WEATHERING THE STORM: SURVIVAL STRATEGIES AFTER THE COD CRISIS IN RAMEA, NL

MARY SIMONE KENDALL

Weathering The Storm: Survival Strategies
After the Cod Crisis in Ramea, NL.

by

© Mary Simone Kendall

A thesis submitted to the

School of Graduate Studies

in partial fulfillment of the

requirements for the degree of

Master of Arts

Department of Sociology

Memorial University of Newfoundland

September 2005

St. John's Newfoundland

Your file Votre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-19374-7
Our file Notre référence
ISBN: 978-0-494-19374-7

Abstract

The economic restructuring which followed the cod moratorium of 1992 forced hundreds of rural communities and thousands of families into a situation that they were unprepared for and ill-equipped to deal with. For many communities the cod fishery was their sole reason for existence. However, despite this economic crisis, some communities have survived into the 21st century. Ramea, a community on the southwest coast of Newfoundland, is one such community. While there has been a lack of long-term employment available in Ramea, individuals and families who remained there have coped. In light of these circumstances, the economic actions or "survival strategies" are explored and compared to a number of competing economic theories. In addition, individual's social relations, community social structure and the general culture are examined in terms of how they influence individuals' ability to cope.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I need to thank two people who have not only help me tremendously in the completion of this thesis, but have given me their time, encouragement, love and support throughout my entire life. Mom and Dad, I want to thank you for all you have done and all that you have encouraged me to be. You have always been my anchor in life's oceans, and while you both grew up with very little in your lives, you gave and still give me, Shawn and Damon so much. You should know that the most important things I have learned in life, such as honesty, respect, and the importance of a strong work ethic, I have learned from your teachings and examples.

Secondly, I need to thank Dr. Robert Hill and Dr. Peter Sinclair for their continuous supervision and support throughout my graduate degree. The respect you have for graduate students and their efforts has no doubt contributed to your success with them. Doing the Masters program has been the biggest challenge in my life thus far, and through all its ebbs and flows you have both always been there. Thank you so much Bob and Peter for your supervision, patience and constant support and encouragement.

Thirdly, I would like to thank the Department of Sociology, as a whole, for making an indelible mark on my life. Special mention to: Judi Smith and Audrey O'Neill for their patience and help in the face of my constant questions and requests; Dr. Rick Johnstone for opening my eyes to sociology; Dr. Karen Stanbridge for being the first female role model in my academic career; Suzanne Ottenheimer for your compassion and willingness to listen; and to all my fellow soci grad-mates. We share an understanding of the department and our work that will never be fully comprehended by those outside our circle.

Last but not least, Melissa, Jill, Lori and Travis. I am lucky to have such caring and supportive friends who have always been there for me in my most trying moments. The tears and laughter I have shared with you have definitely helped me in completing this degree.

Table of Contents

Chapter One

Introduction

Conflicts and problems concerning the fishing industry of Newfoundland and Labrador have not been anything new for the people of this province. Ever since the English and Irish immigrants settled on the island of Newfoundland, its people tried to gain control over the resource. With the advent of confederation with Canada, Newfoundlanders hoped that Canada would help them to establish ownership over the fishing industry that it desperately needed. Although Canada's success with managing the fishery before 1992 is questionable, the majority of rural Newfoundlanders, for the most part, were still able to rely on the cod fishery as an economic mainstay. However, in July of 1992, Newfoundland's "God given right," as Newfoundlanders vocalized it to be, started to be ripped away. Initially, John Crosbie, the Federal Minister of Fisheries, announced that there would be a moratorium placed on the 'northern' cod fishery. Later in 1993, the moratorium was extended to include the fishing of all cod. Patricia Canning and Charlotte Strong, reflect on the 1993 moratorium, by stating "unfortunately, by 1993 it had become clear that the return of an economically viable fishery would not occur for many years and a total ban on cod fishing came into effect" (2002: 320).

The initial economic implications of the moratorium were obvious but nevertheless severe. For instance, Newfoundland and Labrador's unemployment rate jumped to 20.3 per cent in 1993, which was almost double the national average of 11.2. In addition, this measure did not consider the displaced workers that were forced from their occupations and left the province due to the moratorium (Sinclair, 1996). However, what is more detrimental is how the moratorium impacted people's lives socially. The cod closure affected not only individuals but also families,

communities and their lives overall. Considering the cod fishery was the reason why people established permanent residence in Newfoundland, fishing had become the basis for their culture; their way of life; their identity.

With such a social and economic catastrophe, an individual who observed the closure of the cod moratorium might have assumed that, by now, all the rural communities that relied on the cod fishery would have been abandoned, and that the individuals and families who lived in those communities would have left the province long ago. However, in 2005, thirteen years after the first announcement of the cod closure, some towns have managed to stay afloat despite their social and economic adversity. For example, Ramea, like many other rural Newfoundland communities, was a community that relied on the fishing industry for its survival; yet, despite high rates of out-migration and its isolation people have still remained.

In light of this, my study is primarily concerned with how people in Ramea cope with life without the cod fishery. More specifically, I am interested in learning about the survival strategies used by households in Ramea. For instance, where do they find employment, how have they adjusted to this new way of life, what forms of formal and/or informal activities are utilized, and as Tigges et al. state "how lifestyle preferences [survival strategies], themselves influenced by and reflective of social relations, influence respondents' interpretations of restructuring and the strategies families, (consciously or unconsciously) develop to cope" (1998: 204).

Sociological Relevance

The plight of Ramea is not by any stretch of the imagination unique. Rural sociologists and other academics have studied other communities in Newfoundland and elsewhere that have suffered from economic restructuring and depopulation very similar to that which is being felt by Ramea. For example, works by Byron (2003), Ommer (2002), Felt et al. (1995) and Palmer and Sinclair (1997) all contain material relevant to the economic and social implications of the cod moratorium. As well, Hay, Basran and Sinclair (1992), and Fairley, Leys and Sacouman (1990) have provided information about how the rest of Atlantic Canada, and other regions of Canada, are coping with economic restructuring in other industries. The fact of the matter is that some rural communities in many parts of the world have become the victim of economic and social changes brought about by corporate globalization. So, one may ask if numerous studies have been conducted concerning the impacts of economic restructuring, what is the point of studying another rural community. In other words, why is the study of Ramea relevant to the field of rural sociology?

As pointed out by Sumner "while it is clear that many of the problems facing rural areas are global in their origins, the impacts of what has come to be known as corporate globalization on rural communities in Canada and elsewhere are profoundly local in nature" (2005: 32). Therefore, how people have adjusted to the cod moratorium in Ramea may not be the same as those who live on the Northern or Bonavista Peninsulas of Newfoundland. Furthermore, there has not been, to my knowledge, a detail academic study of Ramea and therefore Ramea's situation will definitely provide valuable insight into what types of strategies are used by rural communities in the face of global restructuring.

Additional factors concerning the relevance of studying Ramea are: (1) Ramea has a small labour market. At no point in time has the population of Ramea exceeded 1,400 people.

(2) the labour market is confined and isolated because of the distance between Ramea and the nearest community which makes it impossible to commute back and forth daily for work; (3) the majority of residents do not rely on Social Assistance; (4) the fishery was the only industry to ever exist in Ramea for a substantial amount of time; (5) in its heyday, Ramea was one of the most prominent fishing villages on the southwest coast (Kendall and Kendall, 2001); and (6) Ramea is on the southwest coast of Newfoundland which is itself isolated and under researched. The southwest coast, which is called Census Division 3 by Statistics Canada, is unique compared to other areas of Newfoundland because it covers the largest area of all Census Divisions in Newfoundland, has the smallest population, and compared to other parts of the province lacks the infrastructure, such as roads, to allow people to travel from place to place easily.

Other factors that indicate Ramea's uniqueness are: (1) Ramea experienced the highest loss in population of 30.2% in Census Division 3 between 1996 and 2001; (2) in comparison to all other communities that exist in Newfoundland, Ramea had the third highest loss of population[1] between 1996 and 2001, and (3) also between this time, Census Division 3 compared to all other divisions in Newfoundland and Labrador suffered the largest decrease in population (13.8%) (Statistics Canada, 1996, 2001). Overall this information emphasizes how important it is to study the effects of the cod moratorium on Ramea since Ramea represents one of the most marginalized towns in Newfoundland. Furthermore, readers can see the extent to which the closure of the cod fishery affects an outport community.

Studying a rural community and how it is adapting to economic adversity is beneficial for a number of reasons. Until recently, the majority of academic literature about how individuals and groups function within the economy did not effectively account for how social elements

[1] St. Shott's experienced a –31.1% population change, while Coachman's Cove experienced a –30.8% population change (Statistics Canada, 1996, 2001).

affect people's economic actions. For example, when economists have discussed social influences within their analyses, their perception was limited to seeing social influences as something that was ingrained into an individual. As the reader will understand from reading chapter two, this perception is limiting because it fails to identify or even consider that there are independent social influences that affect economic actions in important ways. In addition, although sociologists have understood that social factors do influence individuals' economic actions, they have only recently provided more sound theoretical approaches that accurately explain how and why individuals act in the economy as they do. For instance, Mark Granovetter's embeddedness approach, which was developed in the early nineteen eighties, has been more effective in explaining how social elements affect economic actions (Granovetter, 1982, 1985). In light of these theoretical issues, studying the economic actions of residents of Ramea, will not only strengthen arguments against neoclassical thought, but will strengthen modern day sociological explanations about economic actions.

Lastly, by providing more accurate information about the economy and how households and communities respond to economic restructuring, public policy makers should find sociological approaches more useful in their application to economic problems. Despite the fact that governments have vocalized the importance of the social in their policy guidelines, government initiatives still largely reflect mainstream economics; and therefore their policies have often negatively affected families and communities coping with economic restructuring. Moreover, governments need to implement **social** economic policies.

Ramea: Past and Present

To help the reader get a sense of the uniqueness of Ramea, I have provided a short overview of Ramea's geography and history. If the reader would like to find out more of Ramea's past in particular, Kendall and Kendall's book *Out Of the Sea: History of Ramea* (1991) is very useful.

Ramea is nestled on an island (Northwest Island) off the southwest coast of Newfoundland. Northwest Island is a part of an archipelago called Ramea Islands that consists of 6 major islands that span about 6 miles in length. Like many other wind swept areas in Newfoundland, the Ramea Islands are largely barren apart from the few patches of trees that are able to anchor themselves in the granite earth. There are records, however, that show that densely wooded areas did exist on the islands. Based on the scientific data and personal accounts available it is believed that early settlers cut down these trees for fuel and shelter (Kendall and Kendall, 1991).

While permanent residence did not occur in Ramea till the late 1850s, there were inhabitants on Southwest Island and other islands since the early 1800s. These other establishments, however, did not last long since Ship Cove (Ramea's main harbour) offered the deepest waters and the most shelter from storms. Thus it was the best harbour for fishing activity.

There is no doubt that Ramea became permanently established because of the fishery. Being next to rich fishing grounds, it was not difficult for fishermen of the past to row out in their punts and get a "good day of fish" while only a few miles from Ramea. However, as noted by Kendall and Kendall (1991) before Penny and Sons Ltd. arrived, year-round residency would never have been possible if Ramea had not been frequented by ships. Ships from England,

Portugal, Spain, and the United States usually brought with them goods and supplies which they exchanged for the cured fish caught by residents and other nearby coastal communities.

Due to the lack of land available and the rather infertile soil, families have never engaged in any extensive farming. Up until the 1960s, however, small-scale farming was a necessity. Potatoes and cabbage were the most popular vegetables, while turnips, beets and carrots were less so. During this time it was also not uncommon for families to own hens, a goat, a sheep or a cow (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). Today gardens for growing vegetables are rare since families can now buy vegetables at any of the town's convience stores. Although fresh fruit, vegetables, and milk are readily available, during the wintertime when it is not unusual for the local ferry to be stormbound, fresh fruit and milk are hard to find.

Living on an island, residents of Ramea realize the extreme importance of transportation. While only four miles from the mainland (Newfoundland) the residents of Ramea have to travel 10 miles by ferry to reach the nearest community of Burgeo. The trip to Burgeo takes a minimum of one hour and fifteen minutes. However, because the local ferry, *Gallipoli*, has to travel on the worst seas known for local transportation in Newfoundland, it is not unusual for this voyage to last longer. In addition, many locals know that when "the sou'wes winds are blowin a gale" it is very likely that even people with decent sea legs will get seasick during the trip across. I will mention, nevertheless, that an employee of the Gallipoli has told me that men who usually do not work on the ferry are amazed at how well the locals in Ramea deal with rough sea conditions. I guess it is not surprising since residents of Ramea are used to dealing with unforgiving weather.

Kendall and Kendall (1991) state that public transportation was not available until the 1890's when the Newfoundland government provided the *Virginia Lake* to accommodate the

south coast of Newfoundland. Travelling from Placentia to Port aux Basques and sometimes to Sydney, Nova Scotia, the *Virginia Lake's* trips "were at best infrequent and unscheduled" (Kendall and Kendall, 1991: 8). In 1968 the *Isabelle Suzanne* became the first passenger vessel stationed in Ramea to make daily trips between Ramea and Burgeo. Later, in 1979, when the road between Burgeo and the Trans-Canada Highway opened, a passenger and vehicle ferry called the *Sound of Islay* replaced the *Isabelle Suzanne*. In 1987, the *Gallipoli* replaced the *Sound of Islay* and remains in Ramea today (Kendall and Kendall, 1991).

Proper medical services were rather slow coming to Ramea. In 1927 the first nurse was stationed in Ramea. However, Ramea did not receive a permanent doctor till the early 1980s. Before this time, doctors did occasionally visit Ramea and some even stayed for a few months, but it was not until the Burgeo highway open before a resident doctor was actually stationed there (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). Today, Ramea is once again faced without a doctor on the island. Reasons are unclear; however, in the late 1990's when Ramea was suffering from high levels of out-migration, the doctor stationed in Ramea left as well.

Education was offered to children in Ramea as early as 1891; however, resources were minimal. Initially the town had two one-room schools; one for children who were of the Anglican faith and the other for children who were Roman Catholic. In 1918, however, the Roman Catholic school closed and any children who went to school went to the Anglican School (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). Before the early 1970's, the majority of parents in Ramea considered education second to paid labour. When the fish plant opened in 1943 quite a few children were taken from school by their parents. At the time, parents needed every extra dollar they could get and that sometimes meant forcing their children to work at the plant to help support their family financially (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). Kendall and Kendall (1991) also

point out that adequate schooling for all children was never really achieved until 1968 when a larger school was constructed. This new school accommodated primary, elementary and secondary students. Also interesting regarding education in Ramea is that on November 23, 1993 this particular school burned down. Due to a malfunction with the school's heating system, the entire school burned to the ground in a matter of hours. This was a pivotal point in the history of Ramea since the provincial government had debated whether they were going to actually build another school in Ramea when the cod fishery closed a year earlier, and thus the community's future was questionable. However, the residents of Ramea lobbied government and the school was officially opened in February 1997.

Chapter Summary

Chapter two is an overview of the theoretical debates concerning individual economic behaviour. It provides an outline of neoclassical theory and theoretical criticisms concerning individual economic behaviour. More importantly, it also provides a sociological perspective that addresses shortcomings of neoclassical thought and ways in which sociological approaches to economic behaviour actually reflect what occurs in the economy and how people cope with economic restructuring. Chapter three explains the methodological approach used to conduct research and to analyze the data collected from interviews and secondary sources. Chapter four is an overview of the fishing industry up until the moratorium. The role of the state and fishing policy is especially of concern since it will provide an understanding of how the cod moratorium came about. Chapter five is largely based on the data collected from the respondents involved in this study. More specifically, it provides examples which show that (1) people who live in

Ramea did not adjust to economic restructuring on an individual level, but on a household and a community level; (2) that people do not make economic decisions based purely on economic or financial reasons, and (3) how the structure of personal relations and culture affect how people adjust to economic restructuring. Chapter six summarizes the findings of this research study.

Chapter Two

Theoretical Framework

> Real man – the man whom we all know and whom we all are – is complex in a different way: he is of a time, of a country; he has a family, a city, a fatherland, a religious and political faith; and all these factors and many others merge and combine in a thousand ways...
>
> Emile Durkheim, *On Institutional Analysis* [1888] 1978: 49-50

Theoretical debates between economics and the other social sciences began in the late 19th century. Durkheim's comment above is one example of the attempts made during this time to contest economic assumptions. Although his statement seems to be more or less a given fact, his comment is warranted. Durkheim like other sociologists recognized, even at this time, that economists' notions of the individual were abstract, and thus, did not represent "real" man.

Unfortunately, even today, sociology and other disciplines that address economic assumptions are still plagued with the task of needing to explain why economic notions of the individual are unrealistic and theoretically inadequate. This is due partly to the mutual ignorance shared by economics and other social sciences during the 1920-1970 period, but the major reason why sociologists still find themselves reiterating old arguments is because they did not have an alternative model for analysing individual economic behaviour. However, within the last few decades sociologists have been addressing economic limitations with sound theoretical arguments and empirical evidence to support their claims (Swedberg, 1990).

One particular theory that has been important in transforming how economic phenomena and the economic actor should be viewed is the theory of embeddedness. It is this theory that

thus far has most effectively explained how an individual's distinctive properties, such as those pointed out by Durkheim, affect his or her economic orientations and behaviour.

The purpose of this chapter is to review economic theories as they relate to the development of the sociological theory of embeddedness on which this thesis draws extensively. The first section of this chapter will be a summary of the foundations of neoclassical theory. In the second section, the general criticisms of neoclassical theory will be stated as seen from the perspective of New Economic Sociology. But more important, in the latter part of the second section the most severe limitation of neoclassical theory will be pointed out. The third section focuses on the embeddedness perspective. More specifically, it will show how this perspective addresses neoclassical limitations, the differences between Karl Polanyi's and Mark Granovetter's use of the term embeddedness, and how this perspective can be improved for future use.

Foundations of Neoclassical Theory

Despite the complexities of understanding individual economic actions and economic phenomena, neoclassical economists have gained a predominant position based on rational choice theory (RCT). However, in the 1980s, sociological studies have shown that RCT and the conclusions deduced from this theory suffer serious limitations. Zukin and DiMaggio (1990), for example, point out specifically that the neoclassical paradigm has failed to explain a wide range of issues such as structural change, the origins of individual preferences, collective economic actions and nonmarket allocation mechanisms. Nevertheless, before I continue to explain why it

is that rational choice theory is highly questionable, the central components of this theory will be described.

Rational Choice Theory

The first central aspect of RCT concerns what neoclassical economists believe to be the nature of **economic choices** made by individuals. Neoclassical economists argue that actors will always choose to maximize their utility. In other words, each and every individual will naturally strive to achieve his/her desires or needs (Coleman, 1994). Differences between individuals such as age, ethnicity, religion, culture, and so on, are not considered to affect the economic choice of individuals (Hunt, 2002). From such an assumption, neoclassical economists are able to predict the actions of any individual since they know an individual will only partake in actions that will prove to be economically beneficial. Ironically, despite the theory being called Rational **Choice**, it is obvious that there exists only one model of interest from which an individual can choose (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994; Coleman, 1994).

Secondly, neoclassical economists argue that individuals will be **rational** about their economic decisions. Rationality as defined by neoclassicists is comprised of two aspects: (1) instrumentalism and (2) self-interest. An actor is believed to be instrumental because in order to accurately choose the most productive action, or the proper means to maximize profit, for example, the individual will have to consciously calculate all possible risks and rewards before engaging in any economic activity (Guillen et al., 2002).

Another interesting point about rationality that neoclassicists assume is that people's choices are based on self-interest. Neoclassical economists believe that the actor will only consider actions that will benefit his or her preferences (Etzioni, 1988). Regardless of

relationships that exist between actor and others, for instance, the individual will consistently choose goals that suit his/her own self-interest. Knight (1985: 78) explains that:

> every member of society is to act as an individual only, in entire independence of all other persons. To complete his independence he must be free from social wants, prejudices, preferences, or repulsions, or any values which are not completely manifested in market dealings.

According to neoclassical economists, the only effective way to compete in the economy is to remain impartial about others and the rest of society when participating in the economy.

Considering that neoclassical economists have definitive and encompassing notions about economic actors, it is not surprising that they take a functionalist approach as to how the economy operates as a whole. The two most common macroeconomic assumptions made by neoclassical economists are social optimum and social equilibrium.

Vilfredo Pareto (1848-1923) developed the idea of social optimum. Building from Adam Smith's idea of the invisible hand, Pareto was convinced that "perfect market rationality" exists (Hunt, 2002). Since all individuals were believed characteristically and automatically to strive to meet their selfish goals in the economy, Pareto suggested that as a result the economy must reach a social optimum, a state of utilitarianism (Coleman, 1994, Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990). In relation to this assumption, neoclassical economists have further argued that since social optimum exists, then the market should be left to function on its own.

Neoclassical economists state that changing how exchange takes place between individuals will ultimately result in limiting the ability of an individual or a group to maximize their needs; and hence, puts them at a disadvantage. Hunt (2002: 385) explains that Paretian optimality leads:

> to the conclusion that a free market, competitive capitalist system inevitably allocates resources, distributes income and apportions consumer goods among consumers so that no reallocation of resources through changes in consumption, exchange, or production could *unambiguously* augment the value to commodities being produced and exchanged.

Thus, it is argued that the economy is a self-sustaining unit, and does not need any government intervention to ensure that individuals are able to maximize their utility (Etzioni, 1988). Believers in social equilibrium theory often argue today that such things as minimum wages and union contracts should not be enforced upon corporations.

Also interesting to note is how economists account for inequalities in the market place. Neoclassical economists contend that at times when the market does not seem to be operating at its full potential, government intervention is still not needed because the economy has the capability to stabilize itself. Social equilibrium exists because, "the market forces of supply and demand," as explained by Hunt (2002: 274), "will automatically change these prices until equilibrium is established." Neoclassicists point out that the individual's natural inclination to meet his or her needs and desires will bring about stability within the economy.

New Economic Sociology

Economic sociology is a subdiscipline that has made substantial headway in arguments about individual economic behaviour and other economic processes. While it has effectively criticized neoclassical theories about the psychological nature of an economic individual and how the economy functions as a whole, it has gained its theoretical and methodological clout by constructing and using an alternative model to understand individual economic behaviour and other economic phenomena. For this reason the "new" economic sociology is much more useful

than the "old" economic sociology that was employed by such thinkers as Durkheim and Weber. However, before I discuss the perspective that has changed how economic actions are viewed, I will provide an overview of the criticisms made by economic sociologists concerning the foundations of neoclassical theory, which will lead to the alternative model now utilized by many economic sociologists today.

Criticisms of Neoclassical Theory

As stated prior, neoclassicists believe that there is one model of interest that an individual will follow in economic activity. The implication of this assumption is that neoclasicists do not consider that an individual may have other important interests other than economic efficiency. For example, Granovetter (1985) points out that an individual's economic behaviour may be related more to maintaining relationships than maximizing their utility. He states that his studies, in particular, show that individuals act in ways that are not so much financially beneficial as geared towards maintaining trust between an economic actor and another individual (Granovetter, 1985). Furthermore, Weber ([1922] 1978) points out that economic action can be rational, traditional or speculative-irrational. He explains:

> The definition of economic action must be as general as possible and must bring out the fact that all "economic" process and objects are characterized as such entirely by the meaning they have for human action in such roles as ends, means, obstacles, and by products (Weber [1922], 1978: 64)

To assume that all individuals have a stable set of preferences implies that a "psychological universal" exists within and among societies. Economic sociologists cannot support this assumption since numerous studies point to other models of interest.

The meaning of rationality has also come under attack by economic sociologists. Economic sociologists state that an actor can act rationally without necessarily being selfish and instrumental. Firstly, an individual does not always act selfishly since individuals can, and do at times, strive to support communal loyalties or sacred values (Smelser and Swedberg, 1994). This type of rationality is what Weber ([1922] 1978) calls "substantive rationality" since it relates more to what a particular individual or a group deems to be important and consistent with their norms (85-86). Secondly, an individual does not always act instrumentally as demonstrated by the instances in which culture limits or shapes what an economic actor believes to be rational. For instance, Marshall Sahlins' book "Culture and Practical Reason," provides a very good example of how culture affects notions of rationality. Sahlins (1976) asks if actors always choose behaviour that is instrumental, then why is it that North Americans do not eat cat and dog meat, which is more nutritious and cheaper than other kinds of meat. He points out that, unlike Korean culture, North American culture does not favour the consumption of cat and dog meat (Sahlins, 1976).

Since rationality can take many meanings, economic sociologists argue that neoclassical economists' notion of rationality must be viewed as a variable (Swedberg, 2001). As Swedberg explains, economic sociologists use the "non-dogmatic" approach to rationality, whereby one can initially assume rationality exists; however, "if it then turns out that what happens in reality deviates from the rational model, we have to introduce something else into the analysis to account for the discrepancy" (2001: 92).

Neoclassical economists state that an actor's limitations within the economy are entirely based on their own tastes and the availability of resources. Knight explains that, "exchange or finished goods is the only form of relation between individuals, or at least there is no other form

which *influences* [italics added] economic conduct" (([1921] 1985: 78). Sociologists, on the other hand, argue that there are other latent and more obvious influences that do affect individuals' economic behaviour. For instance, an individual's position in the social structure and other persons, groups or institutional structures all can and do at times influence an individual's ability to perform in the economy. Furthermore, sociologists contend that neoclassical economists also need to consider power when trying to determine the economic actions of individuals. In many cases, who holds economic, political and military power and how this power is exercised can influence an actor's actual behaviour. Therefore, knowing an individual's preferences does not always account for the restraints an individual might face, and thus the reason why common economic predictions based on individual preferences are inaccurate.

Another fallacy that neoclassical economists routinely accept is the assumption that the economy is a self-sustaining unit. Due to the social optimum and social equilibrium assumptions, neoclassical economists treat the market as an independent system that is not affected by exogenous factors. In other words the market is not perceived as a sub-system of society. Exogenous factors, according to neoclassical economists are things that do not involve the exchange of goods and services (Etzioni, 1988; Swedberg et al., 1990). Holton (1992) suggests that this market-based economy is differentiated from the rest of society because economists view the economy as an autonomous entity. According to neoclassical economists, the rules of supply and demand that govern the economy make it a self-regulating institution (Friedland and Robertson, 1990). Economic sociologists, on the other hand, oppose this view as a conceptualization of the economy because as Guillen et al. (2002: 6) explain:

> no economic phenomenon can be assessed without the shared understandings (culture), institutional structures, symbols, and networks of inter-actor relationships that concretize it and give it form. The market is seen as a social and cultural product: market exchange is facilitated by social and cultural process that provide market participants with shared understandings (in the forms of value, norms, and symbols) that help them to make sense of what goes on and how they should act.

Thus, Swedberg and Granovetter (2001) state that the economy is in fact a social construction that is often influenced by power, politics and history.

In summary, Granovetter (1985) argues that the rational choice model is an undersocialized account of how humans behave in the economy. He contends that this theoretical perspective ignores possible "impacts of social structure and relations on production, distribution, or consumption" (Granovetter, 1985: 483). As shown previously, social realities such as culture and power can and do influence the preferences of individuals. Furthermore, the preferences and the actual behaviour of individuals do not always coincide. Moreover, individuals do not simply act rationally and egocentrically within the economy (Granovetter, 1985). Granovetter (1982) also points out that even when economists do try to incorporate social aspects into their analysis of the economic individual, they apply it in a manner that does not change the relation between individual motives and individual behaviour.

In this oversocialization approach, as Granovetter labels it, neoclassicists believe that when individuals do not act rationally, they make decisions within the marketplace based on ingrained norms and beliefs. As Etzioni explains "followers of the neoclassical paradigm argue that individuals may render rational decisions without processing information" (1988: 166). Through the process of socialization norms and beliefs are internalized resulting in an individual performing certain economic actions almost instinctively. While this theory does not equate individual actions with self-interest, Granovetter argues that this idea of how social realities

influence economic behaviour "is oversocialized because it assumes that people acquire customs, habits, or norms which they follow automatically and unconditionally..." (1990: 97).

The criticisms listed above are important for understanding why neoclassical theory is limited in providing information about how individuals actually perform in the economy. However, there exists a more substantial problem with neoclassical theory. It is this fallacy that not only accounts for why neoclassical economists continue to misinterpret and miscalculate economic actions, but, more importantly, also provides economic sociologists, more specifically Mark Granovetter, with the means to construct an alternative model of economic behaviour.

The Root of All Evils

Although neoclassical economists present two seemingly polemic theoretical standpoints about the economy and more specifically about economic actions – an agency approach and the other a structural approach – both have the same conception of the actor. In both instances, neoclassicists perceive the individual as an atom. Granovetter explains that "in the undersocialized account, atomization results from narrow utilitarian pursuit of self-interest, in the oversocialized one, from the fact that behavioural patterns have been internalized and ongoing social relations thus have only peripheral effects on behaviour" (1985: 485). All economic preferences and actions are believed to be a product of one singular unit – the individual. As a result, this has created a methodological individualism.

Methodological individualism occurs when all economic phenomena are explained from the perspective of the psychology of the individual. Coleman points out that the irony of neoclassical rational choice theory is that it is "designed to account for the functioning of social and economic systems, yet it explains this functioning not merely by remaining at the level of the system, but by actions of individuals who make up the system" (1994: 167). In other words,

social and economic realities are explained with reference to the assumed psychological reality of an individual. Despite the fact that neoclassical economists have attempted to account for social elements such as norms, their perception of the actor has not changed.

In response to this, economic sociologists argue that a holistic approach needs to be taken when studying economic action since, as shown within the section on criticisms of neoclassical theory, social structures affect the economic behaviour of individuals. The atomistic approach to economic actions, adopted by neoclassical economists, is not equipped to understand all the dynamics that influence economic behaviour. Therefore, many economic sociologists currently use the embeddedness perspective to explore and analyse the different ways that individuals act economically.

Embeddedness Perspective

Despite the fact that sociologists recognized for years that economic actions were not entirely individual in nature, it was not until the late 1980s that they started to provide sound theoretical arguments to support their claims. The sociologist who made the first sustained attempt at doing this was Mark Granovetter. With the publication of his 1985 work "Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness," Granovetter provided some concrete examples of how a holistic approach such as the embeddedness perspective is useful in demonstrating that social factors such as social relationships do play a significant role in influencing which economic actions are undertaken by individuals. However, before I proceed to explain the importance of Granovetter's embeddedness perspective for understanding individual economic actions, we need to know where the term embeddedness originated from and how it differs from Granovetter's later conceptualization.

Polanyi's Concept of Embeddedness

The term embeddedness was first introduced by Karl Polanyi (1886-1964) in 1944. Polanyi used this concept to explain how the economy was embedded in noneconomic institutions during the primitive era (Polanyi 1944, Granovetter, 1993). According to Polanyi, there existed three types of economy based on reciprocity, redistribution and exchange. Polanyi argues that reciprocity and redistribution dominated precapitalist society, but in capitalist society exchange is the only form that exists. Polanyi explains that in primitive society kinship groups, for example, relied on reciprocity and redistribution to survive. Since survival in these times required the continual and equal distribution of goods and services within and between groups, the economy was an organic part of noneconomic institutions (Swedberg, 1997). The major difference in capitalist society, Polanyi points out, is that survival depends on the independent accumulation of money. Cooperation among groups is no longer needed since goods and services are purchased. Polanyi states that in this price-making market the economy is not embedded into noneconomic institutions because the exchange of goods and services occur between individuals rather than among groups or noneconomic institutions (Polanyi, 1944, Granovetter, 1993).

Granovetter is critical of Polanyi's understanding of the economy and how it was embedded into precapitalist society. He argues that Polanyi had a utopian outlook on how noneconomic institutions function. Because of Polanyi's understanding of how reciprocity and redistribution occurred among non-economic groups in precapitalist society, Polanyi believed that individuals would not have any inclination to compete since everyone strived for communal goals (Polanyi, 1944, Granovetter, 1993). Granovetter states that the implication of using a

functionalist approach is that Polanyi overlooked the fact that individuals during this time could have engaged in individualistic-oriented action. Granovetter points out that studies by Pospisil (1963) and Salisbury (1962), for example, show that even tribal groups, who largely functioned on a group level, did contain individuals who were selfish in their economic behaviour (1993). Furthermore, Granovetter argues that Polanyi's notion of embeddedness was not accurate since Polanyi believed noneconomic institutions affected the economy in an organic manner.

Granovetter's Notion of Embeddedness

Granovetter's notion of embeddedness is different from Polany's in that he believes that the relationship between an individual, or a group, and the economy is not an all or nothing situation. Granovetter (1985) argues that individuals are embedded into the social realms of life to varying degrees at different times. Thus, he argues that the presence of a price-making market, as presented by Polanyi, does not mean that an economic actor is completely separate from noneconomic institutions (Granovetter, 1985). Embeddedness, Granovetter (1985) stresses, has to be perceived and understood as on ongoing process.

Unfortunately, in Granovetter's 1985 article, he does not go into much detail about his conceptualization of embeddedness. He simply states that economic actions are "embedded in concrete, ongoing systems of social relations" (Granovetter, 1985: 487). However, in Granovetter's earlier draft of this article, he argues that the embeddedness perspective is to be used as the solution to the methodological individualism apparent in neoclassical theory. He states:

> The opposite of atomization is something I want to call 'embeddedness,' and I believe that the usefulness of social structural analysis in economic life has to do in crucial ways with recognizing the importance of embeddedness (Granovetter,

1982: 11).

The embeddedness perspective is a holistic approach that emphasizes the importance of measuring the various ways in which an individual's economic behaviour can be affected socially. To embed an economic action, basically, is to explain what particular macro and/or micro components within the life matrix account for certain types of economic actions (Apostle et al., 1998). Unlike neoclassical economics, the embeddedness perspective does not assume that individual rational choice and internalized morality are the sources of all economic behaviour. For example, in Granovetter's own research regarding trust in business relations (1985), he shows that this type of economic behaviour can at times be explained with reference to the personal relations that exist among co-workers.

Up to this point in time economists have argued that the reason why trust exists within business relations is a product of either institutional arrangements or generalized morality. An individual will not cheat, for instance, because the individual believes it to be the wrong thing to do or does not want to run the risk of jeopardizing her or his reputation within the organization (Granovetter, 1985). Granovetter (1985), however, shows that economic actions, as a product of trust, can also be related to the degree of confidence an individual feels in other individuals. For example, the reason why someone is hired is not always entirely based on the individual's qualifications. It depends, in many instances, on the recommendations provided to the hiring committee by a trusted associate. Due to past interactions between a person or persons on the hiring committee and the applicant's referee, the hiring committee has trust in the referee's judgement that the applicant is suitable. Therefore, the result of hiring the applicant (performing an economic action) has more to do with level of trust between the hiring committee and the applicant's referee and not the actual qualifications of the individual.

Granovetter argues that the embeddedness perspective is useful because it provides the researcher with a window of opportunity to explore the degree to which social realities such as personal relationships affect economic behaviour. Accepting Granovetter's arguments about the embeddedness perspective, other scholars have utilized this perspective to explain how other social components of life influence individual economic actions.

Guillen et al. (2001) state that such things as culture and politics can and should be considered when economic actions need to be explained. Researching how people are culturally embedded, for example, is useful because economic actions may be at times largely related to "shared collective understandings" or "the manner in which economic institutions and decisions are shaped by a struggle for power" or "political embeddedness" (Zukin and DiMaggio, 1990: 17-23). The main aspect of the embeddedness perspective, however, is that it emphasizes the importance of studying economic actions from various levels without employing an 'under' or 'over' socialization approach. Zukin and DiMaggio (1990:14) stress that although Granovetter has found personal relations and the structure of relations to be central to his study, as economic sociologists we must not develop a social structural absolutism. Reducing the understanding of economic actions to close personal relations repeats the single-minded theory approach practiced by neoclassical economists. Granovetter (1980:49) states that even "networks of social relations penetrate irregularly and in differing degrees in different sectors of economic life," and therefore his structural embeddedness approach may not be relevant to other types of economic actions. Economic sociologists argue that the embeddedness perspective is more effective than the neoclassical theory because it forces the researcher to account for various ways in which individual economic actions are influenced.

Summary

In spite of debates about social optimum, social equilibrium or the meaning of rationality, the underlying problem with neoclassical theory remains the same. All economic behaviour exhibited by an individual is believed, by neoclassicists, to be a product of the individual's psyche. According to neoclassicists an individual functions in the economy as an atom; unaffected by history, geography, social relationships, societal norms, politics and so on. The embeddedness perspective, on the other hand, takes a very different approach to understanding the economic individual and their actions. Rather than being individualistic in scope, the embeddedness perspective is holistic. It stresses that in order to accurately account for the reasons why individuals act economically as they do, all societal factors, whether micro or macro, need to be considered.

Neoclassical theory and its individualistic approach are not as useful as the embeddedness perspective for my thesis topic. By utilizing the embeddedness perspective a variety of possible influences on the economic actions of people in Ramea can be explored. Unlike the neoclassical perspective, the embeddedness perspective provides the researcher with the flexibility to discover the social dynamics in Ramea that influence the coping mechanisms - economic actions - of those that remain there. For instance, other levels of analysis, besides the individual, such as household and community relations can be addressed. The effectiveness of this approach has been demonstrated by Apostle et al. (1998), McCay (1999) and Sinclair (2002) in their analyses of other economic issues in Newfoundland and Labrador. Hence, it is because the embeddedness perspective refuses to resort to a monocausal explanation of economic behaviour that many other researchers have used it. The embeddedness perspective allows the

researcher to capture more of the social structure in which people make decisions about their lives.

Chapter Three

Methodology

The purpose of this study is to explore survival strategies used by residents of Ramea that allow them to continue to reside there despite the loss of it's economic foundation – the cod fishery. My unit of analysis is the household. I decided to analyse households' survival strategies as opposed to individual survival strategies because, as described by Pahl (1984), using the household as a social and economic unit is more useful since an individual's well-being, in many cases, is not determined by personal resources; rather it depends in large part on the collective sharing of resources among household members. For example, asking questions only about an individual's employment status and income does not provide an accurate picture of the person's overall well-being since a working single-mother with three children, for example, has to allocate resources very differently than a single working female who does not have any children.

I use survival strategy here, not to imply that members of households intentionally or consciously develop ways to adjust to life in Ramea, but to point to a complex web of factors that are not always consciously understood or physically apparent. The survival strategies used by households are influenced by habits, culture, and personal relations, and therefore are not strategically planned (Swidler, 1986). As Mingione notes: "the meaning of household strategies is not unconnected with the broader social context, and the analysis of strategies makes no sense outside of an interpretative framework in which it is possible to reconstruct the interrelationship between the strategies and the social context" (1991: 61). Also I use survival strategy as synonymous with coping mechanisms.

Relevance of Case Study Approach

The research design most suitable for addressing the research problem stated earlier is the case study. Yin defines a case study as "an empirical inquiry that investigates a contemporary phenomenon within its real-life context, especially when the boundaries between the phenomena and the context are not clearly evident" (1994: 13). More importantly, the case study attempts to answer not just the "what" questions, but the "why" and "how" questions (Denzin and Lincoln, 1994; Byrman, 2001). Given this objective, the case study encourages the use of various methods such as interviews, documents, participant observation and artifacts.

In terms of exploring the survival strategies of people in Ramea, specifically, case study research is most useful. For example, to fully appreciate how important the cod fishery was and what it meant to respondents, and hence understand how respondents adjusted to its loss, it was important to collect historical data regarding the respondents and the fishery. Hence, the case study is advantageous because it allows the researcher to utilize a number of methods that in turn give a complete or holistic understanding (Stainback, 1988).

In relation to this, the holistic approach to the collection of data provides the researcher with a "thick description" of the case study. It not only looks at the entire picture but also the specific components that make up the picture and how the components are interrelated. The case study approach not only gives the researcher an understanding of the case study as whole but how specific social components involving and affecting respondents are interrelated.

The case study design is also useful since it uses a triangulation strategy to validate its findings. Collecting information through a number of different methods gives the researcher the advantage of comparing one kind of data to another. Instances where one method of data

collection is not as strong or valid can be supported through other means. The researcher can justify the validity of data collected by one method if data collected using another type of method corroborates the original findings (Stake, 1995; Feagin, Orum & Sjoberg, 1991).

Another important feature of the case study design is its flexibility. Rather than employing a prediction model in the collection of data, the case study design emphasizes the necessity of exploration. Researchers have the freedom to uncover new variables that may have been unforeseen in the formulation of questions and research issues. Applying a flexible format to the case study helps the researcher to focus on important issues that became apparent during the initial stages of the data collection process. Due to the complexity of the situation dealt by respondents, I felt it vital that a loose approach be taken since it was very likely that the researcher would overlook some relevant issues (Yin, 1994).

Although quantitative methods can be used within a case study research design, I chose to use mostly qualitative data. Considering that I wanted to use an inductive approach in the collection and analysis of data, a quantitative strategy that usually employs a deductive approach was not suitable (Bryman, 2001). Other reasons why I chose a qualitative research strategy deal with the epistemological and ontological differences that exist between quantitative and qualitative research strategies.

Fundamentally, the quantitative strategy follows a natural science model in its collection and analysis of data. It views social reality objectively whereby it tries to produce cause and effects models to represent phenomena (Abercrombie et al., 2000; Bryman, 2001). The qualitative strategy, on the other hand, perceives social reality as continually in flux where the connections between relations and phenomena vary with time; and therefore, the relevant interpretations of economic actions can be collected and understood (Schwandt, 2000). In my

own study, collecting participant's interpretations of their survival strategies (social actions) is vital in fully understanding how residents of Ramea make sense about their own realities. In addition, due to the quantitative approach's cause and effect assumptions, the researcher would not be able to account for how certain actions came about. In other words, the processes involved in the creation of understandings and the actions that result from them might not be explored. The qualitative strategy does emphasize the collection of information regarding the dynamics involved in examining social actions; and thus, is employed in this study (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Focus groups, participant observation and autoethnographies are various methods used with the qualitative research strategy. However, within my own research study, I decided the most appropriate tool for the collection and analysis of data would be personal interviews, more specifically, semi-structured interviews. Personal interviews were chosen particularly because I wanted the research participants to give me their own interpretations and understandings about their reality that could have been challenged or changed in a group interview (focus groups) setting. I felt that if focus groups were conducted the views and ideas of some participants would be swayed by the ideas and opinions of others. In addition, within a group setting it is possible that participants would be hesitant in providing me specific details in terms of how they have tried to remain in Ramea, especially in cases that dealt with money or sensitive issues. By conducting individual interviews, I was able to provide the respondents with anonymity, which would not have been possible in focus groups. Also, participant observation would have been impossible since (1) the realities currently experienced by residents of Ramea are the result of several years of adjustment and (2) the closure of the cod fishery has impacted their lives in

various and wide-ranging ways. Such circumstances could never be fully investigated or understood by conducting participant observation alone.

Semi-structured interviews were chosen as opposed to unstructured or structured interviews because I wanted the interview to be partly structured so that I would be able to compare the viewpoints of one participant to another, while giving participants the opportunity to express themselves further if need be. In structured interviews the majority of questions are closed-ended requiring the respondent to choose from a limited number of answers, and any questions that become relevant during the interview process cannot be asked since the structured interview is to be followed in a precise and consistent manner. This method of collection would not be beneficial to this study because the interviewer might have overlooked questions of importance during the construction of the interview schedule.

An unstructured interview schedule was not selected because using entirely open-ended questions or a very informal approach to collecting data would be risky because it is possible the interviewer would forget to ask certain relevant questions in the interview and would end up not having the data available to compare one respondent's response about a certain topic to another's. Thus the semi-structured interview schedule was preferred because while is uses a schedule guide, the interviewer is able to collect in-depth data relating to emergent issues. More importantly, it gives the interviewees the opportunity to express themselves freely, which could not be done with a structured interview schedule.

Since semi-structured interviews can take considerable time, a larger sample, like those found with quantitative studies, is not always possible. A smaller sample size has the disadvantage of forcing the researcher to be cautious about reaching general conclusions about the total population of Ramea as a whole. While acknowledging that my own study accounted

for only 36 out of approximately 250 households in Ramea (14 percent of the total households in Ramea), the study does provide an in-depth understanding of the research site that would not have been possible if I had used a closed-ended, mail-in questionnaire for example.

Data Collection Process and Sample

The interview schedule was constructed to collect information on the survival strategies used by residents of Ramea and their perceptions about those strategies. The format of the interview schedule was specifically directed to understanding the research respondent's personal background, relationships with family and others, occupational history, attitudes about life in Ramea (past, present and future), lifestyle, the fishing industry and how their household survives financially.[1]

A total of thirty-six interviews were conducted, thirty-two of which were conducted using the general semi-structured interview and four using questions designed for key informants. In addition, out of these thirty-six interviews, thirty-three were conducted in the participant's household while three were not. The purpose of having key informant interviews was to speak to certain individuals in the town of Ramea whom I felt were in a position to understand how the town as a whole has tried to adjust to the economic restructuring caused by the moratorium.

All interviews, except the four key informants and two others, were selected randomly from a list of households provided by the telephone company — Aliant. The two exceptions, excluding key informants, were selected unintentionally while conducting two of the randomly selected interviews. On two occasions when I was interviewing a participant, their neighbour came to visit. I was not expecting this to happen, but while doing the interviews the neighbours

[1] See Appendix II for the semi-structured interview schedule.

started to tell me how they were adjusting. Since I did not want the neighbour to feel that their story was not as important because they were not randomly chosen, I felt it was only appropriate to ask them if they would like to participate in the actual interview at a later date. Due to this happening twice I had a total of 36 interviews instead of a previously anticipated 34.

Although the majority of the interviews were randomly chosen I did ensure that participants met certain criteria. For instance, in most cases the households listed in the telephone book that I used for my study were in an adult male's name. However, to avoid a majority male response, for every second household randomly selected I intentionally requested the adult female of the household to be a participant. Considering I am very familiar with Ramea, I knew, for the most part, who the adult female of the household was even though the adult male's name was listed in the telephone directory. If I was unsure my parents could easily recall. However, I will note that my parents were not told who my actual research respondents were at any time. The other criterion that was important was that all research participants had to be at least 30 years old. Having participants 30 years or older ruled out individuals like myself, for example, who were too young to be in the labour force at the time of the moratorium. Any adjustments I personally had to make due to the moratorium were minor compared to those who were employed in Ramea when the moratorium was enforced.

Once a list was compiled, I called the potential participants to request an interview. During the phone call I stated the objective of my research, the types of questions I would be asking during the interview, the amount of time it would take and I assured them that there were minimal risks involved in participating in this study. Once they agreed, a time was scheduled for us to meet. Members of all households telephoned from the initial random list agreed to be interviewed.

I was very surprised and pleased that collecting research interviews went so well. Initially, I felt that this might be a challenge since I thought that some residents would be hesitant about participating in a study with me. However, this was not the case. In addition, the interview schedule was structured to last approximately an hour, but about half of the interviews lasted longer, some as much as two hours.

Although scheduling interviews was a success and the research participants gave more of their time for interviews than anticipated, not all were willing to be audio taped. Out of the 36 interviews conducted, 25 participants agreed to be recorded. Reasons given by those who did not give permission to be audio taped ranged from they were "being put on the spot" to "it would be too uncomfortable." Even though I explained that I would be the only one listening to the tapes, some participants, understandably, still preferred to do the interview without being recorded.

Before all interviews were conducted, the interviewee was requested to read and sign a consent form. The consent form informed the participants about the purpose of the study, the approximate length of the interview and most importantly the measures taken to protect their identity and the confidentiality of the information they would provide. Those measures included the use of pseudonyms when referring to a respondent in the thesis. All information including names, recorded interviews and handwritten notes were kept in a locked cabinet, and any primary data collected from interviews will be destroyed once the study had been completed. All participants agreed to sign the consent form and some said that they would have taken my word for it anyway; putting it down on paper was not needed.

Possible Limitations

Although the interview schedule was designed to address the majority of possible survival strategies, there are several possible limitations in the data collection and analysis. One thing that was obvious from the start was that participants could not recall exactly how much time they spent on informal activities. In the interview I asked them how many hours per week they spent on particular tasks, but for certain activities such as household repairs and maintenance and shovelling snow, the respondents could only say, for the most part, "when it needs to be done," or "when I have the time and money to do it."

The interview schedule was also missing a key question that would have helped me to understand how residents of Ramea have been coping since the cod moratorium. After having completed about half of my interviews, I noticed a trend among some of the participants. Although I was asking questions relating to their current financial situation, some of the respondents' survival strategies dealt with a particular time in the past when they had to resort to social assistance. It was from their experience with social assistance that they had to change their outlook on what survival strategies they needed to use in order to stay in Ramea. Since the interview schedule was largely open-ended, the topic usually did come up when I was asking participants general questions about their occupational history. However, a question such as "Have you made use of the social assistance program for any period of time since the cod moratorium?" would have guaranteed that the issue would have been dealt with in every case.

As stated above, one of the reasons I chose to do this study dealt with the fact that I am very familiar with the research site, Ramea, and would be able to apply this knowledge to the study. This of course has its obvious advantages; however, I must bring to light the possible limitations this may have on the collection and interpretation of data. Being from Ramea I was

worried as to whether or not some respondents would disclose sensitive information to me. Even though I explained that all information provided would remain confidential, I still felt that some respondents might not tell me sensitive information, such as income levels. However, out of the thirty-two interviews conducted, only three respondents did not answer the questions relating to income levels. Each stated that their reason for not providing the information was that they had never disclosed this type of information to anyone, rather than the fact that I was the person actually asking the questions.

Another issue that I had to be especially aware of while conducting interviews was the respondents' tendency to assume that I immediately knew what they were describing or explaining in the interview because I grew up in Ramea. In the first interview that I conducted it was evident that participants would unknowingly redirect certain questions to me since I had lived in Ramea when the cod moratorium took place. When the situation arose, I dealt with it by stating that I was too young to remember and obviously could not recall exactly what the situation was like in Ramea, especially since I was not in the labour force during that time. This practice was important since I did not want respondents' answers to reflect my assessments of the circumstances.

Conclusion

An important aspect of doing qualitative research is that the researcher should try to build rapport and credibility with participants (Creswell, 2003). Fortunately, doing research on my home town gave me the advantage of having a pre-established rapport with people from Ramea. What also helped was that while I was living in Ramea, I was an active member in the community, whether it was from my involvement with the Sea Cadets or participating in

recreational activities. Reflecting on this now, I realized that my past involvement gave me the privilege of knowing a number of different people and groups within the town, which made it that much more easier to call and request interviews. As mentioned earlier, there were, however, people that I was hesitant about calling since I did not have any past relationship with them. Thankfully, these people were just as responsive and helpful as those I knew previously. Due to the excellent response by the interviewees I was able to complete thirty-six interviews in twenty-seven days.

Also interesting to note is that, although some interviews went better than others, I did not have any notable difficulties when it came to an interview with a male verses a female, nor younger participants verses the older ones. Demographic characteristics did not have a significant part to play in how the participants responded to question.

Chapter Four

The Fishery: Ideologies and Policies

Most people would agree that the cod fishery has been a major influence on Newfoundland's culture. The fishing way of life is still prevalent in how we speak and think. For centuries, however, Newfoundland has also been characterized by its inability to become a developed society. Despite being next to the world's richest fishing grounds, Newfoundland has not developed the economic linkages necessary to sustain a population that has never exceeded 600,000. Furthermore the cod moratorium of 1992 is not simply the end result of events occurring a few years before its legislation (Sinclair, 1987; Ommer, 1994; House, 1988; Alexander, 1980). It is a product of centuries of neglect, mismanagement and poor control by the managers of the fishing industry. The policies, or lack thereof, instituted over the years by these managers have been guided by ideologies that have failed to appreciate and/or acknowledge the importance and the level of embeddedness of the fishing industry in the rural communities of Newfoundland.

The Fishery before Confederation with Canada

Before 1815 Newfoundland was basically a 'port of call.' Merchants and fishers would migrate from Western Europe to catch as many fish as they could, and then would return to their homeland. Newfoundland during those days was, for the most part, nothing more than a destination for fishing captains. However, wars that occurred between 1775 and 1815[1] changed all of this (Rowe, 1980). The wars created a seemingly infinite demand for saltfish. The

[1] The American Revolution (1775-1783), the Peninsula War (1808-1814), the War of 1812 and the Napoleonic War (1805-1815).

migratory fishery that dominated the island's economy and the fishing industry could not supply saltfish at the rate at which it was requested. Therefore, it was at this time that native Englishmen and Irishmen decided to remain on the island to meet the demand (Rowe, 1980). As stated by Alexander this period was critical in the history of Newfoundland because the West Country Merchants were able to transform "an international migratory fishery at Newfoundland into a colonial industry in Newfoundland" (1980:19).

Although the demand for saltfish had been enough to transform the fishing economy in Newfoundland, it was not enough to sustain it through the rest of the 19th century. For example, while fish catches increased by 43 percent and the population increased by 275 percent between 1815 and1884, there were signs by the early 1870s that indicated Newfoundland's prosperity would not continue (Ommer, 1994). Alexander (1980) and Ommer (1994) point out that (1) between 1874 and 1884, the rate of population growth for some outport communities was lower than previously, and some communities' populations were actually declining, (2) in the early 1880s, the volume of saltfish produced was about 1.5 million quintals[2], but by the late 1890s it had fallen to 1.2 million, and (3) to exacerbate this, the export price of salt codfish dropped from $3.82 a quintal to $2.89.

In Ramea, specifically, although fish catches fluctuated between 1874 and 1891, it was reported that overall total catches had only increased moderately (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). Because of this uncertainty in the cod fishery, Kendall and Kendall (1991) state that some residents of Ramea resorted to fishing salmon and lobster. However, this attempt to diversify did not continue to develop in subsequent years since catching cod was viewed as the most important and only main way to make a living.

[2] One quintal equals to one hundred and twelve pounds.

Another issue that indicated Newfoundland's market was increasingly falling into a state of disarray was that the merchants were losing their predominance. The traditional bonds that existed between merchants and fishers before 1890 had substantially changed. Ommer explains:

> negative balances had traditionally been carried over by merchant firms, which had needed to hold on to their fishers. This was the famous "tie that bound" the fisher to the merchant through bonds of indebtedness. However, by 1890 the merchant was tied to the fishery rather than vice versa, not only because many fishers had accounts with more than one merchant and hence could hardly be said to be "tied," but also because the merchants were getting caught in a liquidity squeeze (1994: 454).

It was at this point of time that Newfoundland had reached "an apparent limit to extensive expansion" (Alexander, 1980: 18).

The Newfoundland Government believed that these difficulties were linked to the problem of too many inshore fishermen in the traditional economy. They reasoned that in order to generate capital for the country, they needed to invest in initiatives outside the fishing industry that would help diversify Newfoundland's economy. These initiatives, which were guided by strategies taken by all the other nineteenth-century European countries, focused on developing inland resources such as agriculture, domestic manufacturing, forestry, mining and constructing a railroad that would provide access to these new industries (Ommer, 1999).

This period was of major importance not only because it saw the start of government ideologies and policies unsuited to strengthening outport communities and the cod fishery in general, but also because government's lack of concern with the fishing industry handicapped its future development. Sinclair explains:

> consequently, the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries are extremely important to an understanding of subsequent problems in Newfoundland, because at this time Newfoundland's major North Atlantic competitors began a process of

> technological change, product development and economic diversification that left Newfoundland in a relatively backward position (1987: 12).

However, it is important to mention that the fishing industry did not completely go unnoticed. Recognizing that Newfoundland's traditional economy suffered from "poor quality, disorganized marketing and restricted utilization of resources" (Sinclair, 1987: 12) William Coaker and his associates, after the formation of the Fishermen's Protective Union in 1908, promoted two fishery acts that were geared towards regulating the market and establishing standards in the production of saltfish in Newfoundland (Alexander, 1980). Nevertheless, despite the efforts of Coaker, it was not until after the 1930s that government undertook more far reaching measures to rectify the problems associated with the cod fishing industry (Alexander, 1980).

Despite that fact that the Newfoundland Government was more concerned with other industries, Ramea and the firm that operated there, John Penny and Sons, had no choice but to remain completely focused on the fishing industry. In the 1890s John Penny and Sons introduced trawl gear, opened a skiff and schooner fishery, and purchased a foreign-going schooner to ship and sell its fish to European, West Indies and Brazilian markets (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). As a result of these efforts, production did increase. The firm also expanded its bank fishery fleet from one in 1891 to four in 1901. In 1914 John Penny and Sons received another boost from the First World War. It was noted that its schooners operating at this time landed 286 tons of saltfish. However, the firm and the people of Ramea were still not isolated from the general problems within the industry. After the war the firm suffered a major decline due to poor catches and the loss of some schooners due to storms and lack of demand. Thus, by 1921 Ramea hit a low point when the firm had to sell all but one of its remaining fishing fleet.

During this time it was the inshore fishery that basically kept John Penny and Sons afloat (Kendall and Kendall, 1991).

Newfoundland as a whole also reached a new low when it discovered that its once promising new industries failed to deliver the anticipated returns. However, what was more devastating was that these industries put Newfoundland in a worse position than before. Because Newfoundland had sold cheaply or given away huge tracts of land to attract foreign investors and built a railroad that was extremely unprofitable, it had fewer financial resources than before to strengthen its fishing industry. Faced with a weak financial position and the 1930's depression, Newfoundland was forced in 1934 to resign itself to Commission Government (Cadigan, 2003; House et al., 1986)

Newfoundland being in the state that it was, it is not surprising that the Commission of Government, not long after its inception, sponsored two inquires (the Amulree Report and the Kent Report) to investigate the social and economic problems that plagued the fishery and Newfoundland in general. Concerning the fishery, both reports reiterated what William Coaker had suggested about 30 years earlier; basically that it was technologically inferior compared to its competitors due to poor quality and poor management, and suffered from a credit system that was costly and inefficient for conducting business (Sinclair, 1987). In response to these findings the Commission Government took it upon itself to improve Newfoundland's economic situation by constructing and repairing vessels commencing in1934; creating the Newfoundland Fisheries Board to improve the production and marketing of cod in 1936; guaranteeing "a minimum price for dried fish at a cost of $450,000" in 1938 (Sinclair, 1987; 30); providing subsidies for the construction of privately owned vessels; providing aid to fishermen whose incomes had been lost due to the 1929 collapse; giving gasoline and salt rebates and reduced tariffs; and finally, in an

attempt to organize the fishery, helping establish some local co-operatives, despite the opposition of merchants in Newfoundland (Sinclair, 1987).

In Ramea, Kendall and Kendall (1991) credit George Penny, then the owner of John Penny and Sons, with taking the initiative to expand his fleet at this time. However, in light of the information above, it is highly likely that the firm had received funds from the Government of Newfoundland, like many other fishing firms in Newfoundland, that contributed to its expansion.

It is not known how much inshore and bank fishermen in Newfoundland benefited from these government contributions. But around this time, when George Penny was expanding his fleet, Kendall and Kendall point out that many of the 53 men working on the skiffs from Ramea were indebted to John Penny and Sons for upgrading their gear, which was imposed on them by the company, and:

> to make matters worse, fishermen indebted to the firm of John Penny and Sons were bound by a written agreement not to salt their fish but to sell it in a green state to the firm at one cent per pound. This meant that the fishermen were not able to cure and dry their fish to sell to some other merchant, possibly at a better margin of profit. They had to sell to Penny's in order to keep supplied with fishing gear. In addition, the fishermen of Ramea protested strongly against the prices charged by the merchant. They were firm in their conviction that unless living costs were reduced, there was little hope of the average fishermen ever being able to pay his bills and thus regain his independence. Fishermen were of the opinion that any employment would be better than fishing (1991: 34).

While the Commission Government had taken some important and worthwhile steps to improve the fishing industry, and hence Newfoundland's overall economy, these measures unfortunately were not enough to compete effectively with other fishing nations, such as Iceland and Norway, in the world market (Sinclair, 1987). Sinclair (1987) points out that this could be attributed to the fact that the Commission Government had not successfully developed its deep

sea fishery during a time when fresh and frozen fillets were becoming popular in the U.S. and Britain (Sinclair, 1987).

While the cod fishing industry, before confederation, regrettably did not experience any necessary changes until the 1930-1940 period, despite William Coaker's efforts, it was not until the Commission Government that any steps were taken to improve marketing and production. Because of such a comparatively late start and the failure to modernize, or at least create linkages for further development within the fishery in the late 19th century, Newfoundland remained underdeveloped right up to the last days that it was a sovereign nation.

The Fishery after Confederation

When Newfoundland joined Canada it was in need of Canada's assistance. In terms of the fishery, specifically, Newfoundland needed Canada because it could not overcome barriers such as its domestic market size and its distance from certain foreign markets compared to other major exporters (Alexander, 1977). However, joining Canada also put Newfoundland and its fishery at a disadvantage. Although the Federal Government had for years expressed concern about the state of fish stocks and consequences for places that depended on the fishery should there be a collapse, it unfortunately did not resolve these issues. Thus, the consequences for Newfoundland have been a loss of the cod fishing and, of course, a loss of livelihood for many Newfoundland families and communities.

Newfoundland being in the state that it was, it is understandable why Joey Smallwood looked to Canada with much respect and optimism. Seeing how this modern country had the infrastructure and industry to support its social welfare state, Smallwood firmly believed that if

Newfoundland was to become a modern province, it too needed industries involved in large-scale manufacturing like the rest of Canada. As a result of this idea that "big is beautiful," a number of things that typified Newfoundland's fishing way of life had to be changed.

According to the federal government, the first order of business was to redirect the industry away from the saltfish trade to the production of frozen groundfish. Although this process began under the Commission of Government, the federal government believed that the traditional saltfish trade that still existed in Newfoundland did not have a place in the modern world. For instance, as explained by Rowe, the Walsh Commission of 1953 and other organizations such as the Fisheries Loan Board and the Fisheries Development Authority expressed the view that:

> By confiding their fishing to the shoreline, Newfoundland fishermen were not taking advantage of the prolific cod and other fish on the offshore banks, whose potential value had been stressed by Dr. Wilfred Templeman and other fishery scientists. Reliance on the salt-cod fishery meant that the Newfoundland fishermen were forced to continue their wasteful habit of throwing away the other fish in their nets and traps. If Newfoundland was to keep pace with her competitors, the fresh-frozen fishery had to be expanded. Fish other than cod, especially flounder and red-fish, had to be utilized (1980: 496).

The federal government argued that by providing frozen groundfish to the U.S. market, Newfoundland would generate the capital needed to improve and sustain its economy in the modern world.

Smallwood too was onside with modernizing the fishing industry; however, he believed that there was also a future for the saltfish trade. Considering there was an increase in saltfish consumption after World War II, it was possible that saltfish could have provided food for third world countries. Unfortunately, despite this, the federal government encouraged the stoppage of the trading of saltfish. For instance, it was obvious that the federal government did not want the

industry to exist when the Walsh Report, which examined the fishery just after confederation, did not even include market prospects for the saltfish trade, nor did it acknowledge that the limitations within the industry were not because of the actual practices of fishermen but "reflected the market and marketing weakness" (Alexander, 1977: 155). With the demise of the saltfish industry, the central focus in Newfoundland became frozen groundfish and changing Newfoundland's society to accommodate this new type of fishing industry.

Although some private enterprises were actively expanding in the years after confederation, the provincial government felt that the private sector would not make all the necessary changes to industrialize the fishery. Therefore, in the early 1950s the Newfoundland government started making and guaranteeing loans to fishermen and to plant owners, as well as improving the province's infrastructure. For example, roads were improved to ensure that fish could be trucked to and from plants quickly, school and medical systems were put into place, and technological advances were introduced into the fishing sector (Rowe, 1980: 496).

It was also during this time that the plant in Ramea added fish meal production and more storage facilities to accommodate the higher volume of fish. However, John Penny and Sons did have some problems in making the changes proposed by government. For example, the move to larger skiffs was not really welcomed by the men in Ramea (Kendall and Kendall, 1991). Kendall and Kendall (1991: 41) state that finding crew to work on these skiffs was a distressing task considering "some young men preferred to work ashore, while others had turned to the draggers or moved to the Great Lakes for employment. ...Better working conditions and higher wages being offered by the Great Lakes shipping companies" were an easy sell for young men who were so used to a life with very little.

The most notorious and profound measure taken to modernize the fishing industry was the state encouraged resettlement program (1953 - 1975). Although the resettlement program did bring about easier and closer access to education, medical and communication services, it was essentially constructed to decrease the number of inshore fishermen and fishing communities. The provincial and federal governments felt that if Newfoundland was to have a stable economy, it needed to have a fishery that did not require them to supplement fishers' incomes. In their opinion, moving people out of isolated communities to larger centers where these fishers would, supposedly, find other job alternatives would solve the majority of Newfoundland's fishery problems. While during the 1965-1970 resettlement period 65.5 percent of migrants did not go to the major centres suggested by government, and many inshore fishermen still continued to fish on the same fishing grounds, it is evident that due to the resettlement programs[2] from 1953 to 1975, the number of active inshore fishermen was reduced (Sinclair, 1987; Copes, 1972; Iverson and Matthews, 1968).

Despite these modernization efforts and others such as technological advances in fishing nets and the introduction of fish finding equipment, overfishing by foreign trawlers left the cod stocks devastated by 1974. This significantly hindered Newfoundland's development. Unfortunately, due to lack of enforcement of the quotas recommended by the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries and the paltry three mile limit imposed by the Canadian government, foreign vessels were able to take full advantage of the cod stocks off the coast of Newfoundland (Sinclair, 1987).

Before the 1974 crisis, the provincial government had on several occasions requested that

[2] Centralization Program (1953-1965) funded and administered by the provincial government, the first-five year Resettlement Program (1965-1970) and the second-five year resettlement program (1970-1975) funded and administered by both levels of government (Alexander, 1972:102-103).

the federal government play a larger role in protecting and managing the fishery. While Rowe (1980) argues that the federal government, through the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE), had already become involved in the fishery by allocating federal funds directly or indirectly, House et al. (1986) clearly state that these funds were not provided to outport Newfoundland since DREE had mainly invested in larger centers such as St. John's. Sinclair clarifies that:

> until the overfishing crisis came to a head, government involvement in the fishing industry was limited to researching and developing technology, providing capital assistance to various enterprises, supplementing fishers' incomes (especially through unemployment insurance payments), building infrastructure, and encouraging the relocation of small settlements (1988: 163).

With the 1974 crisis the federal government decided that it would actually manage the fishery and this initiated a major shift in how the fishery in Newfoundland was to be conducted (Sinclair, 1987).

The federal government's first attempt to ensure a more viable fishery was to extend fisheries jurisdiction to 200 miles offshore to prevent continued foreign overfishing. In theory, it was an effective measure. However, Cadigan (2003) points out that, although many participants in the Newfoundland and Maritime fisheries had criticized foreign vessels for overfishing on the Grand Banks, in reality they were not concerned with conservation. Rather, once the 200-mile jurisdiction was put into place there was renewed optimism that they could now take advantage of the areas once dominated by foreign vessels. In other words, Atlantic Canadian fishing companies wanted to take the foreigner's catches as their own. To make matters worse, this new optimism among Atlantic fishing enterprises was actually supported by both levels of government (Cadigan, 2003). Both the federal and provincial governments provided grants and

loans to plant owners and fishermen. In addition, it is clear that government intended to increase production volume because the number of fish plants in Newfoundland increased from 110 to 175 between 1975 and 1980 (House et al., 1986:91).

The second measure government took as the official *bona fide* guardian of the fishery was to legislate quotas to ensure that Canadians would fish in their own waters conservatively, but quotas too had a number of weaknesses. The Canadian deep-sea companies were allocated quota based on amounts extracted in previous years, thereby allowing the "companies to allocate their resources more rationally" (Sinclair, 1988; 168). However, such a policy was disadvantageous in two ways. One, it was based on the belief that the catches reported by companies were accurate, and (2) it closed off the market to any other viable and potentially beneficial new enterprise. In addition, there were no compulsory restrictions developed to limit the number of cod harvested by inshore fishermen (Sinclair, 1988).

The third substantial measure implemented by the federal government was licenses. Believing that there were too many fishers involved in the fishery, the Federal Government established licenses to control the actual number of those who could participate in the fishery. Unfortunately, there were various contradictions between government policies and the application of those policies. The most notorious example occurred in 1985 when the Federal Government granted National Sea approval to operate a factory-freezer trawler, although this license was never taken up in practice.

After the 1976 crisis the federal government publicly announced that it would implement policies to ensure that a sound fishery would exist for all those actively involved in the fishing sector, while emphasizing that the occupations of those employed in the fishing sector would be protected in the process. However, despite fears voiced by National Sea's own employees in

Burgeo, a petition by Primier Brian Peckford indicating that this licence would cost the jobs of hundreds of Newfoundlanders and place increased pressure on cod stocks, and the licensing policies designed by the federal government, National Sea was granted the right to operate their factory-freezer trawler (Sinclair, 1987). This incident highlighted how defenceless Newfoundland had become against challenges to the well-being of its fishing people (Sinclair, 1987). Overall, the licensing policy developed by the federal government did little to improve the lives of the inshore fishermen.

Due to the over-expansion of fish plants and vessels in the late 1970s, weak fish prices, high interest rates and other increasing costs, by late 1981 individual fishers and companies were plagued again with another fishing crisis. Fishers and companies were suffering alike; however, the federal government's priority rested with the bankruptcies experienced by companies (House et al., 1986). The crisis led to disputes, strikes and plant closures in Newfoundland as inshore fishers, trawlermen and plant workers were determined to keep a firm hold of their wages and benefits in spite of the fishing companies' loss of profit (Sinclair, 1987).

Although the federal government was aware of the industry's problems, the Minister of Fisheries, Hon. James Morgan, stated that the problems experienced by John Penny and Sons in Ramea, were due to its own mismanagement. Such accusations were not taken lightly by Mrs. Margaret Lake, the then owner, especially since a report by the chairman of the executive management committee of the company concluded that the plant showed no signs of mismanagement. However, in 1981, when the provincial government provided the plant with a 3.5 million dollar loan guarantee, it also put an executive in place to keep a watchful eye over the company's management. Unfortunately, by July 1982, the company had not made any profit and Margaret Lake was forced to close the plant doors, thus leaving the community and its people in

complete disarray. Mrs. Lake, even after this incident, however, tried once again to convince the provincial government to give the company additional funding, but the government was unwilling to take the risk; and therefore "on January 6, 1983, the Bank of Nova Scotia placed the Ramea plant in receivership" (Kendall and Kendall, 1991: 45). A sad day this was for a firm that started its business 127 years earlier in 1856 (Penny, 1956).

In its determination to prevent a deepening crisis, the federal government appointed Micheal Kirby to chair an investigation into the causes of the crisis after which Mr. Kirby would be responsible for recommending policies that would improve the fishing sector in Atlantic Canada. The Kirby Report became notorious since it implied that the federal government had only two options concerning the future of the fishing industry. It had to decide whether its main policy objective was employment or economic viability. The report recommended that economic viability was the correct path to take because it was essential that the industry did not rely on government subsidies to keep it afloat.

Another recommendation of the Kirby report was that the government needed to amalgamate the big five fishery companies (National Sea Products, Fishery Products, H.B. Nickerson and Sons, Connors Brothers and The Lake Group) into two larger companies. The report argued that according to the industrialization-modernization model, the restructuring of plants would give Atlantic Canadian fishery companies a competitive edge. In other words, it would be able to compete successfully on an international scale (House et al., 1986). However, as House et al. (1986) point out, the smaller independent plants operating in 1981 were demonstratively more viable than the big five companies, which did not support Kirby's claim.

Another shortfall of the Kirby report was that it did not really present any new approaches to fishery development. Its suggestions were, on the whole, much like prior reports

about the fishery that fostered the idea that "big is better" and that inshore fishers were largely responsible for overfishing. As a result of such viewpoints, it is evident that while not publicly rejecting the involvement of other enterprises such as co-operatives, the report preferred the concentration of buying power (House et al, 1986). Sinclair (1987: 142) argues that the report's most serious weakness was that it failed to recognize the current state of the fishing industry as being underdeveloped and as a result did not propose any initiatives as to how the industry could be a "motor of regional development." He states that the 1980s crisis could have been pivotal in helping Newfoundland overcome underdevelopment. Paradoxically with the old industry severely weakened, this would have been an ideal time for the federal government to developed linkages, such as manufacturing fishing equipment, which would help diversify the fishing economy (Sinclair, 1987).

Consistent with its past attitudes concerning the fishing industry, it is not surprising that the federal government chose to do as the Kirby Report suggested by combining the five companies mentioned previously into National Sea Products Limited and Fishery Products International Limited (House et al., 1986). And so, in 1983, the ownership of the fish plant in Ramea was transferred to F.P.I . Kendall and Kendall explain that this transition ended the "master-man relationship." However, due to the unionization of plant worker employees by the Newfoundland Fishermen Food and Allied Workers Union "members now possessed a spirit of independence and self-reliance they had never known before" (1991: 46).

Despite the amalgamation of the fishing companies in Newfoundland into two bigger ones, little changed in terms of how the fishery was managed. For instance, the fishery was still, for the most part, managed by the federal government. Marketing practices were basically left unchanged and the needs of fishers and workers were ignored despite a submission made to the

Kirby Report by the NFFAWU that "most risks were still shouldered by the fishermen and workers" (Sinclair, 1987: 141). Hence, public support was still required by fishers and processors in the 1980s (Sinclair, 1987).

By 1990, overfishing by foreign vessels still plagued the Northern cod stocks. On the nose and tail of the Grand Banks it was recorded that Spain and Portugal, for example, took five times the approved amount (Sinclair, 1990: 22). Obviously, with the expansion of the fishing industry based in Atlantic Canada, the increase in production volume and improved fishing technologically supported by both levels of government, it is not surprising that Canadian overfishing played an active role in depleting the Northern cod stocks (Sinclair, 1990). The result was the 1992 moratorium placed on the cod fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador.

The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy

When the moratorium was first announced, the federal government provided various assistance packages. By February of 1993, however, the government designed a specific adjustment package called the Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program, which by 1994 was replaced with the Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS). Government proposed that these programs would help fishers and plant workers adjust to the economic restructuring brought about by the cod moratorium.

In her analysis of TAGS policy and the meanings associated with the terms within TAGS policy, Taylor (2002: 152) argues that the "structure, design, and delivery of options available under TAGS" were guided by the idea that the fishery crisis was primarily a labour market crisis. As a result, the TAGS program was not suited to rural Newfoundland's people and communities.

One implication of treating it as a labour market crisis is that it overlooked the fact that the cod crisis was also a family and community crisis. Families and communities indirectly involved in the fishery were also affected by the loss of the cod fishery. The federal government, for the most part, did not acknowledge or provide assistance so that families and communities could cope without the cod fishery (Taylor, 2002). As explained by Neis the government regarded

> ... the fisheries crisis as if it were a crisis of individuals when it was, in fact, a crisis of households, communities and entire regions. Providing income support for *individual*, displaced fishery workers and providing some opportunities for retraining as a means to *adjust* as many as possible of these workers out of the industry did not constitute an adequate response to such a crisis. It ignored the single enterprise community organization of the industry which meant that fishery workers who had invested in homes, boats, gear and communities had lost more than their job. The communities they had helped to build, as well as the homes and enterprises they had established were also at risk (1997: 7).

Another implication of treating the cod crisis as a labour market crisis is that individual fishers and plant workers were viewed simply as workers. Men and women in rural Newfoundland, according to the federal government, were only connected to the fishery though their occupations (Taylor, 2002). However, the fishery in rural Newfoundland was not only an occupation, it was also a way of life. As explained by Woodrow, the fishery:

> ... is a way of life saturating almost every aspect of their daily lives form their speech to their social institutions such as church and school. Official government treats the fishery as an occupational activity. Rules and regulations do not take into account the social and cultural aspects of the fishery --- how the fishery is integrated into the lives of fishers and their community (1996: 2).

In addition, labeling the cod closure as a fisheries crisis underestimates the long-term effects of the moratorium. For many rural Newfoundlanders and communities the cod closure was just that --- a closure. Considering that fish stocks in some areas are slowly recovering, while others may never recover, and in many rural communities economic initiatives since the

moratorium have not provided long-term economic stability, the cod crisis not only meant workers would be displaced but that families would be permanently separated and communities decimated (Taylor, 2002).

Lastly, there have been concerns that the TAGS program was actually another form of resettlement. For example, the training offered to TAGS recipients to help them to adjust trained individuals for occupations that often were not available in their town or in their region or even in their province (Taylor, 2002). As illustrated by Taylor (2002) TAGS policy clearly indicates that government knowingly encouraged the resettlement of individuals. In support of her argument, she points out that the Auditor General's report of 1999 stated that the federal government did not acknowledge that there were strengths within communities and regions towards which some displaced workers could have focused their energy. As well, other problems noted by the Auditor General about the TAGS program are that the spending of TAGS funds did not always coincide with the purpose of TAGS, and the report suggested that the federal government did not provide any coordinated strategic plans to link with other government levels.

Summary

Modernization has not come easily to the Newfoundland fishery. Since its very beginning it has had to overcome many hurdles. Even though there have been problems associated with international markets and the like, the majority of Newfoundland's fishing industry problems can be attributed to how both levels of government and the former Newfoundland national government have approached and managed the fishing industry. While

the federal government, especially, has done more recently to consider biological factors, it still fails to account for the social factors, such as fishing families and fishing communities, which are closely associated with the fishing industry, an industry that was embedded in and thus part of the social structure and culture (Apostle et al., 1998). Apostle et al. (1998) state that because governments continually use a pure market approach to the fishery, coastal communities and the families that reside there are continually marginalized from the fishing industry, and therefore suffer the most when transformations occur. In the following chapter, I turn to examine how the people of Ramea have adjusted to the cod moratorium. It is from their interpretations that we truly get an understanding of how much the fishery meant to rural outport communities and the costs of not having the cod fishery today.

Chapter Five

Survival Strategies

How people react to economic restructuring is not entirely based on individual preferences or social determinism. The actions taken to cope with economic change by individuals are conditioned by "the actor's personal relations, and by the structure of the overall network of relations" (Granovetter, 1990). Therefore, the coping mechanisms or survival strategies used by respondents to deal with the loss of the cod fishery are affected by the social relations in their community as well as the type of social structure that exists there. In addition, because of the influences that affect an individual's economic actions, a survival strategy does not come about, in most cases, as a consciously devised plan. Rather it is a product of the tools that exist within an individual's culture that help him or her to adjust to economic restructuring (Swidler, 1986).

Before I provide an objective analysis of the survival strategies prevalent among research respondents and other members within their household, the first section of this chapter will focus on the comments made by respondents about their lives in Ramea in the past and at the present time. Reading the opinions of those affected by the cod closure is necessary because only the respondents themselves can truly vocalize how the cod moratorium has affected them. From section two to section six the actual survival strategies of respondents are discussed. More specifically, the second section provides an overview of the current sources of incomes of respondents and their households. Migration is discussed in the third section. The fourth section explores informal activities as a means to adjust to the cod moratorium. The importance of Job Creation Programs is considered in the fifth section. The sixth section provides an overview of

other forms of adjustment that respondents have made use of since 1992 and in the final section I again use the respondents own statements to give us an idea of how respondents perceive their future and the future of Ramea in general.

Interpretations of Economic Restructuring

In the Past...

For the majority of respondents, Ramea in the past represented a time of few worries and little troubles. According to respondents, the town was booming, anyone who wanted a job in Ramea found one, and social life thrived in every aspect. Realizing how important the fishing industry was in making all this happen the comments made by respondents about the past were mainly about the fish plant and what it was like to work there. For example, one respondent explains:

> So, we, the people of Ramea, myself included, we always woke up every day and went to work from Monday to Saturday and sometimes Sunday. We never had a worry. We all had jobs. So, we get up everyday and we go to work, everybody. We could get our holidays throughout summer or fall, whenever we wanted. Kids from school could leave school at 3 or 4 o'clock and go down to the fish plant and work. They could work Saturdays or nights or Sundays and it was like that all the time. University students were the same way. Go to university and come back in April and work till September, not a problem. I say very few students had to get any loans because we worked in the summer for about 5 months. Back then the tuition wasn't the same so that made a lot of difference too. So, we went from

having someone take care of us on a regular basis day after day after day, year end and year out. We didn't have a worry, none.

Another respondent recalls the situation in a similar way:

> The manager at the plant was Manna Augustus. She came to the school interviewing us for jobs at the fish plant. When I got out of school in grade 10 in the summer, we went to work on the fish plant, and then you went back to school. In grade 11, in the afternoon, at 3 o'clock before the bell rings, with the P.A. system they would say would so and so report to work. They would call us. As soon as you can get to work you would go to work and after supper work till 8 and sometimes till 10 o'clock. This is where you lost interest in school. And you were making good money. There was a lot of money in Ramea and there was money to burn. People did this and people did that and the club was full.

With so many jobs available, it was unimaginable for people employed at the plant to think that there could be a day without the cod fishery. A comment made by a respondent emphasizes the expectations that existed among many people prior to 1992. He states:

> My opinion of the past was fish is a food; we'll always need food so if you're working in the fishing industry you'll always have a job. Little did I think that it would collapse completely. So, we were devastated.

From the above comments and others similar to these, it seems as though the respondents never considered the possibility that the cod fishery and their occupations would be in jeopardy. For people working at the plant, specifically, they were never given any signs, in their opinion, that the cod fishery would not last. However, a fisherman stated that in the late nineteen eighties it was getting harder to find the cod to meet his quota. He points out:

In the late eighties there wasn't much here. People 'round town used to think that we were getting what we used to get but on the last of it, we had to go out longer and more often...the fishery was going down fast during that time.

They Pulled the Bottom Out

The immediate shock of the cod moratorium felt by many individuals and households in Ramea was cushioned by the allotment of TAGS. However, the severity of the situation was understood by one individual who looked at the situation from the community's perspective. He explains:

All of a sudden in 1992, they pulled the bottom out and here we are and we don't know how to fend for ourselves and we're still learning. We just had no idea about how to go about starting to get some enterprise come in or get some economic activity going. We just didn't know how to do it and we still are in the learning process. We got a long ways to go before we can get up there.

Although the respondents who received TAGS benefits were thankful for it, both those who did and those who did not receive TAGS have voiced criticism about how the programme was administered. For example,

When it comes to the TAGS they should have been forced to go to school, to get an education. If you didn't want to do nothing, you didn't have to. Government did not help people to adjust. They were the ones who had control of it.

Research Respondent

The TAGS program was administered wrong. The idea of the dollars for displaced workers was perfect but they should not have access to the dollars

sitting home. They should've ...it would have been better if the federal government had said to FPI, here is a lump sum of money. Go buy some frozen sea fish from the Berring Sea in Russia somewhere, bring it into Newfoundland into your plants and process it, keep the workers here. It would have been way better cause people sat back for five years brought in those cheques from the federal government and in a lot of cases they were making more money through TAGS than they made when they worked at the plant and that I know. They weren't paying into insurance schemes; they were only paying EI and CPP. When they were working at the plant they had all those deductions. They were actually taking in more money. I know that. They told me over and over. And then all of sudden when it ends, they're lost again.

Research Respondent

It was pointed out on two occasions that once the residents of Ramea loss their TAGS benefits, it was then that the town really started to feel the effects of the cod moratorium.

Since TAGS ran out...that's when people started going away.

Research Respondent

Well, after they ran out of TAGS, I found it to be a big scrabble tryin to find something to do, trying to find employment and it was about that time we started to lose our population here. Things have changed drastically. In recent years it's harder to get people to move. Overall feeling here in Ramea right now is I wouldn't say it's an all time low but there's not much enthusiasm; morale is down. And that's because of lack of employment. Everyone needs to be

working.

Research Respondent

People were not the only thing that Ramea lost after the cod moratorium. In relation to the above comment, there are other participants in this study who also felt that because of the lack of work people started to lose interest in other areas of life which did not, in some cases, require money. For instance, when asked the question "Do you think life in Ramea has changed since the cod moratorium?" one man replied:

> Yes, a lot. People don't associate the same. At Christmas everybody would go from one house party to the next. Now, there are no house parties. Maybe because of money, *but people keep more to themselves nowadays*" [italics added].

A woman also describes the changes in Ramea as follows:

> There's not a lot of people left here. For instance, we were up watching hockey one night and we were saying there used to be 4 or 5 teams of hockey players. Like now there's nobody. It's only Friday nights that a bunch goes up. Like there's no teams anymore. And there used to be softball here. You don't have that anymore. Nobody's... I don't know...it's like nobody's interested anymore or something.

It was also emphasized by a respondent that the effects of the cod moratorium not only affected the adults but that children in Ramea suffer as well:

> Nothing for the youth here. They don't have a hangout and they don't hardly have any dances for them like they use to.

Another way in which respondents expressed how restructuring has changed Ramea was how

Ramea looks now as compared to before the moratorium. Many participants took note of the fact that because of out-migration more and more houses are being torn down and more street lights have been shut off. However, the most vivid sign that Ramea is going through a transition is that the fish plant itself is collapsing. A woman perceives this to mean that Ramea's time has passed for any involvement in the fishery. She states, "I always said that the plant would open up again, but since it fell down my hopes are gone."

As shown above, respondents are well aware of the importance the cod fishery played in their lives past and present. Seeing how their community and its people have changed due to the moratorium, respondents now realize how important the cod fishery was not only in providing them with a job but how important it was for the happiness they experienced in other areas of life outside of the cod fishery. Because of this realization, the respondent's reflections on the past consistently display happiness and fulfilment whereas their experiences in the present display remorse and lack vitality.

Current Sources of Incomes

One of the most interesting and most informative questions pertaining to the thesis topic was what were the sources of income obtained by those still living in Ramea. For example, were new enterprises in Ramea providing employment or were the majority of residents relying on Social Assistance? I was able to divide the answers to these questions into 5 categories. Although, the categories themselves seem somewhat mundane, how households in Ramea were able to use combinations of these sources of incomes is most intriguing and revealing.

The main sources of income among households in this study are: (1) permanent employment; (2) non-stable employment; (3) pensions; (4) Social Assistance; and (5) no

personal income.

Based on respondents own interpretations of permanent employment, permanent employment in this study includes jobs that respondents felt they or another member of their household would be able to keep till retirement. The jobs can be subdivided into either full-time permanent or part-time permanent. In addition, some respondents who did label their own or their partner's employment as permanent still felt that these jobs were vulnerable to change. Comments such as "no such thing as a permanent job nowadays" and "if Danny (Premier Danny Williams) keeps things the way they are, my husband will be able to retire in a few years" were expressed by respondents when discussing permanent employment.

Building on House et al. (1989) classification of the working and middle classes of Anchor Point and Bird Cove, I decided to categorize non-stable employment as jobs that do not provide year-round employment. For example, jobs that are seasonal or temporary. Considering that non-stable jobs include various employment schemes, I subdivided this category into full-time seasonal, full-time temporary, and part-time temporary. There were no examples of part-time seasonal jobs that my research respondents or other members of their household occupied.

The category "Pensions" includes individuals who are receiving income from a combination of government administered plans such as the Canadian Pension Plan, Old Age Security Plan and the Registered Retirement Savings Plan (RRSP). Although Social Assistance recipients also receive income administered by the government, more specifically the provincial government, it is an important category in itself because it gives us an idea of how reliant households are on welfare programs.

The last category "no personal income" applies to the actual research respondent and not their entire household. Households may include a respondent who is not receiving any income,

but the household's source of income comes from the respondent's partner. Those respondents who are in the "no personal income" category include respondents who are not currently employed and are not currently receiving any income. Many of these individuals currently see no opportunity to obtain employment in the future.

Sources of Income of Research Participants

Despite the perceptions of some people that Newfoundland rural outport communities are "welfare ghettos," the following data collected about individual and household incomes reveal that the economic situation within Ramea is not as bleak as some perceive it to be. This case study shows that there is some diversity in the types of income that are utilized by respondents.

Of the participants that were interviewed two individuals (6%) rely on Social Assistance, four individuals (13%) have full-time permanent occupations, three individuals (9%) have part-time permanent occupations, five individuals (16%) are not employed, six individuals (19%) are receiving some sort of pension plan, and twelve individuals (38%) are employed in non-stable jobs. More specifically, among participants that are employed in non-stable jobs, nine of these individuals (75%) are in full-time seasonal jobs, two individuals (17%) are in full-time temporary jobs, and one individual (8%) is employed in a part-time temporary job. I would also like to note that the nine individuals interviewed who were identified as receiving their income from full-time seasonal jobs, were receiving Employment Insurance at the time of the interview. Therefore, their income comes from two sources, seasonal employment and Employment Insurance. I chose to use "full-time seasonal" to represent their source of income because if it were not for their seasonal job they would not qualify for Employment Insurance.

Sources of Income for Entire Household

In addition to information obtained about the sources of income that respondents have,

information was also collected about the other sources of income that exist within the participant's household, as well as about the main sources of income that currently exist among all households in Ramea. There are various sources of income that exist within households; however, non-stable jobs are still the most common type of occupation that is responsible for providing the main source of income for households.

As shown in Table 1, of 32 households, fourteen households' (44%) main source of income is acquired through non-stable occupations. In addition, two households (6%) have at least one member employed in a non-stable job, while the other adult of the household is employed in a part-time permanent job. Only two households (6%) involved in this study rely on Social Assistance for their main source of income. Five households' (16%) only source of income comes from pension plans. Three households' (9%) source of income is split between a pensioner and another member of the household. The additional member of these households is employed in either a full-time permanent, part-time permanent or full-time temporary job. Lastly, six households' (16%) main source of income comes from one or both adult members of the household being employed in a full-time permanent job.

Table 1: Main Sources of Income for Households

Main Source of Income	Number of Households	Percentage of Respondents
Non-stable jobs	14	44%
Non-stable job + Part-time Permanent	2	6%
Social Assistance	2	6%
Pension	5	16%
Pension + another income source	3	9%
Full-time	6	19%
Totals:	32	100%

In summary these data show that overall the households studied are not highly dependent on Social Assistance. Pension plans contribute to eight households (25%) main source of income and almost half of the households studied rely on non-stable incomes. Also worth mentioning about the households that use non-stable income as their main source of income is that thirteen out of these fourteen households have received Employment Insurance in the past year. More specifically, in six households both members utilized Employment Insurance and in seven households one member received Employment Insurance in the past year. Why these households have adapted in this way rather than migrating to search for permanent employment is explained by the participants themselves later in this chapter.

Migration

Usually when the notion of migration is discussed as an effect of the cod crisis the academic community and the general public alike limit their analysis to out-migration and/or net migration. Although, important in their own right, these types of migration do not include other forms of migration that became more prominent because of the cod closure. Data collected for this study also include information about other residents of Ramea In general, the data reveal that while people still reside in Ramea, different forms of migration are used as a common form of economic adjustment. Various forms of migration such as seasonal, short-term, on-call and recurring migration are utilized as survival strategies by those who still wish to call Ramea their home.

In order to fully understand the actual affects of the cod moratorium, out-migration before 1992 needs to be considered as the baseline against which change can be measured.

Out-Migration

> Ten years ago, the historic Newfoundland fishery was halted. Since then communities have been gutted of young people and the middle-aged. Some outports have dwindled into shells of their former vitality. Each year of the so-called moratorium — and there have been ten of these years — has seen the gradual, slow atrophy of the cardinal signature of Newfoundland's way of being.
>
> Rex Murphy
> Points of View, 2003

At first reading of this quote by Rex Murphy, most Newfoundlanders and Labradorians would quickly agree that this province has suffered greatly from out-migration due to the cod moratorium. I will not argue with the fact that Newfoundland and Labrador's population has decreased substantially since the cod moratorium. However, Rex Murphy's statement, quoted above, is misleading because it assumes that out-migration was not a problem before the moratorium occurred. In reality, historical evidence shows that Newfoundland's population was declining even before the cod closure happened.

Sinclair (2002) points out that rural Newfoundlanders, especially young people, have been leaving their homes for years. Using data collected from the Canadian census, he shows that from 1972 to 1991 there was a net loss of youth, aged 18 - 24, 14 out of 19 years (Sinclair, 2002). Looking even further into the past, House, White and Ripley also state that between 1956 and 1986 Newfoundland was "the only Atlantic province which has experienced consistently high loss of population through net migration" (1989: 8). In particular, the population changes

recorded for Ramea demonstrate that Ramea has experienced a decline in population since 1981. In fact, the population in Ramea in 1981 was 1,386. However, by 1991 it had dropped to 1,224 (-11.7%) (Statistics Canada, 1981, 1991).

Due to the underdevelopment that has plagued Newfoundland for centuries, Newfoundlanders have consistently been leaving the island in search of jobs. For this reason, the cod moratorium cannot be identified as the sole reason for "gutting" our communities. The cod moratorium is significant because it was the final straw that broke rural Newfoundland's back. Since the cod fishery was the initial, the only and the last reason why the majority of rural communities existed in Newfoundland, the problem of out-migration was exacerbated after the moratorium occurred. Having no real immediate options, rural communities are now suffering from even higher rates of out-migration.

Out-migration was not perceived as a pressing concern by the people of Ramea until after 1996. Nevertheless between 1991 and 1996 the population decreased from 1,224 to 1,080 (-11.8%) (Statistics Canada, 1996). This decrease was a continuation of a considerable decline in the previous five years from 1986 and 1991 (-11.3). Therefore, it cannot be concluded that the cod moratorium that occurred in 1992 contributed directly to a significant increase in the rate of out migration between 1991 and 1996 (Statistics Canada, 1986, 1991). Between 1996 and 2001, however, the loss of population was much greater. Ramea's population in 1996 was 1,080, but by 2001 it was 754 a decrease of 30.2% (Statistics Canada, 2001). Unfortunately because of the date of this study, I cannot provide evidence to explain why such a huge increase in out-migration occurred after 1996 while the cod closure itself took place in 1992. However, a few questions worth considering are: was the rate of out-migration after 1996 related to the loss of TAGS benefits? And if so, what does this say about the effectiveness of the TAGS program in

helping people adjust to the cod moratorium?

Migration among Participants and Households

Although my study was based on research participants and their households that have remained in Ramea, the most common form of adjustment to life without the cod fishery among these participants and members of their households is migration. Fifty percent of research respondents reported that they and/or someone within their household have used migration since the cod moratorium as a coping mechanism.

The types of migration reported are different than out-migration as discussed earlier. Migration in this case, gave respondents the flexibility to search for opportunities elsewhere while allowing them to remain or return to Ramea. Also, the types of migration that will be listed below began since the cod crisis. In other words, if a participant was involved in some type of migration before 1992, then their migration could not be possibly linked to the cod closure. In the following paragraphs I will discuss the types of migration that respondents and other members in their household participated in between 1992 and 2004 as well as their current forms of adjustment.

Types of Migration

In House, White and Ripley's 1989 study of migration from Anchor Point and Bird Cove, they identify five types of migration that residents engage in. These types of migration include: daily migration, seasonal migration, short-term migration, permanent migration and speculative migration (House et al., 1989). In terms of my own research study, not all the types of migration listed are applicable in Ramea. Nevertheless, these categories provide a useful guideline as to how migration can be viewed.

The most popular type of coping mechanism that involved migration was **seasonal migration**. Seasonal migration is not a new phenomenon in the occupational history of Newfoundland and Labrador. However, seasonal migration has changed somewhat in Ramea from that which existed before the cod moratorium. For example, before 1992 the only individuals in Ramea known to engage in seasonal employment were men who made a living working on "the Lakes" (freighters on the Great Lakes). Because it was impossible to transport cargo safely when the lakes were frozen, the men employed on these ships were laid off. Furthermore, their jobs were seasonal since these men would often return home for the winter and wait till spring when they were called to go back to work. Even among fishermen,[2] year-round employment was possible because of Ramea's geographical location. Icebergs or ice flows from the Labrador Current were not a major issue so it was feasible to fish about ten to twelve months a year.

Of the 16 households that reported migration as an adaptive strategy, 10 households (63%) had members who engaged in seasonal migration. Seasonal jobs involved people going away from April or May till October to work in seafood processing plants like the lobster plants in Prince Edward Island or the crab plant in Benoit's Cove, Newfoundland and Labrador. Some went to Ontario from spring till fall to work either at a construction job or on a farm. Others found employment as ship caretakers, known locally as "shipkeepers," on the same freighters that employ the traditional seasonal migrants. The duties of shipkeepers are quite different than the traditional seasonal migrants in that shipkeepers are responsible for the ship while it is docked during the winter. Painting, repairing and cleaning are often performed by shipkeepers,

[2] I am using "fishermen" because before the cod closure women in Ramea were not employed in fish harvesting.

while the traditional seasonal migrants are responsible for the safe shipping of cargo that is transported from port to port.

Another difference regarding seasonal migration after 1992, in Ramea, is that women now pursue these seasonal jobs. Among the 32 households studied, 5 (15%) included women who were engaged in seasonal migration. Usually depending on whether a household has school-aged children or the type of seasonal job obtained, husbands and wives are known to live away till their term of employment has ended. For example, for households that do not have any children in the local school it is not uncommon for husband and wife partners to work together at a lobster plant in Prince Edward Island.

Seasonal migration in Ramea has changed in terms of the type of occupations obtained, who is involved and the percentage of people from Ramea who pursue these seasonal occupations. Another factor relating to how these "new" seasonal jobs are different from previous ones is the various effects these jobs have on the participants that make a living from them.

One profound result of working at these seasonal jobs is lower incomes. All of those who engage in these "new" seasonal jobs used to work at the fish plant in Ramea, which meant they were paid on average $10.00 per hour. However, working at a processing plant in Prince Edward Island, for example, pays between $6.00 and $8.00 per hour. As two respondents explained:

> ...and the wages you're getting...it's still not the best. You got to work a lot of hours to make money to live on, especially when you're away. It's not bad...it's better than social assistance.

> We can't save anything now. Even with the money that I'm making now... everything else is going up except your wages. EI benefits should have been indexed to keep up with the costs of living. We're only getting the same EI benefits that we got 10 years ago, I suppose. If they could get something started in Ramea for the people that is left here... if she [participant's wife] could get 10 to 15 hours, then that would help with the car payments. But right now everything is over stretched. It's just not enough. You can't save. When I'm working you're on a level, but when you come home it's cut in half. You have to readjust again.

As indicated above, another limitation expressed by respondents is that they also have more expenses as compared to when they worked at the fish plant. For example, a participant speaks about the restraints of having a car and little money...

> I liked to get out more, but because I'm leasing the car, I can't visit my son. And if you're doing much travelling you have to pay for the miles...and when you're going to PEI every year you use up a lot of mileage.

Extra expenses have also restricted the participants' ability to maintain their homes. Considering that participants have lower wages and more expenses, they cannot afford to replace windows or siding, for instance, when needed. As well, the males of the households who usually do these types of maintenance and repairs are away during the warmer months of the year. Therefore, the weather conditions when they are home are not always suitable for doing such activities.

Although participants realize that their houses are not getting the attention that they need, most people still keep a positive attitude about their living conditions. For example, one respondent stated:

> I was watching on T.V. the other night about people up in Toronto lying down on the street in cardboard boxes. I thought to myself, my house is better than his. And as long as I can make enough money to stay in this house, I'll stay here.

Another point that was mentioned by partners whose spouses worked away was the fact they have to be separated for so many months. Females, especially, mentioned how difficult it was to deal with the loneliness of having their partner away for so long. One woman explained, "once my son finishes school; once he's gone, I'm gone too. I find it too lonely." Another woman explained, "families are separated now. Husbands don't see their family for months at a time."

Another type of migration that a participant's spouse has been involved in since the cod closure is **recurring migration**. Only one household has a member of their household involved in recurring migration. This respondent was labelled as a recurring migrant because the job requires the individual to leave Ramea routinely. The migrant continuously leaves for about three weeks and then returns home for three weeks. This differs from seasonal migration since seasonal migration is dependent on jobs that are seasonal in nature. For example, respondents who leave Ramea to work as tree planters or as plant workers in a lobster plant. Recurring migration, on the other hand, is not dependent on the season or time of the year.

When asked about how this household adjusted to the cod moratorium, the respondent felt there was a period of time when their life was uncertain, but it was not long after the

moratorium that the respondent's spouse found other employment. This was due to the education that the respondent's spouse obtained in the early 1980s. In addition, it was stated by the respondent that the permanent job acquired by her spouse actually improved their household's overall financial situation.

One household (6%) had a participant engaged in **sporadic migration**. This respondent was called a sporadic migrant because since the fish plant closed in Ramea this research participant had obtained various jobs in several different places. The only thing consistent about the jobs that the participant was employed in while away is that they were all managerial positions. Currently, this participant is employed in a temporary position in Ramea. It is possible that once this job is completed the respondent will leave once again. The respondent explained that being a manager was enjoyable. However, it was also stated that because these jobs were so unstable, there had been a few times when the participant's household had to resort to Social Assistance.

Another type of migration is **short-term migration**. Short-term migration in this study refers to migrants who leave Ramea for about 1-2 years in order to further their education. Three respondents (19%) reported that they and/or someone in their household lived away for a period of time. Interesting though, two out of the three households that had engaged in short-term migration now have permanent, year-round employment due to their education. However, the member of the third household is employed only in seasonal employment because of the nature of their job.

When the fish plant closed down in Ramea not all employed there lost their jobs. The men who worked on the trawlers, for example, did not exactly lose their jobs. However, they

were forced to follow the trawlers to other fish plants in Newfoundland. Now they have to engage in **on-call migration**.

On-call migrants are different from the previous two types of migrants because most of the time these men who worked on the trawlers never know exactly when they have to return to work. Seasonal and short-term migrants, for instance, have a more fixed time frame in which they migrate. They know for the most part how long they will be away and when they have to leave. However, on-call migrants never know when they have to return to work. A quick phone call from their employer is the only way they know when they have to leave. As well, the on-call migrant is only given a few weeks notice at the most as to what time he should be aboard the vessel. Some people in Ramea may argue that this is the lifestyle very much like the men who work "on the Lakes." However, I think most would agree that the men who work on the lake boats have a more set time frame for their work schedules. The boats that the trawler men work on, on the other hand, can be "tied up" one day and in a few days time can leave the docks again. Within my study, one (6%) respondent was an on-call migrant. However, as described below by the respondent himself, because of the demands of the job he decided to retire:

> After the cod moratorium they took the draggers [trawlers] with them. So, the crowd with seniority went with them too. We ended up in Harbour Breton first and then Marystown...On the last of it, the reason why I retired was because I was going back and forth by myself. I'd leave Marystown or Harbour Breton and by the time I got back here, I got a call saying I had to go back again. I found it was getting hard on me... travelling so much... driving and that. And the wife was getting worried about it in the wintertime cause that's when we mostly go fishing

down Harbour Breton and she started getting nervous. So, when the retirement package came out, I said the heck with it.

Return migration only affected one household. I was told by a member of this household that while living away from Ramea their family had moved four times between 1998 and 2002, before returning to Ramea. During their time away, the participant had a number of temporary jobs and one seasonal job. The research respondent's spouse, on the other hand, first completed a trade and then did a number of contractual jobs. But they had to return to Ramea because her partner was not getting enough stable work to help pay the bills.

> Sometimes his job was 30 weeks and sometimes it was 12 weeks. We didn't know one day from the next what it would be. Then, we had to move back because Nathan [not actual name] was only working part-time and then he got laid off. It's cheaper here to live. You own your house and ... you don't have to worry about paying money for gas. Here you can walk to the shop, pick up your groceries and then the shop delivers your groceries for free.
>
> Research Respondent

Even though I considered migration to be the most important survival strategy among members of households in Ramea, there still exist 16 households whose members did not rely on migration at any time.

Non-Migrants

In trying to understand why people did not migrate, the first thing that was considered was the occupations of those who did not rely on migration for their household's main income. Of the 16 households that did not have any members who engage in migration, five households

(31%) had occupants whose occupations were not directly affected by the moratorium, four households (25%) had occupants that were involved in fish harvesting and were able to adjust to the cod closure without losing their business, two households (13%) have members who were able to receive an early retirement package once the fish plant closed, and, in addition to this, two households (13%) were able to find a combination of temporary and part-time jobs in Ramea since the moratorium. However, one respondent within this category stated that because of the insecurity that comes with being employed in various part-time and temporary jobs they had to rely on Social Assistance for a brief period of time. One household (6%) has a member who had obtained post-secondary education before they started working on the fish plant and was able to use their education to obtain permanent employment after the cod crisis. Lastly, of the 16 households that did not contain migrants only two (13 %) resorted to Social Assistance as their main source of income.

House, White and Ripley (1989) make a valid and interesting point about the social classes that existed in Anchor Point and Bird Cove and how that relates to migration patterns among residents. Like Anchor Point and Bird Cove, Ramea consists of two major social classes, the middle class and the working class. House, White and Ripley distinguish between the two by stating that the middle class:

> enjoy stable, year-round salaried employment and long-term occupational **careers**. Working-class families lack employment security. They work either in wage-paying **jobs** or as dependent commodity producers (fishermen), often (in rural Newfoundland, usually) of a seasonal and short-term nature, they regularly experience spells of unemployment, and their employment history depends on their finding jobs rather than pursuing careers (1989:17).

House, White and Ripley (1989) argue that differences in the patterns of migration that exist among residents of Anchor Point and Bird Cove can be related to their social class and their class-based experiences. For instance, from their study they discovered that when the middle-class migrate they migrate either because they want to gain a higher position within their current occupation or because they feel that their current residence does not provide themselves and their family with enough career opportunities. Working-class migration, on the other hand, is characterized by job search. For instance, due to lack of employment, they look for jobs that exist within other towns. To put it in simpler terms, the middle-class largely engage in **career** migration, whereas the working-class engage in **job** migration (House, White and Ripley, 1989).

This argument is also supported by my findings about participants who were employed at the fish plant before the cod closure and who engaged in migration. Of the 16 households that had members who were migratory, 13 (81%) stated that their reasons for migrating were related to the fact that they had lost their job at the fish plant and had to search for another job elsewhere. The other three cases migrated because they felt it necessary to leave Ramea to further their education.

Informal Household Activities

Informal household activities differ from regular standardized jobs in that informal activities include work that is not accounted for in the official market economy, For this reason, informal activities have been labelled by Pahl (1987) as 'unrecorded work' and by Sinclair (2002) as 'unofficial economic activities.' However, this is not to say that those who partake in informal activities do not sometimes get paid in cash or in-kind for their labour. Therefore, informal household activities as measured in this study are composed of not only unpaid labour

but also paid activities that respondents participate in outside of formal jobs. The significance of looking at both paid and unpaid informal activities is to accurately assess whether involvement in the informal sector is a survival strategy used by residents of Ramea to remain there.

For many years it was thought that the level of household income was an indication of the degree to which a household engaged in informal activities. For instance, it was assumed that if a household's overall income were comparatively low then the members of that household would take advantage of more informal activities to produce for the needs of the household. Hence, engaging in informal activities would be a survival strategy used by lower-income households to compensate in times of lack of paid employment. This assessment of informal activities does make economic sense. However, my study and other related studies on informal activities show that when analysing the informal sector other factors need to be considered since a household's overall financial circumstance does not necessarily indicate the household's level of engagement in informal activities.

Respondents were asked about informal household activities in the form of a table. The table listed an informal activity, and recorded who in their household does this activity and how much time is spent at it per week. Respondents were also asked their reasons for doing the informal activity. The types of activities listed in the table are: knitting, sewing, baking, cleaning, gardening, hunting, fishing, repairing/maintaining home and vehicle, caring for children, picking berries, making jam, snow clearing, and cutting wood. Respondents were also asked if there were any other activities that they engaged in not listed in the table.

As expected, 100% of households reported being involved in some sort of informal activity. However, when respondents were asked how much time they spent at a particular activity, unless they engaged in it daily, respondents could not recall, for the most part, how

much time they spent doing each activity per week. The reason for this is that some activities were dependent on the season of the year, for example, hunting and on occasional necessity for example household repairs and maintenance.

From the 32 households in question, 14 (44%) have at least one member of the household who participates in informal activities that were paid such as selling knitted goods, quilts, wooden crafts, cutting grass, shovelling snow, and replacing windows and siding on other houses than their own. Of these 14 households, the average income range is $10,000 to $19,999. In comparison, among the 18 households that do not receive cash for informal activities, the average income range is $20,000 to $29,999. From the data it could be argued that there is a negative correlation between informal paid activities and household income levels. However, a closer inspection of the data that I have collected through primary and secondary sources show that the reasons why people engage in informal activities are not entirely based on monetary needs or wants. They are also related to the social fabric of the community in which the household is located.

First, it must be acknowledged that if there is an inverse relationship between total household income and level of participation in informal activities, then the respondent in my study with the lowest total household income ($0 to $9, 999) should have the highest level of engagement in the informal sector. However, what is evident in my study is that the household with the lowest total household income has actually never been paid for performing any informal tasks and has the lowest level of involvement in informal activities compared to all other respondents in my study.

An account for why this occurs is given by Pahl (1987) regarding his study of residents of the Isle of Sheppey in Kent, England. From his research findings, he points out that because

individuals and households need money in order to make money, it was difficult for lower income households to obtain such things as tools in order to engage in informal activities such as repairing a neighbour's house. Pahl argues that the "people with their own tools and materials owning their own dwellings and cars and having spare time, perhaps as a result of longer holidays or shift work, have the resources to do more self-provisioning" (1987: 40). Therefore, informal work strategies could not be viewed as an income substitute for lower earners who lacked formal employment. Instead, what seems to be occurring is a process of polarization in which the more affluent households have more money and resources to engage in informal activities, whereas the poorer households have less money and resources and thus have lower levels of participation in informal activities (Pahl, 1987).

This argument is reinforced by my own case study. For instance, if someone in Ramea would like to go moose hunting on the "Burgeo Road" or in White Bear Bay, they need a car if travelling to Burgeo Road or a boat if travelling to White Bear Bay. As well, they need accommodations, food, a rifle and ammunition. All of these things require money. In addition, because of the lack of resources and fertile soil on the island on which Ramea is situated, wood for heating and produce, for example, need to be shipped in by the local ferry. Thus, utilizing local resources informally is basically impossible.

Secondly, when respondents with paid activities were asked their reasons for doing particular activities their explanation did not correspond to the fact they had been paid for these activities. Responses included: it was a good "past-time," a hobby, they enjoyed doing it and people personally asked them to do it.

Thirdly, the groups of respondents who engaged in either paid or unpaid informal activities expressed the same reasons for doing so. For example, respondents who were paid

money or paid in kind for their informal services did not provide these services because they wanted payment. Their reasons were based on such things as time and leisure available. These were the same reasons expressed by those who engaged in unpaid informal activities. As well, for all households that participated in self-provisioning activities like baking, hunting and/or fishing, respondents reported that they liked performing the activities and that they liked the taste of moose and trout, in particular, and not because it saved them money.

Finally, rural residents in Newfoundland and Labrador historically have had to rely on self-provisioning in their local area for services that would be purchased from businesses if they lived in an urban area (Felt and Sinclair 1992; Jensen et al. 1995; Levitan and Feldman 1991). Jensen et al. explain "lacking economies of agglomeration, essential services may be unavailable or deficient in less settled rural areas, forcing people to develop and rely on informal alternatives" (1995: 93). As expressed by respondents in the study, one reason for doing certain informal activities is because people specifically asked them to do it. One respondent stated clearly about a service he provides, "no one else can do it, so people call me."

Another issue that was mentioned by participants about their engagement in informal activities related to the availability of time. One respondent claimed that when he was not working full-time, he had more time to commit to informal activities. However, now that he is employed he does not have the time to do all the things people in Ramea ask him to do. Felt and Sinclair (1992) also highlighted this point in their study of unwaged labour in the Great Northern Peninsula. They argued that "people who are not employed have more 'free' time;" (1992: 78). Therefore, if people are participating more in formal jobs, it is likely they would have less time to commit to any informal activities (Felt and Sinclair, 1992).

Also when trying to understand the dynamics of informal activities it is important to remember that the reason why respondents frequently exchanged informal services is largely due to the culture of the area. Considering rural Newfoundland has had to deal with high unemployment and chronic poverty for generations, rural Newfoundlanders can easily relate and are more sympathetic to others who require assistance and support. Hence, this is why Newfoundlanders give more freely of their time, money and energy to, for instance, neighbours, friends and worthy causes.

Households from the study who participate in informal work arrangements do not provide services for others with the mind set that they will in return be paid cash or in-kind, but because they feel morally obligated to help their friends, neighbours or family (Felt and Sinclair, 1992). This point is clearly demonstrated in the interviews when I asked participants "Have you done unpaid work for someone and *expected* them to return the favour?" All respondents unanimously replied that they never expected someone to return a favour. As expressed by one woman "I just do it out of the goodness of my heart."

Data relating to the significance of informal activities as a supplement to formal employment are often regarded with scepticism since there are numerous studies and literature, including my own study, which demonstrate that such factors as geography, time, culture and history, for example, play a significant role as to whether an individual will engage in informal activities. Even though there is no correlation between household income and level of involvement in informal activities, engaging in informal activities does improve a household's overall financial well-being. However, based on my research and that of others I would not regard informal household activities as being a survival strategy. I believe that if informal activities were a survival strategy of lower income households then the degree of participation by

those households would be higher and more consistent. Nevertheless, as stated above, other reasons such as time, resources, location and culture play a role in the degree to which members of households participate in the informal economy. Participants also articulated that their involvement in these activities did not correspond to necessity. Rather the reasons given by participants related to leisure, enjoyment of a particular food, and/or providing a service that was requested from them by another resident in the town. I did not get the impression from interviews that participants relied on informal activities as a survival strategy. Lack of resources, for example, in Ramea, signifies the importance of cash income since nearly all staples need to be shipped into the town and paid for in cash.

Job Creation Programs

Another well-known strategy used by people living in rural Newfoundland and Labrador are the jobs obtained through job-creation programs such as the "make work" projects and the Job Creation Partnerships projects. Although these programs may not be used for their design purpose, they have provided temporary relief for households such as those in Ramea. In turn, these programs have influenced how respondents deal with economic restructuring, whether consciously or unconsciously. Before looking at which respondents used these projects and why they did so, it is important to understand these programs and how they were implemented

Make-work and JCPs

In the early 1970s the Canadian Employment and Immigration Commission of the Federal government designed a number of short-term job-creation programs. These programs were theoretically geared towards providing seasonal workers with employment during the off-season, and to help those who suffered from long-term unemployment to improve their self-

esteem and to maintain a strong work ethic. Unfortunately, as rates of unemployment started rising in the late seventies, households started to depend on these job-creation programs as their only source of basic income. Since, in the early years of the program, an individual could work between 10 to 20 weeks on a project and then claim Employment Insurance benefits for 43 weeks, it is understandable why households took advantage of this employment strategy (Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, 1986).

In the later seventies, the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador also created its own series of job-creation programs targeting Social Assistance recipients. Technically, the programs were created to bridge the gap between Social Assistance and being actively employed in the labour force. However, as with the federal programs, the application of these provincial programs did not correspond to the program's mandate. For instance, it is undeniable that by using these programs, the provincial government of Newfoundland and Labrador improved its fiscal picture. Considering that the Social Assistance program was funded 50/50 by the federal and provincial governments, moving a household from Social Assistance to Employment Insurance meant that the federal E.I. program was responsible for paying one hundred percent of the basic income to households in Newfoundland and Labrador who qualified (Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, 1986).

Instituted by the federal government of Canada, the Job Creation Partnerships program has now become the dominant form of job-creation program offered in Ramea. Whereas the previous make work projects focussed on the individual and trying to ensure that they stayed in the labour force, JCPs concentrate more on the partnerships created with enterprises in communities that are focussing their attention on creating long-term employment. As stated on the Human Resources Development Canada website (2004), JCPs "bring together local partners

to promote long-term employment development by linking the needs of unemployed workers with local economic development." I shall discuss how respondents feel the JCPs succeed or fail to address the needs of unemployed workers in a subsequent section.

Job-Creation Programs in Ramea

Job-creation programs were, for the most part, unheard of in Ramea before the moratorium. Although the use of make work projects had been on the rise in Newfoundland and Labrador since they were instituted in the late 1970s (Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment, 1986), Ramea had the luxury of not needing to resort to these short-term employment strategies till much later. I will, however, point out that people in Ramea who worked on the fish plant, for example, did not always receive full-time year round employment.

It was not until 1997 that job-creation programs were utilized in Ramea. Realizing the large number of households that would be losing their TAGS benefits, groups such as the municipal government and the Ramea Economic Development Corporation (REDC) were anxious to find employment to keep the households and hence the community alive.

During the first phase of applying for make work projects, the municipal government, known locally as "the town," and the REDC were able to find make work projects for every individual left in Ramea who had worked at the fish plant and who was seeking employment, except for ten women. Naturally feeling left out since they were told there were no other possibilities for make work projects, these women collaborated and suggested other make work possibilities to the town and to REDC. With the administrative help of the town and the REDC these women were soon working on their own projects just as their co-workers from the plant had done before. Because of this initiative all the previous employees of the fish plant, who

qualified for employment, obtained a place on a make work project and later qualified for EI benefits which derived from this work.

The majority of job-creation programs that residents of Ramea were employed in consisted of labour intensive jobs, such as repairing the town's fire hall, rebuilding the town's incinerator and slip-ways, constructing a walking trail around the island, repairing the local hockey rink and painting and cleaning the Community Centre.

During the time period between 1992 and 2004, 16 (50%) of the households surveyed had at least one adult member employed in a make work or JCP project. Interestingly, not all could say exactly if the provincial or federal government funded the project, or how long they were working on the project. However, most could clearly recall if they got their "stamps," from employment on the project or if it was an EI top-up. As well, in 7 households (22%) both adults in the household were employed in a make work or JCP project.

There is no doubt that respondents were aware that the make work projects got them through some very uncertain and stressful times. Although a short-term solution, it was obvious that the make work projects helped some to secure their residency in Ramea. One respondent explains:

> The first year I was off TAGS I was involved with the town. I lucked into that job. I was ready to leave but I hooked up with a job with them and I got enough that kept me here another while and then some other little projects kept coming up and I stayed around.

The most common type of job-creation program available in Ramea today is the Job Creation Partnership projects. Respondents who have obtained jobs from JCPs, and even

respondents who have not obtained work from JCPs, are very critical about the way in which these projects are administered. For example, one of the biggest complaints about JCPs was the fact that the hours worked were uninsurable for E.I. purposes which limited workers' options once the project was completed. One participant explained:

> I don't think they're fair to the workers because if they're working for HRDC, they should qualify for EI cause when they're finished with the JCP they have to go back to social services.

This comment also highlights another criticism that was made by respondents. Respondents who had been on social assistance and had taken a JCP project for a few months claimed that it was almost not worth doing. Respondents claimed that the pay was low, you could not save any money and if you needed any help from social assistance afterwards there was a waiting period. A waiting period meant a household did not receive any income between the time they were employed with the JCP and the time they had to go back to social assistance. One respondent explains:

> ...So this is like a catch 22 situation. You work to make yourself feel better about getting up in the morning and having something to do for 8 or 10 weeks but then when you're finished you got no money because you are just barely making enough to stay alive while you're at it. Then you have to wait 7 to 8 weeks before you can get on social service because they got to make sure you use up what you would have been given if you were on social services.

Another complaint made about JCPs was the fact that you had to be claiming EI benefits within the last three years in order to qualify for a job. This was especially frustrating for one of the younger respondents because when make work projects were offered they were only

targeting previously employed fish plant workers, so of course she was not hired. And now, the only projects offered are JCPs, which require you to be EI eligible. Due to her not being hired on a project before she could not apply for a project today. She states:

> I don't want to stay in the house all the time but when jobs come up they're for EI eligible.

It is possible that with time JCPs can prove to be beneficial for those who *need* employment. Nevertheless, it is understandable why respondents consistently view JCPs with scepticism. First, it is questionable as to whose "needs" HRDC are addressing when they provide JCPs to communities such as Ramea. JCPs are very limiting since they really only benefit the unemployed who do not *need* to rely on JCPs for basic income. Households that need more financial support do not think JCPs meet their needs effectively considering the wages with the projects are low and they do not provide an outlet, for example, for someone who was on the Social Assistance program before working on the JCP. Secondly, thus far in Ramea the enterprises that the JCPs have supported have not provided any stable year-round employment for residents living there.

Within Ramea today, JCPs are largely used by unemployed individuals who can benefit from E.I. top-up or unemployed individuals whose households do not have to rely solely on a JCP for basic income. For instance, unemployed wives whose husbands are employed have found them beneficial since they can make extra money to contribute to the household.

An interesting fact about how job-creation programs were allocated in Ramea is that it was rare for two adults in the same household to be employed in any project at the same time. Those doing the hiring, such as the town and the REDC, organized the hiring so that the funds from the projects would be spread as evenly as possible. In addition, if a member of a household

was receiving EI benefits that decreased the chances of another member in the same household of getting hired on a project. This strategy for distributing job-creation monies was well known to the respondents themselves. For instance, one woman reported:

> After getting one project and times were getting harder here I didn't feel right about applying for anymore. My husband had a full time job and I couldn't get a job if I knew a family down the road didn't have anyone working.

The economic behaviour of organizations and respondents of Ramea was similar to that on Fogo Island. McCay's (1999) study on why the northeast Newfoundland crab fishery was not managed with individualized and transferable property rights by residents of Fogo concluded that due to rural Newfoundland's embedded social networks that were affected by chronic poverty and high unemployment, crab fishers saw privatisation as an economic system that would benefit only a few individuals. Furthermore, because of Newfoundland's economic and social history, Newfoundlanders' sense of obligation to help others has been institutionalized. Even in differing circumstances and in times of structural change these institutionalised forms of conduct still seem to persist (Chiaramonte, 1970).

While most respondents agreed with this strategy, there was one respondent who felt differently about how the projects were administered. This particular woman revealed:

> He (respondent's husband) couldn't get on a project. He didn't qualify for none of those projects because I was getting unemployment and I was only getting about a hundred and twenty dollars a week. But he still didn't qualify because of me.

While I do not believe that job creation programs should be used to maintain the livelihoods of families left in rural Newfoundland permanently, I do think that

communities and households are forced to use these programs because there are no other options available. In addition, it is obvious that even though these programs are designed, for the most part, to assist individual needs, rural community groups and families still view them and to some degree use these programs to the benefit of their community and households as a whole. Therefore, it is due to the government's lack of knowledge about how rural communities and families function within the rural economy that the job-creation programs have been a failure in creating long-term benefits for rural communities since the cod moratorium.

Other Forms of Adjustment in Ramea

Another form of adjustment used by respondents deals with post-moratorium initiatives to operate the fish plant in Ramea. The first of these ventures was with Ray Smith in 1995, the owner of the enterprise 'Repro,' and the other was Rex Simmons who on two occasions between spring 1997 and winter of 1998 was operating the fish plant. Both of these ventures were meant to be long-term. However, for a number of reasons they did not succeed in providing long-term employment for any residents of Ramea.

Firstly, both Mr. Smith and Mr. Simmons tried to operate the fish plant to its full capacity which was about two hundred thousand pounds of redfish per day or one hundred thousand pounds of cod per day. The fish plant was built as a deep-sea plant and before the moratorium it was supplied with fish from trawlers that were stationed in Ramea. With the moratorium and its restrictions on raw materials, it was impossible to operate the plant to its maximum potential. As well, when the moratorium occurred, FPI relocated the trawlers that were initially built for the plant in Ramea. Therefore, during the time Mr. Smith and Mr. Simmons were operating the

plant, the small amounts of ground fish that were supplied to the plant had to be trucked in. This also accounted for why their ventures were not profitable.

Respondents and other residents of Ramea have recognized that losing its trawlers was a major problem confronting their attempts to operate the fish plant after the moratorium. It is common to hear respondents and other residents of Ramea making statements explaining that they feel they lost the potential to operate the fish plant when the trawlers were relocated to other fish plants in Newfoundland. When the topic came up, respondents usually pointed their finger at Victor Young, who was the chair and chief executive officer of Fishery Products International Ltd during the time of the moratorium, so much so that the comment "he raped Ramea" is a phrase used often and heard by many in Ramea.

Other reasons given to explain the failure of Mr. Simmons' enterprise were: (1) that Rex was a fishing captain, first and foremost, and did not have the "know-how" to actually run a successful processing business; (2) he also started his crab processing business late compared to other crab processors. This meant that he could not offer the same crab prices to fishermen as his competitors. (3) One respondent claimed that Mr. Simmons had higher labour costs comparable to other crab plant owners. In Ramea he was paying his employees about $10.00 per hour which was a good thing in the eyes of those who worked there, but such comparably high wages limited Rex Simmons' bargaining power when trying to buy crab from harvesters, and (4) being the little guy on the block he was "muscled out" by the larger crab processing enterprises. I will also note that although some respondents felt that Rex Simmons had an advantage in being competitive since the labour/training was provided by workers for free for about three weeks, this had only given Rex an advantage for a short while.

While only seven households (22%) had at least one member who was employed by Ray Smith and Rex Simmons, these short-term jobs did help respondents to remain in Ramea. As well, being involved in these ventures gave them the satisfaction that they were involved in something that could have helped Ramea in the long-term. When discussing these ventures with participants it was evident that working with Mr. Smith and/or Mr. Simmons was more rewarding to participants than working on a make work or a JCP project. At least by working on the plant again they were able to make use of some of the skills they had learned prior to the moratorium.

Other strategies used by respondents to adjust to the cod closure are employment obtained from enterprises such as Eastern Outdoor Adventures, Newfoundland Aqua Products Incorporated (NAPI), Frontier Wind Power Systems Incorporated, as well as other various short-term jobs that related to strengthening the town's tourism sector and improving the educational system and infrastructure in Ramea.

Since the moratorium, the community as a whole, especially the town and REDC, have put much effort into making use of the job-creation programs available and attracting long-term employment. Job-creation programs, however, cannot be used as they once were. For example, it is already evident that government support for them is decreasing since it has largely turned projects that would have been funded by make work programs into JCP projects. These JCPs, as mentioned earlier, have done less to help households, specifically, but may prove to be helpful in the long-term if the partners they are supporting do create long-term employment for people in Ramea.

Does a future exist for Ramea?

In terms of the future of the fishery in Ramea, some expressed hopes about the newly formed Co-op and the initiatives to reopen the plant. However, the attitude among some participants was that this was Ramea's "only prayer." Others who did not believe the fishery would open again or did not believe that Ramea would find any alternatives had less optimism about Ramea's future. For example, one man said:

> No. I don't see anything that they could put here to replace the fishery. When there are so many places around that are in such a location where they don't have to bother with the ferry. There are other places on the mainland [the island of Newfoundland] that they could bring things to much easier.

Another respondent replied vigorously:

> There is nothing here. There's no backbone. Cause that's all it was was the fishery. Other than that there's no fishery, so as far as I'm concerned were fucked. You might come here and do a sweater and you might do kelp but you ain't got no backbone.

However, what is more interesting is that even among respondents who expressed some faith about the Co-op there were different views when I asked, "Does Ramea hold much potential for employment for the younger generations that are here?" In this instance, respondents, for the most part, declared that 'kids' will not and cannot stay here because Ramea does not have an industry to keep them here, and they also stressed that it was important for 'kids' to get a higher education. For example:

> When we were growing up you were guaranteed a job, on the fish plant, right. Now, you wants the kids to get an education so they can get what they can.
>
> Research Respondent

Another said:

> Honestly no. I just can't see it. I know they're working on stuff but I feel the kids are going to grow up and move on and...I just don't see there's much here for them. Unless somebody's just lucky enough to hook a job with something that's on the go...but that's only one person. Even if something do happen down the plant, they'll have 20 – 30 people there and that will only be for those who already worked there.
>
> Research Respondent

In response to these opinions I then asked participants, "How do you see Ramea 10 years down the road?" The comments given by respondents included:

> Well the only thing I'm afraid of ... well there is a lot of senior citizens here, right. And after they dies off what's going to happen. Cause there's no young ones here. Kinda of scary when you thinks 'bout what's going to happen. Say even not 10 years down the road say 20 years down the road, like when your dad retire or when I retires. Are we going to stay here? I can see myself going. I don't want to, really... I don't want to leave here, but I can see the time coming. Especially in the wintertime, who's going to shovel my snow, who's going to do that kind of stuff.

Research Respondent

Our population will be a lot less. Maybe the services will be reduced...although I don't know if the services will be reduced. Maybe some groups will have to get together and like say in the winter to maintain their buildings cause it's very expensive to operate the Lodge and the church and you see now like this year they're using the church basement instead of using the upper part of the church. You must've heard your mother say... So, like you know, is there going to be enough money to support it all in the future. I'm just wondering ya know. The population's going to get smaller but they're expecting the same amount of money coming in on the island like for Bingos and all this stuff. I mean you can see all that being reduced.

Research Respondent

Empty! When all the seniors goes and with the younger ones leaving, the middle-aged will have to go too.

Research Respondent

Jesus.... I don't think there's going to be much of Ramea. If she goes down another half I mean there's going to be...well once your services start going they're really in trouble then.

Research Respondent

However, this possibility of having to leave Ramea was unpleasant for one respondent. She states:

> If we goes up there... I know you goes PEI you got rent and that too, but you goes up there I mean and then you might as well close the doors on the house and go on. This is something we worked on for thirty odds years...right. I mean we done a lot scraping and doing without to get this house. You know years ago...right. And I mean to bar the doors now...ya know. If possible I would take the furniture. But if I got to tear it down, worse comes to worse we'll build a place in on Burgeo road. That's what most bothers me. Like I knows it's only a house but ya know...if I only had it three or four years I wouldn't have the same attachments to it but...ya know...lot of memories here...right. I'll never live long enough to get... this not a mansion by no means... but you'd never get nothing like this no more. Just the idea paying out this rent all the time. I knows they does it and so do you and everybody else, but if you're younger and like to you it's just another way of life paying bills, but when you're use to not having to give ...ya know... payin out money for rent. I mean we're only working for a little bit better than minimum wage...ya know.

Although the research respondents felt that Ramea, especially REDC have done all they can to find employment for the residents of Ramea, some feel that the government never had any intentions to keep rural communities, like Ramea, alive. A research respondent explains:

They've always been trying. There's always a group to do something. The economic development association have been trying for years to get something started even if it is only 20 jobs, 10 jobs or whatever. Right...but it seems like every time they get close, the government pulls the wool from under 'em. They just stops the project or just says it can't be done. Can't fund this or whatever. We've had projects... everybody you talk to in government, "oh that could work." Then you get up to the actual point of starting something, "nope that can't work....stop that now." They just don't want to put all this money in cause there's no individual who wants or got money to put in to be the owner of the thing...we'll say. That's one of the biggest problems. Somewhere in the bowels of government there's a plan to not let these little towns all along coast to have anything. Just let them die away. When all the people gets too old to do anything anymore, then we'll get rid of 'em. That's the whole idea behind it. Unless if you had millions of dollars to start up your own business here, they don't care cause it's your money at risk and you can do whatever you can with it. I think they stop putting money into job creation. They pay lip service to it. They'll say "oh we got to do something to help the rural communities" but they don't, they never do.

There was a time that respondents felt that the community of Ramea could restructure their economy. However, after 12 years of unsuccessful attempts to generate stable employment for those who lost their jobs due to the cod moratorium, many believe that there is very little left in their economy to reconstruct. Therefore, the future presents some very uncertain and

unpleasant realities for the research participants involved in this study and at present the only way they feel they can deal with it is "to take it one day at a time."

Summary

In spite of the loss of the cod fishery and thus the change in Ramea's economic structure, respondents still adapt to their current economic situation based on the social networks and relations that have characterized their lives for generations. These methods of adaptation are prevalent in the types and ways in which respondents make use of the opportunities that are available to them. For instance, informal household activities that have been considered by some academics as a survival strategy were not a conscious coping mechanism that was utilized by respondents to adapt to economic restructuring after the cod moratorium. As well, the job-creation programs provided by the Provincial and Federal government have not been used by households and communities in the manner in which they were designed for. Continuously, community groups and households have tried to the best of their ability to use the funds from these projects to benefit as many people as possible. Lastly, while the effects of using migration as a coping mechanism have meant lower wages, more expenses and a more precarious and unstable working situation, respondents see this strategy as a much better alternative than moving away permanently.

Respondents acknowledge the importance of their social networks and the social relations that have existed over the years in their interpretations of Ramea and their own lives past, present and future. They realize and have expressed that even though the cod fishery no longer exists, their coping mechanisms are, to a large degree, influenced by their embeddedness in a culture that has existed for generations.

Although it has been 12 years without the cod fishery and without stable jobs for most people in Ramea, respondents who desperately need jobs still find other ways to remain in Ramea. These alternatives may be viewed by others not living in Ramea as unattractive and undesirable; however, the respondents see these strategies as the best solution to hold onto what they have always had and have only known.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The cod moratorium is monumental in the lives of so many rural Newfoundlanders not only because of the immediate economic hardships they felt in 1992 but more so because it officially separated them from the basis of their culture. The cod fishery was not simply an industry from which a person found employment, it consumed so many other aspects of their lives – what and how they eat, their language, they way they socialized and so on. For this reason studying how a rural community that completely relied on the cod fishery, such as Ramea, has responded to the cod moratorium and managed to "weather the storm" thus far is interesting on a practical as well as theoretical level.

Various practical coping mechanisms were discussed in chapter five. The first being migration since it was the most popular and most dynamic of the coping mechanisms used by respondents who lost their jobs due to the moratorium. As shown, migration now means something different than before. For instance, the age and gender of those who engage in it, the numerous types of migration now prevalent and how families are affected by it.

Informal household strategies were also considered as a survival strategy since it has been assumed that those who lack stable employment use informal activities as a survival strategy. To test such assumptions, I compared the level of engagement in informal activities, and whether they were paid or unpaid, to the level of household income. From data collected I not only found that level of involvement in informal activities could not be correlated to the level of household income, but that there were other reasons and dynamics of informal activities that needed to be addressed. For instance, Pahl (1987) points out that individuals or households that

have higher incomes and have the time to engage in self-provisioning, have the resources to engage in informal activities. This also relates to the data I found regarding the informal activities performed by the respondents in my study. As stated by respondents, time was a significant reason for why they were or were not involved in certain informal activities. In addition, the reasons stated for involvement did not change depending on whether or not the activities were paid. Other reasons discussed in chapter five for why informal activities cannot be viewed as a survival strategy deal with the fact that, in some instances, culture, history and geography accounted for why individuals and households in Ramea engage in informal activities.

Although job creation programs provided only temporary relief for respondents' households, nonetheless they were important for fifty percent of respondent households. As stated earlier, fifty percent of households had at least one member in their household employed in a make-work or Job Creation Partnership program. However, I will again point out that the benefits received from these two programs should not be viewed synonymously. Respondents who were employed under the make work projects were able to receive employment insurance after the project ended and thus had more financial leeway available as to how they would cope in Ramea once the project was over. The JCPs, on the other hand, provides a lot less benefits than their earlier counterpart. With JCPs the hours are uninsurable, the pay is lower, which hinders respondents' abilities to make the most of the project and you have to be E.I. eligible to apply to JCPs. In studying how respondents have made use of the job creation programs to cope with life in Ramea, the most interesting and informative point about these projects is how households and the community view and use these projects. It was clear from my study that the job creation programs were based on the needs of the entire household. The municipal

government, or those directly responsible for employing individuals, hired individuals based on the applicant's overall household income. Also evident from the interviews conducted is that some respondents did not apply for jobs because they felt there were other households who needed the job more than them. This is significant since the job creation programs were designed for individual needs, in particular, and not household or community needs.

The survival strategies listed above may not come as a surprise to many Newfoundlanders. The people of Newfoundland and Labrador are well aware of the coping mechanisms that are and have been used. However, what many Newfoundlanders, including myself, do not fully understand is why we behave as we do. In other words, how the social realms of our life affect our economic behaviour.

As explained in chapter two, neoclassical economic theory has dominated explanations of economic actions. For decades, we have been led to believe that all economic actions performed by individuals are atomistic in their nature and that one explanation of economic behaviour (rational choice theory) is universally applicable. Fortunately, due to work done by economic sociologists, such as Mark Granovetter, we now see a more realistic picture of what actually happens in our economy. More specifically, Granovetter's embeddedness perspective has provided us with the foundation for understanding economic actions in their true context; that economic actions are for the most part influenced by how individuals and groups are embedded into their social lives. For instance, such things as social networks, power and culture must be considered when explaining economic actions.

After reviewing similar studies to my own such as those conducted by Sinclair (2002), Apostle et al. (1998) and Barrett et al. (1995), I felt that while these scholars thoroughly stated the ways in which their research subjects were embedded, they did not identify, or specifically

point out, that culture accounted for people's economic activities. In simpler terms, they did not identify that their respondents' economic actions were actually "culturally embedded." Although I am unaware of the reason, or reasons, that these authors preferred not to narrow their embeddedness approach, Holton (1992) points out that reluctance to use cultural analysis for economic actions may have something to do with how scholars perceive and apply culture to economic phenomena.

Holton explains that sociologists have misconceived how culture was relevant to the study of economic behaviour and economic phenomena. He states that culture "was defined provisionally as the 'set values and practices' through which individuals seek out meaning" (1992: 182). The application of the concept of culture was limited because "culture" was used only as a way to explain the purpose and meaning of economic actions performed by individuals. Furthermore, Swindler (1986) points out that culture was used to understand the implications for economic behaviour of striving for 'culture end values.' Holton (1992) argues that this application of culture is inadequate because it ignores the fact that culture is in fact also tied into the actual economic action performed.

Swindler (1986) explains that economic actions are the product of the tools that exist within an individual's culture. She states "culture influences action not by providing the ultimate values toward which action in oriented, but by shaping a repertoire or "tool kit" of habits, skills and styles from which people construct 'strategies of action" (1986: 273).

In relation to my study, the economic actions performed by individuals are the result of habits and skills that were acquired from years of living from the sea – fishing cod. Because Newfoundlanders are culturally embedded, the economic actions reflect not what is actually happening now but what has occurred over hundreds of years. Moreover, despite the fact that

the cod fishery no longer exists and Newfoundlanders are expected to adjust "to the times," their economic actions are, in large part, unconsciously a product of their culture conditioned by the cod fishery. Hence, their economic actions are culturally embedded. In hindsight, I am not saying that people do not possess any agency, but people can only make use of what is available to them.

Government understanding of the economic actions of Newfoundlanders, especially in regards to the cod fishery, was severely limited at least up to the time the cod moratorium was announced. As pointed out by Apostle et al. (1998), and as shown in chapter four, government's lack of success with helping and supporting families and communities who were solely dependent on this resource based industry is due to their implementation of policies that reflect neoclassical economics. The TAGS program administered by the federal government is a prime example of how the federal government did not understand or address the needs of families and communities who were highly involved in the cod fishing industry. Providing support to displaced workers alone did little to support the families and communities affected by the cod moratorium.

In spite of what the current provincial government may or may not be doing, it is uncertain how long Ramea and its residents can "weather the storm." They have, up to this point in time, managed to keep their "heads above the water" with a large percentage of the population relying on non-stable jobs. However, as stated above, these jobs are unstable which makes the livelihoods of those relying on them unpredictable. I know, as do the majority of the people living in Ramea, that it order to find "calmer waters" the people of Ramea, and not the government are the ones who will determine its future. In the face of hundreds of outport communities, like Ramea, who are trying to deal with economic restructuring, the provincial and

federal government can only support rural communities to a certain degree. Moreover, I believe the best solution(s) for Ramea can come only from its residents since it is them who know their town, area and its potential the best. I hope in spite of what challenges that currently exist for those living there, that those who are making every effort in securing the town's future are able to find something before the unstable have to find something stable elsewhere.

Bibliography

Abercrombie, N., Hill S. & Turner B. S. (2000). *The Penguin Dictionary of Sociology* (4th ed.). London: Penguin Group.

Alexander, D. (1977). *The Decay of trade: An Economic History of the Newfoundland Saltfish Trade, 1935-1965.* St. John's, NL: ISER.

Alexander, D. (1980). Newfoundland's Traditional Economy and Development to 1934. In P. Neary & J. Hiller (Eds.), *Newfoundland in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries: Essays in Interpretation.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Apostle, R.A., Barrett, G., Holm, P., Jentoft, S., Mazany, L., McKay, B. & Mikalsen, K. (1998). Community, State and Market on the North Atlantic Rim. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Barrett, G., Jentoft, S. & McCay, B. (1995). *Global Fishing Villages in Crisis: Embeddedness and Community Development of the North Atlantic Rim.* Presentation from the XVI Congress of the European Society For Rural Sociology, Prague, Czech Republic.

Bryman, A. (2001). *Social Research Methods.* New York: Oxford University Press Inc.

Byron, R. (2003). *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Cadigan, S. T. (2003). The Moral Economy of Retrenchment and Regeneration in the History of Rural Newfoundland. In R. Byron (Ed.), *Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Canning, P. & Strong, C. (2002). Children and Families Adjusting to the Cod Moratorium. In R.E. Ommer (Ed.), *The Resilient Outport: Ecology and Society in Rural Newfoundland.* St. John's, NL: ISER.

Chiarmonte, L. J. (1970). *Craftsman-Client Contracts: Interpersonal relations in a Newfoundland Fishing Community.* St. John's: ISER.

Coleman, J. S. (1994). A Rational Choice Perspective on Economic Sociology. In N. J. Smelser and R. Swedberg (Eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Copes, P. (1972). *The Resettlement of Fishing Communities in Newfoundland.* Canadian Council on Rural Development, Ottawa.

Creswell, J. W. (2003). *Research Design: Qualitative, Quantitative, and Mixed Methods Approaches*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Denzin, N. K. & Lincoln, Y. S. (2000). The Discipline and Practice of Qualitative Research. In N. K. Denzin and Y. S.Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed)*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

DiMaggio, P. (1994). Culture and Economy. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S.Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed)*. Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Durkheim, E. ([1888], 1978). *On Institutional Analysis* (M. Traugott, Trans.). Chicago: The University of Chicago Press.

Fairley, B., Leys C., Sacouman, J. (1990). Restructuring and Resistance from Atlantic Canada. Toronto: Garamond Press.

Felt, L. Murphy, K., & Sinclair, P. R. (1995). Everyone Does It: Unpaid Work and Household Reproduction. In L. Felt & P. R. Sinclair (Eds.), *Living On the Edge: The Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland*. St. John's: ISER.

Friedland, R. & Robertson, A. F. (1990). *Beyond the Marketplace: Rethinking Economy and Society*. New York: Aldine de Gruyter.

Granovetter, M. (1993). The Nature of Economic Relationships. In R. Swedberg (Ed.), *Explorations in Economic Sociology*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

Granovetter, M. (1990). The Old and the New Economic Sociology: A History and an Agenda. In R. Friedland & A. F. Robertson (Eds.), *Beyond the Marketplace*. New York: Aldine DeGruyter Inc.

Granovetter, M. (1985). Economic Action and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness. *American Journal of Sociology*, 91, 481-510.

Granovetter, M. (1982). *Economic Decisions and Social Structure: The Problem of Embeddedness*. Unpublished early draft of Granovetter (185).

Guillén, M., Collins, R., England, P. & Meyer, M. (2002). *The New Economic Sociology: Developments in an Emerging Field*. NewYork: Russell Sage Foundation.

Hay, D. A., Basran, G. S. & Sinclair, P. R. (1992). *Rural Sociology in Canada*. Don Mills, ON.: Oxford University Press.

Holton, R. (1992) *Economy and Society* London: Routledge.

House, D., White, S., & Ripley, P. (1989). *Going Away...And Coming Back: Economic Life and Migration in Small Canadian Communities.* St. John's, NL: ISER.

House, J.D. (1988). Canadian Fisheries Policies and Troubled Newfoundland Communities. In P.R. Sinclair (Ed.), *A Question of Survival.* St. John's: ISER.

House, J. D., Hanrahan, M. & Simms, D. (1986). *Fisheries Policy and Community Development: A Proposal for a revised approach in Managing Inshore Fisheries in Newfoundland.* Background report to the Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Hunt, E. K. (2002). *History of Economic Thought: A Critical Perspective (Updated 2nd ed.).* New York: M. E. Sharpe.

Iverson, N. Matthews, R. (1968). *Communities in Decline.* St. John's: ISER.

Jensen, L., Cornwell, G. T. Findeis, J. L. (1995). Informal Work in Nonmetropolitan Pennsylvania. *Rural Sociology,* 60, 1, 91-107.

Kendall, V. & Kendall, V. G. (1991). *Out of the Sea: A History of Ramea.* St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications Ltd.

Knight, F. ([1921] 1985). *Risk, Uncertainty and Profit.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Levitan, L. Feldman, S. (1991). For Love or Money: Nonmonetary Economic Arrangements Among Rural Households in Central New York. *Research in Rural Sociology and Development,* 5, 149- 172.

McCay, B. (1999). That' s Not Right: Resistance to Enclosure in a Newfoundland Crab Fishery. In D. Newell & R. E. Ommer (Eds.), *Fishing Places, Fishing People* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Mingione, E. (1991). *Fragmented Societies: A Sociology of Economic Life beyond the Market Paradigm* (P. Goodrick, Trans.). Mass, U.S.A: Basil Blackwell.

Neis, B. & Williams, S. (1997). The New Right, Gender and the Fisheries Crisis: Local and Global Dimensions. *Atlantis: A Woman's Studies Journal,* 21, 2, 47-62.

Ommer, R. E. (2002). *The Resilient Outport: Ecology and Society in Rural Newfoundland.* St. John=s, NL: ISER.

Ommer, R. E. (1999). Rosie's Cove: Settlement, Morphology, History, Economy, and Culture in a Newfoundland Outport. In D. Newell & R. E. Ommer (Eds.), *Fishing Places: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries.* Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Ommer, R. E. (1994). One Hundred Years of Fishery Crisis in Newfoundland. *The Acadiensis Reader,* 23, 2, 451-466.

Pahl, R. E., (1987). Does Jobless Mean Workless? Unemployment and Informal Work. *Annals of* the American Academy of Political and Social Science, 493, 39-46.

Pahl, R. E. (1984). Division of Labour. New York: Blackwell.

Pahl, R. E. & Wallace, P. (1985). Household Work Strategies in Economic Recession. In N. Redcliff & E. Mingione (Eds.), *Beyond Employment: Household, Gender, and Subsistence.* New York: Blackwell.

Palmer, C. T. & Sinclair, P. R. (1997). When the Fish Are Gone: Ecological Disaster and Fishers in Northwest Newfoundland. Halifax, N.S.: Fernwood.

Penny, M. (1956). The Penny Story: The Story of John Penny and Sons, Limited. Unpublished, Ramea.

Polanyi, K. (1944). *The Great Transformation.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Pospisil, L. (1963). Poor Man, Rich Man, Big-Man Chief: Political Types in Melanesia and Polynesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History,* 5, April, 285-303.

Rowe, F. W. (1980). *A History of Newfoundland and Labrador.* Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Ltd.

Royal Commission on Employment and Unemployment. (1986). *Final Report.* St. John's: Queen's Printer.

Sahlins, M. (1976). *Culture and Practical Reason.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Salisbury, R. (1962). *From Stone to Steal: Economic Consequences of a Technological Change in New Guinea.* New York: Cambridge University Press.

Schwandt, T. A. (2000). Three Epistemological Stances for Qualitative Inquiry: Interpretivism, Hermeneutics, and Social Constructionism. In N. K. Denzin & Y. S.Lincoln (Eds.), *Handbook of Qualitative Research (2nd ed).* Thousand Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Sinclair, P. R. (2002). Leaving and Staying: Bonavista Residents Adjust to the Moratorium. In R.E. Ommer (Ed.), *The Resilient Outport: Ecology and Society in Rural Newfoundland.* St. John's, NL: ISER.

Sinclair, P. R. (1990). *The Fisheries Crisis of 1990.* Memorial University of Newfoundland: ERC Discussion Paper No. 1.

Sinclair, P. R. (1988). The State Encloses the Commons: Fisheries Management from the 200-Mile Limit to Factory Freezer Trawler. In P R. Sinclair (Ed), *A Question of Survival: The Fishery and Newfoundland Society.* St. John's, NL: ISER.

Sinclair, P. R. (1987). *State Intervention and the Newfoundland Fisheries: Essays on Fisheries Policy and Social Structure.* Aldershot: Gower.

Smelser, N. J. & Swedberg, R. (1994). The Sociological Perspective on the Economy. In N. J. Smelser & R. Swedberg (Eds.), *The Handbook of Economic Sociology.* Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Statistic Canada (2001, 1996, 1991, 1986, 1981). *Profile of census divisions and subdivisions in Newfoundland and Labrador.*

Stern, P. C. et al. (2002). Knowledge and Questions After 15 Years of Research. In E. Ostrom, T. Dietz, N. Dolsak, P. C Stern, S. Stovich, and E. U. Weber (Eds). *The Drama of the Commons.* Washington: National Academy Press.

Sumner, J. (2005). Sustainability and the Civil Commons: Rural Communities in the Age of Globalization. Toronto: Toronto University Press.

Swedberg, R. (2003). *Principles of Economic Sociology.* Princton, N.J.: Princeton University Press.

Swedberg, R. (1997). New Economic Sociology: What Has Been Accomplished, What Is Ahead? *Acta Sociologica,* 40, 161-182.

Swedberg, R. (1990). Socioeconomics and the New "Battle of the Methods": Towards a Paradigm Shift? *The Journal of Behavioral Economics* 19,2, 141-154.

Swedberg, R. & Granovetter, M. (2001). Introduction to the Second Edition. In M. Granovetter & R. Swedberg (Eds.) *The Sociology of Economic Life (2nd ed.).* Colorado: Westview Press.

Swidler, A. (1986). Culture in Action: Symbols and Strategies. *American Sociological Review,* 51, 273-286.

Taylor, S. (2002). *Living on the Other Side of Nowhere: Unravelling Meanings of Community in the Context of the TAGS Era.* Unpublished Ph.d. thesis, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

Tigges, L., Ziebarth, A., & Farmham, J. (1998). Social Relationships in Locality and Livelihood: The Embeddedness of Rural Economic Restructuring. *Journal of Rural Studies* 14, 2, 203-219.

Weber, M. ([1922], 1978). Economy and Society: An Outline of Interpretive Sociology (Vol 1) (E. Fischoff, H. Gerth, A. M. Henderson, F. Kolegar, C. W. Mills, T. Parson, M.Eheinstein, G. Roth, E. Shils, C. Wittich, Trans.). G. Roth & C. Wittich (Eds.). New York: Bedminster Press.

Woodrow, M. (1990).*Resistance to Regulatory Changes in the Fishery: A Study of selected communities in Bonavista, NL.* Unpublished Ph.d. dissertation. University of Laval.

www.cornet.nf.ca/web/ymca/manual/hrdc.html

Yin, R. K. (2003). *Case Study Research: Design and Methods (3rd ed): Applied Social Research Methods (Vol 5).* Thousands Oaks, California: Sage Publications.

Zeilzer, V. (1989). Beyond the Polemics on the Market: Establishing a Theoretical and Empirical Agenda. *Social Forces*, 3, 614-634.

Zukin, S. & DiMaggio, P. (1990). *Structures of Capital: the Social Organization of the Economy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Appendix I

Consent Form

Weather the Storm:
Survival Strategies after the Cod Crisis
in Ramea, NL.

The purpose of this form is to provide you with information about this research project and how the interviews will be conducted. I request that you read this form carefully and sign it if you agree to participate in this project.

First, I would like to give you a little information about myself and the research project. My name is Simone Kendall. I am a graduate student in sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. This project is a requirement for my master's thesis. The primary objective of this study is to explore how residents of Ramea are coping with life without the cod fishery. To my knowledge there exists no research about how people in Ramea are trying to adjust to this drastic economic change. Therefore, it is hoped that this research project will increase the awareness and understanding of how people in rural Newfoundland and Labrador are surviving in this new economy.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. You may refuse to answer questions and you are free to withdraw from the study at any time. If you decide to withdraw from the interview, the data that you have provided will not be used for the study. Please feel free to offer comments and suggestions on topics covered in the interview and on issues not covered that you think may be relevant. With your permission, I prefer to audio tape the interview to ensure accuracy of information. However, if the interview is being taped, you may request that I turn

the tape recorder off at any time during the interview. Otherwise, I will just take handwritten notes. The interview will take approximately one hour.

To protect your identity and the confidentiality of the information you provide, I will take the following measures. I will not use your name in any publications, presentations, or reports. Pseudonyms will be used at all times. Your name, the recorded interview, and my handwritten notes will be kept in a locked cabinet. Only my supervisors, Dr. Robert Hill and Dr. Peter Sinclair, will have access to the data collected from the interview. However, they will not know who specifically supplied me with the data collected. Any primary data such as audiotapes and notes collected from interviews will be destroyed after the study has been completed. I cannot, however, guarantee confidentiality of any illegal activities that are reported to me.

A summary of the information collected, as well as the thesis, once it is complete, will be made available to you and all other residents in Ramea at the local public library.

I would be grateful if you would sign this form to show that you consent to be interviewed. Your assistance in this project is very much appreciated.

Sincerely,

Simone Kendall
M.A. Candidate
Department of Sociology
Memorial University

I, _____, hereby agree to take part in the aforementioned project.

(Signature)_____. Date_____.

If you have further questions you can contact me (Simone Kendall) or Dr. Robert Hill or Dr. Peter Sinclair (my supervisors) at Memorial University.

Our addresses are:

While in Ramea:
Simone Kendall
P.o. Box 262
Ramea, NL
(709) 625-2454
A0N 2J0

While in St. John's:
Simone Kendall
Dept. of Sociology
Memorial University
St. John's, NL
A1C 5S7
Home (709) 579-2088
Cell (709) 690-8448

Dr. Robert Hill
Dept. of Sociology
Memorial University
St. John's, NL
A1C 5S7
(709) 737-7453

Dr. Peter Sinclair
Dept. of Sociology
Memorial University
St. John's, NL
A1C 5S7
(709) 737-4020

The proposal for this research has been approved by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research at Memorial University of Newfoundland and if you have ethical concerns about the research, you may contact the Chairperson of ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at (709) 737-8368.

Appendix II

Guide for Semi-Structured Interviews

In this interview I will ask questions related to your personal background, your relationships with family and others, your occupational history, your attitude about life in Ramea past, present and future, your lifestyle, the fishing industry and how your household survives financially.

First I would like to ask some questions about your personal background.

1. Gender. M_____ F_____

2. Please can you tell me which age category do you fall into on this card?

A. 30 - 39 B. 40 - 49 C. 50 - 60 D. 61 - 64 E. 65 and over.

3. Where were you born? _____

4. Have you lived in Ramea all of your life? Yes_____ No_____

a. If no, where else have you lived? _____
_____

i. When and why did you move to Ramea? _____
_____
_____

5. Have either of your parents lived away from Ramea for a year or more?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, Probe: when, where, why _____
_____
_____

6. What was your mother's main occupation when you were growing up? _____
_____

7. What was your father's main occupation when you were growing up? _____
_____

8. Please can you tell me, from looking at this card, what is your current marital status?

A. Never married B. Married C. Living common-law D. Divorced F. Separated
If living with spouse/partner ask following questions 9, 10,11 and 12.

If not, go to question 13.

9. What is the occupation of your spouse/partner? _____

_____

10. Did he/she grow up in Ramea? Yes_____ No_____

a. If no, when did he/she come to Ramea? _____

_____

i. Why did he/she come to Ramea? _____

_____

_____

_____

11. Has he/she completed highschool? Yes_____ No_____

12. Does he/she have a university, college or trade school qualifications?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, what qualifications does he/she obtain? _____

_____

_____

_____

13. Do you have any children? Yes_____ No_____

a. If so, how many? _____

b. What are their ages? _____

c. How many are still living in your household? _____

d. Are any of them employed? Yes_____ No_____

i. If yes, how many? _____

_____

_____

ii. What is their current occupation? _____

_____

iii. Do they help the household financially? Yes_____ No_____

iv. If yes, how? _____

_____

_____

v. If no, why not? _____

_____

_____

_____

14. Are there other individuals living with you that are not your children?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes,

i. How many? _____

ii. Are they relatives? Yes_____ No_____

If no, why are they living with you? _____

_____

_____

_____

ii. Are they employed? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, what is their current occupation? _____

_____

_____

iii. Do they help the household financially? _____

_____

_____

_____

15. Did you complete High School? Yes_____ No_____

a. If no, why not? _____

16. Do you have any university, college or trade school education?
Yes_____ No_____
a. If yes, what qualifications did you obtain?_____

_____

_____

17. Have you found these qualifications helpful in obtaining employment in Ramea?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, how? _____
_____
_____

b. If no, why not? _____
_____
_____

18. Are you a homeowner? Yes_____ No_____

a. If no, do you pay rent? Yes_____

19. Did you build your home? Yes_____ No_____

i. If yes, did you have help from others? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, did you have to pay them for their labour? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how did you pay them? _____
_____
_____

If no, why is it that you didn't have to pay them? _____
_____
_____

ii. If no, who built your home? _____
_____
_____

Did you have to pay them for their labour? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, how did you pay them? _____
_____

If no, why is it that you didn't have to pay them? _____

Next, I would like to ask you some questions about other work you and others in your household may undertake.

Table 1

Informal Activities of Household

Activity	**Yes/ No**	**Who does it?**	**Approx. Time\ wk**	**Reason**
Knitting				
Sewing				
Baking				
Cleaning				
Gardening				
Hunting				
Fishing				
Repairing\ Maintaining Home				
Repairing/ Maintaining Vehicle				
Caring for Children				
Picking Berries				
Snow Clearing				
Making Jam				
Cutting Wood				
Other:				

20. Do you ever get paid for doing any type of work outside employment?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, what is it?

_____
_____
_____

21. Have you done unpaid work for someone and expected them to return the favour?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, explain. _____
_____
_____
_____

Next, I would like to ask you some questions about your family and friends.

22. How many brothers and/or sisters do you have? _____
_____

23. Do they live in Ramea? Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, please complete Table II

b. If no, please complete Table III

Table II

Name	Have they lived in Ramea all their life? Yes\ No	What is their Current Occupation(s)?	Were they employed in the fishing industry? Yes\No If yes, When and What did they do?

Table III

Name	Did they ever live in Ramea? Yes\No	If yes, Why did they leave?	What is their current Occupation?

24. Do any of your brothers or sisters help to maintain or support your household?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, when, how? _____
_____
_____

b. If no, why not? _____

25. Has the ability of your brothers and sisters to help you and your household changed since the cod moratorium? Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, how so? _____
_____
_____

26. Do you have many friends in Ramea? Yes_____ No_____

27. Are most of your friends in Ramea currently employed? Yes_____ No_____

28. Do you have any friends that help support/maintain your household?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, Probe: when, why and how? _____
_____
_____
_____

29. Do you have different friends now than before the cod moratorium?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, why? _____
_____
_____

Now, I would like to ask you general questions about how the town of Ramea and other groups are helping you and your household adjust to life without the cod fishery.

30. Does Ramea hold much potential for employment for the younger generation that are living here? Yes_____ No_____

a. Why or why not? _____
_____
_____
_____

31. How would you describe the overall atmosphere between people living on Ramea? For example, would you say that most people get along or there is a lot of tension between people.

a. Why and How? _____

_____

_____

_____

32. Do you think life in Ramea has changed since the cod moratorium? _____

_____

_____

_____

33. How do you see Ramea 10 years down the road? _____

_____

_____

_____

34. Do you think you will ever have to leave Ramea?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, Probe: why, when, where? _____

_____

_____

_____

35. Do you think that Ramea has the potential to create employment for residents who are unemployed? Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes,

i. Who would initiate it? _____

_____

_____

_____

ii. What kinds of employment could be created? _____

_____

_____

_____

b. If no, why not? _____

_____

_____

36. Has the R.E.D.C. (Ramea's Economic Development Corporation) helped you and your household in any way since the cod moratorium? Yes_____ No_____

a. Why or why not? _____
_____
_____
_____

37. Has the "town?" Yes_____ No_____

a. Why or why not? _____
_____
_____
_____

38. Has the provincial government? Yes_____ No_____

a. Why or why not? _____
_____
_____
_____

39. Has about the federal government? Yes_____ No_____

a. Why or why not? _____
_____
_____
_____

40. Did you or anyone in your household take any of the Adult Education Programs that were provided to the people of Ramea after the cod moratorium? Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, how many? _____

i. Do you think that involvement in the program has helped your household survive financially? Yes_____ No_____

Why or why not? _____
_____
_____
_____

41. Did anyone in your household receive the compensation package?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If no, can you tell me why not? _____

_____

_____

_____

b. If yes, what kind of compensation did you and/or they receive? _____

_____

_____

i. If awarded with money, how have you made use of it? (For example, invest it, spent it on your children, further your education, pay bills with it, etc) _____

_____

_____

_____

Next, I would like to ask you some questions about leisure and voluntary activities.

42. Which leisure activities do you participate in? _____

_____

_____

43. If you take vacations, where do you normally go? _____

_____

44. Are you a member of any special social, health, recreational or other group or club?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, which one(s)? _____

_____

_____

_____

Now, I would like to ask you some questions regarding your involvement in the fishing industry.

45. Were you directly employed in the fishing industry before the cod moratorium?
Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes,

i. What did you do? _____

ii. Did you have a higher income when you were employed in the fishing industry before the cod moratorium? Yes_____ No_____

iii. Was your household income higher during that time? Yes_____ No_____

b. If no, was your employment indirectly related to the fishing industry? Yes _____ No _____

i. If yes, how was it related? _____

_____

_____

46. Was anyone else in your household employed in the fishing industry before the cod moratorium? Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes, who and when? _____

_____

_____

i. Are they still employed in the fishing industry? Yes_____ No_____

If yes, what do they do? _____

Is their job full-time? _____

Is it permanent? _____

47. Did your household have to adjust to the cod closure?
Yes_____ No_____

a. Why or How? _____

_____

_____

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about your job history.

48. Are you currently employed? Yes_____ No_____

a. If yes,

i. what is your occupation? _____

_____

ii. Are you employed part-time or full-time? _____

_____

_____

iii. About how many hours do you work in a week? _____

_____

_____

iv. Is/are the job(s) temporary and/or permanent? _____

_____

_____

b. If no, have you been employed any time this past 12 months? Yes_____ No____

i. If yes, what were you employed at?

_____

_____

Was it in Ramea? Yes_____ No_____

If no, where were you employed?_____

Was it a part-time or full-time job?

_____

_____

_____

49. Do you receive income from any of the programs listed on this card?
Yes_____ No_____

A. Employment Insurance B. Social Assistance C. Pension D. Worker's Compensation
E. Other (If other, explain _____)

a. If yes, can you please tell me which one(s)? _____

50. Does anyone else in your household receive income from any of the programs listed on this card?
Yes _____ No_____

A. Employment Insurance B. Social Assistance C. Pension D. Worker's Compensation
E. Other (If other, explain _____)

a. If yes, can you please tell me which one(s)? _____

51. Could you tell me, from looking at this card, which letter represents the approximate level of your total personal income from all sources? Is it A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H or I?

Note: A. 0-9,999 B. 10,000 - 19,999 C. 20,000 - 29,999 D. 30,000 - 39,999
E. 40,000 - 49,999 F. 50,000 - 59,999 G. 60,000 - 69,999 H. 70,000 - 79,999
I. 80,000 - above.

52. Could you tell me, from looking at this card, which letter represents the approximate level of your total household income from all sources? Is it A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H or I?

Note: A. 0-9,999 B. 10,000 - 19,999 C. 20,000 - 29,999 D. 30,000 - 39,999
E. 40,000 - 49,999 F. 50,000 - 59,999 G. 60,000 - 69,999 H. 70,000 - 79,999
I. 80,000 - above.

53. How would you rate the amount of income you are receiving in satisfying all your household needs?

A. Much too Low B. Too Low C. Enough D. More than Enough
E. Much More than Enough

a. Why do you think that?

_____
_____
_____

54. Are there any questions that you think I should have asked?

_____
_____
_____

55. Are there any other comment you would like to add?

_____
_____
_____

Thank you so much for taking the time to answer these questions