they had a local family business such as one of the three stores/shops or one of the hotels.

Davis' widows/"pensioners" were a satisfied group that were concerned about the future and nostalgic for the past while still maintaining some hope. This group had lived through 'hard times' characterized by poverty and inadequate infrastructure. By comparison the current situation, while bleak, was softened by the TAGS program. This group of women were freer in their movements and were not bound by the close scrutiny that kept the other women in check. Widows were essentially "free women" in the sense that they are not the property of any man (as wives are) or potential property(as

teenagers or unmarried girls are). Even so, there was at least one widow who left the community while I was there and several more publically discussed it as an option. There were also some widows that were spending more and more time away from the community visiting friends and relations.

3.4.0 WHAT IS A GOOD WOMAN?

The general impression I received upon first viewing the women of Bog Harbour is that a good wife is so busy caring for family and home that she has little to no time and no need to do things for herself. This is not unique to Bog Harbour (Creed & Ching 1997, Davis 1995, Cole 1991, Luxton 1980). Earlier works (Davis, 1983a, 1983b, 1984, Wadel 1973) viewed rural women's stoicism in Newfoundland outports as one of enduring hardship. And as Golden asserts, "in our culture, suffering is a crucial component of the sacrifice expected of women - as mothers, in romantic relationships, in our work lives - a type of sacrifice that both diminishes and confines us" (Golden 1998:v)¹⁸. Nevertheless, women in Bog Harbour assert themselves through ritualistic forms of competition that are embedded in locally acceptable ways of expression. Competing in the domestic sphere with one's neighbour ensures that women will strive towards being an even better wife and/or woman if they wish to excel. In my view, this is a competition most women willingly undertake. And as Durdle observed in 1997 at "Great Harbour" (a pseudonym) "community

members make it their business to scrutinize the actions, comments and behaviour of others. Hence, even the most mundane activities take on special significance for individuals" (2001:139).

One context which revealed this competition revolves around how early people wake, rise and begin working. It is widely believed in Bog Harbour that early rising is an indicator of strong character. There is competition, therefore, on how early people wake. Determining when an individual becomes active is noticed by neighbours in several ways: 1) if the window blinds are open, 2) if there is smoke coming out of the chimney, 3) and when laundry is put out on the clothesline. Even though there is not an economic need to rise early, to go fishing or mend nets, some have maintained the practice, although no one is rising at 4:00 am as men were required to when fishing for their livelihood.

3.4.1 THE BLINDS

In my experience the first ritual of the day at Bog Harbour is to open the blinds almost after rising. It is expected to take a few minutes to get the wood-stove in the kitchen lit. Once the doors are unlocked and the blinds are open the house is open for visitation. I believe most women would open the blinds and turn on the lights before doing other chores as people normally do not visit until the blinds have been open for a little while. Despite the competitive

nature, there is some leeway in this form of practice and it would appear that everyone, including the men, know how this functions.

In addition mothers are expected to wake their sons and persuade them to open their blinds. This illustrates that the mother was striving to motivate her son(s) to emulate her just as she expected her daughters to do the same. It is also presumed that, although her husband would rise around the same time, the woman of the house is normally responsible for getting the fire started in the morning and getting breakfast underway¹⁹. By having the sons trained to open their own blinds certain things become apparent. When a son fails or refuses to do this, he may be asserting his own individuality. If a son refuses to open his blinds it is common for the mother to open them once he leaves the house thereby illustrating that her son has gone out and is not just 'lazing around the house'. Or if a son sleeps in it may mean that either he is sick, injured or that he was out late or 'drinkin' the night before. This may be criticized by other women²⁰. In addition, if the son does not come home either his blinds will be opened for him at some point throughout the day or they will remain closed. A son's absence can mean several things: that he has spent the night outside of the community with family, a girl, or has encountered some sort of problem or trouble. If the son was spending the night out of the community with family, neighbours might know this before hand.

As such, any unanticipated departure from the established ritual suggests that he might be elsewhere with a woman or has encountered some kind of problem.

3.4.2 SMOKE

Smoke coming out of the chimney is another way to tell if some members of a household are awake and ready to accept visitors. The mother is the one who normally starts the fire. Conversely, the absence of smoke may suggest that there was no wood brought in the day before, or, alternately, that the household is 'too grand' to have a wood-stove. Consequently, the absence of fire can suggest either incompetence or elevated class standing, both of which put the house at odds with the norms of the community. Some families have upgraded to an 'oil-stove' or range as a way of avoiding wood-cutting, transport or even wood ash; the elderly or handicapped may have switched to oil for similar reasons. Chimney smoke, therefore, needs to be interpreted in the contexts of individual household situations.

The wood-stove is the main source of heat for most households in Bog Harbour. It is expected that the 'shed' (small out-building) will be full of cut wood for the wood-stove and that there will be enough wood brought in for the night and the next morning. Wood is usually carried by boys or men, but in their absence girls or women will make 'splits' and carry firewood. However, despite men being in and around

the community it was not uncommon to see women returning from the shed with an armful of wood.

Which way the smoke is blowing is watched carefully as a weather sign and as an indicator of which clothes line will be used. Therefore, one depends upon their neighbour to get up early so they can start their laundry and hang it out on the appropriate clothes line. Not only is getting up early to put the fire in a form of competition, it is also a customary service as it helps one's neighbour while reinforcing the idea that everything is watched closely for a reason.

3.4.3 CLOTHESLINE

The number of clothes lines is also a source of talk amongst women in Bog Harbour. Four is the ideal number as that would mean one for each direction but it is also viewed as being excessive, (though not necessarily as being 'grand'). Most women have two clotheslines and alternate their use depending on the direction of the wind.

The timing of hanging out clothes is also watched closely as it illustrates how 'on the ball' (organized) someone is. For example, in my residence, if we stayed up late we put clothes out on the line late at night as an outward sign that we were not being lazy but that we were being forced to stay up because Alfred could not sleep as he was in pain. This also reinforces the concept of a "good wife" as it provides an outward expression of how difficult it is living with illness

in the household, demonstrating how it effects every facet of life, even sleep.

Normally, the earlier the clothes are put out on the line the better. That way the woman can start in on other domestic activities and chores. Neighbours who choose to hang their 'wash' at the same time can use the opportunity to converse. It is also an opportunity to meet and converse with neighbours who don't meet often enough. There was one woman who lived near us that I never met. Her clothes were always the first on the line, and her storm door was always the first to be closed at night. To visit this woman unannounced was not acceptable and to catch her at the line was quite difficult. If I had not seen her taking in her clothes a few times I would not have seen her.

The order in which items are hung out and the way they are pinned to the line is also habitual and is also watched, but is less often commented upon as individual preferences are tolerated. The fact that clothes lines are watched and that women are aware of it can be seen through the lack of women's undergarments on the lines as they are not normally put on the clothes line but are dried in the house. One neighbour dried her undergarments on a makeshift clothesline in the living room/parlour that was behind her kitchen. Others lay them on the hot water boilers. The lack of women's undergarments on the lines may also add to the mystique of the feminine and provide insight into their realization of being watched

carefully, not only by one another but by men as well. When I first went to Blanche and Alfred's I was given Joel's room because it had the hot water heater in it. Given the scenario outlined above, I believe I was given that room so that Joel would not see my undergarments. Once the threat of a sexual relationship with Joel was removed (half-way through my fieldwork when we all got to know one another) Joel and I switched rooms and he got to see my undergarments on a regular basis.

3.5.0 SUMMARY

Through such seemingly innocuous observances as the morning rituals, we can begin to see how the deconstruction of the egalitarian ethic is occurring. Competing with your neighbour over who gets up earlier illustrates that things are not equal because someone will always be up earlier. Likewise, some will have access to fish and/or work and some will not. The most marginal in Bog Harbour are those that are unable to compete or are unable to participate in the routines that keep help sustain the community. Despite a lack of gainful employment among residents some were finding varied forms of employment. Among the men, some were fishing for cod again and some were supervising women who were doing what would normally be considered men's work, that is cutting brush away from the side of the road. As well, women were beginning to receive pay for providing care to neighbours and friends

through the provincial home care program. The stratification of Bog Harbour has begun as friends and neighbours are no longer equal. Those with licenses and quotas have gone back to the fishery while others have not and some residents have become employers while others have become their employees. In Bog Harbour, the inevitable competition for scarce economic resources spills over into other areas, prompting strictly symbolic competitions for status and prestige. While the community continues to obsessively observe itself, it simultaneously differentiates its residents through a complex network of social and economic factors.

CHAPTER FOUR: HOME CARE²¹

4.0.0 What is Home Care?

Home care has yet to receive a precise definition as it remains an ambiguous sub-sect of health care (Shapiro 2002).¹ This said, home care services can be broken down into two segments: professional services and home support services. The professionals providing services involve nursing care, physiotherapists, dieticians, physicians, and social workers. The home support services include, but are not limited to, light house cleaning, meal preparation and personal grooming. This care is provided by home care workers who are an unregulated body of individuals that provide home support. The definition of home support and the duties entailed has become increasingly ambiguous as it can include a myriad of other activities that fall outside the parameters of home support, such as shovelling snow, household maintenance, and advanced medical procedures. Given that there were no health care professionals in Bog Harbour apart from the ambulance drivers the present study deals only with the home care workers that provided home support services².

Home care is essentially a program that is supposed to help individuals stay home longer. That is, it is cheaper for the state to have individuals receive care at home than at a hospital or other publically funded institution. While this sounds positive for the state and the individual as the state

supposedly has a smaller bill and the individual gets to stay home, there are complications. The provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador restructured the health care system by following a National trend of regionalisation. This included the creation of 14 health care boards.³ This let government off the hook as the health care boards were given the responsibility of dealing with home care and other such programs. Through the regionalisation of health care governments' responsibilities shrank and were primarily reduced to funding and broad policies (Botting *et al.* 2002). During this restructuring period it was hoped that home care would fill in the gaps but the home care system was ill equipped to deal with such drastic systemic changes. With so much care being sent to the community and tertiary care being available only in St. John's it was almost impossible for a complex system of service delivery, like home care, to function (Botting *et al.* 2002). Because most of the physicians were not in the region, and there were no professional health care workers within the area to oversee the direction and level of care, problems inevitably appeared. As opposed to a team of health care professionals working with the home care workers and unpaid caregivers to provide optimal care to home care clients, home care workers were given the bulk of responsibility often with little or no formal training⁴. As a result, there is a substantial reduction in the standard of health care for home care clients in rural

areas compared to their urban counterparts.

It is not surprising, therefore, that the home care program in Canada has been referred to as a "system by default not by design" (Parent *et al.* 2001, Health Canada 2001). The home care program is a cost saving measure taken by governments to justify shorter hospital stays and lowering the rate of institutionalization. It should also be noted that home care falls outside the parameters of the *Canada Health Act* so the state is not obligated to pay for it. Clients of home care are having to pay for a portion of their care out of pocket. The contribution amount depends upon a complex formula. Each province has its own formula so where one lives in the country defines how much one pays as well as the level and amount of care one receives (Parent *et al.* 2001). Needless to say, Newfoundland spends less than the other provinces on home care and the financial burden falls to marginal individuals who can ill afford to pay for home care. This leaves some people in the community with no care at all as they cannot afford to pay the basic home care premiums.

There is also a trend within the health care system of sending more acute care clients into the community⁵. With hospitals and health care boards concerned with their budgets and rates of efficiency (Gross Stein 2001), it has become necessary for patients to have a shorter stay which in turn places more of a burden on the home care system. This is "...pressuring the home care sector to transform itself from

a continuum of care program to one that is subservient to the priorities of the acute care sector. This trend raises the question as to whether the cost of this shift makes sense" (Health Canada 2002:i). In urban areas where some doctors, nurses and other health care professionals are often required to make house calls it is questionable if it is cost effective to have acute care or palliative care patients at home. However, in rural areas where there are no health care professionals to deal with acute care clients this makes financial not medical sense as the government saves more funds by having unprofessional, non-unionized workers provide the care. The result of this is that there is yet again a substantial inequality in health care delivery. Perversely, home care falls outside of the *Canada Health Act's* insured services that include universality, accessibility, comprehensiveness, portability and public administration. In addition, the restriction on user fees and extra-billing do not apply and this leaves acute care clients in a precarious position. Having untrained home care workers provide care for acute clients not only has the unfortunate consequence of deprofessionalizing health care workers but, more significantly it puts the client at great risk.

Before the advent of sending acute care clients home the majority of clients normally fell into two groups: elderly and disabled. The majority of elderly clients are women, as women make up the majority of seniors across Canada. There is a

more even distribution of males and females among the disabled clients (Wilkins and Park 1998). Currently, a third group, is emerging: acute home care patients (a group with a more even gender ratio). These three groups are not mutually exclusive, as one can be a senior with a disability that has just been discharged from the hospital. Nevertheless, women make up more than two thirds (67%) of home care clients (Wilkins and Park 1998). The reasons for this are many. One is that women have a longer life span than men. Women tend to outlive their husbands so they are less likely to have a spouse to look after them (Morris et al. 1999). As well, women are the primary caregivers so when the woman of the house develops physical limitations outside help is often the only answer especially if her adult daughters or close female kin are absent.

It should also be noted that mental health patients do not qualify for home care unless they are seniors or are disabled in some other way (Botting et al. 2002, Shallow 2000, Parent et al. 2001). This is very problematic due to the current trend in hospital downsizing and bed closures within mental hospitals and wards.

The majority of people who are referred to as home care workers are normally workers who go into clients homes to do house work, meal preparation and basic grooming. Most home care workers are not health care professionals, although some have medical experience. During the 1990's there was a large

number of health care professionals laid off from the hospitals and other public institutions when government moved to restructure the health care system. Some of these workers found work within home care but were not paid as professionals. Morris *et al.* found that workers in St. John's and Winnipeg, such as Nurses and LPN's were receiving less than half of what they would be paid in institutions (1999:17). None of the home care workers in Bog Harbour had professional training. Morris *et al.* (1999) and Botting *et al.* (2002) assert that home care is a key way that the Canadian health care system is becoming privatized and that this is directly affecting women's vulnerability to poverty in a number of ways. As clients, workers and unpaid caregivers, women are often the ones that experience the short sided nature of home care. The home care system is one that is based on the premise that women will perform care for less remuneration and that they will feel guilty and do the right thing for the client. It seems highly unlikely that this would happen in a male dominated profession.

It should also be noted that "...most of Canada's poor are women, thus making them more likely than men to be unable to afford private home care services" (Morris *et al.* 1999:3). In Newfoundland and Labrador means testing for seniors "...excludes all but the very poorest from free-of-charge care, leaving many low-income elderly women living at a social assistance standard and without money for food after they pay

for their portion of care" (Morris et al. 1999:77). In Newfoundland and Labrador seniors are expected to pay between 10 and 90 per cent of their home care costs. Given that most seniors are on a fixed income many home care clients are finding it difficult to cope with paying for additional health related costs.

It would seem that home care singles out the less fortunate in society both as clients and as workers. By taking advantage of individuals who can least afford to pay more or receive less, government is setting up a system that is both ethically and functionally flawed.

4.0.1 Home Care: A Quick Literature Review

There has not been an adequate amount of research conducted on home care across the country (Health Canada 1999, Botting et al. 2002:82, Parent et al. 2001:4,36). In Newfoundland and Labrador there have been three studies that have dealt with home care. The Institute for the Advancement of Public Policy reviewed the home care program in Newfoundland and Labrador to ascertain "...the extent to which the program components are consistent in philosophy, orientation, and benefits extended to clients" (IAPP 1999:1). It viewed an increase in home care usage due to a combination of reasons: government policies that promote care in the community and the home, an aging population, and fewer unpaid caregivers due to an increase in out-migration (IAPP 1999:35).

This report was commissioned by the Department of Health and Community Services. The report did not provide a gender analysis of the home care program. This said, "we know that women are the main providers of care, whether or not the care is paid, institutional or home-based. Women are also the main recipients of care, especially among the elderly" (Armstrong, et al. 2002:9). The second study to address home care in Newfoundland and Labrador was conducted by the Canadian Research Institute for the Advancement of Women (CRIAOW). This study compared home care issues in St. John's, Newfoundland and Winnipeg, Manitoba and focused on the impact that home care has on women's vulnerability to poverty as clients, home care workers and unpaid caregivers. The third study focused on issues relating to home care agencies and was completed by William Shallow and Associates on behalf of the Employers' Council of Newfoundland and Labrador. In addition to these three studies Botting et al (2002) provide an overview of health restructuring and privatization from a women's perspective in Newfoundland and Labrador which deals with home care. While all of these studies help contribute to our understanding of home care there is yet to be a report that outlines the number of home care providers and recipients in the province (Botting 2002, Shallow 2000). As well, there has yet to be a report that looks at the social consequences of home care on rural communities or views this via an ethnographic perspective.

4.1.0 Home Care in Newfoundland: Models of Care

In Newfoundland¹ there are two models of home care: home care agencies and the self managed model. Agencies are, for the most part, found in more urban areas but have recently started to branch out to rural places. Workers in agencies may be moved around to various clients throughout the day and provide an hour or two of care with each and then travel in between. Most workers are not paid for their travel time. It is estimated that 70% of rural people in Canada utilize self-managed care (Botting *et al.* 2002:85, CARP p. 28, 49-50, Shallow 2000:47). The Canadian Association of Retired Persons states that self managed care is more common in Newfoundland and Labrador than anywhere else in the country. Approximately 80 per cent of disabled clients and 75 per cent of seniors utilize the self managed care model in the province (CARP 1999:49-50). That is, clients that avail of the self managed care model can hire who they like as a home care worker as long as it is not a family member. Self managed care was the only form of home care provided in Bog Harbour while I was there, so I will only discuss the issues revolving around that system of care.

To begin with, there are many problems associated with self managed care, both from the client's perspective and those of the workers. The lack of guidelines was a major cause of concern for both parties while I was in Bog Harbour.

In August 1998, the Supreme Court of Newfoundland created the *Self-Managed Home Support Services Act* which gave clients and their families the rights of employers, creating problems because clients and their families are largely unaware of workers' labour standards legislation and may use their newfound position to leverage services that are outside the legitimate terms of the home care workers position. To my knowledge, workers in Bog Harbour were not aware of the legislation or of their rights because they were not informed and they did not belong to a union.

It is difficult for home care workers to unionize at the best of times. When there is talk of a union under the agency model it is more common than not for the agency to close down and reopen under another name. It would appear that no one involved with home care, other than the workers themselves, relishes the idea of a union. Unionization among home care workers under the self managed care model is a conundrum, as workers work in varied locations and have little to no contact with one another. As well, "community organizations have opposed unionization because they believe that individual's needs would not be met. They have raised the issue of continuity of care due to factors such as seniority rights" (Botting et al. 2002:85). What these community organizations fail to realize is that without a union workers are being exploited. Another issue that could be dealt with via a union would be the clients that no one wants to deal with. A union

could also address inadequate pay scales and the lack of benefits for home care workers. Home care workers under the self managed care model do not have adequate sick leave, access to injury prevention programs and have little access to equipment (Botting et al. 2002:84). Home care workers are not eligible for workers' compensation unless their employer, the client, purchases the insurance themselves. And, since clients are not obligated to purchase the insurance they seldom do, even though they are liable in the event of a workplace injury (Botting et al. 2002:85, IAPP 1999:54).

Another concern that relates to the self managed care model that I noticed in Bog Harbour was the lack of resources for workers and clients. The entire system appeared to be functioning in a vacuum as workers did not talk to one another about work related issues, believing work-related issues were all different as they worked in different locations with different clients that have different needs. If a worker was concerned about a certain aspect of the client's health they had no one to go to for advice or guidance. Likewise, if the client or their family had concerns about the regulations relating to the workers they were unaware of where to go. As Morris et al. point out, in the case of

self-managed care, sick, elderly or disabled women or their daughters, daughters-in-law, sisters or mothers, must also be business managers (e.g., completing tax forms, employment records, insurance forms, hiring workers). Most are untrained in this area and are unaware of employer and employee rights and responsibilities" (1999:77).

This is particularly inconvenient and troublesome given the lack of formal education among people in rural Newfoundland, especially those who had been involved with the fishery. This places an extra burden on the client and their family. One family I knew of had their sister-in-law fill out all of the forms required for home care (e.g. schedule, payroll, etc.). This placed a further burden on the sister-in-law, who was already burdened with other unpaid responsibilities such as care-giving to her own family, volunteering and other similar unrecognized duties.

With the *Self-Managed Care Home Support Act* government ensured that they were not responsible for work place issues (Botting et al. 2002). They put this additional burden on the client, a person who is unable to care for themselves, a disadvantage that ought to be obvious in the client's need for home care in the first place. By placing the burden of work place issues on the client government has indirectly placed more responsibility in the hands of women, not only as the clients but as the unpaid caregivers and family members of home care clients.

4.2.0 The Cost of Health Care in Rural Newfoundland

Residents of Newfoundland and Labrador are increasingly paying for more and more of their health care. "Patients from rural communities must travel to St. John's for all major surgeries, radiation treatments and some other testing.

Regionalization of services and the centralization of tertiary care in St. John's have raised serious issues of access and equity for those from rural communities" (Botting et al. 2002:65). The cost of travel to see a doctor or specialist is a huge problem as poorer people cannot always afford it (Botting et al. 2002:66). Although, some transportation costs are covered such as ambulance service from one hospital to another, and some coverage is provided under the Air Ambulance Program as well as the Ground Emergency Program, if an individual cannot afford travel costs to see a doctor then often times the individual does not go. There is also the Medical Transportation Assistance Program which requires the client to pay a \$500 deductible in any 12-month period. This is problematic for those living in Labrador or other isolated regions on the island (Botting et al. 2002:66) and it presupposes that the individual has \$500 to spare.

The costs associated with driving or with taking the ambulance hinder some individuals from going to an emergency room where they may have to wait extended periods to see a physician. Clients that are too proud to admit that they are experiencing pain or other symptoms that should be addressed may try to ignore or conceal them so injuries and illness go untreated, as one informant suggested "It's too much of a bother." This particular informant did not own a vehicle so she would have to ask someone to take her to the cottage hospital or to the larger centre two hours away.

4.3.0 Home Care in Bog Harbour

There are a variety of clients in Bog Harbour, most of whom can be divided into two groups: disabled and elderly. These two groups can be further broken down into continuum care or acute care. Continuum care is generalized care in regards to home-making, basic grooming and other forms of work that can be categorized as non-professional. The clients that require this kind of care are mostly disabled or elderly. These clients may only require an hour or two a day of home care to help with house-cleaning or they may need several hours to help with generic functioning. Acute care clients require more medical services and may require the use of controlled substances. These clients are the least likely to receive adequate care in rural areas due to the lack of qualified personnel. While it is easier, in some regards, to stay home with family and cost efficient for government, it is almost certainly not the best choice in regards to health. Home care workers under the self-managed care model are not required to have any training. Nevertheless, some of these workers are required to perform duties that are normally administered by professionals(i.e., nurses, LPN's, physiotherapists, etc.) and they do not have the training to do them correctly or to deal with mishaps or things outside the parameters of what they have been taught, which, in many cases, is nothing at all.

Two Ethnographic Examples of Home Care Workers

4.3.1 "Daisy"

One of the home care workers that I spent some time with had never attended school. She had been born in a very small community that did not have a school and was later part of the resettlement program. When Daisy did leave the community she did so to get married which she did at an early age so she never had the chance to go to school. Functionally illiterate she could do basic mathematics and was, in my view, quite intelligent and performed her duties with few problems as her lack of education did not hinder her ability to cook or clean or help with the hygiene of the client or other tasks associated with helping the client. Daisy was also responsible for administering medication at various times and knew the medications by colour. This was acceptable for the client and their family. Nevertheless, the administering of medication is a huge responsibility that most Licensed Practical Nurses are not even allowed to handle. While Daisy is unquestionably able, it is difficult to validate a system which allows illiterates to administer medications according to a colour scheme. It would seem that medical tasks and home making tasks should be separated so that responsibilities that normally fall within the confines of unionized professionals should not be tampered with, not only because it deprofessionalizes health care workers but also because it is safer for the client.

Most of Daisy's concerns in regards to her employment dealt with scheduling and her lack of days off. Daisy worked seven days a week as there was no one to relieve her. This was a concern as Daisy would have liked to leave the community on occasion, to go Christmas shopping or visiting. She was also concerned about the lack of time off because she had other things to do. She found it hard to make plans in the evening as the family of the client would sometimes change the timing of her shift with little notice.

Another concern that Daisy brought up was "the talk", that is, gossip. Daisy explained how "you can't say anything round here and it comes back on you". Daisy described getting the silent treatment from her client and their family due to something she had said to someone else, that was supposed to be in jest. As Daisy sees it "no one has much to do around here but talk." Daisy has had a close relationship with the client and their family since she first moved to Bog Harbour, and so having tension in the air caused by a misinterpreted joke would understandably cause Daisy and perhaps the client and their family to feel uncomfortable. Her comment that "I never spent as much time over there as I do now" also speaks to the fact that the relationship has changed, reconfiguring a social relationship into a professional one as she is now paid to be at the client's house which seems to be straining their relationship.

4.3.2 "Violet"

Another home care worker I was acquainted with was developing issues over what the limits of her position were. Her client asked her to make large dinners when the client's family would come for a visit. She did not feel that she had to do this as she thought this was not part of her job, but to maintain harmony she did. The ambiguous nature over who is in charge, that is who the employer is, was an issue that Violet grappled with. As the worker she felt she had a certain job to do which included giving her client medication at the prescribed times, yet the client's spouse had the client on a different schedule for medications which confused matters. This client's spouse was also self-prescribing alternative therapies and had the home care worker administer them on occasion. This put Violet in a precarious situation as if there would have been negative side effects she may have been implicated, yet she was only doing what her employer had told her. Situations like this are compounded by the *Self-Managed Care Support Care Act* which made clients and their families employers. This act has left workers like Violet in a precarious position as their employers are often telling the workers to do things that fall outside of their job description and they may also be telling them to do things that could jeopardize the client's health. If a client asks for additional medication is the home care worker responsible to comply even if the client, who is also the employer, has

already had enough? Ideally, the worker would say no to the client, but in an unsupervised environment objecting to the employer's wishes is dangerous as is the loss of employment and it is often easier to comply with the client's wishes.

Another issue that Violet brought up was that she had been verbally abused by a previous client and was again forced to endure it as to quit or speak out about it in public might have resulted in censure from the community. This is very problematic as clients are often viewed as not being emotionally stable or responsible for their actions due to their illness. Nevertheless, workers like Violet and Daisy were never given training on how to deal with verbal abuse and they do not have a group, such as a union, to assist with such concerns. If Violet had wanted to complain she would have to lodge a formal complaint with the Provincial Department of Environment and Labour (Shallow 1999, 48). Needless to say, Violet was unaware that she could file a complaint, not that she would have done so as the likely backlash from the community was a definite disincentive. Further more, Violet said she could not even tell her husband as he would most likely tell her to quit and they badly needed the income. If she had quit there might have been just as much 'talk' (gossip) as if she had lodged a formal complaint, the possibility of which frightened Violet.

A further example of this can be seen through Heather, another home care worker. Heather decided to quit her first

home care position as she found another one that provided a schedule that complimented her familial responsibilities. As a result, a rumour started that she had slapped her previous client, who was known to be unruly at times. Heather vehemently denied that there was any truth to the rumour, joking that, although "there were times I could have choked her ... but I would never lay a hand on her." A casual comment like this is probably what started this rumour in the first place, yet rumours do tend to stick in the back of people's minds and this rumour might possibly cost Heather another home care job in the future.

4.4.0 Unpaid Caregivers

4.4.1 "Blanche"

Blanche, the woman with whom I was living with was an unpaid caregiver that I became quite friendly with. She had to give up her job at one of the local businesses as she was going into debt paying for Alfred's home care. This resulted in Blanche applying for and being awarded Provincial social assistance, as she was not entitled to EI because she had quit her position. As well, Blanche was not entitled to TAGS as she, like many other women, did not meet the criteria. Because Alfred had become disabled and had a chronic illness he was eligible for twelve hours of home care a day, but Blanche and Alfred could not afford their percentage of it.

Blanche put in long nights caring for Alfred as the home

care workers normally worked days. The workers complained about working nights and did little to keep Alfred quiet so that the rest of the house could sleep. Even though Blanche was in control of the worker's schedules she felt compelled to be flexible and not to abuse her authority. If it was necessary to have one of the workers in during the night she believed she could only rely on one of two workers as the other one had two young children at home and did not think it was fair to have her up all night with Alfred then up all day with her children.

Not wanting to be thought of as lazy, Blanche did most of the work around the house. She did most of the cooking and would normally only allow me or one of the workers to peel potatoes or stir a pot. She performed the majority of housework as well, but accepted more help in that regard. A few times, she intentionally left the dishes for one of the home care workers as she felt they were getting paid for nothing because she provided most of the care for Alfred. While having home care did provide some relief it was minimal as Blanche was still capable of doing housework and did not want others to think of her as being a lazy woman. Consequently, she cooked, cleaned, cared for Alfred and was responsible for two home care workers. Blanche probably would have received more help from her daughter than from the home care workers as she would have allowed her to do more around the house without fear of talk. However, for reasons outlined

earlier, her daughter had moved to St. John's for employment. Since Blanche could not get "around the clock" care she could not visit her daughter in St. John's without bringing Alfred. This raises the issue of the lack of respite care in rural areas. I believe it is a problem that contributes to the burnout of unpaid caregivers. If Blanche had been able to travel to St. John's even just two times a year for a rest that might have made a significant difference to her quality of life. Since Blanche was not native to Bog Harbour and her female kin were unavailable there were no other female kin she could rely on to provide unpaid care to Alfred. Nevertheless, there was Joel, her son, who could provide minimal supervision but for only short periods of time. In summary, essentially, without a licence or vehicle, Blanche was trapped in Bog Harbour and because the home care workers were not used to dealing with Alfred on their own she did not believe that she could leave them with him for any amount of time. As a result, she stopped going out altogether and would ask one of the workers go to the mail or the store for her and Alfred rather than going herself.

Because Alfred was required to pay for a portion of his home care and because Blanche was his spouse she was liable for it as well, and, based on what I was able to learn, the portion that they were required to pay was more than they could afford. In effect, Blanche and Alfred were penalized financially and emotionally by the home care program. Since

Blanche's job was low-paying she could not afford to pay the home care amount. With such a small salary coming in, her debt was increasing. She could not collect EI because she had quit her job, which left no recourse but to accept 'welfare' (social assistance). On 'welfare' she could not accept gainful employment or she would forfeit her welfare and the amount the Province was paying for Alfred's home care. The formula that government utilizes to decide how much a family has to pay for their portion of home care is so fundamentally flawed as to be demeaning. Blanche had worked her entire adult life and was known as a hard worker and government's inhumane policies that make the poor pay for more provided her with no other option than turning to welfare. This is unconscionable for if Alfred had been institutionalized Blanche would have been able to keep her job and would not have to pay for Alfred's home care or other related health care costs, she would not even have to pay to feed him.

4.4.2 "Nancy"

Nancy was another woman that I had met while in Bog Harbour who was an unpaid caregiver. Nancy was the primary caregiver to her mother as she had no other siblings still in the area with whom to share the responsibility. Nancy had her mother move in with her as she found it too difficult keeping two houses going. "Why clean two when you can just clean one" was Nancy's attitude about her mother moving in with herself

and her husband. Her husband was tolerant of her mother but was not inclined to provide much care for her. Nancy's husband was much older than her and was also a senior citizen which added to Nancy's workload. Nancy did all of the domestic chores herself as she had not applied for home care. Because Nancy had her mother move in with her she believed that if she accepted home care the government would penalize her financially and make her pay for more care that she could ill afford. In addition, her husband would not have wanted anyone else in the house.

Nancy had several children, but none lived in Bog Harbour. She had one daughter in a town close by and one in St. John's that visited frequently. The one who lived close by had children of her own and was too busy to provide much help. Her daughter who visited from St. John's would help out with the family business but did not provide much care as she was ill herself.

Although Nancy could have used help looking after her mother, her husband, her visiting daughter, and the family business she believed she could manage by herself. Nancy believed the application forms for home care were too long and complicated and that they would "want to know everything about you." With regard to financial matters this was of great concern to Nancy and her husband as they were self-employed and did not want the government taking money from their small business, as the business was not very profitable.

Since there was no institutional care close by Nancy had to care for her mother at home. In her opinion it was not feasible for her to put her mother in an institution outside of the community as she would not be able to see her as often and given that her mother was developing dementia it might have been too confusing for her as well. This all took time away from Nancy's hobbies and volunteer work. Nancy was an active volunteer with the church and since her mother had moved in with her she had to reduce the amount of time she spent on her volunteering as she could not leave her mother home with her husband for lengthy periods. Having her mother live with her also put additional strain on her relationship with her husband as living with and dealing with someone who progresses into an acute care patient is quite stressful. Olshevski et al. state that "caregiving appears to operate as a form of chronic stress that makes caregivers more susceptible to emotional distress and to clinical disorders such as depression and anxiety" (1999:4). While Nancy did not seem to be suffering from depression or anxiety, she was spreading herself too thin. In the past, she used to sew and produce a wide variety of crafts because, she said, it was relaxing and she could avoid thinking about her problems. In the new context, she did not have time for making crafts and there was no escape from the new realities that were in her life.

4.5.0 Client

4.5.1 "Mary"

I first met Mary at "the home". She was a home care client who only received two hours of home care a day, which suited her. Mary was an elderly woman who was widowed. All but one of her children had left the community. Her son who lived in Bog Harbour was fishing and had a wife and several children, which did not allow him much time to care for his mother or her house. He was relieved when she finally decided to move into "the home" as that meant he only had to provide wood for his own house and that she would have companionship. Mary did not think she would like it at "the home" and was hesitant to move in but now that she has lived there she enjoys it.

Mary was initially provided home care when she was living on her own but found that she was not entitled to enough care as wood constantly had to be added to the stove and the house had to be kept clean. But at "the home" there was no wood-stove and Mary's apartment was small and required less cleaning. As a result, the two hours of care was enough at "the home". Mary had the worker come in and prepare meals and fix up her hair and do some house-cleaning. Mary found the vacuum too heavy and had shaky hands which made using the stove dangerous. "I had to give up my house so I could come here, I didn't much like living on my own, it was too much work, with the wood and all." Mary was content with the amount of

care that she was now receiving and was able to live on her own within "the home." There she had company and people that cared for her and who she in turn cared for. Mary also made an incisive comment about the relationship between economics and home care, saying that the collapse of the fishery directly influenced her life situation. If her grandchildren were in Bog Harbour she believed they would care for her so she would not need hired help in the form of home care.

4.5.2 "Alfred"

Alfred was Blanche's husband and as stated previously he was disabled and received twelve hours of home care a day. The care was shared between two home care workers who worked six hour shifts. Alfred enjoyed his home care workers but found it hard being home all the time. The workers would rarely take him out and would not always do as he asked. The workers and his wife were always around, even when his friends would visit. Because of Alfred's physical limitations he could not leave the house by himself; it was convenient therefore, if his friends visited him. This did provide some insight into masculine beliefs and values as I was often privy to their conversations. However, I assume that their conversations may have been different due to the presence of women. Not surprisingly, Alfred was nostalgic for the past when he socialized outdoors. Moreover, he appeared to resent being constantly surrounded by women. Unfortunately, he did

need someone around him at all times and unfortunately for him the only people willing to work as home care workers in Bog Harbour were women.

Alfred's care was compromised by home care as he ought to have been receiving physiotherapy and other professional services that were not being made available to him because of the remote location where he lived. His home care workers were incapable of providing him with such care as they were not trained health care professionals. I am unaware if Alfred was aware that he would have received better health care in an institution had that been a choice or available.

It was not clear whether Alfred would have preferred to be in an institution where they could better monitor his pain and condition. However, I think he preferred to stay at home, where on sunny days he could sit out on the porch and stare out to the sea and chat with people as they went up and down the lane and where he was surrounded by people he knew and liked. It seems unlikely that people would have visited an institution and brought 'salt water duck,' 'sounds,' or a 'feed of fish' (Story, ed. *et al.* 2002:434,505). These were all things that Alfred loved to eat. He also needed to smoke cigarettes which would not have been tolerated in an institution.

Most of Alfred's arguments with the home care workers were due to smoking as he would ask them to roll his cigarettes for him and sometimes they would refuse because

they thought he was smoking too much. This would make him disgruntled and then the home care workers would relent and give him a cigarette. This is an example of the awkward position a home care worker is placed in due to the *Self-Managed Care Home Support Act*. Does the worker do what is best for the client or does she listen to him because he is her employer?

Alfred also had an exceptional sense of humour which may not have been acceptable in an institution. Despite being disabled, he still managed to be a practical joker. He was also a fantastic storyteller. He would recite stories that his father had told him about the devil out on the barrens and other fantastic tales, stories with which the others in the area were more than familiar with. Knowing who everyone is and how they will respond to pranks and stories does not develop over night. Alfred was always aware of his audience, as he had known most of them his entire life. This kind of audience would not be available in an institution. Despite the obvious shortcomings, for Alfred being at home was more important than receiving the professional care he would have received in an institutional setting. Structurally abandoned by the health care system, Albert's disposition was nevertheless suited to the ad hoc care he received.

4.6.0 Summary

According to the National Advisory Council on Aging, "Home care prevents and delays institutionalization and promotes the social integration of seniors. It responds to the changing health needs of older Canadians in a flexible, holistic manner and provides support to their informal caregivers" (2000:5). If this were true, then seniors and people with disabilities would have a great program at their disposal. Instead, what we appear to have is a program that shortens hospital stays, and places bigger burdens on communities and care givers that are having major problems coping. Social integration is not a concern as workers are not insured to bring clients in their vehicles and are normally busy doing house work and other related activities and are therefore unable to bring clients out to socialize with others. The system lacks flexibility in regards to who is able to have access to care and it is far from holistic in rural areas where medical professionals are absent. Medically speaking, the central part of "health care" is missing. The support that is offered to informal caregivers is regimented and is not always available when needed and does not support them emotionally or financially.

The client ought to be at the centre of home care but this does not appear to be the case. The majority of studies, including -to some degree- my own study focus on home care workers or the unpaid caregivers. Therefore, one has to ask

if the client is being fully represented and if they are receiving the care they need. It could also be asked if they are simply taking what is given as everyone seems to have forgotten about them, or are putting their needs behind those of the workers and unpaid caregivers. With increasing pressures being placed on home care to deal with acute care patients we need to reevaluate and discuss how their care is being met and who is delivering it. Residents of rural areas do not have the qualified personnel available to assist with acute care. At places like Bog Harbour that are so remote there is no local access to health care professionals, the burden of care is placed on untrained people who do not know how to provide it. As a result all clients, especially acute care clients are not being cared for properly.

In Bog Harbour it would appear that clients accept inadequate care as the majority of medical services that they require are not locally available as it costs too much to provide them in their region. Nevertheless, in a depressed economy conditioned by the economic and social hardships of rural Newfoundland, under serviced clients still seem satisfied to reside in their native communities, even though they are served by under-protected workers who are relieved to have any type of employment.

CHAPTER FIVE

5.0.0 CONCLUSION:

Since the moratorium, rural Newfoundland has been suffering massive job loss coupled with mass out-migration, community disintegration and economic and psychological depression. Bog Harbour is no exception to this. Since the moratorium former fishers, especially men, have been around the community more so than ever before and have begun to take over the spaces that women normally had to themselves. Due to this, women are now more visible to the men and are therefore watched more closely. This contributes to the difficulties women face when trying to communicate with one another, especially with regards to home care.

The early ethnographic literature on rural Newfoundland is characterized by a focus on an egalitarian ethic. In part it functioned to keep communities cohesive and ensured survival for residents (see Wadel 1969, Davis 1995). However, when I was in the field this egalitarian ethic had either degraded, vanished or morphed very significantly. People helped one another and women were still stoic in their suffering and endurance but the notion of an integrated, cohesive community where most of it's members worked for the common good eluded me and it was not until I returned from the field and reread Dona Davis' "Women in an Uncertain Age" that I began to realize what had occurred. Essentially, Bog Harbour's community spirit had been broken

and had been replaced by an individualistic mentality which forced individuals or households to fend for themselves. Government sponsored privatization is apparent in the move away from "public" institutions, such as hospitals, and into the private (and, to a degree, privately funded) realm of home care is just one example of government withdrawal of services. This is also evidenced by the struggle for some residents to receive Federal funding in the form of TAGS while others did not. This has in turn led to social divisions and discontent among neighbours which is not their fault as it was the Federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans that devised this strategy, the same department that failed to properly manage the northern cod stocks in the first place. Needless to say, the moratorium has affected more than 'fish' (cod) and the work available in coastal communities. In the case of Bog Harbour, a community that has existed as a cohesive group since the late 1700's, the socio-cultural system is deconstructing. With very few cod in the sea and most fishermen not allowed to catch even a small quota it is only a matter of time before communities such as Bog Harbour themselves disappear or change into retirement enclaves and eventually ghost-towns. If it were not for home care, more people would have to leave these communities. The elderly and/or disabled would have to move to larger centres to receive care in an institution or home support setting. The people who rely on the monies earned

from home care may also be inclined to move away with their families to find work elsewhere which would lead to the further decimation of Bog Harbour and communities like it.

It would appear that despite some of the more cynical financial concerns involved with home care, it is helping with social reproduction. By having employment for women through home care not only are the sick and elderly being tended to but the households of both caregivers and those tended to are maintained, albeit at a minimal level. Thus, if we look at the various types of women in Bog Harbour and examine their dedication to the place we can see that the elderly are less inclined to leave and that both the women and their husbands who do not have a formal education are also less inclined to leave. It seems obvious that this group of women would naturally be the ones to look after the elderly and/or disabled that wish to stay in the community. After all there is no one else to do it, as Davis' "up-and-outs" are already gone or are on their way out of the community, and it is unlikely that men will do such work. Women who are either "trapped" or committed to stay in the community typically work at home care and, in doing so, they are not only allowing their clients to remain in the community but they are also bringing in money to the community through their wages. In addition, they themselves are aging in the community and may thus require the services of a home care worker at some point in the future.

Providing employment to women in such a rural area assists their families in some cases to stay and raise their children while offering an alternative to work in the fish plant for their daughters. From an economic standpoint their poor wages do make the difference in relation to staying in the community or migrating, as the only other option may be social assistance.

Having employment in rural communities is crucial to the survival of rural Newfoundland. Unlike other rural areas where there is some use for the land, most rural Newfoundland communities historically depended on marine resources for their livelihood. Without accessible marine resources, there is little to no reason for these communities to exist where they do and herein lies the crux of the problem with coastal depopulation in Newfoundland. Unless steady gainful employment is made available in these rural areas they will continue on a downward spiral until widespread resettlement becomes a common occurrence once again. Perhaps DFO and other government officials have learned a valuable lesson and now realize that inshore fishers have traditional ecological knowledge of the fisheries in their areas and as historical guardians of their fishing grounds for generations they should be consulted before quotas are adjusted or changed.

Lastly, if Newfoundlanders and Labradorians could have seen into the future, I wonder if they would have still

voted in favour of Confederation with Canada in 1948. The cod fishery, the historic mainstay of the economy, is gone. Health care is becoming privatized and is not accessible to everyone as promised. High out-migration rates, especially of young adults, from rural areas threatens the future of communities such as Bog Harbour. The promise of Confederation that things would get better is, at the very least, unfulfilled. For many residents of rural communities things can hardly get worse. This is especially true for women, who are having to function as caregivers for their loved ones in rural areas where there are no respite programs, there are no medical professionals and one's only hope for help is to utilize the home care program in which neighbours become employees and employers.

Needless to say, the home care program is desperately needed in rural areas just as it is in urban settings, especially given government's current stance on deinstitutionalisation. Home care is a viable form of employment for women who have been forced out of the fishery. However, it is also likely to contribute to stress and "burnout" among community volunteers. This in turn will further reduce the availability of services provided to rural residents as home care is taking hours away from the most altruistic members of the community. That is women who provide care, both paid and unpaid, are having less time to volunteer do to their caring responsibilities. This is and

will continue to effect numerous community organizations such as town council, local religious groups and organizations, community museums and heritage groups, local fund-raising initiatives and charity events, as well as come home year organizing committees. All of this will eventually lead to further social disintegration for places such as Bog Harbour.

Evidently respite care is required for unpaid caregivers and basic labour rights are required for home care workers for this system to continue. Clients also require improved access to health care professionals if they are to receive the level of care conferred upon them through the *Canada Health Act*.

Endnotes Chapter One

1. TAGS will be discussed in Chapter Two. For more information on TAGS see Government of Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Finance, Economics and Statistics Branch 1997. For a brief overview of the literature on NCARP and TAGS see Muzychka 1994, Smith 1994.
2. I have decided to use pseudonyms for the community and all of my consultants. This is not an uncommon practice in connection with social science writing on rural Newfoundland, especially writings by ethnographers. For examples of pseudonyms see: Chiaramonte 1970, Faris 1966, Wadel 1973, Davis 1983a, Okihiro 1997.
3. The northern cod moratorium was declared in July 1992.
4. For some insights into gossip in Newfoundland see: Faris 1966 (71, 74, 85-86, 144-145), Szwed 1966 (90, 96, 97, 100).
5. For a discussion on public and private space see: Ardener, ed. 1993, Pocius 1991.
6. For more on women and homework see: Beneria and Feldman 1992, Bhatti 1981, Boris and Prugl 1996, Charlton 1984, Dangler 1994, Leach 1996, Mies 1982, Moser 1993, Rogers 1980, Singha and Kelles-Viitanen 1987.
7. For more on tourism in Newfoundland see: Overton 1996. As well, see the literature on tourist art. Tourist art tells us about the craft/art producers and the societies they live in. It provides us with a context as to why people make the things they do and how those things can change due to a multitude of factors. Tourist art refers to things which are produced specifically for the tourist trade, that is, an "external" audience (Graburn 1976:8). It seems to be generally assumed that the "external" audience is not normally familiar with the culture and aesthetic criteria of the producer's society" (Cohen 1993a:1). The items being produced for a tourist audience may express a great deal about the producer's society. For example, tourist art may provide images about traditions and the past of a particular society even though such imagery may be invented. For example, Gerald Pocius asserts that "textile articles sold to tourists may be made and purchased in the belief that they fit into the mainstream of Newfoundland's textile traditions, but often is not the case" (1979:64). For more on tourist art see: Swain 1993, Bentor 1993, Cohen 1993a, 1993b, Shenhav-Keller 1993, Horner 1993. As well see Smith 1977:4 for her discussion on how it is often assumed that the development of

tourist related activities has a negative impact through the disruption of a local economic system.

8. The term tradition is in many ways problematic, especially for people who are living in a rural area which may have partaken in many traditional customs or behaviours and has therefore been considered to be traditional. For some traditional examples of tradition see: Messenger 1969: 4-5, Redfield 1956: 40-59. For an adequate description of tradition and a rural Newfoundland fishing community see Pocius 1991. He asserts that "Calvert cannot be neatly categorized as either traditional or modern" (1991:288). He posits this as he illustrates that while residents of Calvert are purchasing items, that would be considered by some as a sign of modernization, they are still in many ways traditional. As well, he provides an interesting discussion on how far back one must go to find "the nebulous period of 'traditional culture'" in Newfoundland (1991:287). Essentially, Pocius uses the term traditional to mean that which is not modern, even though it may ascribe to some modern conveniences (1991:284). Also see: Pocius 1991: xiii, 15, 18-19, 284-299.

9. For a useful text on Newfoundland handicrafts see: Pocius 1979.

10. My aim in wanting to do this was to gain a holistic perspective of the community. For examples of studying a particular activity to view other facets of a culture/society see: Bronislaw Malinowski 1922, as his ethnography provides an account of Trobrianders society through looking at the kula. For a description of Merina culture through looking at funerary rituals see Maurice Bloch 1971.

11. The ethnographer Anderson (1990:3) had wanted to go to Ghana but after finding out she was pregnant went to Denmark. Likewise, Kahn (1986:xi) had originally wanted to study indigenous horticultural rituals focussing on the human qualities attributed to taro. Instead, she wrote about the Wamirans' cultural concepts of food and hunger. As well, Briggs (1970a:3) also had to change course once in the field. She had initially wanted to look at shamanism but, as she learned once she got there, it was no longer being practised. She altered her focus to the behavioural patterns of the Utku.

12. Many have written about the importance of the kitchen within Newfoundland. For example, see Faris 1966, Firestone 1967, Pocius 1991, Szwed 1966.

13. While this has not changed in Bog Harbour it is plausible that it has changed elsewhere.

14. For an example of children and gossip see: Faris 1966:76-77.
15. See Bourdieu 1973.
16. For a discussion of "studying your own" see Lila Abu-Lughod, 1988.
17. Newfoundland joined Confederation with Canada in 1949. For events leading up to Confederation with Canada see Long 1999. For a collection of life stories of individuals who studied or worked at the Memorial College before Confederation see MacLeod 1999.
18. Abu-Lughod describes "halfies" as "people whose national or cultural identity is mixed by virtue of migration, overseas education, or parentage" (1991:137).
19. For more on marginality and Newfoundland and/or fishing societies see Dinham who asserts that the area which he is looking at are marginal in comparison to Canada, even after Confederation (1977:14). Davis refers to Grey Rock Harbour as being marginal (1989:65,69). Sider also refers to rural Newfoundland as being marginal (1986). Wadel also refers to the outport's marginality being increased due to the resettlement and centralisation programs (1969:3). Davis and Nadel-Klein discuss fishing peoples as being marginal economically and politically (1988:15). Sinclair looks at the problem of marginality as a form of "spatially distributed social inequality" and it is his position in regards to change on the Great Northern Peninsula "that people evolve strategies that attempt to cope with marginality. Many react as individuals to the context that they encounter, while some also respond collectively. In sum, these individual and collective actions in some degree change the nature of local society and the wider system in which they are integrated. But the people of the margin do not control the system and their place in it remains dependent" (1993:39).
20. Creed and Ching assert that "rustic empowerment prevents other groups from asserting and capitalizing on their marginality" (1997:29). For examples of rural Newfoundlander's fighting back see Neis (1988), MacDonald (1980), DeWitt (1969).
21. See: Szwed 1966:57, Firestone 1967:74, Wadel 1973:55, Matthews 1976:6, Faris 1966:74, George 1996:8.
22. Like Cole (1991) my point in trying to disentangle and move away from preconceived discourses which surround Newfoundland ethnography stem from the need "to demonstrate just how inaccurate it is to arbitrarily extend the discourse to this region" (1991:158). The general vicinity of Bog Harbour has not been studied by anthropologists as there has not been much written about

the area. The different portions of the island share many commonalities, such as a general history and the same government at the provincial and federal levels. However, the different areas within the province differ as they are comprised of different individuals with different lifestyles. For example, some areas have different forms of employment: for example, the logging towns of "Squid Cove" (Wadel, 1973) and Main Brook (Omohundro, 1994). Some communities are more isolated such as Harbour Deep (Durdle 2001), and Fish Arm (Okihiro 1997).

23. Officials with the province of Newfoundland and Labrador fluctuates in their usage of the terms home care and home support. For clarity I will only use the term home care which is the term that residents of Bog Harbour use.

24. For examples of life history texts see: Myerhoff 1978, Shostak 1981, Abu-Lughod 1993, Lewis 1961, and Gmelch 1986.

25. For a useful text on life history interviews see: Langness and Frank 1981.

26. See Louis Chiaramonte, "We are the Roles we Play".

27. For more on female anthropologists and their roles as "daughter" see Briggs 1970a, 1970b; Abu-Lughod 1988.

Chapter Two

1. The island of Newfoundland has had several aboriginal groups inhabit it over time. However, all such groups with the exception of the most recent group the Mi'kmaq, have migrated or become extinct. The Beothuck are well known as they only became extinct in the 1820s.

2. The Norse settled on the Great Northern Peninsula at L'Anse Aux Meadows. For a brief read on this see: Helge Ingstad 1964.

3. The Basque whalers were more popular on the Labrador coast. However, they did have some whaling stations on the island portion of the province as well.

4. It is well known throughout Newfoundland that the island has been in near constant use since Giovanni Caboto found it in 1497. For more on Cabot see: Pope 1997. The English, Spanish, and Portuguese were fishing off the shores of Newfoundland by 1550. After 1610 the Spanish and Portuguese gave their rights to the

fishing grounds over to the French and the English. It is interesting to note that Spain and Portugal would become the largest markets for Newfoundland cod (Lounsbury 1934:30-1).

5. For some useful discussions on Irish immigration to Newfoundland see: Mannion, ed. 1977, Nemec 1982.

6. It is believed that the first permanent settlement in St. John's was erected in 1528 by a merchant by the name of Bute. He was given permission to establish the first colony in Newfoundland in 1527 by King Henry VIII of England. However, Newfoundland was not officially claimed for England until 1583.

7. The first colony, discussed in a previous note, was established in 1528, the second was established by John Guy in Cupids in 1610. The third colony was established in Ferryland in 1621 by Lord Baltimore, who later left Ferryland and founded a colony at Baltimore, Maryland. As well, several forts in and around St. John's harbour were established by the late 1600s. Fort Townsend was also in existence by the late 1700s. The forts presumably were manned year round and it is conceivable that certain services were provided to them by non-military persons in and around St. John's.

8. For more on women and early settlement in Newfoundland see McGrath, Neis, Porter 1995, Handcock 1989, Cullum, Baird, Penney 1993.

9. Rogers asserts that between 1822 and 1874 the population quadrupled almost solely on the basis of natural increase (1911:240). However, the first government sponsored census of Newfoundland was not until 1836. Therefore, it would be almost impossible to make such assertions for the entire island, especially given the remoteness of most areas outside of St. John's at the time.

10. For more on the tragedy of commons see McCay and Acheson, eds 1987, Hardin 1968, Matthews 1993:76.

11. In some instances it was common for households to move once or twice a year to be closer to various natural resources. For example, they would live near the fishing grounds in spring and summer and overwinter in-land where they would be away from the wind and closer to wood supplies. Transhumance in Newfoundland would consist of the families and any livestock as well as any pets (e.g. water-dogs, dog sled team, cats) moving either from the coast to the hinterland or vice versa. For more on this see Dinham 1977:15.

12. This partially explains the prevalence of surnames in certain communities and areas of the province. In most communities it is common to find several families with the same surnames as it is also common to find a certain surname located in several neighbouring communities.

13. I believe that one could make the argument that this system worked and that when people failed to move out of the communities (e.g. after Confederation with the introduction of social programs such as unemployment insurance which made it easier for people to stay in their communities) they jeopardized the fishery for all in that area. This is not the only reason for the current situation with the cod stocks as draggers, factory freezers and trawlers may have killed off the fishery offshore which has drastic consequences on the inshore fishery.

One could push this argument further by stating that this system is still ongoing to a certain degree as out-migration in Newfoundland is still high, especially among young adults. However, now people leaving their communities are not staying within the province. In fact, more and more are moving to mainland Canada as they are finding fewer employment opportunities in other areas of the province.

14. This may have been due to a shortage of currency at the time.

15. See Wadel (1969:16-25) for an interesting discussion on "merchants and the 'credit system'", "the persistence of the mercantile system", "variations on the mercantile system." Wadel asserts that fishers did not necessarily have to deal with a merchant but did so because it lessened the potential "risk" of having a bad fishing season as the merchant would inevitably soften the blow by extending credit anyway. Also see Szwed (1966:49-52) for his discussion on the merchant system in the Codroy Valley.

16. For an in depth look at the Confederation in Newfoundland see: Hiller 1998.

17. For a brief discussion on "baby bonus" and the extension of the baby boom in Newfoundland until the 1960s see Matthews (1976:15).

18. Documenting the changes that have been and still are occurring within rural Newfoundland communities has been a major theme in the works of social scientists on and about Newfoundland for example see: Davis 1983a, Firestone 1967, Faris 1972, Chiaramonte 1970, Philbrook 1966, Wadel 1969, Brox 1972, Mannion 1976, Skolnik, ed 1968, Murray 1979, Woodrow and Ennis, eds., 1999, Hannrahan, ed. 1993. For some examples on the pitfalls of anthropological writings on Newfoundland see: Davis 1989: , Pocius 1991: 8, 294-295, Dinham 1977:7. For examples of why Newfoundland was chosen as

a good place to study see Mannion 1976:9, Philbrook 1966:1.

19. Pocius (1991:19-20) states that when reflecting on Newfoundland culture many view the culture of the province as being in fact prior to Confederation.

20. Prior to Confederation the rural Newfoundland diet consisted largely of unperishable foods such as pickled or salted meat and fish. The only fresh foods available were wild game and/or livestock, wild berries, and vegetables grown in kitchen gardens, which mostly consisted of root vegetables. After Confederation fresh fruit was occasionally available as well as a wide variety of packaged processed foods and an assortment of vegetables.

21. Even gardening was disrupted as new crops were being introduced. For example, in Bog Harbour some residents are now using 'crinkle' cabbage, which is savoy cabbage (a Chinese variety) and this has replaced the traditional garden variety of cabbage. Pocius states, that the "... incorporation of new objects into a culture did not necessarily mean that they would have a negative impact, and in fact, they were often accepted because they appropriately coincided with existing values" (1991:11). This may also be true in farming practices. Also see Omohundro 1994.

22. While it is not my intent to go into the intricacies of the resettlement program, it should be stated that those who participated in the program are still affected by the decision to leave their communities. As well, resettlement is a continuing concern for those who live in isolated places within the province; for example, those who live in areas where the numbers of students have declined to the point that it is no longer feasible to keep schools open. This has been a common problem throughout the province. As well, the small community of Harbour Deep on the eastern side of the Northern Peninsula succeed in obtaining government funds to allow them to resettle. However, not all residents wanted to resettle (Durdle 2001). For an in depth look at the resettlement and centralization programs in Newfoundland see Iverson and Matthews, 1968, Skolnik 1968, Brox 1968, Copes 1972, Robb and Robb 1969, Wadel 1969 and Matthews 1976.

23. For example the community of Petit Forte did not resettle as they "... believed their life and the life of their children could be just as good if they stayed - and they're glad they did. 'Now it's better than ever'" (Thurston 1990:8).

24. While most people being resettled did move into nearby communities, others moved to urban centres, including St. John's, Gander, Corner Brook, and to the mainland.

25. There has been a plethora of books and articles written on a wide assortment of issues related to the fishery. For some informative reading on the fishery and some of the problems it has been experiencing (and some problems related to programs) see Sinclair (1985, 1987), Palmer (1992), Sinclair and Palmer (1997), Hannrahan (1988), Finlayson (1994), and Chantraine (1993).

26. For example Hanson and Pratt argue that "the experience of being a woman or man is different depending on where one lives, because different types of jobs, with different scheduling possibilities, are locally available" (1995:220). Therefore, we could assume that the experience of being a woman or a man in Bog Harbour or any other community that is based on the fishery is not only different but has changed, changed from the inshore salt-cod fishery to the trawlers ('draggers') and fish plants, to an absence of work due to the moratorium, and the diversification of the fishery. As well, the social implications of this are also important. With the move to fish plants different groups of people ("crowds") were put together. As well the different schedules would undeniably have an effect on the household as well as child care arrangements.

27. For more on blame in regards to the moratorium see: Robinson 1995, Palmer 1992, Palmer 1995, Palmer and Sinclair 1997, Storey and Smith 1997.

28. Much has been written about the fishery crisis from various perspectives. But of special interest are the writings on women, gender, and the fishery, for some examples see: Neis and Williams 1997, Rowe 1991, Cahill and Martland 1993, Wright 1995, McCay 1995, Robinson 1995, Davis 1995, Silk 1995, McGrath 1995, Williams 1996, and Ennis and Woodrow, eds. 1996.

29. The employment interventions were programs designed to remove fishers from the ground-fishery.

The programs and the number of people participating in them are: 750 clients participated in a Community Opportunities Pool in which clients used their expertise and skills to help with volunteer projects that benefited their communities. 480 clients participated in Green Projects which were designed to create long-term employment while helping preserve and enhance the environment, 190 clients took part in a Wage Subsidy Agreement. This option provided incentives to employers to hire and train TAGS workers for jobs outside the fishery by subsidizing the wages paid to program participants. 130 TAGS clients entered into Employment Bonus agreements with HRDC. The program was designed as an incentive for clients to accept full-time employment outside the fishery. They could receive a bonus of up to \$5,000. after accepting a full-time

employment and forfeiting their TAGS benefits. 60 clients participated in a Self-Employment Assistance program. This intervention was designed to provide support to clients who established their own business outside the traditional fishery. 150 clients benefited from a Job Opportunities program. It helped individuals acquire training and work experience by providing financial assistance for training costs, wage reimbursements and other specified costs to the employer (Government 1997:9-10).

30. "TAGS also offered financial assistance for clients who found employment elsewhere. Aid was provided to help with job search activities, housing expenses and relocation costs once a permanent job was secured. 650 clients received mobility assistance in Newfoundland and Labrador" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997:10).

31. "The Groundfish Licence Retirement Program was administered by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans. It offered fishers monetary compensation for surrendering their groundfish licence and permanently leaving the fishery. The program involved a reverse bidding process where individual fishers submitted a bid for the amount they wished to receive for their licence. Bids were accepted by the Minister based on an assessment and recommendation by an independent board called the Harvesting Adjustment Board. Successful bidders received a lump sum payment for the full amount awarded.

The program consisted of two bidding rounds. Overall, an average amount of \$109,000 was awarded in round one and an average of \$121,000 in round two. Total expenditures for the program were approximately \$45.2 million in Newfoundland and Labrador. A total of 394 fishers retired their licences, of which 360 were TAGS clients" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997:10).

This program was obviously problematic for those who wished to stay in their communities where employment outside the fishery was unavailable. As well, the funds for selling a licence would not ensure viable financial security for the future in the community whereas by keeping your licence the possibility of returning to the fishery once quotas increased still existed.

32. According to the government "HRDC offered career and other counselling services to TAGS clients to help them assess their employment needs, lifestyle, and education/career goals. More than 10,000 clients participated in this aspect of the program" (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997:10). This is problematic with regards to what constitutes "counselling" and with the 50 per cent non-compliance of TAGS recipients who refused to participate.

33. For more on the difficulties and issues associated with the retraining programs see: Robinson 1997, Woodrow and Ennis 1994. According to the government's report in 1997, 7,630 "clients" utilized the retraining option and of that 33 percent participated in Adult Basic Education, 11 percent received training in personal development, 69 percent in skill training, and some of these "clients" participated in more than one of these options (1997:9). However, what the government neglects to add is how many people actually finished these programs or received gainful employment as a result of partaking in these options. It is my understanding that many TAGS recipients felt they had to partake in the retraining option as they feared having their TAGS terminated if they did not.

34. The Government of Newfoundland and Labrador has not assisted as much as it ought to in the creation of much needed gainful employment in rural areas. Many of the fish plants located along the coastline of Newfoundland and Labrador remain empty. The provincial government has been promoting tourism as an alternative to the fishery. This is dangerous as it is also a precarious industry that depends on the wants and needs of tourists which can and does change (i.e. due to demographics, trends, and the economy).

35. The result of motivating fisher to leave the ground-fishery is that rural communities will loose residents; as there is simply not enough employment for former fishers. While in the field it was mentioned more than once that TAGS was similar to a resettlement program. This may be closer to the truth in areas which had several bad seasons before the moratorium and whose fishery was unlikely to regenerate or in areas where only cod could be fished. The severity of the moratorium on so-called "traditional" patterns of daily life cannot be over emphasized. The whole rhythm of life changed; it continued for several years and altered many aspects of life that resisted change prior to 1992.

36. Out-migration has risen in the 1990s and it seems likely that it will continue to rise. Where residents migrate partially depends on where other residents went before them. It is quite common for certain mainland cities to be the destinations of choice for residents of certain areas. For example, it is quite common for residents of Bird Cove to wind up in Oakatokes, Alberta. Other popular destinations include Fort McMurray, Calgary, Red Deer, Vancouver, Toronto, Hamilton, Brampton, Ottawa, and now Iqaluit.

37. The fact that their water comes from a dammed up bog is problematic. When water is dammed the ground releases mercury which becomes toxic and its toxicity becomes more pronounced as it moves up the food chain. In humans, this is known as minimata

disease. It's presence has been documented on several Aboriginal reserves in Canada. This was of some concern to me so I tried to drink bottled water as opposed to local tap water, for which I was ridiculed. However, in the community there seemed to be a high proportion of people with central nervous disorders such as parkinson's disease as well as brain tumours. Given that the population was only 500, the fact that more than two people had each of the above was cause for concern. As well, the water was not always clear. It would often leave dirt in the toilet bowl as well as stain clothes being washed. This was surprising as we lived where the water was allegedly "good." On the far side of the community in a neighbourhood called "Goodview" the water was said to be coloured brown and to "smell like piss." When I asked about the safety of the water I was always reassured that the water was fine and that water tests were conducted frequently. However, there was speculation as to where the water originated for such tests. Regardless, I was later diagnosed with a central nervous disorder. Whether this can be tied to the drinking water in Bog Harbour remains to be seen but there is a recognized connection between my disorder and higher levels of mercury.

38. There has been a decline in horticulture and livestock for several reasons: 1) it is often more cost-effect to purchase the goods, alleged time constraints which makes resident unable or unwilling to invest the necessary labour, and an aging population.

39. The utilization of a garden which is not in close proximity to the producer's home is not an uncommon feature in rural Newfoundland. Omohundro (1994) documents this oddity in fuller detail.

40. The problem with the "growth centres" is that they were not well conceived or supported. Many of the growth centres themselves have become financially distressed as there was not enough employment in these areas to begin with. This has been further compounded with the additional residents.

41. The use of divisions in the town is not exclusive to Bog Harbour. In fact it appears to be quite common throughout Newfoundland. Terms such as 'the neck,' 'barasway,' 'little barasway,' 'centre,' 'hill,' 'gut,' etc. are all common reference points to different sections in different towns. For example, Murray worked in three of the four sections of Elliston; Maberly, Neck and Elliston Centre (1979:xiii-xiv). Likewise, Davis refers to sections/divisions as "neighbourhoods" of which Grey Rock Harbour has eight all "linked by narrow roads and foot paths" (1983a:47).

42. Dona Lee Davis also heard the term "ghost-town" in reference to "Grey Rock Harbour" (pseudonym; 1995:281).

43. For more on social reproduction and depopulation in Ireland see: Kennedy 1973, Guinnane 1997, Connell 1968, O'Brien, ed. 1955, and Walsh 1970.

1. Gender deals with the concepts of masculinity and femininity as opposed to the biological differences of the sexes (Oakley 1972, Segal 1990, Stoller 1968). We know that there are two sexes (male and female) and we are familiar with the two genders (masculine and feminine) but when the latter is viewed as an expression of the former then gender simply becomes determined by biology. Gender and biology are obviously linked as the literature usually deals with men and women separately. However, if gender is culturally constructed then ideally there would be men and women who would share the same gender. Evidently, "gender exists precisely to the extent that biology does not determine the social" (Connell 1995:71). As well, the relative superiority of masculinity over femininity may also be linked to the socioeconomic subordination of women, in which case gender becomes synonymous with class relationships. The subordination of women by men may also be viewed with regards to power relations which, in turn stem from the economic subordination of women. However, the relevance of economic contributions and power may be of more importance to capitalist societies. Ostensibly, there are several problems with the current use of gender. Nevertheless, gender is significant when looking at the differences between men and women. However, one has to keep in mind that the ideals of masculinity and femininity are always being contested (Connell 1995:76).

2. It should be noted that all of the early ethnographies on Newfoundland sponsored by ISER were written by men. It was not until the 1970s that we begin to see ethnographies on Newfoundland written by women (e.g., Ellen Antler 1981, Dona Davis 1983a, and Marilyn Porter 1993).

3. The most interesting aspect of Chaiaramonte's ethnography in relation to women and their places within social structures, is his one page tribute to women's social networks which he compares to men's; the later are found to be sadly lacking in comparison (1970:14). Dona Lee Davis's (1983a) work was done in a nearby community and she also found that women's networks were numerous and of an intricate nature. Likewise, the sociologist, Marilyn Porter, describes exclusively female networks in a community on the Southern Shore (1993:98-114).

4. Chiaramonte asserts that "there is a strict division of labour between husband and wife" (1970:13). This appears to take the form of women taking care of the house. This can also be seen in Philbrook's study of Nipper's Harbour where "women are noted for their meticulous housekeeping which, in an outport such as Nippers Harbour, requires much time and energy" (1966:47). The social mechanisms which assert that women should keep their house meticulously clean is still prevalent in certain parts of Newfoundland today. This has been documented in Jodi Durdle's work in Harbour Deep (2001).

5. Wadel is one of the few ethnographers of this time to devote a whole chapter on outport women. This chapter provides insight into the life of a "Squid Cove" woman, Elizabeth. It also provides a general outline of the social expectations of women's roles in the community, how the roles of husband and wife function and how they can sometimes change. Nevertheless, he maintains that "the Newfoundland wife is supposed to be subservient to their husband" (1973:55). Even in the face of chronic unemployment when the husband is no longer functioning as the income earner, the wife is supposed to maintain the facade of his dominant role even if "the house is not the man's castle; it is the woman's" (1973:57).

6. Firestone states that "there is no question as to the man's authority nor to the woman's subordination" (1967:74). However, he also states that "...by and large their [women's] primary focus is the home, and domestic affairs are entirely in their hands" (1967:73). This appears to be problematic. If the domestic affairs are "entirely" in women's hands, why would she be subordinate in her home where the majority of her interactions with her husband would take place? Her subordination to her husband especially seems odd when the men "use the home more as a base camp from which they go forth to either the sea or the woods, as the exigencies of making a living demand" (1967:73). It would appear that men were hardly home which would lead one to believe that women had more control over their lives and their homes than they have been credited with.

7. Szwed asserts that "men are expected to be the judges of what is wise for themselves and their families" (1966:57). He also suggests that "general household decisions are made by the husband, but matters concerning children usually fall to the wife" (1966:83). Evidently, if women are in charge of the children then it would seem plausible that she would have control within the household. She would be the one to address issues that needed resolving which would then require the husband's attention (e.g. repairs).

8. Antler's work in the late 1970s and early 1980s illustrates the importance of women's economic contributions to the family. She states their contributions were 35% of their families' income. This 35% came from money earned and saved through drying fish, berry picking, growing vegetables, bottling food, carding wool, and knitting.

9. Murray's work is based on her MA. thesis in folklore. She reconstructed women's lives in her home town of Elliston, Trinity Bay, from 1900 to 1950. The work is largely descriptive and recorded various aspects of women's lives and work. Her work, therefore, is not theoretically orientated as its purpose was simply to illustrate what women in that area and at that time did, which she found to be more than 50% of the work done by husband and wife. By "work" Murray not only means "traditional" tasks such as gardening, housework, and other related tasks but also what women did in relation to fishing such as drying fish on the beach.

10. Unlike the above cited works, Davis's does not focus on women's work and their contributions to the household but focussed instead on women's status in relation to menopause. Through focussing on women's experiences with menopause readers come to view what life was like for these women and come to view the division of labour in "Grey Rock Harbour". The later is seen by its residents as complementary, as men's and women's roles are both viewed as a necessary combination.

For more on Newfoundland women and menopause see: Davis 1997, 1989, 1986a, 1986b, 1983a, 1983b, 1982, and 1980.

11. A number of women have written; and are writing about women in Newfoundland. Some examples are: Neis 1997, Benoit 1991, George 1996, Williams 1996, and Davis, Nadel-Klein and Davis 1998, among others.

12. Some of the information in this section was taken from "The Politics of Fish in a Rural Newfoundland Community", a paper I presented at CASCA in May 2004.

13. It should be emphasized that women in Bog Harbour still hold to many traditional ways of doing things while enjoying some modern conveniences. However, when a wife is making home-made bread frequently, preparing the vast majority of meals, cleaning the house, tending to the wood stove, washing clothes and hanging them outside in harsh conditions it is difficult to enjoy leisure pursuits, such as social visiting and watching TV "soap operas". However, with cable the "stories" are also available in the evening when leisure is more feasible. This also lead to some men becoming familiar with the plots of the "stories".

14. Women were being watched closely as men were in and around the community more than ever before with less to do so what women were or were not doing was noted and commented on. This scrutiny may also stem from the lack of marriageable women in the area. That is, because there were so few eligible women men were keeping a closer eye on their partners which instigated some bouts of jealousy within some relationships. These insecurities were mentioned by several women in relation to their partners and was used by some men as an excuse to drink alcohol.

15. This does not appear to be a Bog Harbour phenomenon as this also occurs in other areas throughout the island, such as Bonavista. (Botting et al., 2002:60-61). Botting et al. also report the dangers of having phone lines jammed as calls cannot be made to ambulance service, fire department or police station during emergencies.

16. Nancy Scheper-Hughes (1970) found a similar situation in rural Ireland as mothers in rural areas were also encouraging their daughters to leave.

17. There has been talk of a "brain drain" within Newfoundland as it seems the "best and brightest" are not only leaving rural areas but are migrating elsewhere in Canada or overseas.

18. This is not to say that men do not also sacrifice. Mary Catherine Bateson writes; "women are taught to deny themselves for the sake of marriage," while "men are taught that the marriage exists to support them" (1990:200). While this is a widespread view it is not accurate when applied to Newfoundland, where it was customary for husbands and wives and other household members to work together for their common good. The household therefore, was an effective survival unit when all members worked well together. Thus, marriage was a necessary survival strategy in rural Newfoundland.

19. Although the majority of women I spoke with started the fire in the morning there were some exceptions. The man who drove the local taxi to and from St. John's normally started the fire in the wood-stove before he left for the day. He did this so that the house would be warm when everyone else woke up.

20. See Davis 1995:282 for some insight into outport men drinking and fighting over women.

21. Some of the information in this chapter will be presented in a paper entitled; "Supporting Women's Economic Needs Through a Universal Home Care Policy" that I will be presenting at a conference sponsored by the Canadian Centre for Policy Alternatives

and the Women's Studies Department at Simon Fraser University in October 2005. As well, some of the information contained in this chapter will be revised for a paper entitled "MS and the Marginalization of Women in Newfoundland and Labrador" that will be part of the "Women and Chronic Illness Anthology" through the University of Winnipeg.

Chapter Four

1. There are problems with any definition of home care. Health Canada states that:

the definition of home care in general labour force surveys often confuses health home care workers with those who work in a variety of other home care sectors, such as home heating systems or home repair businesses. Another definitional problem arises because a number of workers who provide home care services are directly employed by families as housekeepers or cleaning ladies; some of them provide "health home care" services for their employers who are not able to perform these services for themselves. These privately paid domestic workers may not be categorized as such in surveys. A different problem concerns the many different job titles used in home care programs, especially among case/care managers and home support workers, such that without a complete list of job titles, some home care workers may be missed" (1999:7).

2. The term "home care worker" is locally applied only to the workers that provide home support since professional health care workers involved with home care tend to be called by their profession, e.g., the nurse, the doctor, etc.

3. Government downsizing continues in regards to health care. This is apparent in the provincial government's reduction of health care boards from fourteen to four. Their ability to deliver improved services remains to be seen.

4. For more on the lack of training see Morris et al. 1999:47, Botting et al. 2002:85, and Shallow 1999:48.

5. The increase of acute and palliative care clients in the community has increased the amount of severe pain treatments in the community. Prescriptions, such as oxy contin and ms contin, are highly addictive and have led to several overdoses in the province by individuals who did not have prescriptions for them.

This is of grave concern as it represents a safety issue not only for the client, their family and their home care workers but also for the general public (i.e. the crime rate has increased as there have been more robberies and burglaries in the St. John's metropolitan area since oxy contin has been introduced to the community setting).

Chapter Five

1. "In 1997, there were more than 3,500 home care workers in the province working for individuals, agencies or voluntary non-profit organizations, over 95 per cent of them were women (Botting et al., 2002:84, Statistics Canada 1999).

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