LIVING ON THE OTHER SIDE OF NOWHERE

UNRAVELLING MEANINGS OF COMMUNITY IN THE CONTEXT OF THE TAGS ERA

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LIVING ON THE OTHER SIDE OF NOWHERE

Unravelling Meanings of Community in the Context of the TAGS Era

by
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A Thesis Submitted
to the Department of Sociology
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in partial fulfilment of
the requirements for a Ph.D.

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To my daughters Victoria and Zoë

ABSTRACT

Much scholarly work has centred around community in Newfoundland and Labrador. However, comparatively little work has focused on *meanings* of community. This thesis compares meanings of community in everyday life for people living in a Southern Shore community on Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula, with the meanings found in scholarly literature and in government documents produced in association with The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS). TAGS was a federal adjustment program responding to the moratoria on groundfish fishing in Atlantic Canada in the 1990s. I draw on Dorothy Smith's feminist theory, which starts from "lived experience" as well as the socioeconomic context of that lived experience as an entry point to illuminating the ideological nature of documents and their links to ruling relations. Smith's discussions of ideology and ruling relations are central to my gender-informed and mediated framework. I explore the contrast between meanings of community in TAGS documents and expert texts looking for lines of fault between these texts and meanings of community in everyday life in a fishing community in Newfoundland.

I use as well Smith's notions of resilience and emergent consciousness to demonstrate that the historic oppressive practices of the ruling group are re-mobilized in TAGS, reflecting society's patriarchal and capitalist ideology generally, and government ideology more specifically. I show the insight of ordinary social actors into the conditions of their existence. My argument is that these concepts are integrally related to community research and policy development.

The research shows that the meanings of community in one community is partly organized by history, geography and gender, and by religious, economic and political regimes. This thesis concludes by exploring the implications of these interpretations for community research and policy development.

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ACRONYMS AND ABBREVIATIONS

ABE	Adult Basic Education
AGAP	Atlantic Groundfish Adjustment Program
CEIC	Commission of Employment and Immigration Canada
CFAW	Canadian Federation of Allied Workers
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans
DOE	Department of Environment
DREE	Department of Regional Economic Expansion
ERC	Economic Recovery Commission
FFAW	Fish Food and Allied Workers
FPI	Fisheries Products International
FPU	Fisherman's Protective Union
HRDC	Human Resources Development Canada
MUN	Memorial University of Newfoundland
NAFO	Northwest Atlantic Fisheries Organization Area
NCARP	Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program
NFLD	Newfoundland and Labrador
SUF	Society of United Fishermen
TAGS	The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy
TFIAAF	Task Force on Income and Adjustments in the Atlantic Fishery
UI	Unemployment Insurance

PART I

CHAPTER ONE

Unravelling Meanings of Community

1.0 Introduction

During an interview for this project, one man described his experience of community life since the closure of Newfoundland's northern cod fishery in 1992 as "living on the other side of nowhere." A woman likened her experience to "being lost" Don't know where you are from one day to the next." These descriptions conveyed a sense of loss and uncertainty about the future of their community that pervaded the interviews I conducted for this thesis – thus my reason for choosing the title.

Community is seen here as socially constructed. This permits interpretation of meanings, symbols, ways of being and knowing and allows for examination of differences. This thesis is about the social construction of meanings of community. It looks at their origins and how the meanings interact with each other to shape people's experiences within and expectations of their communities. The concept "community" is employed in everyday life, in the media, in academic work, in government documents and elsewhere. However, little research has focused on the social construction of meanings of community and the relationship between those meanings and the experience of community members (Wharf and McKenzie, 1998). This thesis unravels multiple meanings of community used in the 1990s by research participants from a single, Newfoundland community (known in this thesis as Comorra). This community was

chosen primarily because of its proximity to St. John's and because it is dependent on the inshore fishery. As well, I had previous contact with people from the community and they were interested in becoming involved in my research. This allowed for intimate exploration of how the sudden closure of a key industry, the northern cod fishery, upon which Comorra had depended for centuries, influenced research participants' sense of that community in the years following the closure. It juxtaposes their meanings of community with those which are explicit or implicit in academic community research and in documents associated with government programs introduced in response to the northern cod crisis.Thus, in this thesis I (a) explore the meanings of community and the context that informed those meanings among research participants from Comorra; (b) compare and contrast the centrality of community and its multiple meanings for research participants, with its virtual absence from documents related to government adjustment programs introduced in response to the northern cod crisis; and (c) explore the implications of this research for future community research and community development initiatives.

Fishing families in Comorra have a shared sense of community, but as would be expected with creative social actors with different life stories, their meanings of community also diverge somewhat. A central element of their shared meaning of community is a sense of history, and a key part of that history is a shared sense of past and present oppression. The construction of fishery people and their lives in the documents associated with the federal government adjustment program differs from their

own constructions particularly as these relate to meanings of community. From the standpoints of fishery people these documents display a distinct ideology character. Local people were aware of the ideological character of these texts and policies and saw in them the continuation of the oppression which had always shaped their community. Their shared meanings of community also demonstrated continued resistance to what sociologist Dorothy E. Smith (1987) refers to as "ruling groups" and included knowledge of ruling groups and their practices from the beginning of settlement. They described such 'key ruling groups' as the English and the Protestant Churches in the distant past, the Catholic Church and the merchant class in the recent past, and fish processing companies and the federal and provincial governments since World War II. In this research, the federal government emerged as the key ruling group for participants in relation to the northern cod crisis.

Consistent with Smith's line of fault argument (1987: 49-60), my research begins with the lives of local people and their experiences of being told one thing but knowing another based on personal experience. The knowledge of local people situates them on one side of a line of fault separating them from the apparently neutral bureaucratic domain of a government where knowledge of the world is created with a view to administering it. Local people understand this line of fault and its implications for their daily life. As this thesis demonstrates, the management of the fisheries crisis was informed by an ideology about the fishery that treated it as the domain of individuals separate from community and family life. This ideology allowed government to design

programs for individuals rather than families and communities. The problems with this approach are clear to people from their experience. This gulf between policy and experience contributes to the formation of a line of fault between what people know based on their everyday experiences and the policies. Smith (1990) says that for a line of fault to occur, people must be aware of its existence. My intent is to unravel people's lives to see how they are ordered to support interests other than their own. I also explore their awareness of such ordering.

1.1 Context: The Fisheries Crisis

For nearly two centuries, the fishery has been the lifeblood for hundreds of coastal settlements in Newfoundland. The recent decline and failure of the fish stocks has brought an economic and social crisis to many of these settlements.

Newfoundland's fishing communities had been experiencing a crisis in the fishing industry for some time before the decline of the northern cod stocks. The federal government recognized the decline in groundfish stocks as early as the seventies (Canada, 1976). In the early 1980s, the Kirby Task Force on the Atlantic Fishery suggested that reducing the numbers of people involved in the industry would solve the problem of the fishery (Kirby, 1983). However, scholars such as Sinclair (1982) identified other contributing causes of the decline including the larger allocation of northern cod to the offshore fleet and the advancement of trawler technology. In spite of increased fishing, the total northern cod catch remained essentially static through most of the 1980s (Harris,

1990). Finlayson states that fishers began to suspect that the DFO cod stock numbers "were considerably less than accurate" (1994: 9). In his Review of the Northern Cod Stocks, Harris (1990) declared that the cod stocks were in serious decline throughout the 1980s and recommended a considerable decrease in the Total Allowable Catch (TAC) for northern cod (1990). The crisis intensified due to continued over fishing. In 1992, a moratorium on fishing for northern cod was finally imposed along the Northeast coast of Newfoundland and Southern Labrador. In August 1993 other moratoria were declared on the south coast of Newfoundland and in Nova Scotia, followed by still more groundfish closures in 1994. These moratoria were an economic disaster for entire regions where groundfish was the economic mainstay of coastal communities.

The first government response to the moratorium, the Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program (CARP), introduced in 1992 was a two-tiered assistance program with higher funding for those who chose training outside the fishing industry. CARP also provided an Income Replacement Program for those who depended on the northern cod fishery. By August 1993, it was clear that the northern cod fishery would not reopen in the near future. CARP was terminated in May 1994 and replaced with The Atlantic Ground Fish Strategy (TAGS). TAGS was a labor market adjustment program for individuals experiencing economic distress from the fisheries crisis. The main purpose of TAGS was to encourage recipients to find careers outside the fisheries. Recipients were required to develop a career plan or retire. TAGS also included an income adjustment program which originally required some recipients to work for benefits.

Discussion of its termination was ongoing in the media throughout the late 1990s (although TAGS had been originally scheduled to continue until 1999). The details of TAGS are discussed further in Chapter Seven.

The community of Comorra has been severely affected, as were hundreds of others, by the fisheries crisis and the above policies. Comorra's population of nearly 1,000 is almost all of Irish Catholic ancestry and has been sustained for generations by the inshore fishery. Government services are located in nearby service centres. There are two general stores and a video shop. It is located on Newfoundland's Avalon Peninsula. I interviewed thirty individuals in Comorra and participated in many community gatherings as well as everyday community life. Fifteen women and fifteen men of varying ages, income levels, and marital status, participated in the study. Three people, two females and a male, agreed to be interviewed in greater depth, providing profiles of experience which are discussed in detail in Chapter Ten.

1.2 Theory and Methodology

I employ Smith's (1990) theory of meaning to explore the origins of meanings of community, exclusions from those meanings and perceptions related to changes in the meanings of community. Smith's sociology of knowledge makes it conceptually possible to juxtapose the objective knowledge of the socio-economic and politico-administrative regime with the locally organized, reflexive knowledge of individuals in the everyday world. I will look at the implications of this juxtaposition for community research and

policy development. As well, I will examine the meanings assigned to community in the lived experience of community members. In particular, I intend to explore, from a feminist perspective, the dimensions of power and gender as they relate to these meanings.

My research is guided by a number of theorists including Anthony Cohen (1982) and Patricia Collins (1990). They present the idea of community as relational, since it implies opposition of the group to others. This definition of community is political, in that it emphasizes the togetherness of members and the expression of difference from others. This separation from other groups denotes the *boundary* of community as the place where the community ends and others begin. Cohen says *boundary* is where the members of the community fix the line of *belonging* (1985: 12). Marianne Gullestad's (1992: 50) exploration of the "new everyday," and Sally Cole's (1988, 1991) call for the integration of gender awareness with symbolic and materialist approaches to research also informed my work.

In keeping with a framework largely based on Smith, and with my own convictions as a feminist, I adopt a qualitative and participatory methodology which is reflexive. Based on the interviews with the people of Comorra, I identify a number of themes which are described and discussed at length later in this thesis.

The meanings of community experienced in everyday life by the research participants in this study are revealed to have been, at least in part, organized over time by religious, economic, political and administrative regimes. I use Smith's analysis of

language to juxtapose the "objective" knowledge of community within several of these regimes with the locally-organized, reflexive knowledge of individuals who say they are experiencing community in everyday life (Smith, 1990: 23-24).

My approach, therefore, relies on Smith's critique of ideology and objectivity. She treats ideology as a form of social organization, dependent on "objective" texts that are organized to impose textually mediated, conceptual practices on a local setting in the interest of ruling it. Smith argues that this social organization of knowledge produces the epistemological line of fault between the "objective" knowledge of the regime and the reflexive, everyday knowledge of people (Smith, 1990:43-45).

1.3 A Reflexive Beginning

Feminist research often demands reflexivity and transparency because it is a political struggle with objectives of emancipation and social justice (Clough, 1992). As a feminist researcher, I seek to open influential aspects of my research approach (motivations, assumptions, concepts and methodologies) to scrutiny.

Unravelling was one of my favorite winter pastimes when I was a child growing up on the Southwest coast of Newfoundland. When a sweater became too worn, my grandmother would give it to me to unravel so that she could re-knit the wool into socks or mitts. Unravelling looks easy but in fact requires attention and skill. Finding the right strand of wool to begin the unravelling process took time; I often started with a strand only to find it ended abruptly, forcing me to begin all over again. Unravelling also

becomes more complex as you go along. Starting out with one strand and forming it into a neat ball was manageable, but when I came to the patterns in the sweater where the knitter had integrated several different coloured strands it became more challenging. I then had to work with each strand separately, shaping it into its own ball. Unravelling several balls at once, and maintaining the neatness and tightness of each were challenges similar to those which confront me now as I attempt to identify the various, hidden meanings of community and the line or lines of fault between them. At the outset, of this thesis I anticipated that I would discover distinct meanings of community associated with each group studied. However, I found many colours; many different concepts of community both within and between each of the three groups studied – the research participants, federal government, and community sociologists.

Unravelling the concept "community" has been a political struggle for me, as the concept is laden with meaning and burdened by my experiences. While the term community is often used to convey substance, solidarity and strength, the reality of community is actually fleeting, insubstantial and slippery. Over twenty years I have worked to understand community and unlock its mysteries. This thesis is a part of that ongoing struggle.

My journey began in my community of origin on the South coast of Newfoundland as I looked for ways to bring about social justice. I grew up in a family that had survived for generations by fishing. The meaning of community I experienced during my youth involved both a sense of belonging and a sense of not belonging, similar

to the sense of community described by Cohen (1982) (see Chapter Three). My father conveyed to me a sense of being outside; of living in one place and having a sense of belonging to another. He moved to our small community as a young man and experienced a different sense of community than I did growing up there. My father talked about himself as an outsider. My father's experience became more real to me when I left my home community to go to university. As a young woman I believed I was escaping "community" (as I experienced it) by physically leaving the place and people I had belonged to. I was eager to escape a community controlled by a fish merchant. After leaving, I became aware of how much I belonged to the place I had left behind. I experienced a deep sense of loss, missing the place as well as the people.

I have since come to see that meanings of community are deeply personal for other people as well. My work in participatory community research made me aware of the complexities inherent in "community" generally (Taylor, 1995). As a social activist I became conscious of gender issues associated with meanings of community in fishing villages. My social justice concerns were strengthened as a result of these experiences. I tried to make sense of these experiences and find tools for social change through education and my work. With an undergraduate degree in political science I was hired as a research assistant by Memorial University's Extension Service. A smorgasbord of opportunities were available to me through MUN's field staff and researchers. I worked with field workers in communities throughout Newfoundland and Labrador heightening my appreciation of meanings hidden and dormant in community situations. With these

workers I deciphered the lessons to be found in an encounter in a storeloft, an afternoon chat over a cup of tea, a community meeting, a phone call, the criticisms of others. I was constantly asked by the field workers: what does this mean to this person, that person, this family, this community, to yourself? I was also challenged to interpret the messages in texts written by community members, field workers and government. What were the hidden meanings? Who would benefit or lose? The struggle for justice, I learned early, required being open to the flow of discussion and diversity of meanings in daily life.

I went back to school again seeking to become more effective as a social activist. There I became aware of my own internalized oppression and domination. My politicization involved analyzing the meanings of dynamics and emotions in my own life. My training as a feminist therapist in a graduate social work program taught me that my interpretation of interviews and texts was limited by what I was willing to hear and that only by recognizing and working through my own issues of internalized oppression, shame and responsibility could I address these issues in the lives of others. Initially, as a feminist therapist, I worked most often with women who had been abused, but also at times with their abusers. Over time, I came to see that many of the issues we were discussing in therapy led me back to broader issues, and, in particular, back to the processes through which people consciously and unconsciously create their communities. As a result of my Ph.D. studies and twenty years of working with people struggling to create community in their lives, I see community as a vital social process that is often contradictory, complex and sometimes painful. I question my role as researcher and how

I may be reproducing dominant ways of thinking about meanings of community instead of broadening discourses to include the many meanings of community experienced by people. I realize that my need to understand the struggles and strengths in the experience of community also reflect my need to understand myself.

I now return to the unravelling analogy I used earlier. The process of exploring the lines of fault in meanings of community is similar to that of unravelling three woollen tapestries: the various colours and types of yarn are akin to the different perceptions, from the different standpoints of the three groups on which I base my study. On one side of the line of fault are two complex and neutral (as opposed to lived experience) meanings of community making two separate tapestries: (a) meanings of community inherent in a federal adjustment program (TAGS); (b) the objective knowledge of community as defined and identified in sociological literature. On the other side of the line of fault is the tapestry of reflexive and locally organized knowledge holding the meanings of community of people living it in everyday life. In this thesis, this third tapestry is made up of the interwoven voices of thirty participants in Comorra.

The methodology used in the analysis of those tapestries was developed by Smith (1990, 1983) and was based on the following premises. Smith's methodology is anchored in women's lived experiences including their socioeconomic contexts. Lived experience is an entry point for identifying the ideological frames of documents and their links to ruling relations. Smith argues that lived experience must be analyzed and interpreted to uncover how it is socially organized and the conditions which produced it

(Smith, 1990, 1983). "Experience," says Bannerji, "is the originating point of knowledge, an interpretation, a relational sense making, which incorporates social meaning . . . where but in ourselves and lives can we begin our explanatory and analytical activities" (1995: 86-88). The analysis of lived experience begins where people are socially located and explores how their worlds come into being. Thus, my inquiry begins in the actual lives of local people and moves out to the forces which shape their experiences and consciousness. This participatory approach required involvement in community events and activities over a two-year period as well as in-depth interviews with thirty individuals from Comorra who expressed an interest in participating in my research. These activities enabled me to develop the theoretical questions which shaped the framework of my study.

1.4 Overview

This thesis is organized to introduce the reader to the methodological and theoretical framework which sets the context for understanding the data and its analysis. The thesis is divided into three parts. Part One (Chapters One, Two and Three) reviews social science literature on community, develops the analytical framework of the thesis and describes the methodology. Chapter Two reviews the academic literature on the concept "community," focusing particularly on research on Newfoundland communities. Chapter Three outlines the gender-informed framework for this study, with particular attention to the issues emerging from its feminist origins in Smith's (1990) "sociology of

knowledge." In this chapter, I also profile my research design and describe the data collection and analysis procedures.

Part Two (Chapters Four, Five and Six) responds to Smith's questions: "How does it happen to us as it does? How is this world in which we act and suffer together put together?" (Smith, 1987: 154). This leads to a discussion of the historical dimension that informs research participants' contemporary meanings of community. Local people provided this starting point in their explications of the evolution of their current meanings of community. Their responses required that I investigate their history. Therefore, Chapter Four contains accounts of research participants and scholarly histories of early European settlement in Newfoundland. In Chapters Five and Six, the focus shifts to the local and scholarly histories of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. I examine the practices and mechanisms of the Roman Catholic Church (Chapter Five) and the ruling groups controlling the fishery in the past (Chapter Six), exploring their influence on meanings of community today. Both local and scholarly histories map the persistent hierarchy of social privilege in Newfoundland outlining historical and material conditions contributing to current lines of fault in meanings of community.

Part Three (Chapters Seven, Eight and Nine) shows how current lines of fault between experiences of community life and government policy are mediated by class and gender. Chapter Seven sketches the events shaping the northern cod moratorium setting the context for the textual analysis of TAGS documents and life under TAGS. This chapter highlights the continued capacity of government to perpetuate the hierarchy of

social privileges into and through the crisis, despite challenges. Chapter Seven also shows that TAGS is part of a government regulated reorganization of fishing communities by the ruling group. Smith's method of textual analysis and her line of fault theory are employed to explore meanings of community within TAGS documents, with particular attention to TAGS emphasis on individualism and patriarchal authority. Chapter Eight details experiences of contemporary community life. Three profiles of individual experiences of the moratorium explore contemporary ideas of community and the forces affecting perceptions. Chapter Nine synthesizes the meanings the study has revealed in literature (Chapters Two and Three), government policy (Chapter Seven), and lived experience (Chapter Eight). I conclude with the implications of this research for community research and social policy.

theorists such as Cole (1991), Collins (1990) and Gullestad (1992). They provide key elements in the definition of community that informs this work. They validate people as meaning makers, the significance of *lived experience* in community, seeing it as *socially constructed* and *dynamic*. Finally, they avoid such dichotomies as rural-traditional/ urban-modern, work/ home and private/public. This is useful in a theoretical framework for studying Newfoundland fishing communities where work and home, and public and private overlap. In the final section of this chapter I outline the feminist theoretical framework that informs my definition of community as well as my analysis.

The framework allows me to examine and contrast definitions (abstract theoretical constructs) and meanings (implicit and explicit ways of thinking and being) related to the concept "community" in scholarly literature, government texts and daily life. In this approach community refers to belonging to and connecting with a social and geographic context. My framework is guided primarily by Dorothy Smith's innovative sociology, particularly her theories of "line of fault," (1987,1990) "standpoints" (Campbell and Manicom, 1995) and "ideological frame" (Smith, 1987,1990). I show that Smith's sociology provides a framework to explore definitions and meanings of "community" — how the concept "community" is spoken about and employed in daily life, government texts and literature on community. The framework allows for an investigation of the link between ideological frames of the concept "community" in government documents related to TAGS and those in the daily life of research participants. *Ideological frame*, as used by Smith (1990) and as employed in this thesis, identifies ideologies as *processes*

produced and constructed through human activity. Once in place, an ideological frame renders invisible the process of its own production, claiming the results as 'common sense.' The framework for this research provides access to and validates the knowledge and experience of local people, including the centrality of community to their sense of themselves. It also allows elements (history, gender, generation/age, class, boundaries, public and private spaces, ruling relations, diversity) of community to emerge.

2.1 Definitions of community

As the following sections on definitions and theories of community demonstrate, definitions of community have properties which provide ways of thinking about and working with people's lives. While I do not intend to explore exhaustively the many definitions of community in the social science literature, ninety-four according to Hillery (1955), it is useful to present a range and variety of definitions.

Much of the literature on community uses the term without definition, implying neutrality and objectivity, and obscuring features such as gender, class and race (Walker, 1990). Early definitions of community emphasized locality. Geographic area and a sense of place set the boundaries for common living and provided a basis for solidarity (Hillery, 1955). Other characteristics were included in Harper and Dunham's definition of community: "... physical, geographical and territoriality boundaries which indicate a certain uniqueness or separateness; and social or cultural homogeneity, consensus, self-help, or other forms of communal behaviour and interacting relationships" (1959: 23).

Arensberg and Kimball (1965) expanded this definition by distinguishing between four types of community: the rural community; the "fringe" community, the town and the metropolis.

Early definitions such as Redfield's (1947) for example, have also attributed to community the characteristics of distinctiveness and self-sufficiency, along with shared geography, smallness and homogeneity. Warren's definition of community, which is often quoted in community literature, builds on Redfield's and emphasizes the importance of community functions:

> . . . that combination of social units and systems which perform the major social functions having locality relevance. This is another way of saying that by 'community' we mean the organization of social activities to afford people daily local access to these broad areas of activity which are necessary in day to day living (Warren, 1963: 9).

For Warren, the "social functions with community relevance" are production, distribution, consumption, socialization, social control, social participation and mutual support. He goes on to say that "these functions are performed by a great variety of institutional auspices," making it difficult both to identify communities and to generalize about them (1978: 9-13). Warren's approach, which emphasizes the importance of structures of relationships rather than individual action, is still influential in North American sociological research. This approach looks for patterns and regularities in community life, and studies qualities that make for the competent functioning of community. It has been critiqued because of its definition of competent communities as

being characterized by consensus, social cohesion, solidarity as well as shared values, beliefs and moral order (Frazer and Lacey, 1993).

Writing in the 1970s, Edwards and Jones further refined the definition to include some degree of autonomy:

> The term community refers in this textbook to such settlements as the plantation, the farm village, the town and the city. What is common to all of these and what is considered essential to the definition of community used here is that in each case there is a grouping of people who reside in a specific locality and who exercise some degree of local autonomy in organizing their social life in such a way that they can, from that locality base, satisfy the full range of their daily needs (Edwards and Jones, 1976: 12).

Wharf (1992) argues that Edwards and Jones may overestimate both the degree of local autonomy in many communities, as well as the degree of commonality in communities. Repo argued that definitions which have been limited to geography and common ties "assume a classless society at the local level where people of all classes work toward a common goal" (1971: 61). Warren (1980) argued that the notion of common ties did not take into account divisions of class, race and gender within communities. His research showed that neighbourhoods differed along a number of dimensions, including identity and interaction, and did not necessarily share common ties.

More recently feminists contend that definitions of community as local space and common ties are limited and overlook differences such as gender. Dominelli, for example, points out that traditional definitions of community are based on the assumption that, "community is a local space which is small enough for people to interact with each other. These definitions have a further common characteristic. Until feminists

redressed the balance they ignored gender. This is strange for women have always been present and active in the community" (1989: 2).

Contemporary scholars question the value of treating communities as entities with specifiable attributes (Wharf and Clague, 1997). Following the lead of Arensberg and Kimball, some prefer instead to regard community as a process or system: "The community should be viewed as a process involving social structure and cultural behavior . . . our own approach will start with the notion of community as a master system encompassing social forms and cultural behavior in interdependent subsidiary systems (institutions)" (1965:2-3).

Social constructionists such as Ng, Walker and Muller (1990) suggest that the "concept" community take account of the interconnection and diversity of everyday life. They point out that community is a product of people's activities and activities of ruling also penetrate relations in community life. The community can no longer be equated with "the good and benevolent sphere of social life" (Ng, Walker and Muller, 1990: 316). They assume that communities reflect larger society which, in Canada, is patriarchal and where resources and power are distributed unequally. In communities, ruling arrangements are dominated by clusters of mostly male elites who rule in their own interests. Consequently, Ng, Walker and Muller (1990), Frazer and Lacey (1993), Wharf and Clague (1997) and others have argued that community cannot be employed in research and analysis without being clearly defined. They contend that failure to provide a definition is worrying since it allows slippage. Frazer and Lacey (1993) argue that this slippage gives rise to difficulty in political analysis, for example, allowing the exclusion

of women and others, obscuring intolerance and oppression, and permitting ruling arrangements to remain vague. Further, inadequate definitions or failure to provide definitions lend support to the notion that "community" is a solution to social problems.

Definitions of communities are influenced by theories which have dominated the literature. I discuss three of these theories to demonstrate their contribution to definitions of community.

2.2 Theories of Community

2.2.1 *Theory of Community Lost*

The classical theory of community lost was developed by Tonnies in his formulation of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* (1887) and strengthened by Simmel's (Wolff, 1950) discussion of that formulation. Tonnies presents community (*gemeinschaft*) as a natural state of affairs where people live all their lives in the same area in which they were born. They carry on all their lifelong interactions (work, marriage, worship, play) with the same people (Tonnies, 1963: 40). Tonnies argues that intimacy and social cohesion develop through this multitude of social relations and familiarity with role patterns. In contrast, he describes *gesellschaft* as

> . . . the artificial construction of an aggregate of human beings which superficially resembles the *gemeinschaft* in so far as individuals live and dwell together peacefully. However, in the *gemeinschaft* they remain essentially united in spite of all separating factors, whereas in *gesellschaft* they are essentially separated in spite of all uniting factors (1963: 42).

Simmel (Wolff, 1950) equated *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* with the dichotomies of rurality-urbanism and tradition-modernity. The dichotomies which emerged from

Simmel's analysis include a moral critique of industrialized urban centres and urban lifestyles. This theory promotes a nostalgia for rural communities of the past which are believed to be harmonious and integrated, and the notion that urban lifestyles promote individualism and disharmony. These dichotomies were also found in the work of the Chicago School, particularly the work of Redfield (1947), who developed an ideal-type of folk society based on *gemeinschaft* and a model of urban society based on *gesellschaft*.

2.2.2 *Folk Society Theory*

Folk society theory developed from Redfield's (1947) work which in turn evolved from Wirth's (1938) causal model of the determinants of *gemeinschaft* and a model of urban society based on *gesellschaft*. Redfield's determinants of *gemeinschaft* included organization around kinship ties, intimate face to face relations, minimal division of labour, sense of loyalty and obligation, and shared values and behaviours. In contrast, *gesellschaft* was identified by weak kinship ties, superficial relations, a high degree of specialization, limited cohesion and readiness to change values (Redfield, 1947). These models were challenged by Lewis (1949) who argued that Redfield's model overlooked diversity and differences within small rural communities. Despite Lewis' arguments, Redfield's folk society model influenced community research in Canada until the 1960s (i.e . Guindon, 1964; Rioux, 1964). The definitions of "strong," "good," "healthy" and "competent" communities found in some literature from the seventies and eighties emerged from Redfield's work. Scholars such as Cottrell (1977), Warren (1978) and

Adler (1982) developed models to measure the functioning of communities or the ability of communities to be "strong" or "good" communities. Community strength is most often seen as social vitality, economic viability and political efficacy (Bowles, 1981). Social vitality refers to the process by which communities become mutually bonded in reciprocal relationships. Economic viability refers to the ability of a community to create and maintain its own locally initiated and controlled system of material production and consumption. Political efficacy refers to the process by which a community creates and maintains some commonly accepted basis of power mobilization and distribution (Bowles, 1981). Social vitality and economic viability parallel the distinctions between *gemeinschaft* (socially determined inter-personal reciprocity networks) and *gesellschaft* (economically determined inter-dependency contract relationships) (Blishen et al, 1979).

2.2.3 *Social Constructionist Theory*

Folk society theory relies on deterministic definitions of community. Social constructionist theory, in contrast, views community as a field of practice and its focus is on the realm of meaning (Frazer and Lacey, 1993). Frazer and Lacey draw upon social construction to analyze the themes of communitarian discourse which emphasizes collective as opposed to individual rights. This is essentially a philosophical debate that is beyond the scope of this research which focusses on the social construction of community in everyday life. Social construction as it is employed here begins with the particular activities of people and explores how these practical activities are co-ordinated. Feminist and other critical discourses in this school have argued that traditional

definitions of community tend to be structured in terms of binary oppositions such as public/private and industrial society versus home and community (Frazer and Lacey, 1993). A social constructionist stance transcends these dichotomies. The feminist framework, methodology and interpretative approach that I use in this research are anchored in social construction and are based on three elements in Dorothy Smith's (1990) approach. First, lived experience is a rich source of knowledge about ideological and social processes. Second, social construction values and builds on everyday experience. It supports the notion that the personal is political and values the authority of experience in knowledge production and social change. Third, it assumes that experience must be analyzed and interpreted in order to uncover how it is socially organized and the ideological and material conditions that produce it (Smith, 1990). In section 2.4 of this chapter, I show that social construction provides the starting point for unravelling the ways in which meanings of community contain domination, contradictions and resistance. I will now briefly explore Newfoundland literature, first looking at definitions and then theories of community within it, in order to provide a background for my framework.

2.3 Newfoundland Community Research

Marilyn Silverman (1985) sees Newfoundland and Labrador as the site of some of the most intense investigations of community to date. She refers to the extensive work sponsored by the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER) at Memorial University. Newfoundland may even be described as Canada's "best documented society"

(Cohen, 1980: 215). A wealth of published and unpublished works make up a distinctive Newfoundland and Labrador contribution to a growing archive of literature on community. This thesis is informed by that literature and contributes, in particular, to the emerging feminist literature on Newfoundland communities. In recent years, feminist research contributed to capturing the complexity of people's experiences of community and challenged dominant forms of investigation into communities (McGrath, Neis and Porter, 1995).

The major form of investigation into Newfoundland communities was influenced by the Norwegian tradition of social research ethnography with an emphasis on both *gemeinschaft* and folk society. Within the early period of community research in Newfoundland, ethnographic monographs provided limited definitions of community which enshrined standardized representations of communities and their people (Philbrook, 1966; Firestone, 1967; Faris, 1972). Firestone's definition includes a "social area" which is a "geographical area in which all inhabitants are all known to one another" (1967: 31). He described Savage Cove, the community he studied, as egalitarian and homogeneous. This is closely aligned with Tonnies's image of *gemeinschaft* as well as with Redfield's (1947) ideal model of folk society. Iverson and Matthews (1968) provided a geographic description for the Newfoundland communities they studied. Communities were often presented as isolated villages bounded on all sides by water and woods, or as natural communities (Philbrook, 1966; Iverson and Matthews, 1968). Faris expanded on these geographic definitions of community as "a functioning system; but it

is a functioning system which is part of other systems, a historical past, and a broader present without which it cannot be understood" (1972: 3).

More recent ethnographies show varied responses to the problem of defining community. Kennedy has criticized anthropological ethnography for "fossilizing" communities in an "ethnographic present" (1985: 34). However his concept of community is not clearly defined. Others such as Robinson (1995) do not provide any definitions of community.

Early research on fishing communities in Newfoundland consistently supported an approach to communities as ideal folk societies which were in danger of being lost. The dichotomies which emerge from early ethnographies imply a moral critique of industrialized urban centres and urban lifestyles (Stiles, 1972; Nemec, 1972; Andersen and Stiles, 1973). These dichotomies also influenced studies of fishing and fishing communities (Stiles, 1972; Nemec, 1972; Andersen and Stiles, 1973) and echo a Norwegian preoccupation with themes of "community lost" (due to modernization) and "revitalizing lost communities" (Gullestad, 1992: 46). Monographs by Brox (1969, 1972) and Wadel (1969) challenge ". . . the modernization approach that informed both previous research and government policy in relation to rural Newfoundland" (Neis, 1992: 325).

The notion of community lost has been prominent in Newfoundland literature partly because of government resettlement policies. Sociologists have argued against government policies which promoted urban development at the expense of rural Newfoundland (Matthews, 1993). Sociologists and anthropologists have consistently

raised objections toward these policies of resettlement (Matthews, 1993: 225). Matthews reports that ". . . studies repeatedly showed that many of those who had resettled had no intentions of moving only a few months prior to doing so. They were essentially intimidated into moving by government reports that a large number of Newfoundland communities 'would have to go'" (1993: 225). He adds that arguments "for and against resettlement have waged in Newfoundland for nearly a quarter century" (1993: 225). His discussion reflects the traditional dichotomy of *gemeinschaft* and *gesellschaft* with sociologists most often arguing against resettlement because they value the *gemeinschaft* characteristics of Newfoundland fishing communities. This was supported by the belief that "rural Newfoundlanders have different value systems than their urban counterparts" (Matthews, 1976: 226). However, Parzival Copes' (1972) arguments supported *gesellschaft* by emphasizing that modern larger (both near and offshore) fishing vessels were more cost-effective than the traditional smaller inshore vessels of the labour-intensive inshore fishery. His work supported provincial and federal policies which promoted the modernization and resettlement of fishing villages in Newfoundland.

Pocius' ethnography, like others (for example, Andersen and Stiles, 1973) in the Norwegian tradition, approaches community as *space* (1991: 3). He looks at the space of community membership and history, the space of production and the space of consumption. His approach to community, while valuing local knowledge, continues to reproduce the idea of homogeneity. For example, he reduces the discussion of gender to the traditional naturalized dichotomy of male/public and female/private.

Davis' portrayal of her first (1983) experience in the community she studied draws on the idealized folk society model of Redfield. She says this community was "tightly bounded, basically egalitarian, cautiously cooperative and dominated in both its domestic and public (landbound) spheres by women both as individuals and as groups" (1995: 280). Her later experience of the same community reflects the theme of community lost: the "high self-esteem and egalitarian moral order, which had once pervaded the community and held it together had dissolved" (1995: 280).

Earlier ethnographic literature describes male and female labour in Newfoundland fishing villages as "complementary" (Davis, 1983), but also changing. The traditional, instrumental roles of Newfoundland fisher wives are seen as changed. Davis (1983) saw women as playing quasi-spiritual supportive roles (as well as instrumental roles). Women generated "a sense" that "we're all in it together" and they were responsible for the work of worrying. She described a "general, passive worry as well as actual, direct participation, that reinforces a woman's sense of belonging to the community fishery" (1988: 220). Women were emotionally involved in the fishery because they worried about their men on the sea. However, women also had instrumental roles to play maintaining families and communities and enabling men to be away at sea for long periods (Davis, 1983; 1988).

Traditional ethnographies may reproduce the alienation and objectification of their subjects. Wadel (1973), for example, investigated the unemployment system in one Newfoundland fishing community showing the social costs of that system to the individuals, family and community. While such research enlarges ethnographic

knowledge and demonstrates that participants can tell their own stories, narratives can often incorporate bourgeois values and ideology. Women are largely seen as 'family' in Wadel's work. This supports the perspective of rural women of Newfoundland as passive victims of gender. They are portrayed in some early ethnography as passive, unfortunate recipients of oppression (Firestone, 1967; Faris, 1972; Wadel, 1973). Feminists point out that this overlooks their ability to bring about changes in their lives (Antler, 1977; Davis, 1983; Neis, 1993; Porter, 1993). Murray (1979) demonstrates that women were participants in the fishery, drying and salting cod, making sails and clothing for the fishers. Her description of women as giving 'more than 50 percent' included raising food for the family, overall household care and maintenance and generally providing care giving in the community. McGrath, Neis and Porter (1995) point out that Murray's work was ". . . revolutionary because no one had previously written about such experiences" (1995: viii).

Murray (1979), Porter (1985), Nadel-Klein and Davis (1988), Cole (1991) and others have challenged the egalitarian folk society model of community of early ethnographies and simplifications of male dominance. For example, Cole challenges Faris's interpretation of the relationship between husbands and wives in fishing families. She quotes Faris: "A man without a wife is like a man without a good boat or a good horse and a woman is, in the division of shares of a voyage, considered an item in her husband's capital, just as a cod trap or an engine" (Faris, 1972: 75). "It is unlikely," says Cole, "that Faris is presenting the Newfoundland woman's perception of herself . . . . it is also unclear whether this is Faris's interpretation of a husband's perception of a wife or if

Newfoundland fishermen themselves see the conjugal relationship in this way" (Cole, 1991: 159). Nadel-Klein and Davis point out the tendency in community research to overemphasize the similarities found in women's lives in fishing communities in various settings, arguing "that to understand fishing communities and economies, the adaptive challenges of fishing must be placed within the specific context of history, political economy and gender ideology" (1988: 6).

McGrath, Neis and Porter (1995) describe feminist research on Newfoundland communities as evolving. They point out that early feminist work on communities (Murray, 1979) allowed women and women's work to become visible and valued for its contribution to the economy. Feminists such as Antler, Porter and Neis moved the literature forward by analysing the sources of women's subordination through study of economic conditions and structure and of women's unpaid work. McGrath, Neis and Porter (1995) point out that new writers are drawing on scholars such as Smith to develop new analytical frameworks. This movement is consistent with feminist research elsewhere. Recent feminist work argues that studies which detail the differing roles of men and women in a community are inadequate (Frazer and Lacey, 1993). Some feminists want to see explicit analyses of male dominance and power as a step towards emancipatory action for women in both public and domestic spheres (Dominelli, 1995). Others, influenced by black feminists, third world feminists, critical and postmodern feminists and theorists, call for an integrative approach to the concept "community" which moves beyond a binary world view (Ristock and Pennell, 1996; Cole, 1991; Miles, 1991).

The final section of this chapter outlines the feminist framework for this thesis proposing a new and more integrated approach to researching community. I call this the " new everyday community life" perspective, one which resonates with the gender-informed research of Gullestad, Cole, Collins, and others. This perspective sees categories such as "community," "men" and "women" as actively constructed through the meanings and practices which invest them with significance in *everyday social interchange*. It centres on the recognition of social experiences such as gender and class as social divisions and identities as socially constructed, dynamic and interactive.

2.4 Constructing a Definition of Community

My discussion of traditional definitions and theories in scholarly literature suggests that they have restricted analysis of who rules and how in everyday community life. Feminists such as Ng, Walker and Muller have criticized traditional views of community as being at the very least, inadequate and, at worst, contributing to oppressive practices in the management of people's lives. They argue that traditional views promote duality and allusions such as the notion that the state is "rigid and inflexible" while community is "good and benevolent" (1990: 318).

During my struggle to find a definition of community for this work, I went back to the journals I kept over the years as a community activist. I traced in my journals the same tensions discussed by Ng, Muller and Walker. I recalled how I had talked and written of communities as inherently good. However, those journals also showed my vacillations about everyday community life which perpetuated experiences of oppression

for both women and men. On the one hand, I have had experiences of community which enhanced self-worth and promoted feelings of togetherness with others. On the other hand, I have also experienced community as an enclosure which has demeaned people and held them hostage to its past. I began to understand that the definition of community I used in my work had to include these incongruities and tensions. In order to accomplish this, the definition of community used in this work emerges from the deeply held beliefs and experiences of local people about what constitutes their community. It also builds on the efforts of feminists, social constructionists and others who work to incorporate the paradoxes and tensions of community into their definition.

My definition of community begins with Cohen (1985) who argues that belonging to a social context, be it to a local community or to an ethnic community, is the driving force behind the social construction of community. My research indicates that participants have connections to both a social and local context building on Cohen's work. Participants persistently referred to the physical and social context of the community as well as its present and past connections with the fishery and ocean as sources of feelings of belonging to community.

Cohen defines community as a group in which the members have something in common: they see themselves as distinct from other recognized groups. His idea of community is relational, implying opposition of the group to others (1985: 107). This definition is also political, emphasizing the togetherness of members and their expression of difference from others. This separation from other groups denotes the *boundary* of community, where the members of the community fix the line of *belonging*. In his study

of Whalsay, a community in the Shetland Islands. Cohen defines the sense of belonging as:

> When people thus identify themselves as belonging to Whalsay, they merge the primacy of their immediate kinship and neighbouring associations with the community as a whole. They merge a tradition, a folk history, with the present. They thus make time and place a vocabulary for expressing their attachments and associations, a vocabulary that is so fluid that it can serve to mask the conflicting demands of the different sections to which they belong (Cohen, 1982: 29).

He argues that the definition of a community is contained in the perception and recognition of the boundary. For Cohen, community and its feelings of belonging together, and political unity are both constructed through the use of symbols (i.e. metaphors representing other things). They allow the user to supply some *meaning*. Cohen (1985) argues that a community shares symbols as it shares language or behaviour. However community members do not necessarily have the same interpretation of these symbols, or share their meaning in the same way. All have their own *interpretation* of the symbols. This approach provides for diversity within communities and supports the importance of exploring that diversity through uncovering individual meanings in community research (Cohen, 1985: 16).

Another important contribution to togetherness pointed out by Cohen is that of a *commonly accepted past*. A commonly accepted past "is a selective construction of the past which resonates with contemporary influences" (Cohen, 1982: 13). Recalling the past, he says, raises emotions which enhance community unity. Interpreted selectively, this past becomes myth "acting as a charter for contemporary action" (Cohen, 1982: 14). This myth is open for interpretation, again giving an illusion of commonality. Cohen

says that actions in the present are justified by linking them to a sacred past. Participants in my research also indicate that having a shared past is an important element of their experience of community. However, their stories also demonstrate that remembering the past has been a vehicle for people to become conscious of their ability to construct everyday community life differently. For example, participants' stories reveal a critical remembering of the past which helps them make sense of their differences. It unmasks previous oppressions imposed from outside as well as within the boundaries of community. From this perspective past history is seen as usable as well as sacred. This critical remembering of a usable past allows the possibility for exposure of social reality, along with resistance and social change. For example, participants' stories demonstrate that critical remembering allows the possibility of understanding power relations in everyday community, the material conditions that circumscribe everyday life, the ways in which particular social practices undermine or reproduce inequality and domination and the power of individual and collective agency in negotiating courses of action amid social constraints. This critical remembering can allow for dialogue and differences. From this perspective, having a shared past is seen as *dynamic* and *empowering* in everyday community life. A shared past can contribute to feelings of belonging, ownership, accountability and enhance the *power to act*.

Cohen argues that the essence of community, the *feeling of togetherness*, is in itself a symbol with varied meanings. He points out that this variability of interpretations means that this feeling of togetherness has to be maintained through manipulation of its symbols, which are effective because of their imprecision and the space for subjectivity

in their interpretation. Individual interests and the common cause are integrated, giving the illusion of unity to the community.

The range of symbols within a community contributes to differences within it because the members may be able to recognize the different meanings of "community" of others. At the same time, these symbols provide mechanisms of expression, interpretation and containment (1982: 12). Symbols, then, transform the reality of difference into the *illusion of similarity* and unite the members of a community against the outside. In this way, Cohen argues, symbols construct the boundaries of community (1982: 12). If we perceive communities as those groups emphasizing their togetherness and their difference from other groups, then the outside may be perceived as the political enemy against which the group can perceive itself as unified.

While I agree with Cohen that symbols contribute to the construction of community, I have come to see that there are other aspects to it as well. People construct community through making sense of their daily life and, one part of this, is by consciously constructing symbols which at times provide the illusion of togetherness. However, at other times, people consciously participate in the construction of community and make connections between their experiences as individuals, family members, and as members of a community which can also permit acceptance of difference. This conscious participation in the making of community, in my experience, moves the construction of community beyond illusion. My research shows that people are agents with common sense understandings of everyday social practices. Their stories demonstrate varying degrees of understanding of and insights into their own construction of community.

Their stories also show that people talk about what is significant and meaningful to them in their construction of community. Those stories demonstrate a construction of community which encompasses political and social, as well as subjective, spiritual and private aspects of struggle, uniting within its structure the public and private spheres of life. Their stories do not suggest that their community is constructed solely on an illusion of togetherness, nor, as I will show here, that community requires a non-contradictory unity.

My research demonstrates the *usefulness* of seeing community as socially constructed. It allows for interpreting meanings, symbols, ways of being and knowing. It establishes boundaries for the research and allows for examination of difference. Defining communities as social constructions also allows for a methodology that includes *profiles of experience* and *life histories* and *lets different voices be heard.* A life history must, necessarily, go back to the beginning of a life; my *profiles of experience* are segments from a life, described in detail. *Meaning* is explored; hence, the values, aspirations, experiences, and strategies of women and men can be heard. Cole (1991), Collins (1990) and (Gullestad, 1992) and Smith (1990) validate the significance of *lived experience* in community, seeing it as *socially constructed* and *dynamic.*

Smith's notion of relations of ruling is central to my definition of community but not to Cohen's. Smith defines the relations of ruling as ". . . something more general than the notion of government as political organization. She argues that, for the work of ruling, lived experience is transformed into objectified forms of knowledge, and is an entry point for understanding how ruling works. I refer rather to that total complex of

activities, differentiated in many spheres, by which our kind of society is ruled, managed and administered" (1990: 14). Lived experience is the place from which to begin an inquiry, as well as a place to return to. It provides a real-life context from which to reflect on discourse and textual practices and their effects on people's lives (Smith, 1990: 23). Smith's concept of ruling includes the understanding that social organizations and the texts they produce work to create orderliness. She and others have noted "how pervasive in contemporary capitalist social life are these means of exercising power and authority" (Campbell and Manicom, 1995: 13).

Ruling relations are central to the construction of communities. The assumption that ordinary people do indeed have insight into the nature of ruling relations, and that their role is not merely passive and receptive, is central to my understanding of community. While research participants, policy makers and scholars may not share the same understandings, examining and respecting those understandings is a prerequisite to forging a shared critical consciousness of capitalism. Smith's concept of ruling supports viewing people in community as interpretive and communicative actors. From Smith's perspective, people develop language and symbols to critique the institutions which dominate them, providing them with "authority to speak" and permitting an awareness of a line of fault (Smith, 1987: 34). Smith argues that the dynamics of communities are influenced by ruling apparatuses working through official texts that are used to justify and implement policy. For this reason an examination of such texts from the point of view of people in communities can show us how they are ideological frames. They also

point to ways that policies and practices pose a threat to communities and to people's day to day lives.

The 'line of fault' is the "actual or potential disjuncture between experiences and the forms in which experiences are socially expressed" (Smith, 1987: 50). Smith (1987) argues that the women's movement has given women the ability to see their place in society and to see that a line of fault exists because of men's power over women. The forms of thought and the means of expression available to women were dominated and made by men. Smith says that the women's movement helped women to see the construction of society in texts such as government documents. For a line of fault to occur, according to Smith, research participants must have awareness of its existence. As women become aware that their experiences and lives are different from those depicted through texts, and different from those of men, they become aware that their experiences are not seen as a form of knowledge nor as a source of authority by ruling groups. A line of fault emerges between what women have experienced, a valid form of knowledge, and the construction of their lives through texts and socially organized practices. Smith says that women's exploration of their experience can give them "authority to speak," leading to an awareness of this line of fault.

Thus, community as it is employed in this thesis refers to social connections which promote a sense of belonging. This sense of belonging is based on an identification with common elements such as place, shared history, the fisheries, the church and the ocean. This multifaceted definition of community is useful because it

allows for building theories capable of accounting for the ways in which dominant identities are not only sustained but challenged.

Smith's sociology provides the framework for this thesis because it allows for the exploration of "the status of knowledge as socially and materially organized, as produced by individuals in actual settings and as organized by and organizing definite social relations" (Smith, 1990: 62).

This framework views people as interpretive and communicative actors allowing researchers to work with people as subjects rather than objects of research. This approach can be shared outside of the walls of academe. Casting her work as "mapping social relations," Dorothy Smith concludes: ". . . [T]hough some of the work of inquiry must be technical, as making a map is, its product would be ordinarily accessible and usable just as a map is. It's possible also to pass on some of what we know as map makers, so that others can take over and do it for themselves" (1994: 20). Smith's concept of *standpoint* is relevant to mapping social relations. For example, I have worked with participants in this research to map their experiences under TAGS. Some participants say this exercise has increased their awareness of TAGS' impact on their relationships with each other.

Feminists have raised concerns about the binary nature of Smith's initial approach to standpoint theory (Collins, 1990). Risks are inherent in the oppositional definition of women as what men are not, and creating the illusion of uniformity among women. Campbell and Manicom show that Smith, more recently, has moved away from the idea of a singular, gendered point of view and now refers to standpoint as *a place* from which to see, rather than *the one best place* from which to see (1995).

Standpoint provides the framework for this thesis with a methodological direction for exploring how ways of *knowing* work together in everyday experience. It allows for the emergence of components such as gender which contribute to meanings of community from diverse standpoints. This view supports women's and men's *multifaceted experience of subordination*. Dorothy Smith (1990) points out that "images, vocabularies, concepts, knowledges and methods of knowing" about the world are central to the practice of power. These methods of knowing enable individuals to identify themselves as members of a "community," "culture," or "group" (1987: 18). This process of identification activates specific identities, mediating and shaping gender experiences through verbal and nonverbal communication. Furthermore, they can provide and activate those verbal, nonverbal, visual and dramatic means through which men and women express their perceptions of themselves and their experiences of subordination.

As I have shown, Smith is central to my framework. However my application of her institutional theories and methodologies has not been without limitations. While her work allows for varied expressions and multifaceted experiences, it does not allow for local people's analysis and theory building about their own experience. As this thesis shows, the participants in this research reveal themselves to be analysts and theory builders. Smith's theories also maintain focus on ruling groups as clearly defined, identifiable and separate. As my work shows, the work of ruling in Comorra extends throughout many facets of community life.

2.5 Conclusion

The framework employed in this thesis draws on the work of Smith, Cole, Collins, Cohen and others who seek to be interpretive in valuing the experience and accounts of people. It incorporates the recognition that inequalities and oppressions exist within community and lends itself to critical or evaluative analysis. This framework seeks to overcome dichotomies such as *gemeinschaft/gesellschaft*, evident throughout traditional community research. These dichotomies account, to some extent, for the normalizing of the invisibility of women, and the privileging of male activities found in the early traditions of community research. The methodologies outlined in the next chapter are consistent with my feminist framework.

CHAPTER THREE

Methods

3.0 Introduction

The methods used in this study of meanings of community are explained in this chapter. These include data collection methods, participant selection and interview procedures. The process of data analysis is also described and I conclude with a discussion of ethical considerations.

3.1. Qualitative Research

Meanings of community which are complex and contradictory, require a qualitative approach to enquiry (Mishler, 1986). Smith's method, a qualitative research method, was selected for this research precisely because it is useful for studying a problem which is complex and contradictory. Campbell and Manicom (1995) show that Smith takes no single standpoint from which to view the world. Smith's method begins in the everyday, not to claim everyday experience as real but to "trace how everyday life is oriented to relevances beyond the particular settings" (Campbell and Manicom, 1995: 8).

The weaknesses of qualitative methods is that they are lacking in generalizability and scope. Qualitative methods, such as those used in this research, involve samples too small to represent a population and results obtained may be only for the participants

whose experiences were used. However, I am not attempting to generalize about populations of individuals. This research promises to be useful by providing an understanding of the fit or lack of fit between policy and daily life. An ethnographic study, it employs Smith's method to explore meanings of community, daily life under TAGS and to preserve participants as active agents in the research.

3.1.1 Ethnography

Ethnographies such as this one are oriented toward in-depth study of complex subjective experiences of social life. Smith's method, as employed here, privileges the accumulation of details and their assembly into a coherent and complete picture. This approach lends itself particularly to contemporary ethnography, which involves immersion in, and observation of, particular cultures in naturalistic settings (Campbell and Manicom, 1995). It involves a search for local perspectives, meanings and common sense knowledge of everyday life. Procedures and techniques of ethnography include: selecting, establishing rapport with, and interviewing participants; transcription of interviews into texts; observing; participating; and archival analysis (Reinharz, 1992). Contemporary ethnography relies less on participant observation and more on interviews, which are becoming more creative and unstructured (Reinharz, 1992). Ethnographic description is microscopic in focus, and involves the recording and interpretation of the flow of social discourse.

Smith's method of ethnographic research attends to several major goals commensurate with the nature of this research. These include exploring how people's lives are ordered and managed to support interests other than their own (Campbell and Manicom, 1995). This is done by beginning in the everyday to support a gender-informed framework that documents daily life and promotes both understanding people's experience from their own points of view, as well as understanding people's actions as an expression of social contexts. Smith's method is particularly suitable for this research because of its sensitivity to context, requiring a suspension of the researcher's frame of reference rather than denying others' perspectives, and because it permits use of self (the researcher's) responses as information and a basis for interpretation (Campbell and Manicom, 1995).

Hartmann's (1981) position is that social science research is more accurate when it begins in the lives of marginalized people. Smith's (1990) method suggests that we must abandon the position of privileged scholar, the illusion that we can objectively observe, and the notion that clients are passive subjects of our efforts to describe and define them. Hartmann says that the approach of the privileged scholar amounts to appropriating those we seek to know and developing our understanding through colonizing their experiences. Rather,

> . . . [w]e must enter into a collaborative search for meaning and listen to their voices, their narratives, and their constructions of reality. . . . And as we listen, we must attend to difference . . . to particularity, the contradictory, the paradoxical.

> . . . The questions to be asked and the interpretations of the data must be developed in collaboration between the researcher and the one to be understood who is, after all, the expert (1981: 484).

The research design and methodology of this thesis reflect Hartmann's observations.

3.1.2 Research Design

The research for this thesis began by examining everyday community life from the perspectives of research participants. These constructions were then contrasted with those found in official TAGS texts. The research design has five main components: (1) gaining entry and participant observation; (2) individual interviews; (3) individual profiles of experience; (4) textual analysis of government documents; (5) comparison of constructs of community by men and women in Comorra with the construction of community in official texts. Each of these components has been guided by the categories and concepts used by research participants.

3.1.3 Gaining Entry and Participant Observation

The research in Comorra took place in 1995 and 1996, the third and fourth years of the northern cod moratorium and involved three phases. Phase one began with formal and informal contacts with members of the community of Comorra in a variety of settings. I met with the community council which granted permission for the research. I also participated in various social settings such as community events. This gave people an opportunity to raise questions about the research and to decide on their own

involvement. From the beginning, my descriptions of observed events, personal thoughts and feelings about daily observations were noted in a journal.

The research relies mainly on the in-depth interviews, but also other sources, including informal conversations and songs sung during parties. I was frequently invited to women's gatherings (showers, afternoon tea), as well as gatherings which included both sexes (barbecues, card games, and community socials). I was never invited to male-only gatherings and did not attempt to attend these events since I felt it would have set me too far apart and might have interfered with my being accepted in the community. Consequently there may be perspectives that men share together which I did not access.

I approached the community council who were extremely supportive of the research. They held a community meeting which was very well attended (56 people) where I explained that I was researching the experiences of community in daily life during the cod moratorium. I was introduced by friends from the community who described my family connections as well as my position at Memorial University. People appeared very interested but concerned about confidentiality. I explained that names and identifying information such as the name of the community would be changed but I also pointed out that this would provide only limited safety. After some discussion about this, there was general agreement that the research could go ahead in their community. I also explained that the interview sessions would probably take 3-4 hours and could be done in one or two sessions depending on people's availability.

Participants were selected consistent with other similarly designed studies (Fonow and Cook, 1991). At the community meeting I said I was looking for volunteers who would be willing to share their stories and explained where people could find me.

The second phase involved in-depth taped interviewing of thirty people self-selected in the first phase. I employed an open-ended approach, allowing the participants to lead the interview process. I analyzed government documents and reviewed scholarly literature throughout the community research to assist the interview process. After interviewing those thirty participants, and in consultation with my thesis advisor, I identified possible themes and areas of concentration for the final phase: profiles of individuals. As certain areas began to surface more than others, it became possible to formulate ideas about major thematic categories presented by participants (i.e. history, fisheries, church, TAGS). This provided the organizational framework for attempting to understand the importance of each category for grasping the meaning of community as understood by those interviewed. The third phase involved interviews with three individuals, self-selected from the first thirty participants, to develop profiles which provided a more focused approach to understanding the meanings of community under TAGS.

3.1.4 Individual Interviews

Several people came up to me at the end of the meeting and said they would like to be interviewed. During interviews, participants identified other people who would like to be

interviewed. This technique is called snowball sampling (Sherman and Reid, 1990: 298). I asked people generally if there were any young people who would like to share their stories with me and several young people called me and were interviewed. All participants were self-selected. Oakley (1981) says that having people select themselves for inclusion is of greater value than selecting people to participate because people are motivated to share intimate thoughts and feelings. This was certainly confirmed in my research. This self-selection is also consistent with Smith's method which supports the research participant as active knower and is the ethnographic point of entry for my inquiry.

The population of Comorra is small and participants were concerned that they would be readily identified by other community members as well as by government bureaucrats. I agreed to eliminate identifying information. This allowed for the intimate disclosure evident in the interviews and for the authenticity of voices necessary to a feminist framework (Reinharz, 1992: 134-38). However it also limited the analysis of data by removing information such as length of time in the fishery and boat-operators as opposed to crew. I completed interviews with thirty individuals (fifteen females and fifteen males ranging in age from 18 to 78). Most of the women were plant workers, one was a fisher, several were homemakers and one was in high school. Almost all the men were fishers, several were plant workers and several were retired fishers. Each signed Form 1 (Appendix A) after the form was read and explained. The initial interviews ranged in length from three to five hours. I used open-ended questions and invited

participants to reflect on their experiences of community and what community meant to them. Interview questions often followed the life path of participants as they explored how they and their experiences of community changed over time. Attention was paid to all types of experiences of community which participants identified. I made every effort to allow the participant to shape the interview. Because I wanted to learn about whether and how participants saw TAGS embedded in the experience of community in daily life, I kept the topic of TAGS out of my questions, leaving participants to introduce it where they found it appropriate. I found participants eager to talk about their experiences. The interviews were long, but participants appeared to appreciate having their story heard. Years of training in psychotherapy have heightened my listening skills and sensitivity and I found participants willing to reflect on experience and explore feelings for long periods. I usually did one interview per day, sometimes with breaks for tea or a meal. There was a wonderful feeling of warmth and openness in the interviews. Participants were worried that the loss of the fishery would mean the loss of their community and this fear may have contributed to the emphasis on history that emerged in most interviews. The interviews were often intense experiences for both the research participant and for myself as their feelings ranged from joy to sorrow.

I believe the interviews were generally valuable to participants providing an opportunity for them to reflect on their experience and to be heard. I aimed at being an unobtrusive listener and stimulator of their stories. Ann Oakley says that "the goal of finding out about people through interviewing is best achieved when the relationship of

interviewer and interviewee is nonhierarchical" (1981: 41). I had grown up in a Newfoundland fishing community and I believe that research participants saw me as having an "insider's" knowledge with regard to common routines. This may have had a positive effect on their cooperation. However, I had grown up as a Protestant while the community being studied is Roman Catholic. I was certainly asked about my religious background by participants and my lack of knowledge of Roman Catholic traditions was obvious from the beginning. This ignorance may have been helpful in that participants saw me as genuinely ignorant in this area and consequently provided me with detailed information. I may have been seen differently by male and female informants and this would have affected the information collected.

3.1.5 Individual Profiles of Experience

The three individual profiles of experience were completed after the initial interviews. I employed these to enrich and strengthen my understanding. They consisted of detailed, extensive interviews with three individuals who described everyday community life in the context of the moratorium. Profiles of experience as I term these interviews, complement the information in the personal accounts of research participants, and foster the emergence of patterns of similarity and differences.

I explained the idea of individual profiles to the thirty research participants and pointed out that in the case of these additional interviews it would be difficult to ensure confidentiality for those who provided them. I emphasized that once the thesis was

complete, I had no control over who read it and how that material might be used. Many participants were concerned about this issue and while they had enjoyed the interviews were not prepared to risk sharing further information. Participants were mainly concerned about how this knowledge might be used by federal government departments. Other participants were interested in continuing but were constrained by time. Consequently, only a small number of participants indicated that they could be available for the further interviews required for profiles of experience. Participants self-selected in Phase I of the research, but this was not possible in Phase II. Because I wanted diversity in experiences I selected a male fisher, a female plant worker and a female high school student from the small number (5) who responded positively to my request. These three were also selected because they had time available for further interviews and were comfortable with limited confidentiality. Each of these participants signed Form 2 (Appendix 2) after the form was explained. Follow up interviews for the profiles lasted approximately four hours. Because the initial interviews with all the participants had been quite long, I had planned to have two interviews for these profiles. However participants became very involved in the interviews and chose to stay with the longer interview format. This was helpful in that it allowed participants to stay in the flow of their stories. It also allowed the participant to further shape the interview process. Specific areas were addressed to augment the data on the degree to which the meanings of community had been affected by TAGS policy. Discussions on TAGS furnished the springboard for understanding resultant changes in meanings of community. Because the people

interviewed had lived in the community prior to TAGS, they could talk about past and present meanings of community and their perceptions of changes related to TAGS.

3.1.6 Textual Analysis of Government Documents

Based on my research in Comorra, I chose to work with several different documents to explore meanings of community. I also completed a textual analysis of bureaucratic texts outlining TAGS policy (HRDC, DFO news releases, TAGS information and application form and letter to potential recipients April, 1994). I employed Smith's (1990) concept of *ideological frames* as described in Chapter Two. Smith views ideologies as *processes* produced and constructed through human activity. An ideological frame renders invisible the process of its own production, claiming the results as 'common sense.' Using Smith's methodology, I examined the texts on a line-by-line basis to identify ideological frames of community. The texts studied in this fashion included scholarly literature on community and government texts (specifically, TAGS and related documents). As will be demonstrated, some academics and researchers have provided meanings of community illustrating the practices which sustained the power of the ruling group, while some convey meanings which may be drawn on by government bureaucrats to sustain that same power. I provide a textual analysis of government policy documents, specifically those related to the TAGS program, because the texts have been consistently identified by participants as negatively affecting their everyday life.

My research and analysis moved from government texts to explore the meanings of the concept 'community' constructed in academic sociological literature (as discussed in Chapter Two). I examined meanings of community in Newfoundland scholarly literature on communities and regions from the initial work of the Institute of Social Economic Research in the 1960s to the early years of the cod moratorium.

3.1.7 Comparison of Constructs of Community

The multiple meanings revealed in these three sources (local interviews, scholarly literature and bureaucratic policy texts) were then compared and used to understand the lines of fault between the lives of research participants and the construction of their living in the texts from their perspectives as well as my own. Participants' awareness of lines of fault was evident in discussions in social gatherings as well as in individual interviews and profiles of experience and will be illustrated in Parts II and III of this thesis.

The method of analysis selected to draw out knowledge and generate answers to the research questions was reflexive, consistent with feminist methodology, particularly that of Smith. The content analysis of interviews was done through systematic counting and interpretation (Reinharz, 1992:146-47). The interview transcripts were examined line by line to identify meanings of community. I systematically counted the themes of meaning which emerged. These meanings were listed separately from the interviews and examined one at a time to locate similarities and differences. As I examined the interview transcripts, I also formulated questions about potential lines of fault between

meanings of men and women and those found in official texts. My analysis was ongoing in order to identify emergent patterns and themes in the data.

Questions related to potential lines of fault that emerged from the interviews included the following:

1. Why are the interviews so consistently focusing on historical rather than contemporary community?
2. How do people use history to develop meanings of community?
3. What aspects of their history or historical events do local people see as strengthening or diminishing their meanings of everyday community life?
4. How do their constructions of the past fit with scholarly histories?
5. How is history used by the ruling group to control or manage local people?
6. What are the meanings assigned to community by local people and what influences those meanings?
7. Are there differences in meanings between the local people?
8. What are the meanings assigned to community by the ruling group and in what ways are they made manifest?
9. How do the meanings assigned to community by local people compare with meanings assigned by the ruling group?
10. Does gender affect meanings of community in daily life?
11. How do government practices of omitting gender from TAGS compare with gender arrangements in local meanings of community?

3.2 Ethics

The potential risks and benefits of participation were outlined in a community council meeting and to each participant as part of the 'informed consent' process. The participants were adults, capable of informed consent. They signed a consent form giving consent to release the data (see Appendices A and B). Because the interviews addressed potentially painful subject matter, I offered to assist any interviewees who wished to pursue a referral for counseling. Anonymity was not guaranteed, due to the small sample size, but is safeguarded through storage of the data in a locked filing cabinet as indicated in the consent forms. The study provided participants with a space for self-reflection, which they might find beneficial in affirming the value of their knowledge and experience of community life.

3.3 Conclusion

This chapter has described my methodology. I have shown that Smith's method is consistent with the framework for this thesis. It allows for the exploration of people's expression of their own world of symbols and meaning, their multiple and diverse experiences as individuals and members of oppressed groups. I discussed my different methodologies, and the details of the data analysis process. The chapter concludes with ethical considerations. The remaining chapters, four through nine, are devoted to a full explication of the analysis.

PART II

CHAPTER FOUR

Resilience and Resistance: Early Settlement by Europeans

4.0 Introduction

In Part Two of this thesis (Chapters Four, Five and Six), the research participants' meanings of community are explored through their stories. Those stories show that such meanings are partly organized by history, geography and gender, and by religious, economic and political regimes.

In their stories and songs, research participants consistently referred to past and recent history as important to their sense of belonging to community. A further theme of examining ruling relations throughout history emerged as participants discussed the government response to the cod moratorium as part of a larger historical experience.

Smith describes the ruling group as typically,

> what the business world calls management, it includes the professions, it includes government and the activities of those who are selecting, training and indoctrinating those who will be its governors. The last includes those who provide and elaborate the procedures by which it is governed, and develop methods for accounting for how it is done – namely, the business schools, the sociologists, the economists. These are the institutions through which we are ruled and through which we, and I emphasize this *we*, participate in ruling (1990: 14).

Three major ruling groups emerge in Chapter Four as contributing to meanings of community: the church, the merchants, and the government. Membership in a ruling group is not carved in stone. A particular ruling group such as the Catholic Church might

have more or less power at any particular moment, depending upon the political and social context of the time.

Resilience refers to the ruling group and their strategies to maintain management and control over long periods of time (Campbell and Manicom, 1995). One of the meanings of community which emerged consistently throughout participants' stories and songs was the notion that their ancestors had traditionally fought against ruling groups: sometimes successfully, sometimes not. The actual recounting of these stories and songs can be seen as an act of resistance, as opposition to ruling. This differs somewhat from the use of the concept elsewhere in community literature. Woodrow, for example, refers to resistance as:

> resistance is basically standing firm, not yielding and refusing to accept or comply with certain elements of change whether individual or societal. We all experience resistance to change in established patterns of behaviour. However, if the change can improve or facilitate our existence, we eventually accept the change. More traditional rural communities have greater resistance to change than urban communities (1996: 34).

My use of the concept "resistance" does not imply resistance to "change," but resistance to ruling groups and their practices. This analysis of story and song as practices of resistance is in keeping with Smith's methodology. Indeed, as will be demonstrated, the stories of research participants articulate the kinds of self-analytical questions put forward by Smith in her methodology as described earlier: "How does it happen to us as it does? How is the world in which we act and suffer put together?" (Smith, 1987: 154).

Resistance appears in participants' stories of early history, referring, for example, to the rebellion of the "masterless men" against the British. These participants also

acknowledged others who sacrificed and persevered so that the Roman Catholic Church could be a legal part of their life. Participants told stories often reflective of the attributes of "courage," "rebellion," and "power." These qualities of the characters of early settlers are seen as critical to the survival of Roman Catholicism which is most often identified by participants as the focal point of historical everyday life. Participants, particularly males, are struggling with the incongruency of being part of a community which celebrates and makes heroic a history of resistance, while experiencing powerlessness in relation to the current fisheries crisis. These experiences contribute to a line of fault which will become more apparent in Part Three of this thesis.

Local history shows that people have an analysis of ruling groups such as government, merchants and church and their role in their own history. Their stories demonstrate awareness of colonial rule and of the ideological relations of ruling which are seen to have created and sustained the power of the ruling groups in the early history of the province. Just as importantly, participants demonstrate awareness of local resistance to these ruling groups and show that this awareness contributes to their sense of themselves and their community. While Chapter Four is concerned primarily with earlier history, Chapters Five and Six focus on more recent history.

In Chapter Four, I establish the groundwork for my analysis. I accomplish this by providing an overview of meanings emerging from history based on interpretations of local people. I take the additional step in Chapter Four of reviewing existing literature on the early history of fishing communities in Newfoundland. This permits me to compare

these interpretations of history with the interpretations assigned to stories about local history by research participants.

Chapter Four demonstrates that research participants make connections to history which provide meanings for present everyday community life. They perceive that

(1) their community, Comorra, was one of the first settled in Newfoundland; their connection with Comorra is strengthened by stories of past people who lived in this place. This connection is further strengthened through personal experiences on the land and ocean surrounding the community as well as in the fishery,
(2) women and men worked together building the community;
(3) the characteristics of their early ancestors (self-sacrificing, hard working, co-operative, intelligent people who had overcome great losses and hardships) contributed to strengthening community,
(4) they experienced religious, social and economic oppression from the first days of settlement;
(5) their common plight led to acts of resistance which engendered a sense of independence and pride; and
(6) their ancestors survived against all odds, with little or no support, under British colonial rule.

Stories of local history provide symbols such as an illusion of similarity and the feeling of togetherness, which Cohen (1982) describes as the essence of community. From these stories there emerges a sense that local history belongs to participants and assists them in belonging to community. The experiences of a commonly accepted past enhance unity and can be a rich resource for current everyday life; at the same time, local history can also constrain and limit community, and contribute to a line of fault. This contribution becomes more obvious in Part Three of this thesis when people discuss their current

conflict with the moral codes and characteristics assigned to women and men in current everyday community life.

4.1 Local History: An Abundance of Connections

Local history expressed through stories and songs demonstrates meanings of community through a multitude of connections. History is related to *place*, that is, the land and sea in which local people live and work. History forms a connection with *people* who have gone before; it therefore gives rise to a sense of continuity. To the local people, it conveys a sense that while they have little control over their day-to-day destiny and the movement of people from the community by migration and death, they nevertheless are connected through shared experience (that is, their common history). History connects the *past and present*; the land and ocean act as a conduit for that connection between peoples living in the same place over time. This connection to the land and the ocean engenders a sense of belonging similar to that found in Pocius' (1991) study of the community of Calvert. While, for some people, this earlier history is beyond imagining, for many others there is a sense that the past is yet present. The vividness of the descriptions of historic and legendary events, the ancient songs of Ireland, the ability to see and hear "images" in certain places of people who are long gone speak to a concentration on the continuity of the human spirit:

> There's times when you looks out across the barrens. More likely then 'tis not right light yet. You can see them, sometimes you can hear them and I wonders, meself, if they are watching or are they just there and don't see us at all.

In the stories, songs and poems of the local people, there is respect for the knowledge and conditions facing earlier peoples, including aboriginal peoples whom some believe once lived in the area. Certainly, questions were raised about whether I knew if aboriginal peoples had lived in the area, and what life was like for the first settlers in the area. Some suggest that aboriginals lived in the same area, and had instructed their ancestors in the use of native medicines.

> My grandmother used to tell the story of how one time, before her time now, so that was not yesterday, they had a sick youngster, fading away to nothing she was. They couldn't get her to eat and this old woman, Indian woman, tells them to boil up roots. I couldn't tell you what it was but they say this young one was up and going in no time. No hospitals back then. A lot of youngsters died, and their mothers, along with them. Now that wouldn't be too long ago. But I do think that old people knew more than we did, you know, about roots and one thing and another and they say back in them days, they learn a lot from the Indians but . maid, we don't know too much about them things now. Over the years it got forgot about, I suppose. But those days people like we knowed more, I think.

Many research participants focused particularly on the lives of the early settlers, noting that the first attempts by Europeans to settle the area failed. A number of participants stated that their area had a history of early contact by Europeans, relating their belief that the *Mayflower* stopped in Comorra to take on fresh water and pointing to markings in cliffs by the ocean which they believe are written in ancient Irish script:

> This is one of the oldest places in the province. They say the Mayflower stopped in here for water. But it goes back further than that. The marking down on the Mound. Some say tis old Irish. I don't know meself but it's not the alphabet is it?

These stories are told with pride, suggesting that these links with the past are important to their present life in the community. One man describes it: ". . . [w]hen you are out on the land hunting, you know that lots more walked where you walked, looking to feed

their families. There's times when you can feel them there . . . I takes comfort in that." Another participant says:

> They says that this looks a awful lot like Ireland . . . so it must have been good for the old people to be in a place something like what they come from. You know it couldn't be the same. But they always had good land here. People growed everything in them days . . . worked hard but they wouldn't [weren't] dependent on government like now.

There is a sense of knowing the land, and particularly special places – not necessarily for hunting or gathering, but just to be at peace. Pocius talks about the knowledge of landscape in the community of Calvert, noting that "landscape experience is accumulated over repeated experiences, until even the wooded areas become perfectly known" (1991: 65). Both women and men identify special places with historical meaning, such as Mass Rock, where they feel connected to a deeper meaning of themselves. Denis, a participant in Pocius' study of Calvert, explains that, "belonging essentially means this familiarity with spaces" (1991: 25).

4.1.1 Connecting with the Past through the Fishery and the Ocean

The early history of the fishery is a frequent theme in stories and songs, relating the dangers associated with the fishery (for example, loss of life). There were also stories and songs of the abundance or lack of abundance of fish. The history of the fishery is closely connected to the history of the community, giving meaning to the present. The heroism of everyday life and self-worth in the community are linked to performance at sea. Both explicit and implicit in the stories is the sense of self-worth which fisher people

feel because of their work in the fishery, a self-esteem which is also understood to be important to the community as a whole.

The ocean is seen as having been a pathway for earlier peoples, linking them to the places from which they had come, or to the outside world. Some participants pointed out that many of their ancestors left Newfoundland by boat to seek their fortunes in Boston, or in Canada. In the present, the ocean as pathway has little meaning for many participants except as a method of travelling for camping and hunting expeditions; a highway to more remote areas.

The historical relationship with the ocean seems at times to be one of bargaining; of acknowledging its strength in order to be supported by it. One of the more recent songs sung at parties reflected this theme:

> When the little boats go out to sea
> from the shores of Newfoundland,
> God, do me a favour
> and guide them with your hand.
> Protect them from the dangers
> and the furies of the sea,
> for the little boats of Newfoundland
> mean all the world to me.

This relationship to the ocean has existed over many generations; a young person entering the fishery is seen as building on the knowledge and wisdom of those who have gone before. The history of the community and its connection with the ocean is held in stories, words and songs like a footprint that the younger generation tries on for size.

The ocean, like the land, helps women and men to cope with stresses in everyday community and family life. Many participants described being out on the land or ocean as their means of escape from the pressure of living on TAGS. One man said,

> When I got to deal with that tangly crowd with TAGS, back and forth on the phone and you can't get no satisfaction from none of them, they don't know what they're doing either. I got to get away before I cuts loose at them. So I go off in the woods for a few days. Makes all the difference. One day in there and I'm a different man. They can't get to me there.

Women also sought to relieve stress by walking on the land although there were few stories of women being out on the land without family. One woman said, "We all calm down when we gets out in the woods. I find even berry picking is good for me just being out away from everything. The quiet, I guess that's what it is." Karen Szala-Meneok talks about similar experience in the Labrador community of Paradise River where excursions out on the land provide "the family with a welcome respite from the anxiety which tends to run high not only in the home but in the community at large" (1992: 137). Szala-Meneok says women have few chances for this kind of experience.

Pocius also describes a structuring of space for women and men in Calvert,

> [A]n important aspect of the community's structuring of space [is]: knowledge of Calvert's cognitive map is gender specific and related to appropriate gender division of activities . . . [M]en spend more time in particular places than women. But members of either sex can interact in any of the community's domains, even if such spaces fall under the assumed control of the other sex. Thus men talk in the house; women pick berries in the woods (1991: 54).

There is a sort of collective memory in the stories of great abundance on land and ocean, of wild game including many different types of birds (ducks, geese, partridges) as

well as hares, wolves, bears and many species of fish. Those fish most often identified were salmon and cod. Hunting remains an important activity; participants say that more women are involved with hunting at present than in the recent past. "It's a good feeling to know that you are hunting in the same places your grandfather and his grandfather did . . . you know they didn't have what we got, but then again, they don't [sic] have our worries either," states one male interviewee.

Pocius says that, "The sharing of space, then is a metaphor for all of Calvert life" (1991: 18). The comments from research participants in Comorra indicate that sharing of land and ocean for both women and men includes sharing with peoples of the past as well as with present day residents. This contributes to the meaning of community for both genders in current everyday life.

4.1.2 Connections to the Early Settlers

During the interviews, it often happened that a participant would point out that the Southern Shore of Newfoundland was one of the first areas in North America visited by Europeans. They also know that, in the sixteenth century, these visitors were mostly French and Portuguese, and were summer residents only. Participants note that this history continues to live on in names. They appear to relish the idea that their community has existed for a long time. Early attempts at colonization give status to the community. Pocius refers to stories in Calvert of who was first in this or that activity or in a particular

place and says, "It is not surprising, then, that a concern with firsts should influence the community's collective past" (1991: 35).

The Comorra people I interviewed believe that the early colonists from England and Ireland had special qualities enabling them to live under severe conditions. The awareness that many of them are descended from such people imbues them with pride in these qualities, which include strength, perseverance and the ability to do hard work. The importance of early settlers' self-sufficiency through hard work emerged consistently throughout the interviews. These traits are an integral part of the history of their community and continue to lend meaning to everyday community life. This supports the findings of Pocius who says that, "The past thus belongs either to collective narratives or to the actions of specific people: the recent past does not generally exist apart from human lifetimes" (1991: 42).

4.1.3 A Living History

The people of Comorra are surrounded by the evidence of early settlement. Participants pointed out that the English attempted permanent settlement in Comorra in the 1600s. The site of this settlement is still evident in an area called The Mound. However, participants mostly identify their own roots as beginning in the late 1700s, with increased immigration from Ireland and England. Several participants claim that their roots go back to 'when women arrived,' which they say was when Comorra was established as a fishing station; this may have been as early as the mid-1500s. An older

woman offers her view in the statement ". . . I think [Comorra] got settled when there was women here . . . There might have been men coming over here for years before fishing, but once they decided to settle, women came too." Another woman commented: ". . . the men couldn't very well do without the women to do for them, could they?" The sense that settlement depended on women causes the participants to believe that women, as well as men, were part of the early settlements, despite the lack of hard evidence to support this view.

The mid-1500s was the earliest period given by some participants for year-round settlement in Comorra. Some of the family names which they recall are Kirk, Codner, and Kelling; however, none of these names have survived in the area (Barnable, 1994). Some participants say that the earliest settlers were from North Devon and Plymouth; they fished, I was told, from small five-man boats close to land.

Most participants are sure that Comorra itself was settled in the last part of the sixteenth century by the English. An older male says, ". . . [t]here's no trouble to know that the English were in charge of [Comorra] in those days. A lot of the places named here still got names of English – like Brandy Pond, right? That's English, right?" He does not remember the English names of "four or five others," but assured me that they were "English names."

> 'The English were here a hundred years before the Irish – or longer,' a woman notes, continuing, '. . . [t]here are English names on some of the old stones in the community graveyard . . . there's headstones down there. Now there's English names on them because they had . . . [*she starts again*] . . . a few years ago they fixed up the graveyard and they brought

> out the names – I think they had a marker or something to bring them out . . . so it should be easy to find some of the names down on those.'

In addition, participants referred to many local place names which date back to early times. While many of the stories associated with these place names are lost, those which remain speak to the courage and humour of early settlers. Pocius has observed that the sharing of knowledge of common places contributes to the sense of belonging to community, "Belonging, then is tied both linguistically and experientially to place, and in a community like Calvert this means sharing the knowledge of a series of common places" (1990: 3). This observation is true as well for the research participants from Comorra who reference place names as a connection to the history of place and contributing to meaning of community as belonging to place and to people.

Some participants believe that the early settlers came mainly to fish to support themselves. "The old people came here for the fish and more or less put up with the weather and the land because there was a good living to be had from the fish," says one informant. When asked whether this attitude affects the community today, another woman answers that fishing ". . . was what brought people here, and I guess you can say it's in our blood . . . everybody who lives here now and ever did was always caught up in the fish . . . fish was what we talked about, what we eat and sleep. Even now with the fish gone, we talks about that and when they be coming back."

There seems to be a general interest in the early settlement of the area, and a wish, or even a need, to identify Comorra as one of the earliest settled areas; this may perhaps be related to the recent archaeological digs in the area. Participants draw on published

scholarly literature, and a number of people have copies of a local history of Comorra (Barnable, 1994). This says that as early as 1667, there were six dwelling houses in the community: six planters (early settlers) and families and 39 servants, for a total of 58 persons. Another important observation was how early settlers' feelings about place must have shifted from longing for Ireland and England to attachment to their new home:

> They was homesick when they first come here, you know they had to be . . . and there was no back and forth like there is now, no phone calls, and letters took a long time. Somewhere along the line, though, this become home and the old place was like a dream they passed on. But people likes to know it's there, not to go there, you understand, but to know where you comes from. The young ones who goes away from here now, they are facing the same thing. They brings their youngsters back in the summertime. Same thing. They don't forget. They can't . . . [they are] tied to the place.

4.1.4 A Longing for the Old Country

Participants frequently express a longing to visit Ireland in direct statements, stories and songs. Some participants indicate a sense of completion when someone has the opportunity to go back to the old country. The longing to return to Ireland has been passed down through generations, and does not negate a sense of belonging to Newfoundland and particularly, Comorra, their own community. The participants point out that people who settled here probably left Ireland out of desperation, and many left family and friends behind. Their loneliness and longing tied them to Ireland, and are expressed in story and song both past and present. An example of this expression in song is:

> If we only had old Ireland here
> All the boys would stay at home.
> Erin's sons would never roam.
> If we only had old Ireland over here.

One participant notes that the early settlers didn't come with anything other than the need to survive. "They had no great plans. It was just about getting by, surviving from one day to the next . . . and sometimes I think that's what we do, get by from one day to the next, and worrying about how we are going to put food on the table."

4.1.5 Parallel Lives

The participants often draw parallels between the lives of early settlers (in particular the early oppression of the Irish) and their own situation today:

> They was drove away from their homes with nothing. Treated like cattle, my dear. Poor souls, leaving everything in the world to them to go make a living. How different is it now? Same thing if you ask me. The people today is drove out too. Leaving families and homes. Drove out by government and people who wants the big dollar. Well, the people here never had the big dollar. They done well in late years but the big dollar never comes to places like this. We makes do most of the time but they that wants the big dollar, wants it all. And they'll get it all too, mark my words. They will stray [destroy] places like this just like they done with Ireland in the old days.

The relationship between merchants and fishers in the early days of the fishery is seen to be a forerunner of the merchant's role in the community in recent history (replaced more recently by large fishing companies). Participants point out that even in the early days prior to permanent settlement, the attraction of Newfoundland was the possibility of profit for merchants.

> Some things never change. The merchants made the rules back then and they make the rules today. They had government in their pockets back then and they have them there today. No difference that I can see. That's one thing they passed down . . . Not to trust the merchants or government . . . they look after one another. People wouldn't [weren't] allowed to settle here until there was money in it for the merchants . . . that's a fact. Same thing today . . . the inshore fishery is going because the crowd who makes the money don't want no small boats interfering with their quota. So the people are being pushed out. No money is made off of us here in these places. Got to live in town where we have to pay rent, own nothing and be nothing. We have always been the tools for the upper class to make money. We never ever got away from that. We started to break away with the union but they put a stop to that right quick.

4.1.6 A History of Resistance

There is a strong connection to the resistance of the early Irish, who are described as rebels. Research participants pointed out that the Irish were not allowed to remain in Newfoundland over the winter and were required to return to Ireland each fall. There was no indication that research participants saw men and women treated differently in the early European history of settlement. However, scholarly history indicates that Irish women were even more marginalized than men, being forbidden to land on the Island without some form of security. Cullum *et al.* (1993) say that while women are mentioned infrequently in early documents, those that are mentioned appear in proclamations, such as the following one, published in 1764:

> Whereas great numbers of poor women are frequently brought into this country and particularly into this port by vessels arriving from Ireland, who become distress'd and a charge to the inhabitants and *likewise occasion much disorder and disturbance against the peace of our Sovereign Lord the King* [italics mine] – Notice is hereby given to all Masters of Vessels arriving in this country that the first day of April next no Women are to be landed without security being first given for their

> good behaviour and that they shall not become chargeable to the inhabitants (1993: 71).

Participants tell detailed stories of the "masterless men" and their families who defied English laws against Irish settlement. The story of the rebels is recounted in every interview, seemingly one of the most important events giving meaning to the community. Both women and men speak with pride of ancestors who fought for the right to liberty and religious freedom. There are stories of families hidden in the hills; of indentured servants who had lost their freedom as well as their right to practice their faith; of women who risked their lives to tend men who had been shot in skirmishes between the English and the Irish. Comments include: "the masterless men were men and some women who rebelled against the British rules . . . if a guy got shot the women looked after him until he healed," and "[t]hey sacrificed themselves, especially the women, working outdoors in all winds and weathers." They say they learned these stories as children and continue to tell them to their children and grandchildren today. The characteristics of these people who risked their lives to settle in this area continue to be meaningful today, signifying the ability to fight for one's rights, to support each other in fights against oppression, to persevere at all costs in order to resist those in authority. One of the many songs which express the theme of resisting authority is the popular "The Irish Soldier Laddie."

> Would you stand in the band like a true Irish man?
> Would you go and fight the forces of the crown?
> Will you stand without yield to an Irish battlefield?
> For tonight we are going to free old Wexford town.

Perseverance during hardships is a trait which many feel has come down to them from the early settlers. A woman comments, ". . . sometimes I think we have learned perseverance too good. There's times when we should give up but we don't know how. We got to keep going and going even when the whole thing is falling apart." When pressed to give an example, she offers, ". . . we think things will get better, keep going after fish when there's none there. Living with disappointment . . . throwing good money after bad. We have to keep going at it because it's all we knows now." This theme of a history of surviving crisis, enduring, uniting and strengthening community, emerges often.

Other aspects of the inherited past mentioned often were the connection with the other countries, particularly with the countries from which their ancestors came (Ireland and England). Beliefs about early English law, and its impact on the settlers, are widespread. The English are seen as "hard." There is little sympathy for the English in the current conflict in Northern Ireland; most people identify with the Irish cause through ancient rebel songs. However, there is a great deal of pride that most of the differences between the English and Irish in Newfoundland have been settled without bloodshed.

4.1.7 Strong Women Then and Now

The strength of the early female settlers continues to be seen by both men and women as giving meaning to being a woman today. One woman says,

> . . . [t]hey had it hard and they sacrificed to take care of their families. Their families was the important thing. Children died, and women died

> having them. Only the strongest lived. They had to be strong-minded and independent and smart to survive here. They had to be hard, make hard decisions. We can put up with a lot. We gets that from them.

Another woman said, "If they women could get through it then we can get through it. I guess that's what it means to me . . . strength. They was strong women to come here and to stay here . . . and we are no different. We have that strength and we'll get through it one way or another."

An older male informant spoke about the heritage left by the early female settlers. "They had to be everything, nurses, farmers, had to look after everybody. The women today got it easy compared to them but they (the women today) still looks after everything. That's how they was reared."

Participants consistently referred to the tasks of sharing food, and of being aware of, and responding, to material and emotional needs within the community as characteristics of early female settlers which continue today. ". . . [T]hey took care of each other, shared food and helped each other get things done. We don't do as much of that but we don't see anybody stuck." Both males and females referred to the importance of these women in their history.

Research participants also point to the arrival of one group of women, the Presentation Sisters (nuns), as the beginning of formal education in their community. They related the story of the nuns' journey across the Atlantic and their arrival during a major storm, which took the lives of several local fishermen.

Many of the positive stories about the nuns conflict with other tales of their mistreatment of schoolchildren; yet there is an understanding that the emphasis by Irish nuns on education of both genders continues to influence the present everyday life of the community. Most participants see the emphasis on education as the greatest legacy of the nuns and that it helped to create change in the community.

Some participants believe that the emphasis on education allowed people to become more aware of, and more able to deal with, the oppressive practices of the ruling groups: "People couldn't read or write so they were easier fooled than people today with education. The nuns were hard but I guarantee you, they got people to read and write and I would say that was the most important thing anybody did for this place." Academic history, on the other hand, has focused almost entirely on male history until recent years, when feminist researchers set out to redress the balance. Women were all but invisible in historical accounts of the first few hundred years of settlement. Kealey notes that ". . . [r]eading the history of Newfoundland and Labrador, one is struck by the 'silences' on women's experiences" (1993: 1). Recently, academics have begun to trace the history of women in the colony/country/province of Newfoundland (including Labrador). Pope (1992) echoes the narratives of local people in his descriptions of women as participants in the fishery, as well as in their homes, providing food and drink, caring for gardens, animals and performing other homemaking chores. Such tasks as tending the sick, caring for children, and so on went unrecorded. McGrath, Neis and Porter (1995) note that women and children were important members of the shore crew and reference

McLintock, who wrote that ". . . [t]he activity of these industrious people is so great that their women, even in advanced pregnancy, rather than stay at home, take midwives with them on this expedition" (1941: 99).

4.1.8 Knowledge and Skills of Early Settlers

When asked to describe what they felt contributed to the creation of community throughout the years, many participants speak feelingly about the generosity and openness of early settlers and past generations; most of all, they cherish what they know of their ability to share and look out for each other. "They were strong, looked after one another, sacrificed their lives for one another . . . you can't get a much more powerful history than that." One informant makes the point that the community's history of depending on the sea has conditioned people to bad times: "My dear, people always had it hard here. You never get used to hard times but then you don't get surprised by them either. I think some of the younger ones had forgotten that the water is master. Not any more. They remembers now too."

Participants also point to special skills of early settlers, including knowledge about the weather, environment and animals, which helped them avoid disasters. They surmise that some of this they must have learned from aboriginals, and some by trial and error. They had to read the weather and predict storms and pass on warnings by word of mouth to each other, since there was only limited communication with the outside.

"There's still people here who can tell the weather better than the forecast . . . [a] lot of young ones too . . . learns it automatic, I think from listening everyday."

Says one man, "[w]e have learned how to survive from these people but it don't always help us to get along. Everybody is so independent-minded that it's hard sometimes to get anybody to agree. But we come by it [the independence] honestly."

For the research participants, past history is alive. It is part of an ongoing story in which they are involved, and is part of the enjoyment of everyday life, filled with warnings, moral standards, wisdom and humour. It connects people with the land, ocean, earlier peoples and events emotionally, engendering feelings of wellbeing, security, affection and pride in everyday community life.

4.2 History and Meanings of Community

The discussion that follows considers history from scholarly perspectives on the historical beginnings and conditions of community. Some scholars who have written of early European settlement in North America have called upon the ideal model of community, referring to such words as John Winthrop's (1630) exhortation to his Puritan congregation:

> . . . [W]ee must be knitt together in this worke as one man, wee must entertaine each other in brotherly Affeccion, wee must be willing to abridge our selves of our superfluities, for the supply of others' necessities, wee must uphold a familiar Commerce together in all meekness, gentlenes, patience and liberallity, we must delight in eache other, make others' Condicions our owne, rejoyce together, mourne together, labour, and suffer together, allwayes haveing before our eyes our commission and unitie of the spirit in the bond of peace . . . For wee must

> Consider that wee shall be as a citty upon a Hill, the eies of all people are uppon us . . . wee shall be made a story and a byword through the world. (Kennedy, 1992: 74).

The first colonies in Newfoundland are described as having been planned by traders to improve the production and marketing of fish (Prowse, 1895; Head, 1976). Matthews (1988) states that the major force working against the growth of settlement and resident government was the prosperity enjoyed by West of England merchants through the migratory fishery. He argues that it was less costly for merchants to import men, goods, and provisions to Newfoundland for three to four months a year than to support year-round settlement. He contends that visiting fishermen and settlers could not survive without significant outside support; thus, as long as seasonal migration remained more profitable than permanent settlement, the latter was not necessary for the cod fishery (1988: 10).

Prowse (1895), Matthews (1988), Handcock (1989), and others have critically examined the political, social and geographic conditions that contributed to Newfoundland's late colonization in relation to other areas of the New World. This process is described as "retarded colonization" (Handcock, 1989: 13). Early historians such as Field (1924), Lounsbury (1934), McLintock (1941), and Innis (1954) argue that the reason for the slow growth of settlement was the opposition against settlement by West of England merchants. Participants' stories of early days of settlement reflect bitterness about the control of the fishing merchants over the life of fishing communities. Their accounts often lead to comparisons between the control of contemporary fishing

corporations over present everyday life and the control of fishing merchants from the beginning of European settlement.

Research participants' stories of early settlement reflect their belief that men and women together settled their community. Their stories show an appreciation of the contribution of and the necessity of both genders to the establishment of the community. Debates about the presence and contribution of women in early settlement is found in scholarly literature. Nemec cites Rogers, who estimated that the resident population (in 1710 - eight hundred; in 1754 - 3,400) described a generally male population; ". . . [t]here was little if anything in the way of employment, female companionship or any other amenity" (Nemec, 1993: 57). Hanrahan (1993) notes that while early colonies failed, Newfoundland continued to be settled as early as the 1630s. "There is not a lot of information available about early female settlement in Newfoundland, but we can be sure that women were rare in the early decades/centuries on the island. Migratory fishermen also returned to England and Ireland because of their family ties there" (1993: 14). Porter says that women arrived in Newfoundland as early as 1618, but little is known about them. Others argue that documented evidence of this is hard to find. They do concede that the early colonists laid the foundation for increased emigration in the eighteenth century (Matthews, 1988; Handcock, 1989). Handcock notes that documents during the latter period of colonization indicate "several social processes important for permanency" which included

> . . . the transfer of property through females, the social situation of the widowed female who found herself stranded in Newfoundland and

> enforced by circumstances to seek through early remarriage some measure of security and, most importantly, the social interaction between the settled population and the migrating labour force (1989: 35).

Cullum, Baird and Penny argue that English merchants were opposed to settlement and objected in 1670 to "the arrival of women, claiming that planters used their womenfolk to debauch ignorant mariners" (1993: 69). They say that the concern about women at this time was related to the ". . . belief that without women, fishermen and planters would not permanently settle in Newfoundland, securing for themselves the best fishing locations around the coast" (1993: 71-72) leaving these locations available to the migratory fishery. Handcock (1989) says that the presence of females is ". . . the all essential ingredient for an inhabitant population with a self-perpetuating capacity," and that ". . . [t]he seasonal migratory fishery was virtually a male domain, and the first documented evidence of females migrating to Newfoundland occurs during the early 1600s in association with the Bristol colonizing venture" (1989: 31). He concludes that since there is no documentation of women's presence among wintering crews, women were indeed absent, hence the delay in settlement.

Handcock notes that documentation of Irish involvement is ". . . scant and irregular, indicating that it lacked importance" (1989: 30). This raises the question of whether this carelessness in documentation also applies to women, who may have been servants or formed part of the ships' crews and thus more common than formerly assumed. Pope (1992) argues that women's labour, in fact, played an important role in the settlement of the South Avalon peninsula, and that the presence of women was

correlated highly with the success of plantations in the 18th century. This is supported by Porter (1995) who also points to the effect the presence of women had on the success of settlement.

Porter (1995) and others argue that the presence of women influenced the success or failure of early settlement. Cullum et al. say that women were twelve per cent of the inhabitants of Newfoundland as early as 1677, quoting from records which listed "... [f]emale settlers consist[ing] of ninety four wives, one hundred and thirteen daughters and thirteen servants." They continue:

> ... Initially women came as wives or daughters of planters and boat keepers or arrived as passengers from overseas, marrying fishermen already established in the colony. The intermarriage of Newfoundland women and fishing servants from overseas was an important component in the creation of families in the early days of settlement (1993: 69).

Those observations are consistent with the participants' reflections, that men and women settled the community together.

4.2.1 Arrival of the Irish

Consistent with local claims and scholarly literature, English human resource shortage in times of war, famine and unemployment in Ireland, and the availability of inexpensive transportation to Newfoundland were responsible for the large-scale emigration of the Irish to the Island (Head, 1976). The threat of war with Spain and France in the late 1730s, and its outbreak in the 1740s, reduced English manpower available to the Newfoundland fishery, thereby creating greater employment

opportunities for the Irish. From the mid-1720s onward, food shortage and high unemployment in Ireland forced people to migrate from farms to towns in search of work. As Irish ports became more active in the Newfoundland trade, migration to the Island increased (Head, 1976: 93-94, 100-101).

The local stories of Irish persecution in the early days of settlement are supported in the literature. The resident English population climbed rapidly towards the end of the eighteenth century and Newfoundland began to see a "sizable influx of Southeastern Irish," according to Nemec (1993: 18). Hanrahan says that "in the case of the Irish, emigration was a highly individualistic solution to economic distress"(1993: 17). She notes that the growth of permanent settlement was driven, primarily, by the influx of thousands of Irish immigrants and that ". . . approximately one-third of Newfoundland's present population is descended from these people" (1993: 18). Many of the Irish worked as servants for the planters, when employment could be found.

The English settlers became fearful of losing their preferred status, and overtly demonstrated their resentment of the increase in numbers of Irish settlers. A series of harsh laws were passed by the colonial government in an attempt to restrict further emigration and make life so unbearable for those present that they would be forced to leave (Handcock, 1989). Despite these restrictions, the number of Irish arriving each year increased. People defied English laws to migrate to Newfoundland and set up permanent residence (Head, 1976). In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, an increasing number of settlers' servants were young unmarried men from Ireland (Handcock, 1989).

The majority were hired out as servants upon reaching Newfoundland (Head, 1976: 83-92, 145-76). Employment of the Irish as servants resulted from the increased tendency for English ships to call at Irish ports for provisions and men at this time (Handcock, 1989), because Irish supplies and manpower could be obtained at a lower cost. Furthermore, the war between England and France had reduced the number of men available from the West of England for the migratory fishery (Handcock, 1977).

Although the Irish represented only a small part of the migratory and sedentary populations before 1700, they became an important force behind the settlement of the Island in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Mannion, 1974). After the 1720s, the Irish population increased steadily in response to diversification and stabilization of the economic base and increased prosperity in the fishery (Head, 1976). Prior to the 1730s, most inhabitants came from the southwestern counties of England; however this altered significantly in the remainder of the century, as Irish Roman Catholics became the dominant ethnic group amongst those arriving from across the ocean.

Scholars disagree about history; so do local people. However, both scholarly and local histories generally describe the British colonial government, including its arm of justice, as serving the merchant class. Matthews (1988) argues that the establishment of permanent settlements required the presence of merchants or agents. This mercantile group, along with wealthy settlers, dominated the social and economic orders; they also eventually achieved control over the judicial system. The vested interests of these individuals resulted in an inequitable administration of justice for the Irish working class.

They withheld wages from the (mainly Irish) servants for many reasons, resulting in cases of extreme hardship. By the early nineteenth century, such exploitation was forbidden by law. When servants were deprived of wages, masters were ordered to pay (Howley, 1888/1972).

Most scholars view the central process in the development of settlement in Newfoundland as primarily a fishery based economy; there was little sense of "building a citty [sic] on the hill" (Kennedy, 1992: 74). Participants' stories indicate a similar belief, that merchant capitalism was the core of fishing communities in Newfoundland based on the informal amassing of cheap labour for the fishery and the accumulation of capital. Yet the songs and stories of local people show that the meanings, for them, of these early experiences go beyond the sense that this is what early settlement was about. Their accounts offer meanings which include escape from oppression for the marginalized, as well as opportunities to resist the ruling group. These meanings continue to provide support for resistance in present everyday life. Stories and songs give insights into early resistance of local people to ruling groups.

The stories told by the participants convey the anguish that they imagine must have been experienced by their Irish ancestors, driven from the land which was their only means of subsistence, forced to seek jobs as indentured servants in Newfoundland. Their descendants in Comorra point out that settlement was controlled, for the most part, by fish merchants through the mercantile credit system (described in story and song by local people, and in text by scholars, as a form of exploitation). Research participants believe

that the economic control of settlement by the ruling group was based solely on profit motives; their narratives indicate their perception that this historical pattern of economic oppression of fishing communities by the ruling group continues today.

> That's the Irish melancholy you hear in the songs . . . always the wish for something else. In the past we used to sing it and how real was it? Now with the Depression it was real, and it's real again now with the moratorium. Just like it's come back again . . . so we knows what they must have gone through when they had to give it all up to come to this part of the world. And the crowd that went to the States in the Depression . . . the same thing . . . now we're doing it again and singing the same songs.

The present-day community is seen by participants as having been shaped by a history where the system and scale of social relations were such that kinship ties formed the social, economic and political base for the community. The importance of history as the ongoing experience of sharing space is confirmed by Pocius in the following statements: "A community like Calvert can only be understood through its landscape and artifacts by abandoning the notion that it is somehow in transition, caught between the forces of the old and the new. Indeed, objects and spaces in Calvert demonstrate that tradition and modernity are categories devised by thinkers operating out of urban industrial contexts" (1991: 291). And, "[I]t is the spaces rather than the things that are more meaningfully shared. Each person in Calvert knows that in this sharing rests the essence of everyday life, the sharing that orders the place where they belong" (1991: 299). For the research participants of Comorra, history is the sharing of space over time providing them with a sense of belonging to space and people. For example, discussion of present day connections with early settlers include attributes of those settlers, such as

'good,' 'strong' and 'self-sacrificing' for women and 'masterless' for men. Those attributes contribute to a sense of belonging to people and space throughout time. A lack of trust in authority also strongly influences meanings of community among local people; they refer to the unfair treatment of the Irish and fishing communities as having persisted from the days of early settlement to the present.

Descriptions of early life by scholars such as Matthews and Prowse often echo the narratives and songs of local people; however scholarly constructions do not convey the feelings of loss and betrayal. For these people, unlike for scholars, the history of their ancestors is a living part of everyday life today.

Participants experience their history as "lived experience," drawing upon it for guidance and to explore how they came to be who they are today. The rich experiences of the past are interwoven with the present, and while they are presently clashing with evolving meanings of community, they continue to provide connections between people and give meaning to everyday community life. The stories about early history help to explain the attachment of participants to their community, and bring to life the concept of lived experience in a very concrete way.

Drawing on the work of Smith, I demonstrate in the next two chapters that local history, to some extent, supports the ruling interests; but also that people's awareness of history, particularly local history and more recent scholarly history, contributes to an emergent consciousness. This paradox – that people's experience both bolsters and challenges authority – is generally consistent with Smith's sociology of knowledge.

An important element in my analysis of meanings of community is Smith's (1990) theory of emergent consciousness of oppressed people, which has allowed for the voicing of "counter-hegemonic" ideas. In the next two chapters, I explore the emergent consciousness of the research participants about their knowledge of oppression in the past and consequent changes in meanings of community. In these chapters, I begin the process of identifying lines of fault with an analysis of the impact of history on meanings of community in current everyday life. Smith (1990) states that the rupture, or line of fault, in experience can only emerge when historical and material conditions support such an emergence. By drawing on material from interviews and scholarly literature, I illustrate the historical conditions which facilitated the emergence of political awareness.

CHAPTER FIVE

Changing Meanings of Community: The Church

5.0 Introduction

The research participants appeared to be unable to talk about their community and its meaning for them without discussing the Catholic Church. Changes over time in their relationship to the Roman Catholic Church are central to their meanings of community in daily life. This chapter will argue that contemporary events related to the clergy have made research participants aware of a line of fault between the moral code taught by the church and the morality practiced by some clergy.

Participants talked about community experiences with the Church in recent history, beginning for the older participants in the early 1900s. In recent history, the Church was seen to have had less power due to events such as Confederation. More recently, this power has decreased further due to exposure of illegal and immoral actions by church officials. While the Church is seen as somewhat excluded from the current power base, it is also continuing to influence meanings of community in complex ways. There is certainly a disintegration of the Church's influence, which is seen to be a result of scandals involving members of the Church, particularly the sexual abuse of young boys by the Christian Brothers at Mount Cashel Orphanage. This is experienced personally by the people of Comorra, whose priest was charged and later imprisoned for

sexual crimes against youth in this and other communities. These activities of Christian Brothers and priests left many research participants embittered and distrustful of the Catholic Church. As this chapter will show, feelings about the Church are intense and conflicted.

In the following pages, I will also demonstrate that the historical and material experiences of the Church continue to influence an emerging consciousness. This analysis of emerging consciousness is in keeping with Smith's (1990) methodology, which argues that human actors cannot be reduced to automatons and do have insight into the conditions of their existence.

Research participants slide easily between the past and present in their stories, often drawing parallels between present and past conditions. Their own history of their community reflects a sense of self-sufficiency and viability gained over a long period of time through hard work and sacrifice. The interviews suggest that the moral code partly emerging from the Church and partly from the legacy of early settlers (which included "hard work," "sacrifice" "co-operation" and "perseverance") contributes to meanings of community drawn from the history, but may also be contributing to a line of fault in present everyday community life. As discussed in Chapter One, a line of fault begins with everyday events in people's lives when they are being told one thing but in fact know otherwise on the basis of experience. As is shown in this chapter, people experience a line of fault between the moral code for the community established over time by the church and early settlers and a different code for the clergy. According to

participants, a double standard was evident to some people for a long period. However the recent scandals involving local clergy made it more obvious.

A line of fault has emerged for many participants because the clergy violated the prescribed moral code for the community, but the church proceeds on a daily basis as though the violations are separate from its teachings. Many participants speak of being confused and angry, feeling as though the centre of the community has been ripped away.

5.1 The Church and Meanings of Community

Most people see the physical presence of the church, including the grotto, as a physical symbol of the community itself. The building of the church was often identified by participants as an event important to the community, partly because people had built it themselves: "Church was built by the community – over one hundred years old." One person noted, "it was the people who built the church. They used to give all free labour on that." The Church is seen as having given to the community, but also as having received from its parishioners. "People used to give whatever fish they'd get for the day," recalls an older man:

> They'd donate it . . . [t]hat was one day a year . . . Peter and Paul's Day, June twenty-ninth. And whatever fish they got for that day they'd donate it to the church. This went on through the years. But they all gave free labour at the church and they cut wood and everything for the logs and that. August fifteenth was another church day . . . that was a big day here . . . the Feast of Our Lady, 'Lady Day' they called it. And they always celebrated March seventeenth, St. Patrick's Day . . . that was a big day. That stuff's all done away with now . . . like purgatory, that's no more. [*laughs*].

Another older man identifies the Church of the past as ". . . the social life of community." The Church survives in a sense that "Mass is place you go to, especially the cemetery and grotto." But in the past, "[o]nce a year, all women and men, mostly [sic] men, would clean up the cemetery" whereas in the present, "[n]ow they get a project to do it."

An older woman uses the past tense in her statement, "the Church was the centre of community." Another older woman separates the Church from its priests with the statement that there is a " . . . strong commitment to the Church, not them [the priests]. Lot to do with abuse. People were afraid of / and resented priests. In recent years, people think priests have [had] too much power."

Other stories describe the Church of the past as strengthening the social life of the community. An older woman notes, "[the priests] were all involved . . . yes, it was all the Church. They'd have big concerts and that, for St. Patrick's Day, and then they'd have dances. All the women would make a boiler of soup . . . pea soup and all kinds of soup." An older man reminisces, ". . . [t]he Church kept everything together. It was better then. We were strong as horses . . . a bit of brown bread in molasses [for breakfast] . . . you'd get up in the morning and go away in the country to get work. The women had two tin boilers, one for working clothes, and one for good clothes, for going to church."

An older man declares, ". . . [t]he community was more holy when the priests had holy power. I mean people got along together better. There was no club. There was a dance in the hall (Patrick's Day and one at the Garden Party) You behave[d] yourself when you were there." "People were holier than they are now so they saw things and

heard things. No trouble to see the little people back then. Not anymore, though," said an older woman.

5.2 The Roman Catholic Church in Community History

The Catholic clergy are identified by all participants as consistently contributing to the current everyday meanings of community because of their strong historical influence as a ruling group. A few participants suggest this influence preceded the arrival of the Irish to these shores.

Historians present the Roman Catholic Church as inextricably connected with the arrival of Irish immigrants to Newfoundland in the early 1700s (Handcock, 1989: 30). They also describe the economic, social and religious oppression of the Irish Roman Catholics. The servant class was largely comprised of Irish Roman Catholics, and, according to scholars, this group experienced the most hardships (Handcock 1989: 30). For example, it was difficult for the Irish to receive a fair trial in a court system where English magistrates were employers and merchants (Prowse, 1895). In addition, a series of anti-settlement laws and persecuting enactments was passed against Irish Roman Catholics (Prowse, 1895). The first strong measures were sparked by the robbery and murder of a leading St. John's merchant and magistrate (Dobbs, 1988: 176). In 1755, Governor Richard Dorrill attempted to curb Irish Catholic settlement and prevent religious worship. He ordered ships' masters to carry all passengers who had been brought out in the spring of the year back to Ireland on the return voyage in the fall. Severe punishments were inflicted on those who failed to obey. Dorrill also issued

penalties against Roman Catholics for religious worship (Howley, 1979: 172-176). Those found guilty of taking part in Mass were fined, had their property destroyed, and were ordered to sell their possessions and leave Newfoundland.

Restrictions continued against the Irish after Dorrill, but, with the exception of Sir Hugh Palliser's governorship, were never again so severely enforced. Palliser, who succeeded Dorrill as Governor, was particularly intolerant of masters who left Irish servants destitute with no means to return home to Ireland (Prowse, 1895).

From 1762 to 1767, regulations prohibited Irish Roman Catholics from living together, keeping a public house, and disturbing the peace by idle or disorderly conduct. Howley reports that Palliser issued the following proclamation in 1762: "(1) Papish servants are not to be permitted to remain in any place but where they served the previous summer; (2) no more than two Papists are allowed to live in one house, unless in the house of a Protestant; (3) no Papist to be allowed to keep a public house, or sell liquor by retail" (1979: 178). During the same period, another proclamation ordered "that neither man nor woman, being papist, who did not serve in St. John's in the summer be allowed to remain in winter" and that "all children born in the country be baptized according to law" (1979: 178).

A male citizen of Comorra said this oppression,

> . . . brought about the Masterless Men – men, and some women, who were mostly servants, and who rebelled against the British rule and just went off to the hills. See the hill in the back, that's where they lived . . . They had the support of people . . . .if someone was shot or hurt, people helped. One story people still talk about is of a guy [who] got shot . . . this woman, a midwife, went in and stayed with them for a couple of weeks until he healed. They raided the British and shared [what they got] with

> people. They are the real heroes, not John Cabot. [They] probably moved back into different communities after the rules slacked off – after the rules about Irish changed – they moved into communities. If someone was going to be punished or killed by [the] British, the masterless men took in the men and the families left behind were well looked after – sometimes other families moved in with them.

In 1784 restrictions against the Catholics were removed, and the Roman Catholic Church was formally established in Newfoundland with the appointment of James Louis O'Donel as Prefect Apostolic (Howley, 1979: 163-4; Prowse, 1895: 202). The Church did not, however, achieve a strong foothold in the social order until the nineteenth century (Dobbs, 1988). The demographic structure, illiteracy, and the poverty of most inhabitants were contributing factors (Byrne, 1984).

In those early years of Irish settlement the Roman Catholic Church established itself as a proponent for its people, mediating with them in their conflicts with the British governing and justice systems, which were determined to protect English/Anglican interests. Carlson (1997) writes that ". . . priests were working to help the poverty stricken 'lower orders' to avoid the harshness of the justice system as it existed . . . ." As one interviewee puts it, ". . . it [the Church] held them together through a lot of hard times." In Comorra, a seventy-eight year old man describes the situation as he understands it, when the numbers of Irish settlers began to grow in the late eighteenth century: "The English were here, and they already had their own religion, which was Anglican, of course, and that's the only one they wanted . . . so the Irish had a hard time. They were Catholic and they wanted to practise their own religion. The English didn't want them practising – tried to stop them." Many participants tell stories of the early

Church. One woman recounts the origin of the grotto, at the Mass Rock, a historic site in the community:

> On the 'Midnight Hill' up there is where they had secret mass . . . .where the grotto is now. Of course that was in the woods then . . . .There's a rock there, the 'Mass Rock' they called it . . . .that grotto . . . is built right on that Mass Rock. That went on for a good while. They used to have mass in secrecy, right? That was the way it was . . . the English were Anglican and that's all they wanted, right? In those days there was bitter feelings between those two. [*laughs*]

Many participants feel that such stories prove that their ancestors contributed a great deal to the survival of both the Church and their community.

Participants told many stories about the arrival of the nuns and priests and their contributions to the community. There was some disagreement over the early history: one example is the lack of agreement about the name of the first priest. Comments range from "I think it was Father Walsh who was the first priest," and "[t]he first priest here – the one who got in trouble over at St. Mary's, Duffy, Father Duffy . . . ." to "[t]here was two Father Walshes, you know . . . .The first, his sister was a nun, too, right? She came over from Ireland. I don't know if Duffy came before him or after him."

Participants speak of the clergy's resistance to the authorities in the early days of the Church. "Father Duffy made them take down the flag . . . that was over in St Mary's somewhere. Somebody built [sic] a flag going across the road and there was a big racket over there . . . .blocked the way to get into the church [*laughs*] and there was the biggest kind of a racket over it [*laughs harder*]." Delight in the story of the Irish Roman Catholics prevailing over the English Protestants surfaces often. An older man explains:

> See, what happened was the English – when the Irish took over the place, they converted what they could, and what they couldn't convert, they drove them out . . . so, there's practically no English here now, right? What is here is Catholic. You see . . . .they were English, but they turned them over to the Irish [*laughs*]. There's Goodridges here, some of them are Catholics now.

5.3 The Roman Catholic Church and Emergent Consciousness

All research participants agree that the conditions of everyday community life have been strongly influenced by the presence of the Roman Catholic Church. However, some research participants in this study took pains to separate their feelings about the Church from their feelings about its priests; others saw "the Church" as a bureaucratic structure which has failed them. Many older participants view the Church as the cornerstone for the community; others, not all of them younger, stated that the Catholic Church exerts a negative influence.

5.3.1 Priests and Power

Participants point out that the Church's moral teachings created pain and fear in the community. The older participants who grew up in the early 1900s had vivid memories of the influence of the church on their childhood. An older woman says, "We were frightened to death . . . and old Monsignor Perry, if he ever seen you walking up the road with a boy . . . that was the end of you." Another older woman comments, ". . . [i]f a young one got pregnant, you know, you felt for her, but you couldn't let on, because that would be encouraging her and others like her, you know, in the eyes of the Church."

Another expresses bitterness: "[The priest] would rake the parents down at the pulpit before the community. She would only be allowed to get married in the vestry. Some girls were made to wear black veils and were kept in the house until after the baby came. People would try to cover it up." Teenage pregnancies were regarded as "crimes." Another older woman said, "[t]he priest used to make the community decisions. What he said went. There'd be nobody contradict it."

Participants who are now in their mid-life described their experiences with the church in the mid 1950s to 1960s. A male participant recounts his memory, at an early age, of a double standard in the Church. "Living together was a crime . . . .not many people would dare do it. One fellow had a housekeeper living with him and the priest went over and . . . told him to get rid of her. Here was the priest with a live-in housekeeper himself." This type of double standard was mentioned by many participants.

The issue of hypocrisy emerged frequently, often in humorous stories which described the drinking or sexual activities of priests. An older man said:

> I always knew that . . . the priest wasn't just being a priest and not bothering nothing . . . I always knew he was at something. Not molesting youngsters, though. I knew he was getting his women and everything else years and years ago. Most people didn't know it because they had too much faith in them. If they did hear tell of it, they'd say, no, you're full of bullshit . . . but I always thought that . . . whatever the priest wanted, he got. He wasn't up there living alone with nobody or nothing. They all had their maids. Everybody else who had a live-in maid, he condemned. He said 'look, you're going to hell for doing that' and here he got one all the time [*laughs*] . . . [The priest said] 'you'll never get forgiveness, you'll be gone straight to hell for having that maid in with you, why don't you marry her?' . . . and the same fella, he's got one and living with her.

Others speak with reverence of the priests of the past, but give the impression that the power of priests resides in the past.

> People did respect the priest though. They tipped their hats. There was fear but there was also respect. They were not respected because of . . . fear . . . it was felt that they deserved respect. Since the Mount Cashel scandal, it's not the same. People will always believe in God, but it's not the same. People weren't thinking back then. If Mount Cashel hadn't happened, it probably would be the same now.

Comments show that the history of the community is linked to the power of the priests. One man showed me around the Church property, and said: "There's a cemetery over here too, where all the priests are buried. There's a lot of headstones and dates and everything on them." Those priests and their holy powers live on in the stories of past community.

5.3.2 Holy Powers

Many older participants can remember when certain priests and nuns exercised special power described as "holy power." One older man recalls ". . . that was years ago. Father McCarthy [had it]. After the grotto was built there was no water . . . he picked a spot and they dug there and found water. He had holy power." An older woman stated that, ". . . only the priest and nuns had holy power." A man speaks of the night his daughter was born, ". . . the priest was here all night. Come daylight and next morning he went to [the] gate, told me it was all right to go to bed. The baby was born shortly after and she was fine." The same man said, "there's no 'Holy Power' now." "The old priests and nuns had special powers back then. I've seen it myself when I was a girl. There's

lots of stories about the holy power helping the community. They don't seem to have that those days," said an older woman. Her statement is confirmed by the accounts of holy power keeping fishers safe, such as the following told by an older man:

> There was the time of the August gale. There was big boat from Placentia Bay, [people spent] three or four days trying to help her to get out.. Someone saw the priest come out on the hill – [they thought they would] try her once more – [the] water was way out – they couldn't get her out. Father McCarthy came out and put up his hand and the water came in six or seven feet higher than before. I was only a young fellow and I saw that. That really happened.

The same speaker recalled ". . . another time . . . fire broke out . . . the man was going to lose his house. Father said a prayer and the fire split . . . went on each side of house. I was there when that happened too."

Many feel that the church exerted control by intensifying fear of the Holy Power in the past. An older man narrates a story of ". . . a fellow who didn't pay his dues – the priest was very particular if you didn't pay your church dues. The priest went twice and the fellow wasn't home to pay his dues, so he said, "the next time I come back, you'll be here for sure," so the next time he went back the fellow had typhoid and [the priest] said 'You are here this time, like I said.' "So he caught him and got his money." 'That was the aim of the church, to keep people frightened,' says another older man. He speaks of

> . . . old Bishop Roche out in Placentia – you know Greg Power was going after Confederation (1949) – he told Greg Power, if Confederation comes in . . . the Church will lose control over the people. He was right. See, he wanted to hold onto the power as long as he possibly could. But he was right, that because of Confederation everybody would get to know more, have cash and get to travel – that they'd lose control, and they did.

According to an older woman, ". . . the Church had a lot of control here. They had too much control." Some stories exhibited attempts to resist the power of the priests, if only temporarily. An older man recalls priests who would

> . . . come to the times and stay for a while. The Monseigneur would come out if they got into a racket. People get so drunk, I guess they didn't mind. But they had an awful lot of respect [for the priests]; I mean, they were afraid. I think it would stop the racket. When he'd be gone everyone would go at it again.

"In my teens, we had dances on the sly," said another older man. "The priest didn't like that. It used not to go over very good." Another man described the priest as, ". . . like a captain of a ship. You wouldn't feel like having a good time if the Captain was in the room. You'd rather he go to bed."

5.3.3 The Nuns and Power

Stories about nuns were most often associated with education. The Presentation Sisters were described as having power in the community, mainly through the administration of the school. They had a convent in the community and both convent and Sisters have an important place in its history, although little evidence of their presence remains. "The nuns came here to start the convent," recollected an older man. "Everyone was in mourning over the loss of a fishing boat at that time. Will Johnson – seven men were lost, five dories . . . everybody helped the families out. The neighbors did their part back then."

The education supplied by the nuns is recalled vividly; many stories recount the harsh discipline exercised by the nuns on their pupils.

> I remember the first day of school . . . only a short way from the priest's house . . . [I was] very nervous. Anyway, I didn't want to go. The nuns taught us. They had all the power. One broke off a lead [pencil] in my ear. Brought me to the principal, another nun, whole works. See myself now, tears running down my face, snot running down my nose. She beat me and beat me till I fell to my knees. I said Dad would go back up and do something to protect me. 'Tomorrow will be a better day,' was all he said. But he was afraid too, they had too much power for him. Took me years to understand it. I couldn't believe it for a long time. But you couldn't go up there and go after the nuns, you be blacklisted. But never brought it up to Dad. I was afraid to ask him. Afraid he wouldn't remember and that would hurt that he wouldn't remember now. Another reason I didn't want to embarrass him. (Male fisher).

Memories of school days for other older people are also full of bitterness at the fearsome power of the nuns over the children. One man describes his school days as ". . . [t]he worst days of my life," continuing:

> . . . [I] hated the nuns. There seemed to be no reason for what they did. They did what they wanted. People didn't question these things. We didn't think. One nun bit my sister because she couldn't reach the door latch – she was too small. There was a young fellow who went to Trepassey to stay with his aunt. When he went to school in the mornings the nuns would always check to see if the children had been smoking. She would smell their clothes and check their pants pockets. He figured that he was going to get even. One day he cut the lining out of his pocket. When the nun reached in she got the fright of her life. She beat him while she cried. She left the room and cried some more and then returned to beat him some more. Summer holidays weren't even fun because you would always be worried that when you returned to school the nuns would be ready to beat you up for something you had done over the holidays.

Despite the many accounts expressing bitterness against the nuns, some participants expressed their sympathy for the nuns of the past, since they are seen as having had very little personal freedom. "We had a big convent. My mother used to work in the convent," said one older man:

> There was a woman up here had a daughter [who was] a nun. We were up and a couple of the nuns were walking around. The daughter wanted to see the house she was reared in and she asked: 'Can I go in and look in the back of the house?' But they weren't allowed in the house. She could look in the window but couldn't go in.

The issue of fear often emerged in discussions about the nuns: "The nuns were up on the hill, on the pedestal. The convent and priest's houses are always on a hill looking down on the people. That was for a reason. People were afraid." An older man recalls: "There was the Nun's Walk, Convent house and school there, then. They weren't allowed any farther . . . they would walk up and down and watch the community and they . . . watched you. Now they dress and act the same as everybody else."

5.3.4 The Church and Other Ruling Groups

Participants say that the control of the priests extended to all areas of community life. Priests were linked with others who had authority, such as businessmen and the police. "The businessmen of the community were [in church] every Sunday. They . . . ran the church and . . . the community. They made up the committees. Whatever they said went. They were respected and believed. People thought that nothing could go ahead when they weren't in on it."

An older man described the law as upholding the power of the priests and merchants. The colonial law enforcers were naval authorities until early in the nineteenth century, after which time local laws were enforced by a police force (Carlson, 1997). The

police force operated out of St. John's for many decades. One participant comments on the justice meted out by police during these years:

> The policeman . . . had as much power as the priest. I'll tell you, here . . . one policeman could arrest somebody and take him in and give him so many lashes for something he did, and the governor in St. John's, whoever was in charge of the police in there, approved of him doing it . . . so he wouldn't have to make a trip [here]. He approved it and left it to the policeman to give whatever punishment he thought he should get and that included lashes.

"People were afraid of the policeman as much as the priest," says an older woman. An older man declares that ". . . decisions were made mostly by priests and [the] fish company." For the most part, participants describe their early history as one of oppression and subordination.

5.4 The Church and Meanings of Community Today

There are comments on how the Church has changed. Past and present experiences are not always separate for research participants, as is evident in discussions about the meanings of the Roman Catholic Church in everyday community life. Many participants have difficulty discussing its past without returning again and again to the present situation. This is dominated by the reality that local priests have been guilty of sexual abuse of male children. The feelings of disbelief and loss are profound, and include anger and frustration against priests as representatives of the Church in the community.

In the past, the Church was perceived as the foundation of the community, and provided much of the meaning of community in everyday life. This viewpoint is almost

nonexistent now. The silence of the Church at a critical time and its apparent lack of concern for its victims of abuse are perceived as betrayal by many participants. For them, the purpose of the present-day Church is merely to mark personal and community events. "I think most people couldn't care less about the church today," says a younger man, ". . . what they did to people . . . they were bound to get caught. They did it for hundreds of years and it was only a matter of time. Sooner or later you're going to get caught when you're up to skulduggery." "I don't think anybody listens to them anymore since Mount Cashel," says a younger man. An older man agrees: "Since the Mount Cashel scandal, it's not the same." "You don't have the same respect for them," comments a younger woman. Even for people who observed the double standards of priests, the conviction of some priests and Christian brothers for sexual abuse of children came as a shock. They relate their initial reactions of disbelief:

> When it all came out, a good many people, myself included, thought it was made up. One thing for a priest to be running around with a woman, another thing altogether to be ruining lives of young ones . . . never got over it, I didn't. There's some here who still don't believe it about Father Hickey. Made a lot of bad feelings. Some supported the priests and some didn't. I think that a lot more [facts] would have come out if there was more support for the young ones and their families first off. No, people went after them [the clergy], after hundreds of years of following the priests. Who could blame them. The priest was like God Himself.

An older woman ponders:

> . . . [t]he change about the Church. I think it came on you gradually, not gradually but over time. I never thought I would feel like I do. No, I never thought I would. You see what changed was, the whole long and the short of it is, everybody has got to get honest. Everybody is living a lie. It's as simple as that. Not only priests, politicians are still doing it yet and they're going to get caught. Sooner or later people is going to slam the whole

> works down on them . . . .You've got to be honest with your neighbors. It's as simple as that . . . they weren't honest. Big coverup. Somebody'd do something – cover up, cover up. We were so gullible and that, too. You [were] taught a thing and you believed it and that was it. You didn't question like they do today . . . they question everything today.

An older man expresses his doubts about the teachings of the Church, sharing his view that priests are not scholars in their field:

> They're telling they knows everything that's out there . . . Heaven and Hell and all the rest of it. They don't know no more about that than I do and maybe not as much as I knows, because I'm after going through hell here on earth. But until they gets up cocksure there's a heaven up there . . . they got to say 'look, we all thinks there's a heaven up there' . . . that's honest, right? . . . until they starts doing that stuff they're going to keep on going down . . . .every generation will put them down farther. But they're not going to get honest. They didn't survive for two thousand years being honest, I'll tell you that.

A younger woman knows little of the intimidating power of the Church. "The church, what's it all about? I'm happy the way I am. I know what I am, who I am, I'm happy with this. I go every now and then (to church) . . . can't bring myself to [go often] . . . but the kids, they have to go to church . . . [although I] don't want to force them the way I was forced."

These comments, comparing the Church of the past with the greatly diminished Church of the present day, indicate that some participants have feelings of loss and regret about the lack of respect shown for the church today. One speaker says, ". . . [c]hildren now are desecrating the headstones. People go to the cemetery for consolation. Years ago this didn't happen – is it young ones that were abused by the church and are getting back at them, or to show they have no respect for the church?" "You knows what about the

church is changed," commented an older woman, "no one goes to church now. I feel different . . . .Today people are not depending on each other any more."

The shift away from the Church is also noted by an older man. "The council makes the decisions today – it's not as good as a priest – not so much to make decisions then. Now there seems to be more to talk about. More people know what's going on and have a say about it." An unresolved relationship with the Church is reflected in statements such as ". . . a community needs something – a heart – the grotto is the heart for some people, the church is the heart for others. The heart of the community is both."

A man sums up a feeling that seems to be shared by many of the participants, that there is a natural morality, not taught by the church, but inherent in the meaning of community to the local people:

> I was getting ready to go fishing this spring, at the first of it . . . everybody was at their boats, money was running out and time was running out. Everybody shared what they had. I could fall out with someone tomorrow, I would be there first though to help them with their boat and they would accept it. That's the way of it. Is that the Church? I don't think it is. I think it's the way people naturally are. It could be my turn tomorrow. I don't really think you need a Church, but there's got to be a happy medium. Got to have respect for each other, does this come from the Church? I don't know.

Some participants draw a line between the past and present Church. For them, the Church continues to provide meaning and hope. They see a clear distinction between the behaviour of individuals within the Church, and the Church as an institution and moral force: "People get mixed up. You know about the priest's house . . . you know what went on up there . . . what went ahead up there. The Church is not the actions of priests . . . Jim

Hickey was one of them. They are not the Church." Another comments, "Monsignor McCarthy had his prayer book and beads all the time, praying all the time. Spent a lot of time praying." The separation of priest and Church is not difficult for these people. Most see the priests as hyprocrites who fail to practice what they preach.

There is a concern that the present community has moved away from the moral code of the past, with its unreasonable rules imposed by priests and nuns, to a moral code with few standards today. In the past, ". . . the Church was really involved in the community. The priest was really involved and the nuns here at the time too. Now, everyone was afraid of them but, you know, they were really good to people." A younger woman says that she ". . . wouldn't want to see it (Catholic Church) dying out . . . .[we] still need something for the heart of the community, for guidance." Another younger woman agrees: "The church is a guideline for your life. For everyone it is different. Doesn't matter what religion – it's just something to make you think twice about different things – to bring out the goodness in people." "In order for people to live together in a place, a community like this, they need to have a Church to bring guidelines. It helps the community to work together," says an older man. "Now, with the cemetery, people will work together to get it fixed up . . . even enemies in the community will work together in the church."

5.5 Lines of Fault and Political Awareness

It is apparent that the emergence of political awareness among the research participants was facilitated by the historical and material conditions of their relations with the Catholic Church and lines of fault between the claims of the church and actions of its representatives. First, participants emphasize that the memory of rebellion by their ancestors against the ruling group of their day in order to defend their right to worship as Roman Catholics is important to their meaning of community now. The success of this rebellion is perceived as having been, at least in part, due to the co-operation of people in the community, including members of the clergy.

The participants' analyses of the Church's power indicate an understanding of the relations of ruling, and an awareness of the mechanisms of control throughout its history in the community. The rules and regulations that the Catholic Church set up for the community did not always apply to the priests, its local administrators. As the stories about live-in housekeepers illustrate, this central contradiction was visible to many people. It became more visible in recent years, due mainly to the charges of child sexual abuse against local priests. People have been forced to choose between supporting the Church and questioning its response to the behaviour of the priests and brothers; people needed to support the families of abused children, and protect them and others from further abuse.

For some, the revelations of the abuse facilitated the breaking of the silence which had, for so long, surrounded the priests. The hypocrisy and abuse contributed greatly to an emergent consciousness which has led to anger and politicization. Many Catholics are

showing their resistance to control of their lives by the Church (ranging from refusal to attend Mass and confession, to leaving the Church entirely, and also to public expressions of anger and disgust). Others deal with the contradiction by refusing to acknowledge that the child sexual abuse took place; they struggle to reconstruct the Church's role in everyday community life. In any case, the Church, which was once a central core of the community providing some unity and guidelines for everyday life, has more recently contributed to more open conflict and fractures. "The community spirit [is] not the same thing now that the church is changed," regrets an older woman. "People don't get along together. They begrudge each other more." The Church which is seen as having contributed to creating community in the past is now seen as contributing to a sense of 'community lost.' People have been told that the Church is separate from the actions of its clergy and this is acceptable for some people. Others are experiencing a line of fault as they believe the Church to have avoided its responsibility to the community and breached its own moral code.

The expressions of many participants indicate that the church contributed to their sense of community in the past through a shared moral code. While the moral code included a double standard, one for local people and another for priests, participants indicate that the moral code offered guidelines and control which, in some ways, provided a more cohesive sense of community than they presently experience. The moral code was upheld by the Church in the community through many tactics including appealing to honour, as well as threats of shaming and abuse. As shown by participants, priests and

nuns inserted themselves in both private and public life so that there was little acceptance of individual expression. Community in the time of 'holy power' meant more emphasis on community gatherings which were encouraged by the church. In addition, as some of the participants point out, this was also a time of greater poverty and people needed each other more for survival. In any case, this period of time is often seen as the time when people were focused more on the needs of each other and had frequent social gatherings which are missed today.

The idea of a more private life within community seems relatively new and has been embraced by some, but mixed with a sense of "community lost" for others. The next chapter will demonstrate that participants of all ages and both genders acknowledge an important change in their experience of everyday community life. Meanings of community have been changing, partly because of the change in the role of the church as shown here but for other reasons as well. The next chapter will show how changes in the fishery have affected meanings of community in daily life.

CHAPTER SIX

Changing Meanings of Community: The Fishery

6.0 Introduction

This chapter explores the ways people draw their sense of themselves and their community from the accounts of Comorra's fishery. It shows how these accounts are informed by a sense of the fishery and their lives being dominated by another ruling group, the fish merchants. Both local and scholarly histories map a persistent hierarchy of social privilege with the fish merchants at the top, and outline historical and material conditions surrounding the fishery that have contributed an emergent consciousness of oppression and resistance to the ruling group on the part of both women and men. The chapter ends with a brief description of people's recent experiences of loss related to the fishery and the ocean. It shows how the fishery and ocean have become sources of both loss and strength in daily life.

6.1 Mapping the Influences of Fish Merchants

Scholarly history shows that several merchants based their businesses in Comorra beginning in the early 1800s. Many of the current family names were also recorded first during this period. The Morgans (a pseudonym), an English family, who were recorded as doing business in Comorra, as early as 1807, set up a fishery supply and general business in 1828. Another trading firm was operated by John Kelligrew, also from

England. The Morgans supplied vessels for the seal hunt and the offshore fleet which fished off the Grand Banks. However, scholarly history indicates that the importance of Comorra as a fishing centre declined by the middle of the 1800s. The offshore fleet disappeared by 1844 and the traditional salt cod inshore fishery was established as the primary fishery. Most of the salt cod was sold in a nearby community until the mid-twentieth century when fresh-frozen processing became important (Barnable, 1994).

6.1.1 Oppression and Resistance: Contributions to Meanings of Community

Participants identify the Morgans as dominating their community in their stories of local history. However, their stories about the merchant family reflect an ambivalence about its effect on meanings of community in current community life. For many participants, the early days of the Morgans provided opportunities for growth. Participants talk of those days as contributing to a current sense of pride in the accomplishments of their ancestors. For example, they point out that Morgan ships were built by their ancestors, who travelled all over the world in them. Others, mostly older people, spoke of the Morgans as having historically provided a solid economic base for the community. Their descriptions of relations with the Morgans reflect their belief that the Morgans were committed to and cared about the economic stability of Comorra. One older participant relates an account of ". . . one of the Morgans – the fellow that started the business here first – when he was dying in St. John's, one of the last words he said . . . he said 'keep the salt to [Comorra].' That means the salt fish." An older man comments,

"The days of the Morgans was good here. They looked after everybody. The place done well. Everybody worked, even the young ones." There is, in these statements, a sense that the Morgans, while controlling the community, were still a part of, and cared about their community. This is in stark contrast to the current situation in which as will be discussed later, the community is seen to be controlled by uncaring outside forces.

Other participants, particularly those under fifty, spoke of the limitations the Morgan family had imposed on Comorra over the years. They believe that their community struggled to survive under the conditions imposed by the English merchants. Their comments reflect a sense of shared oppression within the community:

> There was only the Morgans here really. They didn't allow for competition. The Tors Cove Trading Company it was called. Everybody dealt with them. That's who bought and sold their fish. There was no other business. They were like the Warehams in Harbour Buffett. The same thing. They supplied the fishing boats. And in the fall of the year they [the fishing families] just had enough to pay their bills. No matter how much fish they got [*laughs*] . . . that's the way it was . . . that's the way it was, here.

"People never got no money from the Morgans," another male speaker concurs, continuing, ". . . [t]hey supplied them [the fishers] with everything to go for the summer fishing. In the fall of the year when they'd come back, they give them what they'd call the 'winter's diet' then . . . and that was it. They [the fishers] might have a couple of dollars for themselves."

Local history indicates that most of the fishers were employed by the Morgans' "western" boats and the stories about those experiences show the qualities of hard work and endurance under difficult conditions as a source of shared pride. Scholarly history

says that advances in technology resulted in the demise of western boats (Poole, 1956). Local history does not support this analysis. Rather participants see the change from western boats to inshore boats as resulting from actions of resistance. Many participants believe that people in the community decided that they did not want to continue to work under the conditions imposed by the Morgans and chose to move to inshore boats which took control from the Morgans. The following story indicates a belief that the community generally supported this move as an act of resistance:

> The Morgans had the western boats, ten or twelve western boats . . . Morgans owned everything and you got what they gave you, which wasn't much. The western boats would go to Grand Banks, salt the fish, could be gone two or three weeks. [We women] used to bake their bread. The women never worked on the boats, that I could remember. They stayed to look after the families. Seventy or eighty years ago since they stopped the western boats. The fellas that didn't go were doing better than those in the western boats. So people didn't want to go in the western boats. Those in the western boats were gone and the others were home in their own beds. So after a while no one wanted to go in the western boats. They all got their small boats and stayed home.

With fishers building their own small boats, the fishery in Comorra eventually became mainly an inshore operation. While stories indicate that participants see the movement to an inshore fishery as an act of resistance, they also see it as having had limited success. The inshore fishery allowed little autonomy, since the Morgans set the price of fish, bait and gear; as an older woman notes, everyone continued to be ". . . in debt to Morgans, including the priest." Despite the limited success of the move to independence, the stories of the participants about this change reflect an understanding of, and appreciation for, the courage required of their ancestors in this act of resistance. The

stories about the move to the inshore fishery indicate a belief that people in Comorra had worked together against great odds to resist oppressive practices and, therefore, enhance the sense of ownership of a shared past. Interestingly, the experiences of oppression or resistance are not seen as belonging to any particular gender or group. The experiences are seen as belonging to families and the community as a whole. This is also evident in the stories about the experiences related to the inshore fishery.

The participants' stories indicate that most families in the community moved to the inshore fishery. They illustrate the belief that the lives of these families continued to be directed by local fish companies whose owners, along with the priests, made most of the decisions for the community. The fish company merchants set the price for fish and also set prices for goods bought by the community. This credit system as it was called was common throughout the province. Fish company merchants extended credit, allowing fishing families to buy staple items on the promise of next season's fish (Neis, 1981). According to Neis, this "created a quasi-monopoly situation," giving local merchants control of prices for supplies and fish (1981: 130). The stories of research participants concur with her observation. One says:

> Where we are today in the fishery comes from an older tradition. The Irish were indentured, slavery in another word. And we never got over it. No more we should. You got to remember where you come from. The fishermen were not much better than slaves for the merchant families anyway . . . Irish or English . . . and they wants to put us right back where we came from. And there's the government helping them out.

Conflicted feelings about the nature of the Morgan's domination were expressed. One individual perceived that ". . . [t]hey wouldn't [weren't] rogues, the Morgans . . . but

they had their fingers into everything. Kept the place going though . . . don't know where we'd be today, without them in those days." Others speak clearly about their anger over what they believe was exploitation of the community: " [t]hey took everything and gave back nothing. That's the way of it. When they did something it was for their own good. People worked hard and saw nothing for it," said one woman. While the feelings about the Morgans' relations with the community are conflicted (frustration, anger, gratitude), the stories reflect a shared intensity and a sense of having been together through difficult times. People in Comorra, regardless of gender, are seen as belonging to a history of shared experiences of oppression and resistance related to the fish merchant. However, their stories also point to gender differences in response to these meanings of community.

6.1.2 Gender Difference and Meanings of Community

For many men domination by the Morgans was preferable to the present situation, in part due to the fact that the ruling group was familiar and close at hand. According to one participant,

> . . . [m]oney wouldn't [wasn't] a big thing back then. People couldn't afford a big lot, never travelled or [had] holidays or those things we have. But you know people owe more to the Bank then they did. So you know the Banks could take your boat tomorrow. They don't care. They never had that worry, never worried about feeding their families either. They had lots of good grub. They growed it themselves. Nobody would starve back then.

One man commented that he preferred earlier times because ". . . people are set in their ways . . . and aren't as generous as they used to be." Another man remarked, ". . . If the

fish don't come back, we are going to be worse off than they ever were. At least people grew their own vegetables and had animals, owned their own homes but now they wants us to move in to cities where we owes it all to the Bank." When asked if he preferred these earlier times, he says, "Yeah we were masterless men, then . . . now we got too many masters." The idea of being "masterless men" resurfaced throughout many of the interviews, particularly with males who seem to identify with the ancestors who had attempted to resist, or escape, the ruling group of their day. A smaller number of men describe present everyday life as less dependent on outside forces, with more interdependence within the community. For example, an older male feels ambivalent about the attraction of the past: "You don't exactly want to go back to these days. People didn't have much of a life between the Church and the merchants. But they put up with that . . . somehow . . . I don't know . . . perhaps that's all they could do." Paradoxically, he also feels that life was generally better for the fishing families then than for those of today,

> People had big families back then no birth control . . . and they had big farms too with animals and gardens, so they had to have a big family to keep it going. Now the feller that got a big family now got so many mouths to feed, so it's all turned around. Back then they only had to buy tea, flour and sugar and a few things like that. Mostly people hunted for meat, they had fresh and berries and the vegetables. Now people would starve to death if the shops closed.

Many women have a different standpoint from the majority of men about past community life. They acknowledge that the women of the past were strong. However,

while they say that today's women are also strong in their struggles, they feel that they have more control over their lives than women of the past:

> Yeah, life is not as hard [today]. Especially for women. Women always had to be strong in a place like this making hay, milking cows, cooking the meals, never ending. Now they still got to keep it going and sometimes its hard. They work in the crab plant and then have to come home and do for everybody. So it is never easy. They got to keep going even when they're beat out.

When asked if she would go back to earlier days, this woman declared, "Not for love or money . . . No electricity, no hot water, nothing like they got now. They got comfort now. And not having youngsters at the drop of a hat. The young ones got a chance now. Not that they knows it."

Some of the older women were ambivalent about the past versus the present. One older woman pointed out that the community celebrations were more frequent in earlier times. "In some ways we had better times. Of course we were younger then too, so it probably seems like better times for us . . . but I wouldn't go back for the work. It was too hard from daylight to dusk." Another woman agreed, "Oh my God, yes. We got power and water, all of that makes life easier. And having babies is easier. And my poor mother, pregnant all her life, worked to death and pregnant. Women worked like dogs then." The good times of the past were validated by another participant, who nevertheless felt the same duality, "Nobody would want to go back would they? You know we had good times, but we were all living under the thumb of the priest. Everything you did was wrong."

One older woman disagreed, feeling that the past was preferable in every way:

> People lived well and what they had was good . . . we were better off than today. Now people are too smart the wrong way . . . we had good water from the well, there was no chlorine. The young coming from school would scoop the water up with their hands and drink it. The women would work hard, but the husband was the breadwinner. There was no divorce because both were dependent on one another. Now the women are more independent. We had big families. Now they have only one or two. We had no television, so we would go to bed. Probably why we had more kids.

Unlike males, however, most female participants would not want to return to the experiences of women living in the early twentieth century. Some, mostly older women, see these early experiences as having promoted more family and community harmony because men and women were required to work closely together for the survival of the household.

6.1.3 Economic Crisis and Community

As the previous stories demonstrate, local history most often describes the fishery as having provided little more than enough for survival. This was not perceived by participants to be because of limitations in the fisheries resource itself but due rather to the management of the industry by fish merchants.

Much of Newfoundland scholarly history deals with economic analysis, which points to the highs and lows of the traditional fishing economy. The traditional fishery was seen as reaching its limit for further growth in the 1880s (Alexander, 1983). The collapse of Newfoundland banks in 1894 is seen by scholars as contributing to the failure of many fish businesses (Hiller and Neary, 1994). Fish prices continued to drop throughout the early 1900s. Local participants recall this period as a particularly difficult

time in the history of the community. One elderly man describes local conditions between 1910 and 1930, "The dollar was scarce, fish was poor, price then was four dollars for number one [that is, top grade] for a quintal. There was a big exodus in 1923. I was seventeen in August that year and went away in November. Went to Boston . . . [it was] really hard times here." An older woman comments, "During hard times in the community, people left. Women went as serving girls in St. John's . . . they had money then - cash. Younger women used to go to work as serving girls . . . called maids now. But once you got married, that was it."

Participants point out that the young people who went away to work provided an important supplementary income for their families. It was, for many families, their first break from complete economic dependence on the fishery. Furthermore, this cash income, often from younger members of the family who had essentially left the community, brought the first opportunity to circumvent the barter system. The obligation to take care of family remaining in the community was strong and, until they married, these young people continued to contribute to their families. The amounts contributed were small, but their impact was important. This cash income was seen by local people as important to the beginning of their independence. One older woman talked emotionally about money:

> We worked hard all of our lives and never saw a dollar from one year to the next. The Morgans controlled what we got and when we got it because they didn't give us money. Well, when money started coming in that was the end of the Morgans. People wouldn't beholden to them anymore, I can tell you that.

As far as research participants are concerned, there was little change in economic conditions of everyday community life until Confederation. Scholarly history shows that the economy was depressed because substantial payments went to capital depreciation, foreign suppliers of immediate inputs, and non-resident management and ownership (Hiller and Neary, 1994). The lives of people in fishing communities, including Comorra, continued to be controlled by outport merchants in the early part of the twentieth century. At this time, large mercantile firms of St. John's utilized railway connections to expand to outports, centralizing commercial power and replacing old outport mercantile establishments. Whether in social, political or economic sectors, the merchants continued to control the lives of people in fishing communities (McDonald, 1994).

Scholars say that the desperate economic situation confronting fishing villages like Comorra prior to Confederation stemmed more from an inept ruling group than any other factor. Neary (1988) says that continuation of old economic policies, in the face of a deepening economic depression world-wide and a declining market for salt cod, contributed to a financial crisis. The Amulree Royal Commission, in 1933, investigated the financial affairs of the Island and pointed to an inept and corrupt ruling group. Matthews notes that the Commission recommended that "... the people of Newfoundland be given 'a relief from government' on the grounds that the society could no longer afford the corrupt activities of its local political and economic élite" (1993: 27). The Amulree Commission also criticized successive governments for neglecting the

fishery, and failing to eliminate the credit system pointing out that fishers accumulated debts just to survive. The Commission noted that public charity was often the only recourse for people during a depressed fishery and argued that the combined paternalistic systems of merchants' credit and government relief "weakened the fibre of the people" and took away their desire for independence and self-sufficiency (Neary, 1988: 24-29).

Responsible government was dismantled in 1933 and the administration of the Island was placed in the hands of six Commissioners appointed by the British Government and Governor Sir David Murray Anderson (Neary, 1988). Reforms attempted by the Commission of Government included a focus on social control. The Newfoundland Ranger Force was established at the outset of Commission of Government to enforce law and order and oversee the implementation of government programs within fishing communities (Neary, 1988). The Commission also pursued a reconstruction policy in the fishery to improve the quality of the product, facilities, marketing procedures, and remuneration for fishermen. Fishers were allocated fishing supplies, given greater access to bait through cold storage depots, and provided with interest-free loans for fish-related activities (Commission of Government, Department of Health and Welfare, 1935). The public relief system also received attention from the Commission and food orders for staple foods of flour, molasses, tea, and meat were distributed based on individual need (Godfrey, 1979). The Commission's goal was to avoid further dependence on the state and to ensure only essential items were obtained by applicants (Commission of Government, 1933). The economy remained stagnant until the WWII,

however, and unemployment and poverty increased. As economic conditions worsened, demonstrations increased. By 1939, the political climate became so tense that the British Government questioned "whether or not the situation there could be contained" (Neary, 1988: 75-108).

While WWII and Newfoundland's strategic importance in the North Atlantic provided capital for military construction, it did little to solve its basic economic problems. The fishery continued its downturn partially due to Commission of Government policies. The Commission of Government had recognized many of the problems confronting the fishery and "tied economic recovery and the restoration of democracy to a reformed and improved fishery" (Blake, 1994: 240). In reality, however their approach to the fishery was conservative focusing on improving markets for salt cod and until 1944 overlooked the importance of the fresh frozen industry.

Research participants say that as the economy deteriorated, their community became more cohesive because they received little assistance from outside the community. For example one participant said, "Didn't seem like anyone cared if we lived or died. We didn't have much but what we had we shared. It was how we survived." Participants report worsening conditions in Comorra after the WWI due to the stagnation of the fisheries in the 1920s and its collapse in the 1930s. This period saw an exodus from fishing communities [such as Comorra] to St. John's, Canada and the United States (Overton, 1994). The attempts at reform, including the passing of the Health and Public Welfare Act in 1931, which provided rudimentary public relief, did little to give relief to

fishing communities. Describing the experience of public relief in Comorra; one participant recalled ". . . the relieving officer they used to call him . . . My father was a relieving officer. I can see the people yet coming down. They wanted something, you know, calling him to come outside, and singing out." Another remembered ". . . the Depression. It was hard to believe it was as bad as it was. People were starved to death in other places, but not here. People helped each other out."

The effects of the Great Depression contributed to the problems of outports like Comorra. The government expressed concern, not about the deteriorating economic conditions, but about a perceived decline in work ethic. Jim Overton notes that the approach taken by government was a familiar one. "The notion of the self-sufficient, independent Newfoundlander of the past was used as a stick to beat the unemployed and as a justification for cutting relief" (1994: 113). He describes some of the efforts to 'inculcate a more independent spirit into the people including ". . . limiting of able-bodied relief, preaching 'from the pulpit,' and the enforcement of 'family responsibility.' . . . providing migrants to the city with a ticket back to the rural communities" (1994: 113).

Older people recall the early part of the twentieth century as difficult. One older woman said "it was hard times back then . . ." and went on to say ". . . we've gone through a lot around here . . . in the 1930s people was starved to death . . . We looked after one another then just like the people did in the old days and we come out of it pretty

good . . . And we were all on the dole. So everybody was the same more or less. We didn't starve."

The themes of "everybody was the same more or less," "we looked after one another," "we've gone through a lot around here" and "we came out of it pretty good" were consistently present in stories about the early part of the twentieth century. Many male participants point to this time as setting the standard for their ideal of community in current everyday life. However, both women and men frequently said, "we were all the same back then." An important part of the sameness seems to be shared poverty. As one woman said: "nobody had any more than anybody else in them times."

Matthews (1993) states that the rural economy began to transform during the WWII from "a barter economy and an isolated society into a cash-based economy" due to the availability of paid employment from military construction. Participants indicate that economic conditions did not change in their community until WWII when young women and men frequently left their families in Comorra while they pursued seasonal employment with the military returning home often for the fishing season.

> A lot of people went to work for the Americans at the base in Fort Pepperell . . . There was more money then. No married women went to work on the base from here, but single women stayed there – they were serving girls. They would get ten dollars for the summer, but that was a lot of money back then.

Another participant said:

> During hard times, people left. I remember during the war all the men left here. They went out to work at Fort Pepperell. They'd come home probably every Saturday night in the back of a truck. Probably the fishery must have been a failure at that time too. And the women went serving

> girls . . . They had money then. Cash. But mostly the women stayed home and the men went.

In the 1940s, renewed prosperity transformed a country threatened by economic collapse during the 1930s into a lender. However, Neary (1988) describes an increase in relief due to a setback in the fishery and forestry industries in 1947 and 1948. Major factors inhibited economic growth following WWII. This included lack of direction, lack of diversification within the fishing industry specifically and generally within the economy, the maintenance of mercantile control over the economy, and deep-seated political corruption (Hiller and Neary, 1994) People had to contend with social, economic, and political oppression. After the war, the Commission of Government, under orders from the United Kingdom, began negotiations for Newfoundland's entry into Confederation with Canada (Neary, 1988). The major impetus behind this movement was the uncertainty surrounding the Island's sustainability as a viable economic unit with a standard of living on par with the rest of North America (Neary, 1988).

Local history reflects frustration with the pricing of fish during this period. An older man said, "My dear, the fish that went through this place, we should have been kings. But we never got the price for the fish, never did, never will. People had to go away to make money because there was never no money, even when there was fish." This frustration with the management of fish pricing was another consistent theme in local stories which contributed to meanings of community. Feelings of shared powerlessness contributed to a sense of "we." Throughout their stories, both men and women most often referred to their experiences of oppression in the plural: "*we* should

have been kings," "*we* never got the price." The consequences of the mismanagement of the fishery were seen as affecting the whole community, "We had to look out for one another. People always kept an eye out. Everybody knew what was going on then. There was no secrets." The notion of secrets and the sense of difference in household resources emerged in stories about Confederation. This was often described as a time of great change in meanings of community when the experience of "we" and "our" began to fragment. People were seen to have a different level of commitment to each other as their incomes became more diverse.

6.1.4 Confederation with Canada: Struggle for Control of the Fisheries

In 1948, a general election chose delegates to a National Convention to discuss the future of Newfoundland. The ensuing struggle was fought between the Confederation and responsible government options. The small majority voting for Confederation clearly indicated a population divided on the country's political future. Roman Catholics and the mercantile élite on the Avalon Peninsula were the main anti-Confederates in the 1940s. An argument for self-sufficiency, independence, and tradition was posed against the anticipated economic benefits that union with Canada would bring for Britain's oldest colony in North America. Social welfare programs and promises of a better standard of living tipped the balance in favour of union with Canada. In the first referendum vote on June 3, 1948, 44.5 percent voted for responsible government, 14.32 percent for continuation of Commission of Government, and 41.13 percent for Confederation. The

results of this referendum were disputed, which gave rise to a second referendum. This time the vote gave Confederation with Canada the majority over responsible government, 52.34 percent to 47.66 percent, respectively (Neary, 1988: 323).

Confederation is marked by most participants as the beginning of a new era, however not one without costs. Comments on Confederation indicate that the issue was a difficult one and divided the community: one participant remembered ". . . I know my father didn't want Confederation . . . There was a lot of conflict in the community over it. Some thought it was good, some didn't . . . . a lot of bad feelings over it."

A man stated:

> I'd say the best thing that happened to people here was Confederation. Some people had their own money for the first time. But an awful lot of people didn't want Confederation. My father didn't. He still thinks it was rigged. But I think Confederation was a good thing because people are looked after now. We wouldn't have TAGS if we didn't have Confederation. A lot says that we wouldn't need TAGS if the Canadian government didn't ruin the fishery. But I don't know about that.

Many people say they believe Confederation has been generally a good thing, because it helped people to become economically independent of the merchants, and diminished the power of the churches. ". . . When people got money in their pockets, they didn't have to make it up to anybody. Confederation was a big thing. The Church didn't want Confederation they say because it would give people too much money and they wouldn't rule . . . which is the case."

Another comment was : ". . . People got nothing before Confederation . . . You got a voucher to buy food. The first thing they looked after was the pantry."

Participants identified Confederation as a time of change for their community. One stated: "There was a lot of change after Confederation . . . people got pensions . . . U.I. They have electricity and oil now and health care. There is a lot of improvements. A lot of people didn't think Confederation was good, they thought independent government was better. I think it was a good thing."

Some participants felt that Confederation was a mixed blessing for their community and that the critical changes came after Confederation: "Some good, some bad you could say." Many participants say that prior to Confederation, the community was more cohesive and people shared responsibility for community maintenance and assisting each other. An older man says,

> People worked together . . . .Everybody in the family worked from the smallest to the oldest . . . The men usually fished (mostly cod) . . . and they worked all hours . . . .The women and children worked hard too . . . salted and dried fish. They made a few dollars from making cod liver oil and berries were sold to earn extra money.

However, he also adds that,

> Back then they thought if they did the right things, if they were good people, they would get their reward in the next world. That worked against them too, I guess . . . They put up with a lot thinking that the poor would be in the dominion of heaven, so they didn't fight back like people do now . . . But they do now . . . they put her up when the priest was going to tear down the priest's house.

An older woman commented: "Since Confederation I would say everything has changed. People have more say in things that go on and more money to do things with. We use to work from daylight to dark but nowadays they work hard but not day in and day out. Its more like in spurts now." Another participant added

> Everybody helped out. There was an old couple lived close to us. They didn't have any children. I use to go and do for them. They didn't have any money to pay but you did it out of the goodness of your heart . . . All that is important, people got to remember where they came from, what the people endured. It's not good to take everything for granted, the electricity and all of that makes life different now. People don't think they need each other but the day will come when they will have to remember how people got on before.

Another participant, speaking of pre-Confederation days says, "You had great neighbours in that time – people helped out with hay, making fish, building houses – we were all in the same boat. Perseverance governed the day back then." The themes of "we being together" as ideal community prior to Confederation and "we being lost to each other as community" or "community lost" since Confederation are found in the following statement:

> When I was a young fella and used to see . . . see some of the older fellas when they'd get their fishing gear tore up, when everybody use to pitch in. Everybody who's available used to . . . youngsters, women, everybody would come and help the men to get that fishing gear back in the water as quick as they could, to make their living. That stuff means a lot . . . when people pull together . . . very different. We didn't have the things we got now. More money, more back and forth to St. John's.

Another important aspect of Confederation was its impact on the fishery. Participants continue to describe their experiences with federal fisheries in terms of "we" and most often see these experiences as shared. Their stories reflect anger and frustration at the federal mismanagement of the fisheries which they see as dating from the beginning of Confederation. This comment from a woman in her forties reflects the view of most participants: "If they had sit down and planned to fool up the fishery, they couldn't have done it better. But t'was ignorance, pure ignorance. They didn't know the

fish, they didn't know what we were fit to eat either. And they didn't care to know. That was the going of it from the start with the Ottawa crowd." The participant is saying that the federal government knew and cared little about either the fish or the people of Newfoundland.

Scholarly history, for the most part, agrees with this analysis. Blake (1994) says that the fishery was a major priority in the negotiations of the terms of union with Canada. American control over a large sector of commodity productions in Canada had severe consequences for the Atlantic provinces, especially Newfoundland. Alexander (1983) points out that,

> The critical problem that faced the saltfish industry was that Newfoundland was a Canadian dollar country and thereby attached to a hard currency bloc when salted fish was sold mainly in soft currency markets. Countries like Spain and Greece were able to satisfy an increasing share of their import needs through payments unions, barter transactions, bilateral trade agreements or soft currency transactions . . . The steady post-war decline in Newfoundland's saltfish production and the expansion of the fresh/frozen sector meant that the country's trade, like Canada's, was pulled from an old trilateral pattern of trade with Europe, into a simple bilateral dependency on the United States (1983: 34).

Moreover, Alexander points out that the organized marketing system, which had been typical of the Newfoundland saltfish trade, prior to Confederation, would have been transferred to the fresh/frozen trade. However, "with Confederation authority to do this passed to Ottawa, where the capacity to do much that is useful for the east coast fisheries has been wondrously absent" (Alexander, 1983: 34-5).

Scholarly and local history concur that after union with Canada, Newfoundland lost control of its fisheries and the federal government assumed responsibility. The

absence of interest in the federal government contributed to the demise of the salt fish trade, inhibited the growth of fresh and frozen fish products, and ruined the rural economy (Alexander, 1983). The federal focus continued to be on the marketing of salt fish, rather than on control and management of the fishery.

For research participants, this lack of management of the fisheries from the early days also indicates a lack of knowledge about and a lack of commitment to the experience of community. Their stories show that most believe the federal government did not understand, from the outset, that the future of their community is tied to the success of the fishing industry and effective management of the resources. Their stories also show that participants see lack of understanding on the part of the federal government extending from the early days of Confederation to the present fisheries crisis. For example, an older male participant noted that the federal government had neither the knowledge nor skill to make decisions about Newfoundland fisheries, ". . . [t]hem people in Ottawa, what can they know about Comorra or any other place like this?"

The reality that the connection between community and fishery was lost to federal bureaucrats is also expressed in scholarly literature on the early days of Confederation. The decline of the salt cod fishery and its replacement by the fresh and frozen fish processing industry culminated in the transition from family operated and community based production to industrially organized fish plants (Wright, 1995). Blake (1994) reports that the "typical family enterprise whereby men caught the fish and the women and children dried them on the flake was a relic of the past" (1994: 248). Wright's

critique of the federal governments' attempts to modernize the fishery indicates that the literature generated by the federal department of fisheries assumes "[t]hat the fishery was a male reserve and women did not belong in the fishing economy" (1995: 132). She argues that, "Significantly, these representations of gender found in fisheries bureaucracy did not reflect the gender relations of the inshore fishery of Newfoundland" (1995: 132). Wright reviewed advertisements used by federal fisheries in fairs, exhibitions and fisheries shows from the early 1950s. She found that, "In these ads, fishers appear as rugged, independent, hardy men and the fishery itself is portrayed as an overwhelmingly masculine domain. Women, when they are shown in the ads, are invariably depicted as housewives and consumers, dependent on the skill and strength of the manly fisher to get good quality fish for their families (1995: 133).

The Walsh Report described government policy which moved fishery production away from a family enterprise.

> The general social improvement which has been taking place in the province for some years is resulting in the liberation of women from the hard and unsuitable work of fish making and allowing them to devote their time to their household and to live in an atmosphere of human dignity as wives and mothers. It is also resulting in the liberation of children to pursue their education and receiving (sic) a formation preparing them properly for a career to which they should have equal opportunity with other children. The Committee considers that in a programme of development of the fisheries, child and female labour should find no place, except in the case of young women who will be employed in suitable jobs at suitable work in plants and senior school children who will undoubtedly continue to help in fish curing during summer vacation (Blake, 1994: 248).

Wright argues that the Walsh Report assumed that women would not have a role in the modern fishery except at "suitable work" which meant "the least skilled and poorest paid" (1995: 141). She says that as one of the consequences of the Walsh Report and the attitude of federal fisheries bureaucrats, federal fisheries did not extend unemployment benefits to women who fished with their husbands.

The federal minister's interpretation of the Walsh report was a call for modernization of the fishery with plants and concentrated fishing fleets which meant, "withdrawal from the widely-scattered 'outports' and centralization of the fishing industry to a comparatively small number of locations" (Blake, 1994: 249). With Confederation, government fisheries policy moved away from recognizing the inshore fishery as a family and community production, and began to treat it as an individual business enterprise regardless of the reality.

Participants claim consistently that government policies have not and do not recognize their reality. In Part III of this thesis, they describe in detail a line of fault between government policies which treat their involvement in the fishery as an individual enterprise and their own experience of the fishery as a collective endeavor. Many participants saw the government's approach to modernization of the fisheries as a direct attempt to undermine or close down fishing communities. An older woman, referring to federal fisheries policies, says, "they say communities like this got no future. Everyday they say that on the news. Government people wants to close places like this down. Too much work for them, I suppose."

The first signs of a resettlement program appeared soon after Confederation when the Newfoundland Department of Welfare offered four hundred dollars to each family in a community for moving, but in order to receive the money all families in the community had to move (Lane, 1967). This program was the forerunner of a larger federal resettlement program, begun in 1965 (Matthews, 1983). Matthews argues that the federal and provincial governments each had their own focus for resettlement. The federal government, Matthews says,

> . . . saw it as simply an adjunct fishery policy. In those communities deemed unpromising for a continued fishery, it seemed reasonable to federal officials to move the fishermen and their families to other locations. Their attitude was similar to that of a large corporation which learns that one of its plants is no longer profitable. Under such circumstances, it is often economically wise to close the operation. However, in Newfoundland a different set of values was in motion. Whereas centralization had been considered simply an extension of the Department of Welfare (with all its concomitant implications about unearned handouts), the resettlement program was the pride of a new department engaged in social planning. In consequence, provincial officials may have administered it more zealously than originally envisaged federally (1983: 121).

Whatever the intent, Matthews points out that the resettlement program placed considerable stress on the communities which were deemed by federal and provincial bureaucrats to be expendable. He says that the program challenged the goals and values of a way of life and "brought into question the legitimacy of those values which had kept families in remote locations for generations" (1983: 124).

Research participants said that while earlier resettlement schemes had done little to threaten their community, they believed the federal and provincial government

response to the cod moratorium (TAGS) was more of a threat to their community than previous resettlement programs. They also made an historical link with the early days of settlement since many of them believed their ancestors were driven from their homes in Ireland by the greedy British landlords and in effect, were re-settled in Newfoundland. They argued that they are reliving the experiences of their ancestors and are being driven from their homes by greedy corporations, "and there's the government helping out" said a male participant.

What actually materialized in the modernization of the fisheries was not economic growth but rather high unemployment, "a large welfare constituency, and outmigration for work" (Neary, 1973: 177-78). David Alexander (1977) points out that the federal government also avoided dealing with other problems of the fishery related to modernization, including foreign overfishing. Scholars like Alexander (1983) agree with local people who say that federal fisheries policies often contributed to the problems of economic loss in rural fishing areas. Felt points out that the Atlantic coast fishery "... was never a priority for the Canadian state ... The development of a multi-billion dollar wheat economy occupied the concerns of Canadian political élites ... In the fisheries, national policies may most kindly be considered *ad hoc*" (1988: 59). Sinclair (1988a) describes the complexity of issues related to the survival of fishing communities including the dominance of a giant processing company, the expansion of distant water fleets and foreign overfishing. He also describes "apprehension" for "fishery dependent

communities" pointing out that "Canada granted France access to northern cod stocks at a time when Canadian companies faced reduced quotas" (1988a: 231).

The stories of local history reveal, however, that over the years losses associated with the fishery were much more than economic. Their stories of loss related to the fishery reflect another kind of powerlessness which was associated more with the kind of control exerted by the dangerous and unpredictable nature of the fishery on their everyday life.

6.2 Coping with Loss and Disaster in the Fishery

Participants talked about ways the community coped with loss and disaster related to the fishery. Their ancestors, they said, were much more able to foretell the future and help prevent or prepare for disaster and loss. They told stories of how people raised warnings through foretelling (e.g., dreams, visions) or through other-world experience (contact with the dead or little people) to help prepare people for loss of life at sea. "[S]ometimes somebody might have a dream or see something or hear something but we don't like to talk about that now outside of the family, because people might think you was strange." One participant noted that people live daily with the anticipation of disaster and that ". . . this may have come from the past when people had to try to anticipate the worst so they could deal with it when it came along." The theme of resources lost is a theme which affects meanings of community in everyday life. People and their gifts or skills are commonly identified in stories as resources to the community

as a whole. In this instance, some participants expressed their belief that the loss of gifts which were common to individuals of the past was a loss for the community. These gifts were seen to have provided some measure of safety; for example, stories of dreams or premonitions about fishing disasters were claimed to have saved fishers in the past.

Several participants said that prior community experience with disasters such as past fish failures helped people to deal with the present day fisheries crisis. They had the knowledge that past generations had survived similar experiences so this gave them hope for their own future. One woman made an interesting observation related to surviving loss:

> When your people have made their living from the ocean for hundreds of years, you know that every day is a gamble. Some days you do all right, other times you get nothing and the worse times is when you lose it all. And it could be your time anytime. The water is not choosy about who she takes. And you may not even get bodies . . . so you never know for sure what happened. You get used to fear; never leaves you when your man is on the water. Probably that's what kept people in church for years. Praying to keep them safe on the water. We don't even have that to get us through now.

In this instance, the participant says that the church had been one of the resources to help people in the community through the belief that prayer prevented disaster. However, as she notes and Chapter Four shows, the church no longer fulfills this role for many.

Participants indicate that previous resources which may have assisted the community in anticipating, preventing and coping with disasters have been seriously undermined. This contributes to a sense that they have less control, in some ways than did previous generations and that this has weakened the community in the current crisis.

This research adds to the emerging feminist literature in that it expands the discussion of the fishery to include the meanings of the ocean in everyday life. The fishery and the ocean are not one and the same in the minds of the participants, although the economic dependence of the community on the fishery is often mentioned, both directly and indirectly. Both men and women spoke of the community's connection with the ocean and how the community was more alive when people fished, because the connection with the ocean was stronger. It seems that just working on the ocean makes a difference in the lives of the fishermen. The women say that the fishermen are quieter (some used the word 'depressed') when they are unable to fish. Szala-Meneok's description of Paradise, Labrador describes a similar experience. Where men's work was tied to the weather conditions, "the level of tension in the settlement rose and fell with the daily fluctuations of the weather" (1992: 136). She describes the mood of the community when men were unable to work: "Men would be anxious to get back to the wood path. There was little joviality, houses were quiet, tempers a bit harder to control, and there was a sense of being caged in when one wanted to be out" (1992: 136-7). Research participants say that everyday life was different when the boats were fishing, because "people were more up in heart." This is partly related to economic reliance on the fishery. However, there is a sense that there are other elements to the relationship between everyday community life and the ocean. The theme of the ocean's connection with everyday community life surfaced again and again in songs, poetry and storytelling. The ocean itself is most often referred to as "she" and appears to be experienced as a

living entity. The relationship of many participants with the ocean appears to be more complex than that with the land. The men speak of being prevented from fishing as separation from the ocean, which they indicate causes them to feel less worthy.

The ocean is seen as a supplier of different kinds of resources and experiences: food (fish, sea birds, seals), economic and social viability, spiritual strength and a testing ground which gives confidence to those involved with it, both the community as a whole and individuals. Many of the men speak of being more self-assured, more confident and happier when they are working on the water. For them, this is different from other kinds of work; there is a feeling in being on the water that they find hard to explain, yet they see it as essential to their well-being, to be in one's body with certainty and pride.

Women, for the most part, describe the ocean in their own terms. While they speak of going out on the water, their sense of self-worth does not appear to be inextricably tied up with the ocean. Most of the women described themselves more as ocean *watchers* rather than ocean goers. While women did not describe themselves as spending long hours on the ocean, as did the men, the descriptions of women show a profound relationship with the ocean in their everyday life. One woman said, ". . . [y]ou always are watching when the boats are out and you can handy about tell what they're facing. You get a sixth sense about the water. It rules us, first thing in the morning and the last thing at night, always the water." This comment indicates that not only the fishery (that is, the work, which sustains them), but also the ocean (the workplace, the provider of bounty), link the historical past with present everyday community life. The

living ocean is part of what people mean when they say that fishing is the lifeblood of their community.

There is also an acknowledgement of the danger of the ocean. This is acknowledged in stories and songs of fishing life; humorous or sad, they are about risks at sea and are most often recounted when men gather together to socialize. The heroism of everyday life in the fishery is acknowledged by all, but particularly by women, who discuss their fears openly in front of each other; they are less likely to do so in front of their own men. Davis has described women as generating "a sense that we're all in it together through their work of worrying." She says a "general, passive worry as well as actual, direct participation, reinforces a woman's sense of belonging to the community fishery" (1988: 220). This theme is reflected in, *Women of the Island*, a song written in the past few years, which also relates one woman's experience of losing her husband to the sea. This song was a favourite of both women and men in Comorra and acknowledges the connection between women and the ocean, "She knows what it is to surrender life and loving to the ocean, for she is woman tried and true."

The women's concerns about dangers associated with the ocean seem to be centred in present everyday life, focusing particularly on the fact that those fishers who are still working are going out further than in the past, greatly increasing the risk. This concern is shared by the fishers but is more evident in their practical responses (for example, increasing the size of their boats) than it is in the interviews.

People in the community can often be seen walking by the ocean or watching it from the windows of their homes, observing icebergs or marine life, such as whales. One woman says, "It just feels good . . . like you are peaceful when you are near the water. I wouldn't want to live out of the sight of water." The comments from women reflected more a sense of needing to be near water as opposed to men who more often spoke of being on the water.

6.3 Conclusion

Both women and men appear to agree that every day life up to the early twentieth century was difficult, partly because of the ruling relations of the day. The credit system between merchant and fishing family, as well as the control of the priest, were generally seen as contributing primarily to the well-being of the ruling groups, and to oppression and hardship in everyday life. Part II has provided an analysis which demonstrates the resiliency of the ruling groups' ability to maintain dominance over time, while at the same time exploring the alienation of local people from ruling relations within the fishery. It shows that present meanings of community includes local resistance to the ruling groups such as collective challenges to the authority of British colonial rule, individual challenges to the authority of the priests and nuns and collective resistance to the merchants. These meanings indicate the emergence of consciousness necessary for lines of fault. Part III shows that participants' consciousness of lines of fault and that their resistance to ruling relations in everyday community life continues.

PART III

CHAPTER SEVEN

The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy as Ideology: A Textual Analysis of TAGS Documents

7.0 Introduction

In this chapter, I use Smith's methodology to investigate the federal government response to the cod moratorium, focusing specifically on The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS). Existing scholarly research on TAGS generally falls into two broad categories. One literature criticizes TAGS for not achieving its downsizing goals, however, this literature does not challenge the goals themselves. It treats as commonsensical the assumption that the crisis in the fisheries is primarily caused by too many fishers chasing too few fish. The other literature, which is feminist, sometimes challenges these assumptions, but most often focuses on latent gender biases in TAGS documents, programs, and media coverage.

My treatment of TAGS builds on these literatures. Chapters Four, Five, and Six established the background for my analysis of TAGS by demonstrating meanings of community patterns of ruling relations which have persisted since the early days of European settlement. Chapter Seven is a textual analysis of TAGS' documents which illustrate the programs inherent contradictions and the ideological frames that marginalize community. Ideological frames are abstract categories, used in this instance by government to try to influence everyday community life. It shows that research participants are aware of and resistant to those ideological frames.

7.1 Government Response to the Cod Moratorium: Leading up to TAGS

In July 1992 a two-year moratorium on fishing northern cod was announced by the Federal Minister of Fisheries and Oceans. The Canadian Atlantic Fisheries Scientific Advisory Committee (CAFSAC) (1992) had warned that the northern cod biomass had declined critically in the previous twelve to eighteen months, and was now near the lowest levels ever observed. While no single factor was blamed for the decline, their report identified environmental conditions, foreign overfishing and overestimation of the stock as possible causes (DFO, 1992a). In 1992, approximately twenty thousand fishermen and plant workers in Newfoundland were faced with the end of the 'traditional' fishery and, for many, the end of a way of life.

In 1992, an immediate emergency assistance program entitled fishers in the northern cod fishery to emergency assistance payments of 225 dollars per week for the first ten weeks. Licensed fisher persons benefitted immediately. Others had to apply to the Department of Employment and Immigration. Payments were based on individual workers' level of involvement in the northern cod fishery. Fish plant workers employed in plants where at least ten percent of the fish processed was northern cod, and who had exhausted their UI benefits, were also eligible. This included virtually all fishers and plant workers on the Southern and Eastern coasts of the Avalon Peninsula, the Northeast coast of Newfoundland, and the coast of Labrador. This emergency program was the bridge to a comprehensive programme for the moratorium (DFO, 1992a). Fishermen

receiving these payments could harvest other species or earn other income without losing benefits. Plant workers would receive these payments if, as a result of the moratorium, they were no longer employed in fish processing, and if they had exhausted their UI benefits (DFO, 1992a). In these ten weeks decisions were made concerning income measures for those affected during the moratorium.

The Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program (NCARP), a comprehensive recovery plan, was announced in February 1993 (DFO, 1993). Government projections held that the fishery could not support as many people in the future. The fishery would be downsized by offering options for departure and retraining in other areas. Qualifying persons could choose from five options. The first provided educational and financial assistance to retrain in another area of work. A second consisted of education and financial assistance for professionalization for those remaining in the fishery. A third option topped up UI payments to match subsidies offered in the recovery plan. Fisher persons, trawlermen and plant workers between 55 and 64, with a long-term attachment to the northern cod fishery, could choose early retirement with compensation up to thirty thousand dollars. A fourth option, a general fishery licence buyout for fisher persons leaving the fishery permanently, brought up to fifty thousand dollars in compensation. The fifth option, an Income Replacement benefit rate of 225 dollars per week, was available for the duration of the two-year moratorium to all those who chose none of the previous options. Everyone had to choose by March 1, 1993.

Many chose to remain within the fishery, by opting for the income replacement benefit, while they waited out the crisis.

Federal Fisheries Minister John Crosbie said it was ". . . essential to address hardship for individuals and communities, and take the decisions necessary to create a sustainable northern cod fishery built on a full-time professional work force, as well as harvesting and processing capacity that is in balance with the potential of the resource" (DFO, 1992b). The government's assistance program would cushion people against the harsh realities of restructuring the Newfoundland fishery. Professionalization would mean stricter requirements for participation in what had been the subsistence mainstay of the rural Newfoundland economy in many areas.

Released in June 1992, the province's Strategic Economic Plan for Newfoundland and Labrador supported the federal government's intent to reorganize the fishery.

> . . . [a] viable fishery is one which is stable and competitive in the absence of government subsidies, where a reduced fisheries workforce can earn an adequate income without excessive dependence on income support, and where the workforce can be professionalized to obtain higher productivity levels (House, 1992: 58).

The Fisheries Association of Newfoundland and Labrador (FANL), an association of fish processors, agreed that only a fraction of the current numbers of fishers and plant workers could be employed in a sustainable fishery. FANL argued the inshore fishery was inefficient, and long-term viability depended on a downsized inshore fishery, a position that ignored overfishing by both foreign and Canadian offshore fleets. The

inshore fishery had been identified by researchers (Schrank *et al.*, 1992) as the "employer of last resort," emphasizing employment creation for fishermen and plant workers, rather than economic viability of the industry. The researchers supported a reduced fisheries workforce (Schrank *et al.*, 1994). The model for the new fishery was developed by retired union leader Richard Cashin (1993), who suggested an Atlantic Canadian industry of no more than 20,000 fishers and plant workers. The perspective in the Cashin Report was presented as a "common sense" model for dealing with the fisheries, and became a conceptualization used for managing, reorganizing and handling the crisis. This "common sense" model was subsequently used to provide the basis for government response to the cod moratorium, including TAGS. Gerald Dawson, a fisher from the Southern Shore expressed the gravity of the situation in a video.

> . . . I don't know how you're going to get fishermen on their feet till the fish comes back. Only a direct payment to keep them going. Some of our men been fishing since they learned to crawl down off the wharf. I can't see how they're going to learn anything else so fast. Some of them know nothing else. Some of them probably wouldn't know their name if they saw it but they are professionals in their own right. They are scientists in their own right and the scientists are going to have to listen to them because they have the firsthand knowledge, some of them for 40 and 50 years (Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1990).

By late 1993, stocks had still not recovered. In November of that year, the Final Report of the Task Force on Incomes and Adjustments in the Atlantic Fishery headed by Cashin, recommended continuing Federal Financial assistance to the fishery beyond May 1994, with changes to the Unemployment Insurance program and a focus on downsizing and professionalizing.

> . . . [b]y itself, the fishery cannot provide a good living to all who partake. It could not do so when the resource was at its peak and emphatically cannot do so today" (1993: 10). [with the further problem of] . . . .overdependence on the fishery . . . there are more people and capacity than the fishery can sustain (Cashin, 1993: 14).

The northern cod moratorium was extended with the announcement of the 1994 Atlantic Groundfish Management Plan. These other moratoria would continue indefinitely, with the only cod fishery in Atlantic Canada in 1994 taking place in the Western Scotian Shelf and Georges Bank areas. All major cod fisheries in the Canadian zone were closed. Quotas for most other groundfish species were reduced to 250,000 tonnes, a 75 percent decline from 1988 (DFO, 1993).

On April 19, 1994 Federal Fisheries and Human Resources Ministries announced a new fishery aid program. The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) replaced NCARP (HRDC, 1994d). The five-year, 1.9-billion dollar package supported displaced fisher persons and plant workers in their move into alternative employment. Industry renewal boards in the affected provinces became responsible for downsizing the Atlantic groundfish industry (HRDC, 1994d).

7.2 Unravelling TAGS Policies

This section is a textual analysis of TAGS policy documents (HRDC, 1994a). I unravel the meanings given to terms within the policy and identify their ideological frames. The ideological frames, in this instance, are the hidden ideas of Human Resources Canada and the federal government. These hidden ideas contribute to the

production of knowledge about the fishing industry through fisheries policy. I also look at how ideological frames for the fishery are constructed and implemented through TAGS policy and related documents. Documents analyzed include *Helping People Help Themselves*, the program booklet for TAGS recipients (HRDC, 1994b); a federal government letter (HRDC, 1994c) announcing the strategy to potential TAGS recipients, several government press releases on TAGS (HRDC, 1994d, 1995, 1995a; *Southern Gazette*, 1994), and the TAGS policy itself (HRDC, 1994a). Some of these documents were released at the beginning of the TAGS programs, while others were distributed after TAGS had been in place for at least a year.

The analysis of these documents reveals them to be central to the exercise of power by the federal government in relation to the fisheries. As the analysis will show, one important ideological frame uncovered in the analysis reveals the government's idea that the fishery is an individual rather than family or community enterprise. This ideological frame affected the structure, design and delivery of options available under TAGS and, as has been shown by other researchers, particularly affected women.

The following qualitative content analysis examines ideological frames in TAGS documents, investigating how community is portrayed or ignored in these documents and the consequences of the related policies for people's everyday community life. The three dominant frames that emerged from the textual analysis are:

(1) The fisheries crisis was defined as a labour market crisis affecting individuals and caused primarily by an overcapacity in the fishery;

(2) The people most seriously affected by the crisis were male fishers;

(3) Reduction of the overcapacity in processing and harvesting and promotion of training outside of the fishery was an important part of the solution to the fisheries crisis which contributed to resettlement.

7.2.1 The Cod Crisis as a Labour Market Crisis

Textual analysis shows that government defined the fisheries crisis as a labour market rather than a community crisis. This perception is evident in an April 26, 1994 Department of Fisheries and Oceans Press Release published in *The Southern Gazette*: "With this program the federal government is fulfilling its commitment to help groundfish workers in Atlantic Canada to plan their futures with dignity and hope," Mr. Tobin said. Minister Tobin's language of 'hope' and 'dignity' presents TAGS as empathic and empowering (*Southern Gazette*, 1994: 26 04). He indicates that the federal government is committed to "helping groundfish workers . . . plan their futures." Although workers are to be helped to plan individually (as long as they choose from the given options), they are not helped to plan collectively or as communities. For example, "a 50 percent capacity reduction and industry renewal" would be "finalized following full consultation with provinces, the fishing industry and unions in the coming weeks" (*Southern Gazette*, 1994: 04). Labour adjustment measures were individualized, helping individuals find careers outside the fishery as the "[k]ey to the long-term success" of the program. The government wanted to "work closely with individuals to provide specific

career planning and employment." To reinforce this as a "common sense" solution within the government implicit ideological frame, the federal human resources minister claimed "this initiative fits in with what I have been hearing Canadians say about social security reform – that we need comprehensive, innovative approaches to employability and social security." Further, the "on-going counseling process" that would help individuals develop plans "to improve" their "employability and achieve labour market self-sufficiency through meaningful employment," diminished fisheries work as less than meaningful (*Southern Gazette*, 1994: 07).

The measures were "designed to help people help themselves and to take advantage of new opportunities." The Minister acknowledged that "[m]any peoples' lives have been greatly affected by the collapse of the groundfish industry." The program would help them financially while they built for their future. For some, this would be in the fishery. For many, however, "the best choice will be to search for new opportunities in other industries." The federal and provincial governments were resolved that "the fishing industry and fishermen's associations would finally address the issue of harvesting and processing overcapacity in the Atlantic groundfish fishery" (*Southern Gazette*, 1994: 07). This spells out the government's commitment to reducing the overcapacity in harvesting and processing and to find employment outside the fishery for fifty percent of the people attached to the fishery.

Neis and Williams argue that the federal response to the crisis defined the crisis as one of overcapacity (too many people for too few fish) rather than one of (for example)

increasingly aggressive technological harvesting or community sustainability. Overcapacity in the fishery is defined.

> . . . almost exclusively in terms of the number of individuals and plants in the industry. This obscures the dramatic differences in catching and processing capacity in different sectors, and differences in the amount of fish required to sustain enterprises in the labour-intensive inshore fishery as opposed to the capital-and energy-intensive mid-shore and (corporate owned) offshore sectors (Neis and Williams, 1997: 49).

This removes discussion on such fundamental questions as "How much wealth would a well-managed fishery in this region be capable of producing? How can the resources and the wealth they produce be sustained over generations? Where should that wealth end up? What would be the best way to harvest, process and market these resources?" (*Ibid.*, 1997: 49). Government perceived the assumptions of labour adjustment and overcapacity as commonsense and neutral, but these are in reality ideological frames for policy. As we will see, in Chapter Eight research participants reject these frames.

Tobin (*Southern Gazette*, 1994) said that the renewal of the fishing industry would have to reflect "local concerns and conditions," and would emerge in "open dialogue and partnerships among governments, industry and fishermen's organizations." This "open" dialogue is restricted to specific vested interests, excluding other community members not actively fishing, such as some women, young people, elders and those in other businesses or occupations. It makes it very clear that the only participants from the local area to be included in the "process of rebuilding an economically viable and environmentally sustainable fishery of the future," are fisher*men's* organizations and plant owners. Tobin defined the parameters of the decision making process about the

future of fishery. He normalized the process employed by the state that placed the future of the fishery in the hands of fishermen's organizations, industry and government, making it seem common sense. Thus another ideological frame is revealed which isolated fishermen as individuals, separate from their local communities and indeed from others in the fishing industry itself (for instance, plant workers and truckers).

Excerpts from a Human Resource Development (1994d) press release announcing TAGS also demonstrate an emphasis on individual workers:

> The $1.9 billion Strategy begins May 16, 1994 and runs for 5 years. Workers who are receiving assistance under NCARP or AGAP will continue to receive income until at least December 31, 1994 providing they file an application by June 30, 1994. Eligibility for income support under TAGS will be assessed by Human Resources Development and is tied to workers participating in job counselling, training, skills development or other programs (Lm-AH-033) (HRDC, 1994d).

The text shows that the responsibility of government under TAGS was for *income support*, but only for those *individuals* who participated in a labour market adjustment process of "job counselling, training, skills development or other programs." TAGS as a labour market adjustment program was presented as a neutral solution for individuals experiencing economic distress from the fisheries crisis. Impacts of this crisis on families and communities were ignored. This had implications for the meanings of community in every day life as revealed in this thesis. Individualization as a "common sense" assumption was a fundamental problem with TAGS and its predecessors. Government treated

> . . . 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 jobs. The communities they had helped to build, as well as the homes and enterprises they had established were also at risk (Neis, 1998: 7).

Decision making about the future of the fishery has consequences for the future of fishing communities not directly acknowledged in these documents. As late as June 1996, a HRDC news release announced that TAGS was making a "scientific and scholarly response" to communities experiencing crisis, as though the very experience of these people had not made them scholars on their own situation. A "special team" had been established to assist in providing services to individuals in such areas as career planning and counseling, mobility assistance and support for re-employment, literacy and basic skills training, support for entrepreneurship, restoration of the environment and community activities (HRDC, 1996). The "special team" would include "specialists in many areas such as programs, training and communications." With this support, HRDC, 1996 expressed confidence "that we will provide quality service at the local level."

Although this press release is phrased in terms of concern for the challenge facing communities, the focus is still individualized in terms of the anxiety and devastating sense of loss being experienced by individual, displaced fish workers: "We are sensitive to the adjustment needs of fishers and plant workers and will be working closely with them to help them find worthwhile solutions and opportunities for the future." The press release suggested that fish workers would be engaged with scholars in finding solutions to the

crisis. However, the solutions had already been delineated by the scholars, as this press release indicates: "career planning and counseling, mobility assistance and support for re-employment, literacy and basic skills training, support for entrepreneurship, restoration of the environment and community activities" (HRDC, 1996).

Some documents use more inclusive language, but also demonstrate the contradictions inherent within TAGS. A booklet for workers, explaining "What is TAGS?" included "fishers, plant workers and trawler persons affected by the East coast groundfish crisis" (HRDC, 1994b: 1). Plant workers would be included who "participate actively in the labour market adjustment programs offered under TAGS" (1994b: 1). While acknowledging the existence of others besides fisher*men* in the industry, the individualistic and restricted ideological frame was maintained by emphasizing short term solutions to individuals and ignoring the household and family basis of the industry. Neis and Williams sum this up:

> The fisheries crisis has made it easier for the federal government to pursue a decade-old agenda. By limiting the funding for adjustment programs on the basis of fiscal restraint, by imposing individualistic eligibility criteria that ignore the household and community basis of the industry, and by cutting social programs, the federal government has treated the crisis with short term programs, when in reality, fish stocks in some areas are recovering slowly and some may never recover threatening the displacement of future generations (1997: 55).

While Tobin acknowledged the immensity of the crisis for individuals, families and fishing communities, his position, like that of TAGS itself, was contradictory. On the one hand, he said that mobility is just an option and the renewal of the industry must reflect "local concerns and conditions" (*Southern Gazette*, 1994: 7). On the other hand, he

indicated that the participants in this process were restricted to partnerships between government, fishers and industry. Plant workers and community members not directly attached to the fishery were not involved in discussions.

As Woodrow points out and as shown in Part II, "Fishing for most fishers is a way of life saturating almost every aspect of their daily lives from 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).

7.2.2 Male-Centred Assumptions in TAGS Programs

While the language of TAGS documents is generally gender neutral, the everyday experience of research participants indicates that the TAGS program reinforced a gender hierarchy. A textual analysis of the TAGS documents shows a consistent pattern of acknowledging male fishers as an integral part of the social, political and economic reality of the fishing industry and fishing communities. TAGS focused primarily on the situation of male fishers while presenting itself as if it were applied equally to both sexes and all workers as indicated below:

> In all provinces, the majority of TAGS clients are men. This is because fishers are predominantly men, while more than half of plant workers are also men. It is worth noting that about 94 percent of the women eligible to August 1998 are plant workers while the other six percent are fishers. The proportion of men is slightly higher among the population eligible to August 1998 compared to all who qualified for the program-indicating

> somewhat higher eligibility duration. The longer eligibility duration suggests longer attachment to the sector, while higher benefit rates suggest higher income levels in the pre-TAGS period. While fishers tend to qualify for higher benefit rates than plant workers, male plant workers also qualify for higher rates than their female counterparts (HRDC, 1998: 60-61).

A deconstruction of this analysis is offered below:

> [w]omen and men face different adjustment opportunities and constraints because of their different roles and often unequal positions in the family, the fishery and the community. The most frequently mentioned issue of perceived gender bias in the TAGS/HRDC program structure is that fish harvesters (predominately male) with long service in the fishery are accorded a place in the fishery of the future, via the SEC status and fish processing workers, half of whom are female, receive no such recognition for seniority or human capital investments in their jobs (Andy Rowe Consulting Economist, 1998: 24) .

Moreover, an independent TAGS household study conducted showed a perceived resistance within the TAGS/HRDC program to granting eligibility to female fishers. This study demonstrated that many women in fishing communities were disempowered by TAGS and recommended adjustments which required greater recognition of women's contributions to the fishery and to their households and communities (Andy Rowe Consulting Economist, 1998).

The assumption that male fishers had greater claim to financial resources and to the fishery and consequently the industry underpins TAGS. Fishers and their families have worked in meaningful partnerships to support their communities. These particular meaningful partnerships were not acknowledged in TAGS reference to partnerships. The ideological frame of community within TAGs includes the common sense partnership of industry, fishermen and government.

TAGS administrators generally took a "common sense" approach to gender. That is, they restricted the fishing industry to its ocean-related aspects, and women were seen as historically outside this parameter. I found this an uncomfortable topic for most of the thirty research participants in my study. Those female participants who talked about their experiences spoke of feeling dismissed by government and also feeling a subsequent social isolation in their community. Those who confronted HRDC with arguments that their seniority in fish plants should entitle them to long-term support felt that they and their work were not a valued part of the industry.

The everyday experience of participants, outlined in the next chapter, shows that bureaucratic state action and textual organization of TAGS participated in producing ruling relations which rendered women's work and community invisible, and failed to recognize women's knowledge of, and contribution to, the fishery. In addition, women were generally left out of decision-making processes, and were penalized financially by TAGS because the industry has traditionally paid women less than men for the same work. TAGS did not recognize the value of the unpaid shore work of women like Bridget who worked with her husband in the crab fishery. Feminists such as Porter have highlighted the value of unpaid work in fishing communities. Porter uses Pahl's (1984) concept of 'household strategies' as a link for examining gender roles in paid and unpaid work. She argues that this concept is pivotal, because it shows that:

> . . . [i]t is not individual economic strategies that matter but those of households . . . [Pahl] argues that households put together coherent and effective strategies for 'getting by,' that involve the use of a variety of economic resources, including but not limited to, the paid employment of

> one or more household members and the most effective use of the skills and energy of all household members. What this enables is a way of seeing both paid and unpaid work of men and women as part of the same process of economic survival (1987: 267).

While the paid and unpaid work of men and women is separated in TAGS, Porter demonstrated prior to the development of TAGS that "households are crucial concepts in understanding how people structure their economic lives." She continues:

> In the time when all members contributed economically to the household, but none of them were paid, it was easier to see women's contribution for what it was, equally important to the men's. Now it is different. On the one hand unpaid economic contributions are less recognized, and on the other hand, when women do take paid work, it looks less valuable than men's because it is paid so much less (1987: 278).

Robbins, writing specifically about the government response to the fishing crisis, points out that, "NCARP and TAGS were based on male-centred assumptions about the fishing industry. Both programs failed to recognize the contributions women had made as shore based workers, processors and harvesters in the fishery" (1997: 15). Williams (1996) provides accounts of women who claimed that they had the same qualifications as men who maintained TAGS status while the women had been dropped from TAGS. Her research supports the comment that TAGS' image of a fishing community is "men on boats," which is also demonstrated in the last chapter. Robbins (1997) in her analysis of print media coverage of the fisheries crisis has shown that models for the fishery are male centred and that the mainstream print media of Newfoundland do not present women as authorized knowers in the fishery. Robbins says that,

> women were under represented in all areas of coverage related to the fisheries crisis in *The Evening Telegram*. Women appeared as writers of

> news stories in only 9.7 percent of the articles when sex of writer could be identified. Women consisted of only 12.6 percent of all the authorized knowers in articles on the fishery crisis despite making up one third of industry workers and 50 percent of fishing communities" (1997: 72).

Robbins demonstrated that, "NCARP and TAGS were based on male-centered assumptions about the fishing industry. Both programs had failed to recognize the contributions women had made as shore-based workers, processors and harvesters in the fishery" (1997: 15). Williams (1996) has shown that women were dropped from TAGS while men continued to receive benefits and that women received lower benefits than men. Robbins' textual analysis of the *Evening Telegram's* (the primary paper in Newfoundland), coverage of the moratorium showed that women's issues and women in the fishery were largely absent from print coverage of the fisheries crisis. She employs Smith's sociology to show that "women's voices and concerns are silenced or framed from a male point of view in the main stream media" (1997: 133). Robbins also shows a pattern of language usage in the media ("his" and "fisherman") which "helps to hide women's involvement in the fishery, as well as the differences between men and women's experiences and problems" (1997: 18). Women are often forgotten in media photos of the fishery as well. Robbins cites an example of an article about a fishing family which displayed a photo of the father and three sons. The mother and two daughters are barely mentioned in the article and are not included in the family photo. Robbins argues that this lack of attention to women is typical and enforces a societal bias that says that women are not active in processing or harvesting or as advocates for their communities.

Workshops with women in fishing communities organized through the Newfoundland Women's Fishnet revealed that these women were intimately involved with the fisheries and the fisheries crisis. Their concerns were identified by Robbins as including "financial insecurity; a lack of acknowledgment for their work in the fishing industry; and the uncertainty about their role in the future fishery" (1997: 132). Robbins' research clearly reveals a line of fault for women during the fisheries crisis. While women spoke with authority about their involvement with and concerns about the fishery in their life, the media and TAGS marginalized them and their experiences. Workshops recorded women's experiences and voices in the fishery which allowed women to break the silence and challenge mainstream media. These women's stories continue to challenge as others read Robbins' work creating another arena for their voices through academic research.

A report released by the FFAW (1994) also reported on issues for women in the fishery including worry about the future, a need to be part of the decision-making process and the importance of paid work to women in the fishery. Women fishers were less likely to be eligible for these programs and were less likely than men to appeal their cases (Muzychka, 1994; Williams, 1996). Many may have felt under some pressure not to appeal their cases given the societal bias against women working in fishing boats. Silk (1995) writes movingly about the pressures she faced as a fisher in a small community where many people felt that women did not belong in boats. Similar pressures on women were also evident in my research.

The Post-TAGS Review Report (HRDC, 1998) which assessed the impact of TAGS on provinces, communities, families and individuals included a limited gender analysis when identifying the key themes emerging from the TAGS experience. The key themes of this report were published nation-wide and show an ongoing emphasis on an individual-centered approach to the fishery:

1. TAGS clients would prefer to work but many face significant barriers to employment including location of employment, age and education;

2. downsizing is necessary in the fishery because of over-capacity in harvesting and processing sectors, which has led to calls for more license buy-outs and early retirement packages;

3. nine thousand individuals in Newfoundland are heavily reliant on TAGS income for survival;

4. 137 communities relied on TAGS for 10 per cent or more of their income and, of these, 71 per cent relied on TAGS for over 20 per cent of community income.

5. Newfoundland experienced a population decline in the 1991-96 census period, of these 80 per cent was in the 15-24 year old category and many people were concerned about the fate of their communities.

The social nature of the fishery, while alluded to in this report, was not reflected in the TAGS program itself. Nor was that surprising. Researchers have long identified government's failure to recognize the strong social nature of the fishery and to take responsibility for its role within that fishery. Martin (1979) showed that government has

had a strong impact on community through fishing regulations. He argued that fishers in the Southern Shore community of Fermeuse seek external involvement from government to deal with problems which arise in the competitive nature of fishing and to maintain egalitarian relations in the community. McCay (1979) pointed out that government programs for longliners resulted in community conflict in Fogo Island over rights to access off the northeast coast of Newfoundland. Sinclair said that government fisheries policies, "have been ambiguous in their intent and contradictory in their impact" (1985a: 106). More recently, Woodrow showed that "failure to recognize the social basis of the industry in Newfoundland and accommodate policy to the reality of existence of Newfoundland fishers and their communities led on the fishers' part to an increased determination to remain in their communities and continue fishing" (1996: 3). She argues that, "the roots of fisheries management for inshore/nearshore fisheries in coastal communities are both historic and familial" (1996: 16). Neis, Jones and Ommer say further that "food security is a basic human right" which is being threatened in Canadian coastal fishing communities by current fishing regulations (2000: 154). They argue that the "widespread shift" of fisheries policy ". . . to individual boat quotas and in the longer term to individual boat quotas in many fisheries, coupled with dwindling resources and technological advances in fish harvesting, are constraining local access, moving it out of most rural households and, in some cases, entire communities" (2000: 174).

Woodrow (1996), Williams (1996), Neis and Williams (1997), Robbins (1997), Harrigan (1999) and Neis, Jones and Ommer (2000) and others have offered insights into

the nature of the connections between the fishery and community. Participants' experiences described in the next chapter support the analysis of these researchers and demonstrate further the consequence of the TAGS focus on individual males. This focus overlooked women, households and community involvement in the fishery and the importance of their inclusion in any industry planning process.

7.2.3 Labour Adjustment Programs: Resettlement by Another Name

The planning process for TAGS recipients was supposed, for the most part, to plan for life out of the fishery which often meant planning for life away from their communities. The labour adjustment program of TAGS provided income support to those "who participate actively in the labour market adjustment programs offered under TAGS." The idea of "planning futures with dignity and hope" was replaced by only one path for fifty percent of workers – through labour market adjustment programs, which would move TAGS recipients out of the fishery. As the participant interviews indicate in the next chapter, people were pressured to train for work which was unavailable in their communities and, indeed, in the province. The notion that the solutions to the crisis meant separating individual fish workers from their families and communities was also evident in a letter about TAGS sent by HRDC, to individuals who received financial assistance under NCARP dated June, 1994.

> As you probably know, The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS) has been developed to address the long-term needs of fishers and fish plant workers affected by the groundfish crisis in Atlantic Canada. Under The Strategy, Human Resources Development Canada will provide transitional and long-

> term support along with labour adjustment programs. Like most individuals who received financial assistance under NCARP, AGAP or FCTA, you are probably eligible for transitional income under the new Strategy (HRDC, 1994c).

The terms "needs," "transitional," "long-term," "support" and "labour adjustment programs" are not defined. While the political rhetoric spoke to an organized response to the crisis on emotional, physical and mental levels, as well as within the context of family and community, these were not apparent in this outreach letter to the potential recipients of TAGS. In fact the letter was quite abrupt, with formal language which did not indicate a supportive or welcoming environment waiting to embrace recipients at TAGS, perhaps because HRDC was neither anxious to invite discussion with recipients nor willing to address their reactions to the TAGS process. There is also a sinister element here. The beginning of the letter indicates that TAGS would supply "transitional and long term income support along with labour adjustment programs." It then goes on to say "you are probably eligible for transitional income under the new Strategy." The questions which come immediately to mind are obvious. What are the requirements for either long-term or transitional support? What is the difference between them? Transitional to what? How do these support mechanisms relate to the labour adjustment programs? What are the labour adjustment programs? These questions were not answered in the letter. Whatever the intention, this letter could not have extended the hope, dignity and comfort TAGS proponents promised to people who were anxious and experiencing loss. Indeed, the lack of information and tone of the letter, as quotes from participants indicate in Chapter Eight, added to their feelings of confusion, frustration and disempowerment. The letter

contained no invitation to meet with HRDC staff to discuss plans for the future or crisis response. In fact, the only invitation for face-to-face contact was in the abrupt conclusion to the letter: "Should you have any questions regarding The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy, contact your local Canada Employment Centre (or Outreach Office where applicable)" (HRDC, 1994c). Not an auspicious beginning for a program touted as offering hope and dignity for a people in crisis.

The language of the booklet introducing TAGS and titled *What is TAGS?* raises similar issues. Language in this document including "labour market adjustment," "career planning," "active adjustment," community involvement," and "sustainable economic development" enables bureaucrats to write with apparent innocuousness (HRDC, 1994b). Such language hides the reality that TAGS encourages recipients it "supports" to "actively adjust" by moving out of the fishery through retirement or training for careers outside the fishery. The success of TAGS was measured by HRDC in terms of the numbers of people moved out of the fishing industry, as indicated by then Director Calvin Smith in the following News Release dated April 25, 1995, entitled "Human Resources Development Canada (HRDC) in which he provides a one-year status report on TAGS." This News Release announces that over 6,600 displaced fishers and plant workers have completed or are enrolled in one or more of the programs and services offered through TAGS:

> "People are slowly recognizing that the fishery of the future will not support the numbers of the past and are moving ahead with their lives," Smith said. "There are many success stories of former fishery workers who are successfully pursuing new and challenging careers, have upgraded their

> skill levels, created new businesses, learned to read and in general improved their chances for future employment outside the fishing industry," he added. Smith stated his department will accelerate the counseling and training/adjustment elements of TAGS in the coming year. "We fully expect people to be active this year, and by this I mean involved in some activity that will enhance their employability outside the fishery" . . . "We're here to help people weather this crisis and I feel our efforts are making a positive impact in the many communities we serve" (HRDC, April, 1996).

The language of "help people to weather the crisis" and "our efforts are making a positive impact in the many communities we serve" allows Smith to account for the actions as designated by society and as benign, while affirming the propriety and value of the work of his department. The discourse of helping works to mask the reality that HRDC bureaucrats are ruling others' lives. This was also evident in a news release "The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy Success Stories," (HRDC, 1995a) dated August 10, 1995 quoting Lloyd Axworthy, Federal Minister responsible for HRDC: "TAGS is critical to helping Atlantic Canadians build new lives outside the fishery." Again, Atlantic Canadians are being "helped" to move outside the fishery. This language is part of the ideological frame of resettlement because it suggests that bureaucratic state action is primarily people-oriented and is successful because it is responding to, rather than ruling, people's lives.

The production of TAGS as a success was accomplished primarily through the textually mediated practice of providing stories of success for media. The documentary "The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy Success Stories" states, "The mission of TAGS is to help its clients find employment options outside of the groundfishery" (HRDC, August,

1995a). Here is an example of how TAGS produced its success through the media: "Former fish plant worker, Tami Boudreau of Witless Bay, Newfoundland graduated from the correctional officer program at Holland College in Prince Edward Island and is now employed full time at the Kingston Federal Penitentiary" (HRDC, August, 1995a). In such media texts, TAGS administrators constructed a reality which was ordered and distant from the communities they served. They constructed their accounts about "clients'" lives and thereby appropriated for themselves the right to tell a story and to decide what got counted as relevant.

The claimed success of TAGS has been challenged by bureaucrats, researchers and TAGS recipients. The 1999 Auditor General's Report indicates displeasure that the TAGS funding was not always used for its intended purposes and there was little accountability for the money expended. The Report also indicates that a major weakness of TAGS was the lack of a strategic plan which co-ordinated the involvement of federal departments. The Report suggests that the failure of TAGS resulted from its 'one-size-fits-all' approach which failed to take into account such factors as the relative strength of local and regional economies.

TAGS was a source of division within communities (Woodrow (1996), Robbins (1997), Harrigan (1999), Health Canada (1999)). TAGS was widely viewed as treating people unfairly and being inconsistent in its implementation. Some point out that TAGS was a response to a crisis situation, which might explain some of the initial problems. However, there is little explanation for the ongoing problems throughout the life of TAGS.

Social scientists have consistently pointed out the failure of government to integrate fisheries and communities into government policy. Sinclair (1990) has argued that fisheries policy is social policy and that government has consistently failed to integrate an understanding of communities into development policies, resulting in rural welfare ghettos. Canning pointed out that government planning "can ignore questions of political power, economic philosophy or social values with impunity" (Canning, 1979: 6).

As the TAGS programs show, government's approach to policy development affecting fishing communities continues to overlook and undermine informal networks and relationships which have been identified by scholars such as Theodore Abt. Abt (1989) supports the importance of creating policy which builds an environment where the capacity for relationships is strengthened. He argues that these supportive relationships are not easily broken down during times of crisis.

The task of strengthening everyday community life may be realized through understanding the relations of ruling that underlie documents such as TAGS, mapping lived experience, and generating an engagement between research, policy and lived experience. The framing of political statements surrounding TAGS consistently separated everyday community life in villages affected by the cod moratorium from production, with only consumptive and limited functions to implicate it in developing the social order.

7.3 Post-TAGS

TAGS changed significantly after it was announced. This is not surprising considering its complexity and the speed at which it was developed. One such change was the introduction of the TAGS clawback which limited incomes of recipients from sources other than TAGS to $26,000. A Community Economic Development component was introduced. However as the Post-TAGs Review Team noted "many of the communities most affected by the groundfish moratorium and therefore most dependent on TAGS, are not well placed to compete for business . . . In fact, many communities have been effectively shut down already and others are likely to follow" (HRDC, 1998: 10). In July 1996 the DFO announced that the TAGS program would terminate as much as 12 months earlier than initially promised in the original TAGS announcements. On December 17, 1997, the Government announced that TAGS would continue until funds for the program were exhausted. HRDC continued to provide support through EI employment benefits and to people who were currently in TAGS training or employment. Fairness in eligibility for various types of support, as well as for early retirement or license buyout continue to be key issues. Plant workers (mostly women) continue to argue for an early retirement package based on age plus years of experience (HRDC, 1998: 3).

In spite of these criticisms, the TAGS Review indicates that TAGS has met with some success in meeting its goals: "To those who fear that the federal government will be consigned to high levels of transfer payments for many years to come, the message is that considerable adjustment, in the form of out-migration, has already taken place. A related,

but sad, observation is that most who depart are facing the difficult decision of leaving behind not just historical roots and family support, but once valuable assets. As there is virtually no resale market, many are forced to simply walk away from their homes" (HRDC, 1998: 4).

At the end of the TAGS program, a flurry of programs were introduced by the federal government. Some of these programs included the Canadian Fisheries Adjustment and Restructuring Program; Groundfish Retirement Program; Atlantic Groundfish Retirement Program; Fisheries Early Retirement Program.

7.4 Conclusion

I have demonstrated that the ideological focus of TAGS was primarily on moving individuals out of the fishing industry, while at the same time claiming to support the well-being and recovery of fishing communities. I have shown that this is a central contradiction.

By analyzing TAGS policy and situating it in the social, political and historical context leading to the cod moratorium, I have demonstrated that this policy has served to support the dominant ideological frames. First, within TAGS, relocation and mobility were the primary approach to the fisheries crisis. TAGS policy presented this approach as common sense. Secondly, TAGS actually supported resettlement by promoting conflict, dissension and discrimination within fishing communities with its focus on individuals and by overlooking community needs, knowledge, experience and history. Third, TAGS

was an essential constituent in the relations of ruling, in that it served to organize the relations between the fishing industry, fishermen, and the bureaucratic and administrative apparatus of the state, essentially sustaining the gender, class and generational biases that were the products of a history of ruling relations. Community is constructed within this ideological frame as no more than the sum of its parts, including government, fishermen and industry. From within this frame, government's responsibility is limited to supporting the fit between people and the requirements of industry. Finally, TAGS constructed the frame for its own success through the dissemination of stories of individuals who had "successfully" moved out of the fishery which most often meant moving away from their fishing communities. This ideological frame of success masks the fact that industry renewal has meant closure of plants in many single industry communities, threatening the existence of these communities in fundamental ways.

In the next chapter, I will explore the implications of these ideological frames for community in everyday life.

CHAPTER EIGHT

Everyday Life Under TAGS: Charting Lines of Fault

8.0 Introduction

In this chapter. I uncover the relationship between TAGS and the meanings of community life in Comorra, using profiles and interviews with thirty research participants. The chapter is introduced with profiles which allow three individuals to speak with their own voices about their everyday life under TAGS. I use the term "life profiles" because it allows for brevity and selectivity. These segments from follow up interviews were gathered after preliminary analysis of the original interviews, to encapsulate from the research participants' own perspective the themes revealed in the first round of interviews. These profiles present people as social actors constructing their community and present them in ways that empower them. Although longer than the quotation segments normally included in research of this type, I include these profiles without editing or commentary so that the speakers' voices can be heard by others in a form unmediated by the researcher. These profiles remind us that people's interpretive and subjective experiences of community did not easily accommodate the ideological frames of TAGS that sought to reorganize the fishing industry, and consequently, fishing communities, or the ideological frames of the researcher herself. They poignantly illustrate the multifaceted and complex contradictions experienced by participants during the early years of TAGS.

Following these three profiles, the data related to TAGS, from interviews with thirty individuals are analyzed. I apply Smith's (1990) line of fault argument by contrasting the meanings of community in everyday life experience for women and men with the ideologies identified in the textual analysis of TAGS policy in Chapter 7. This chapter shows that ordinary people do indeed have insight into the nature of ruling relations and were aware of the ideologies embedded in TAGS policies. While research participants do not employ Smith's language, the interviews show that participants examine and discuss their experiences of ruling relations.

8.1 A Teenager's Experience of Ruptures in Everyday Life

The subject of the first profile is an 18-year old woman (Colleen) who never received TAGS, although her father (a fisher) and her mother (a plant worker) did. While much research into TAGS focuses on recipients, through Colleen's eyes we glimpse the impact of TAGS on a younger family member and her impressions of community change. Colleen's story also captures elements of the contribution of TAGS to the marginalization and economic vulnerability of women within the fishery, TAGS lack of respect for and understanding of social relations and support, and TAGS lack of respect for local knowledge and experience. For example, Colleen describes the disintegration of family due to the financial stress and the conflict within the family related to differential treatment of the two adults under TAGS. She shows how training opportunities were viewed differently by adults around her. Colleen also describes the fear, sense of loss and

the anguish in the community as a whole that TAGS did not compensate for, almost as if some well loved person were dying. She reminds us that the crisis in the fishery affected young people whose issues were not addressed in TAGS or TAGS-related documents due to their neglect of community.

> I was born here . . . Both my parents are from here. I have lived all my life so far in the fishing community of Comorra. I think it's okay, I guess, but I think sometimes I would like to live somewhere else. I haven't always wanted to move. Only here lately, the last few years. Things have been tough. When I was young, although life was hard for our family and for every other fishing family, we had what we needed; nothing more, but it was enough.
>
> . . . My mom worked in the plant. Dad fished. He was gone when I woke up in the morning and came home when I was in bed. But he always came in and said goodnight. I knew he was okay. They both worked hard to make a living. We didn't have everything but there was a good feeling. Not like we didn't have arguments and stuff, but now it's like a cloud over the place all the time. Our trouble started in 1992. . . there was a lot of talk about the state of the northern cod fishery. . . .about what John Crosbie. . . the Federal minister of Fisheries and Oceans. . . what he was going to do about it. There were meetings all the time and all the time listening to the radio, so you couldn't talk. Everybody was on edge. . . like something was going to happen. . . everybody was waiting. Dad was saying something drastic had to be done. He and Mom were talking all night long. . . .they were both tense all the time. Then it was like a bomb went off in July, 1992. . . .a two year moratorium. . . .was announced by John Crosbie. . . .supposed to last until the spring of 1994.
>
> . . . Suddenly everybody here was unemployed. My Dad and Mom. Mom was stressed out. . . she didn't stop cleaning the house and keeping on at us all the time. Dad was quiet most of the time. . . I think that was worse. We were afraid to say anything to upset everybody. . . and two years seemed like forever. We were only kids then. Everybody was going through the same thing. There was nowhere to turn for help. Everybody was trying to act normal. . . going to school. . . but even at school everybody was more quiet, or got upset over nothing. I think the same thing was going through everybody's mind. . . what was going to happen?

I never saw mom and dad like that. . . so anxious all the time. I think it was worse because they kept telling us everything was going to work out. But everybody who came into the house talked about the same thing . . . ..over and over. . . .Like they do when somebody dies.

Finally a ten-week program was announced of 225 dollars per week. . . then the talk was how were we going to live on 225 dollars a week?. . . But we did. . . we had to. Our family was better off than some because my mother was a plant worker but it wasn't like the money was rolling in. Money never rolls in here.

In a place like this, you know, everybody knows everybody; so you know that some people was hardly getting by, and others told lies, and they talked about them getting caught. Still it was all anybody talked about. There was no trips to St. John's like we used to do before school opened for clothes and stuff. And some kids had stuff, and some didn't. It was tough either if you had stuff or you didn't, because people gave each other a hard time. Everybody was watching everybody. Most everybody had the same [before] but it started to change back then and it got worse and worse. Then they had TAGS, and people had to make choices by a certain date. Then it was all talk about choices.

They were talking about training programs, and I think dad was interested; but I think he was afraid that if he did one, then he would have to leave the fishery. And he said he had too much tied up in the fishery. Mom wanted to do something, but what could she do? She done something with computers but she never got work out of it; but there's nothing for anybody here like that. But she seemed happier I must say, when she was at that. But then it was bad again when it was over.

. . . Then people was talking about retirement. . . they would get money for that. It seemed like a lot to me but Dad said no. . . not with the bills and stuff like that. Some people argued about that at the house with Dad. One of my uncles wanted to take it but then he didn't know what he would do afterwards. Dad said he was too young to give it up. That was when Mom started talking about moving away. . . because she could get work. . . with the computer course she thought she'd get work. Then Dad was like, well, what was *he* going to do. . . stay home and knit? So they argued about that. . . a lot.

You know, they had a lot on their minds. People were talking about what they were going to do. And about the community becoming a ghost town.

Everybody was mad at the government. They made it seem like we were all too much trouble. Most people here chose to stay in the fishery. So we were kind of all waiting it out. But the saddest thing of all was not that we had no money or could not fish. The ones who chose training outside the fishery, some of these men had been fishing for fifty years, since they had learned to walk down to the wharf. I can't see how they were going to manage. Some of them can't read but they expect them to learn computers.

We went through two years and the same thing again. . . what were they doing about the moratorium. . . .by then I was starting junior high school. Things calmed down a bit. But mom still wanted to leave and dad wanted to stay. Tobin was the Minister of fisheries then and they had more hope I think that things would turn out good. I think Dad was more or less satisfied with TAGS, but Mom was cut off pretty early and she was mad. I don't know why, but it seemed like the fishermen had more points than the plant workers, or something like that. My father said it cost billions of dollars but he didn't understand where the money was going. We made more trips in town then, though, and I could get some of the things I wanted for school.

Some of my friend's fathers are fishing other species now. Simon's dad is fishing shrimp, crab and mussels. He was able to get licences for these which is very difficult. There's arguments too about who gets what licences. . . like it's not done fair, I guess. People don't know how it gets on your nerves every day, same old stuff. I just want to get away from here. . . there's no future that I can see here. . . just more of the same. Being in high school is rough. I want to travel, see things, like, do things that we could not afford to do.

So Dad went for the package, and then Mom ran into trouble with hers. I don't know a lot about it, but she and Dad were on the phone all the time trying to work it out. . . she said it was like the plant workers were second class citizens. Then she and Dad would fight again. Sometimes you didn't want to go home. . . just hang out somewhere to get away from all the rows. When I did go home I mostly stayed in my room so I wouldn't have to hear them.

I heard my Mom and her friends talking. . . about university. . . how expensive it is for people outside of St. John's. Mom says not to worry, that they would find a way but that it will be a while before I go. I want to. . . I'm determined. So is my Mom. She says I'm not going to be stuck

> here. She's right. I have a part time job. . . I am saving it all for university."

8.2 One Woman's Experience of Ruptures in Everyday Life

The following profile is one woman's experience of everyday community life during TAGS. Bridget, a 40-year old plant worker, worked in the crab plant, but had to leave because of allergies to the crab. Her eligibility for TAGS resulted from her work at the crab plant. Her work with her husband was primarily shore work and did not contribute to her eligibility. Bridget's story encapsulates all of the themes studied in detail later in this chapter. For example, Bridget sees the different impacts of TAGS on men and women in her community. She is frustrated about being torn between either focusing on women's issues and focusing on the overall well-being of the community. She shows that TAGS' failure to consider unpaid work, both in the fishery and in the home community, undermined the position of women in the fishery while burdening them with additional caregiving.

> It has been hard for everybody. I always worked side by side with Greg, not in the boat, but at everything else. I worked. . . on the crab plant until my hands got so bad I couldn't take it anymore, so I had to quit.
>
> If you are working, you are working, as far as I'm concerned. If you get paid, well, you need the money. If I'm working around the house or down at the wharf, I'm not getting paid for that, but I'm getting paid. . . it's not money, but I'm getting paid. It's not a question of paid or unpaid work. . . it's all paid, except some is paid in money, and others in other ways. The government only looks at what they can tax, I guess. . . otherwise, it's not work to them, much less paid work. But it's all we ever knew around here, everybody pulling together to get a job done, youngsters, men and women alike. There is a purpose to it, something we are proud of. but that's our way not theirs. TAGS is only for those that got paid. There's

not much we can do about that now. Perhaps if we got up in arms about it in the beginning but we didn't. Most people figured we were lucky to get anything the way things were going. Fishing is like farming. . . It's a family enterprise. But how do they treat farm women in cases like this, do you know? We never really checked it out.

Paid work, you know the LIP grants that were around, now they are called JCP, they were paid work but they had no purpose. They were demeaning. Right off the bat, you had to go to government. Some of the work on these programs, yes, is good. If you do a day's work for the money, that's okay. They always pick up that stuff on Newfoundlanders on TV. If you did something, like help on the wharf, something you could stand back and be proud of, that's work, paid or not.

People tried to argue for the plant workers, but they never got far after the first round. We should have all stuck together, plant workers, fishermen, everybody stand up for each other. Then we could have done something But seems like the main issue was around getting money for the men. I think a lot of women around here went back to school; I believe more so than the men, but the problem is there is no work here if the plant's not going. Everything is all connected together.

TAGS? I don't know. How do I even explain? It's like you need the money from TAGS, but still, you don't have the feeling you were doing anything worthwhile for it. You can't see any future at all. You have this feeling of uncertainty hanging over your head. With men around all the time, the women have the children and the house to look after, to keep them going. The men are agitated, they don't cope as well with this kind of stress. Women have the added burden to keep an eye out for them. You might have the same feelings as the men, but you have to keep them hidden. You have to keep their spirits up. Mentally and physically, it's very tiring. You have anger inside you about a lot of things. You know that there are people who fished in the boat and they got their stamps. I think about the nights I worked in the cold and wet, and now look at them people getting higher money and they worked hard for it but so did we. But you can't say anything. It's not done. They might think you are saying that they should not be getting higher money but that's not it. Everybody worked hard.

Hard to think ahead. . . between family and what I want to be doing. I want to take a course but I don't know what to take. I want to be my own person. I know I could be something more, but not around here. Some

women need people around them all the time. I like to be able to do the things I want to do. As you get older, you know who you are. I can put up with a lot. I know what things to let slide, but I only put up with so much. There's a limit.

That's the whole problem with HRD. They don't know what they are putting us through. They don't experience what we live like. They don't realize how people are feeling. They think the money will keep us happy, but it's not just money. What TAGS makes you feel, is not the point of money, everybody has a bit of pride. TAGS could have been used to build up the place. They could have people working together – a library could be put up or something for the children. The feelings of inadequacy the men have, they need to be at something. We are living from hand to mouth with no end in sight.

When we were working we were exhausted. You were wet from your boots up your back. People talk about us all the time on TV. They have this romantic idea about the work we all do. They don't see how hard the work is. Some people never been in a boat or a fish plant. They don't know how hard we worked. They think we don't deserve the income. It's fine for people in the city; everybody in the city imagines everybody here got their house paid off. There's a good many people have mortgages. I'm after hearing so often, 'they got their own homes and they live off of wild meat.' It cracks me up. Might be true for some. . . but a good many people don't. They think we don't need as much help because of that.

I have three kids and it's hard on them. We only live from hand to mouth. But they can't have it all, that's all there is to it. The money is not there. It affects their self-esteem. You put yourself out, you take money for the kids that you need for the bills. You can see the difference in the kids from the city and from here. They don't have as good a chance, especially at school. My kids get angry with me because they know something is not right. They feel they are not as good as the kids in town, and then that makes you feel inadequate as a parent. It's a vicious circle.

There are times when I would leave here. There are times when I would stay. But I have to speak as a mother. Where I have children, I will stay here. There's not as much in town as here when it comes down to it. Not only that, but children have to know their roots. There's times when I wanted to pack up and walk through the door. I'm sure Greg has felt the same way. I often think you can't always have it your way. You can't

> always have people doing things your way. Overall, there's times you think you should go in the opposite direction.
>
> . . . [T]here's some things leave scars. You never thought these things could happen. The stress with TAGS is the worst I ever see. Words have been spoken that tear people apart. You wonder how we got to that point, to say such things. A lot of the stress happens in the home too. You have to give the men space. . . it's not easy. I look at it – with a lot of men, they don't have patience. Women and men are so different. . . they handle things different. The stress everyday gets everybody down. Men is, like, they want sex to make them feel better. . . to make the stress go away. But women need to feel close, to sort things out, to make things better before they can have sex. Men have to think they're stronger . . . that's the way, I suppose, they were taught. . . the way of teaching and learning through the years. . . they think they shouldn't cry. Greg will let it build up and build up inside. . . even the children feel it building up in him. . . but he won't let his feelings out. I guess the one thing you can say about TAGS, it's after getting everybody wore out.

8.3 One Man's Experience of TAGS in Everyday Life

Rory, a fisher in his early forties, had been in the inshore fishery with his father and several of his brothers for all of his life. His story encapsulates the themes echoed by most men I interviewed, particularly TAGS' lack of respect and understanding of social relations and support, lack of respect for history, and lack of respect for local knowledge and experience. Like many men interviewed he blamed TAGS for reducing the number of fishers participating in the fishery and for relocating small fishing communities. He was deeply suspicious of TAGS and believed, as do many in the community, that its hidden agenda was to resettle the community through closing the inshore fishery. Rory also talked directly about his difficulty coping with and expressing his feelings of anger and fear.

The idea of TAGS is to get rid of places like this. Biggest part of small places like this is the inshore fishery and that's not going to be going ahead anymore. After they've finished with TAGS, there's going to be nobody here. Ten years ago if you were going to go at your boat, move it out, you only had to sing out and the young fellas would be there. This year we had to look around for over an hour to get help with the boat. You know, the people who put TAGS together think, some of them, that they're better than us. . . so they can get rid of us. The backbone of Newfoundland's economy was always the outport and the fishery . . . those people were the backbone. TAGS is not only affecting the fishermen, their families, the children, the business. . . everything is affected.

They treat you like they are doing you a big favor, like you are getting a handout. That's hard to take. Not totally, but mostly, the fishermen are blamed for what's happened. . . [as though they think] 'fishermen used it, abused it; stop crying and move on'. That's not the way it is. We said "the fish is getting smaller," the year before the moratorium; the scientists said [it was] "the best year ever." You [have] spent a lifetime at something and the way you are treated by government people, on television, in town – they make you feel like nothing, like you know nothing, like you are worth nothing, just a drain on everybody else. The language they use – you got to ask them to explain, and they just puts it another way that makes no sense. . . so you never know what they are up to. That's the way it is. Places like this – as far as the TAGS crowd is concerned – is for tourists or retirement places for the crowd from the city.

They say that they are there to give us a hand through a hard time. That we have to find new industry for places like this, like tourism. But the tourism people are promoting a way of life that won't last much longer. In a roundabout way, TAGS is doing the same as [in] the sixties, only now they are giving you no choice. Just this year they are saying come jig a cod, come see the whales and people think they can come and do that anytime. Now it's more or less given out that we are doing this for one purpose – to get their money. That's not like it used to be when people came here. Now you got to get paid for everything, or you're not working. That's not what we're used to. We're used to doing for people because we want to. That's a different thing. You take nothing for granted anymore.

This can get you down after awhile. . . you have to realize that you can get very down with nothing to do. . . not in the beginning, there was enough to do around the house to keep you going. . . but after awhile it really kicks

in. I used to wake up, jump out of bed and realize I was going nowhere. . . [it's] like living on the other side of nowhere, living with TAGS.

As far as I'm concerned, the masterless men, I could see myself among them. All down through, Cashin was head of the union for the longest while. He wanted things to go his way. . . the look of shock when people voted against what he wanted. People in power, like him, don't know we got a mind of our own. We had to have politicians from outside for years, from a wealthy family. Not anymore. We can speak for ourselves. I used to see Dad over there with politicians. He'd trip himself up to try to please these people, like it was Himself who had come. I asked him why he did this. He said, 'I had to feed ye somehow. You had to make them feel important. I had to make them think they were better than me in order to get by.' The way I feels today it don't matter I'm a fisherman, I'm just as good as anybody else. Just as good as Cashin. Cashin had a job. . . he was doing it, but not to the best of his abilities. He came from circles that believed we could not look after ourselves. Cashin was feathering his own nest, everything that he fought for, now he's saying is no good. For all the policies he fought for, he's cutting the shit out of it. Makes you wonder how sincere he was when he was there. Who he was really looking after. The union is gone, boy. Pure corruption. That fella they got there is not a leader. I have nothing against the union, but you have to have the right people there. We got nobody to blame but ourselves for the mess the union is in.

The only positive thing for me was Folk of the Sea. . . [it] affected my life tremendously. At the same time there was a sense of loss, at the time when Folk of the Sea came about, you got together with people like yourself from all over the place. You got the idea from TAGS that places like this were gone, done; but Folk of the Sea changed that for me. The play was a great experience for me. . . .It was about a place like this. . . I had no idea what the play was about when I started. I was delighted to be a part of it. You were on the stage acting out your own life. . . letting people know what we were going through ..even though it was set back years and years ago. It was happening even now. It just goes to show how people are led down the garden path by the powers that be . We are not as bad as then. . . we know the difference. . . but it still happens. I was reminded of the hardships years and years ago, and they are still here in a different sort of way. It was worth seeing people's reaction to the play. It brought a different light to places like this. . . [we were] treated. . . what we are going through. . . with dignity. [It's] surprising what people picked up. People wrote songs and stories about our stories. People listened.

> Men cried, some of them for the first time. You wouldn't supposed to cry . . . I still don't as much as I want to. . . that's the way it is. I know it's all right, but it's hard to do. . . you are the man, you are supposed to be strong. . . you also have feelings, a lot of people don't know how to cope with all we have been going through. You see it everyday. People don't know who to talk to. What people have gone through around here would break your heart, and everybody [is] trying to get by like everything is the same. . . well, it's not. A lot of people have been hurt and it still goes on. You don't know from one day to the next which way things are going to go. [It's] no good to talk to the crowd at HRD, they can only do what they're told. Folk of the Sea got me through a lot. . . I was able to show my feelings. . . to talk about what goes on. It was okay. [I] never did hug a man. . . until Folk of the Sea. . . it's natural with everybody, men and women. It meant so much.

8.4 Lines of Fault

The discussion of lines of fault below draws upon the content from thirty interviews. The three lines of fault identified demonstrate ruptures of meanings of community as experienced under TAGS. Each line of fault is explored and connected to the discussion of ruptures in Chapters Four, Five, Six and Seven. These three lines of fault are: TAGS' ideology of individualism; TAGS and the social regulation and oppression of women and men; and the emphasis on training outside the fishery and neglect of social relations and informal support systems in TAGS which supported resettlement.

8.4.1 TAGS Ideology of Individualism

Individualism, as an ideology (Smith, 1990), assumes that individuals are able to shape their lives through will and determination and that any failure to do so is personal

failure (Briskin, 1990). In Chapter Six research participants described their experiences with the federal government since Confederation with Canada. They described the federal government's attitude and policies as consistent with an ideology of individualism as defined above. Moreover, Chapter Six showed that participants challenged this ideology, for example, by naming it as a hidden political agenda for resettlement of fishing communities. This challenge to the ideology of individualism continues in this chapter in their discussion of TAGS.

The textual analysis and literature on TAGS in Chapter Seven showed that TAGS equated support for individual fishers and plant workers with support for family and community. TAGS was shown to particularly emphasize fishermens issues, neglecting their lives to others and groups or individuals other than fishermen within the community.

Community divisions were partly a result of TAGS ideological frame of individualism. The profiles which begin this chapter demonstrate that some people in Comorra saw TAGS as having created tension and conflict in the community by privileging one group of individuals. For example, Colleen quotes her mother, ". . . it was like the plant workers were second class citizens. . . "; Bridget says, ". . . TAGS is only for those that got paid." Colleen's mother and Bridget both fought for benefits and both were angry about lack of community support for their efforts. Rory felt TAGS isolated fishers from the rest of the community and that TAGS bureaucrats blamed fishers for creating the crisis in the first place. "Not totally, but mostly, the fishermen are blamed for what's happened." Rory's belief of many that TAGS had a hidden agenda to "get rid

of places like this." Because the inshore fishery was not "going ahead anymore" and there would be "nobody here." Bridget also comments on the consequences of TAGS' ideological frame of individualism when she speaks of words "spoken that tear people apart" and "getting everybody wore out."

What follows are examples from the first round of interviews which revealed the impact the ideology of individualism that organized TAGS had within people's every day lives. The following comments made by a female plant worker are typical of many which showed how TAGS contributed to inconsistencies and inequities and created tensions in families and in the community.

> Some of it is the way they decides who gets what, and it doesn't seem to be consistent, like, you know, some people worked on the plant for a long time, and somebody else was on the boat for less time; so how come if they are using time as a guide, then the one is on TAGS and the other not? Then you got men who fished for years, and now they're told they don't make . . . (qualify for benefits).. because they didn't earn enough. You know, it got to get to people. I think we got to stick together and try to work it out.

Participants were fearful about the fallout from TAGS, as well as people's response to TAGS. People feared that because some had lied about their participation in the fishery in order to receive benefits, they themselves might be forced to lie or to expose the lies. This would lead to permanent rifts in the community. A female plant worker expressed this concern.

> But there is animosity brought about by TAGS, no question . . . You don't have to look too far. It causes problems in families. Then some people have lied for other people about their fishing, you know. People knows about it so that creates tension for everybody because what if they start asking questions.

Others, like Bridget and Colleen's mother, felt unsupported by their community in their battle for benefits. Both plant workers and fishers denied benefits felt like this. One fisher said:

> I wish we all got along better that's all. Not that there's fighting or scratching or anything, but, you know, people are distant. . . afraid to speak out, afraid that they are the next one's going to lose TAGS. So the only one who wins out of this is government. Divide and conquer.

These excerpts show the rupture in social relations and support caused by TAGS' ideology of individualism. This rupture hampered participants' ability to collectively challenge TAGS. It left individuals vulnerable to the dictates of the ruling group. As shown in Chapter Seven, researchers have identified similar divisions and comparable consequences for collective action in other Newfoundland communities (Williams, 1996; Woodrow, 1996; Sinclair, Squires, Heath and Downton, 1999).

In Chapter Six, many participants linked TAGS and its management to the federal government's unacknowledged resettlement agenda. Bell hooks (1990: 218) and others have affirmed this naming process as part of throwing off "the colonizer mentality." Participants showed in the interviews that they had examined TAGS, and uncovered its many impacts on their everyday life. They were all angry about TAGS, but with paradoxical results. While TAGS' ideology of individualism divided people from one another, shared anger at covert resettlement policies brought people together, reinforcing the meaning of community shared among them. One woman commented,

> The community has been put through a lot with TAGS. No doubt about it. In some ways there have been a lot of changes. But you know in other ways they are the same. People still look out for each other. They still have good times together. We got through hard times here before. With the grace of God we'll get through this.

A male fisher exemplified resistance to the ideology of individualism inherent in TAGS when he emphasized differences between life in the community and in town, strengthening the boundary of belonging (consistent with Cohen, 1986) to the community in opposition to outsiders (including the researcher):

> We are the working class here and wherever we went, that's who we are. There's no getting away from that. I got no problem with being working class here. We owns our own home, we got a few bills but we're not beholden to anybody. So we are pretty free here in a way. We are freer here than you crowd in St. John's, you got more things out there but you got more people with their hands in your wallets too. I know people got big expenses here but most of us got small boats here so you haven't got the banks after you the way they are after the fellers with the big boats. And things have changed, no doubt but then again you can always find somebody to give you a hand with the boat or whatever. I think we need one another now more than we are used to, we were getting away from that. But I think people are realizing that they have to get back to the kind of life our parents had.

In summary, in interviews and profiles participants showed an awareness of the ideology of individualism in TAGS. These interviews also revealed its paradoxical impact. This individualist ideology allowed some to participate, but excluded others, resulting in internal divisions. But, paradoxically, anger at the implicit resettlement agenda in TAGS formed a basis for strengthened community meanings as will be shown in the final section of this chapter.

8.4.2 TAGS and the Social Regulation and Oppression of Women and Men

This theme concerns social regulation of women and men under TAGS, and participants' growing understanding of this as oppressive. Social regulation contributed to the marginalization and economic vulnerability of women, while paradoxically raising consciousness about oppression among both men and women.

TAGS, as Chapter Seven and other researchers including Robbins (1997) and Williams (1996) have shown, was a sharply gendered program, regulating men and women in different ways. TAGS, for example, did not recognize the contributions of women as shore-based workers, and harvesters in the fishery (Robbins, 1997; Williams, 1996). This neglect of women in the fishery is not new. The history of women in the fishery as documented in Chapters Six and Seven was acknowledged by participants. Feminist scholars have confirmed that women were and are crucial to the survival of fishing enterprises and, consequently, to fishing communities (Antler, 1977; Murray, 1979; Davis, 1983; McCay, 1988; Wright, 1990; Porter, 1995).

The gendered social regulation of the fishery has been described in federal government policies dating from Confederation to the present. Post Confederation policies moved women from the family fishing enterprises into wage employment in fish processing plants (see Chapters Five and Six). Thus, gendered social regulation of fishing communities was already well established before TAGS.

Men and women of Comorra were familiar with social regulation of their lives, both by government and by the church. For example, men and women had always been

regulated by the church's assignation of feelings and deficits that people internalised. As Chapter Five demonstrates, such notions as "strong," "good" and "shame" were used by the church to regulate both men and women in everyday community life. Earlier chapters demonstrated participants' understanding of how these messages and practices had shaped their ancestors, themselves and their meanings of community. They also demonstrated knowledge of disempowerment resulting from these messages and practice. In earlier chapters both women and men described the pain of increased consciousness of external and internalized oppression. This raised consciousness was a factor in the resistance to social regulation of both women and men (see Chapters Four and Five). Participants demonstrated that through events such as priests' abuse of power, they became conscious of what was being done to them.

The profiles encapsulate the participants' ongoing struggle with both oppression, and their consciousness of it. The struggle is both similar and different for men and women. Men and women are both angry about oppression from external forces. Rory, for example, talks about how people in his community were regulated in the past: "We had to have politicians from outside for years, from a wealthy family. Not anymore. We can speak for ourselves." He acknowledges, "It just goes to show how people are led down the garden path by the powers that be. . . We are not as bad as then. . . we know the difference. . . but it still happens." Paradoxically, while Rory is angry at TAGS for exacerbating conflict in his community, he also describes changes in his self-perception as a result of TAGS. He sees himself less as a "strong" man, accepting himself as a man who cries:

> Men cried, some of them for the first time. You wouldn't supposed to cry . . . I still don't as much as I want to. . . that's the way it is. I know it's all right, but it's hard to do. . . you are the man, you are supposed to be strong. . . you also have feelings, a lot of people don't know how to cope with all we have been going through.

Bridget also sees being "strong" as essential to men's self perception:

> Men have to think they're stronger . . . that's the way, I suppose, they were taught. . . the way of teaching and learning through the years. . . they think they shouldn't cry.

Rory learned to deal with the hurt and uncertainty created in the community by the fishing crisis and TAGS, observing that some people tried to cope by living as if nothing had changed. He believes that being more conscious of feelings is difficult for men, but has been transformative for him. This was supported by other participants. Bridget understood that women and men coped differently.

As the profiles illustrate, 'women's struggles' were more complex and conflicted than those facing men. On the one hand, they wished to belong to their community and fight for its survival. On the other, they saw TAGS uphold men's interests over their own. While Bridget, Colleen and her mother were angry about the impact of TAGS on their community, they are also angry about their differential treatment under TAGS. Bridget was aware of a profound rupture between TAGS policy and propaganda which claimed to support both genders, while denying women's historical attachment to the fishery. She advocates collective action, but also implies that action which has already taken place has focused on taking care of the men. Social policy for communities generally supports a gendered division of labour, sexual subordination and silencing of

women (Frazer and Lacey, 1993). Cole portrays women in a fishing village as having just this "sense of having a life" (1991: 40). While Bridget shows a sense of having a life, she is still angry about the situation of women. She sees herself and other women as victims, particularly in relation to definitions of their work.

> TAGS is only for those that got paid. There's not much we can do about that now. Perhaps if we got up in arms about it in the beginning but we didn't. Most people figured we were lucky to get anything the way things were going. Fishing is like farming . . . It's a family enterprise.

Bridget, like many participants in Chapters Four and Six, referenced the critical role of unpaid work in historical meanings of community everyday life for both genders. 'Hard work' is empowering because it is equated with independence, self-reliance and self-respect for themselves and each other: "If you did something, like help on the wharf, something you could stand back and be proud of, that's work, paid or not."

Hard work (both paid and unpaid) was established as a meaning of community for both women and men in Chapters Four, Five and Six. While Bridget did not create a gender division for most "hard" work, she indicated that women carry additional burdens of work including care for both children and men. Bridget's story shows that women are burdened by the additional work of caregiving for their stressed men. While not angry about this responsibility, Bridget acknowledges that it is a gendered expectation, linked to the expectations that, as a woman, she should be more patient.

This exclusion of women's work under TAGS contributes to the alienation of women from the fishing industry. Smith (1990) argues alienation contributes towards maintaining the ruling apparatus as long as it remains unchallenged. Bridget understands

the need to challenge the practice of TAGS in relation to women's work. She sees the practice of TAGS as different from the organization of her experience of everyday community life, "that's our way, not theirs." She is reluctant to challenge at this point, however, as though to do so might undermine the "we" of everyday community life. This fits Collin's (1990) view of collective identification discussed in Chapter Three. Skaptadottir's work in Iceland (1996: 277-8) also captures the "we" experienced by women in fishing communities as connected to the survival of their community. Bridget demonstrates a sense of belonging to the community when she expresses anger about perceptions of TAGS held by policy makers and people outside of the community. She identifies with TAGS recipients as a group and is angry at the lack of understanding of the Canadian public and HRDC about them and their lives.

> The way the people across the country sees it, we don't want to work. We 'got it made' with TAGS coming in and everybody home looking out the window. Well, we are hard working people here. People at HRD act like they are doing you a big favour, like people use to be with the welfare officer years ago. We worked hard for what we get. We work hard just to stay alive. Not many extras around here.

Other female participants in the study show the same conflicts as Bridget. They spoke of anger at their treatment under TAGS, saying this is how government has consistently treated women in the fishery. They feel that their contribution to the fishing industry has been overlooked historically, that the ruling group perpetuates a perception that women's work in the fishing industry is somehow fraudulent. As one woman plant worker says:

> There is some people never fished a day in their life and gets top dollar. And some who fished from the time they were youngsters who can't get a cent. Plant workers don't count with this crowd. You have to be in a boat . . . own it too. Well, there are others like myself. . . left out in the cold. Well, ever since the moratorium started, it's been one thing after another . . . no end in sight. People who used to get on best kind are at each other's throats. . . so everybody is staying clear of each other. I probably got too big a mouth. . . but I have to say what's on my mind. There's people what never went on the boats in their lives getting, and others who been in the fishery, maybe not on boats, and nobody cares.

While there was a general feeling of unfairness related to eligibility, most participants avoided addressing specifics. Concern about deepening community conflict, and people "being at each other's throats" may explain this reluctance. Many participants faced significant social costs if they challenged the status quo. Their comments to me as an interviewer asking about TAGS were both shaped by and hindered by this community silencing. As earlier chapters and this comment show, women's frustration with their oppression was most often directed at outsiders and institutions:

> [you] hardly sees a woman in the pictures they show, let alone at the fish. . . not ladylike, I guess. And the men. . . they shows the old clothes, so that's their idea of fishing. We're proud of the way we all kept it going, but they don't show that.

The textual analysis in Chapter Seven shows that TAGS supported the patriarchal ideological frame by reinforcing the image of the fishery as a male domain, granting social power to men. However, the women and men interviewed spoke passionately about the contributions of women's work to their fishing industry and fishing community. Chapters Four and Five showed that women no longer engaged in many of the activities associated with being "good" women, selflessly making "sacrifices" for family and

community in the past. While idealizing these historical images and seeing themselves as different, women interviewed also see gender roles as having changed and themselves as moving away from this regulation of their everyday lives. As one woman says, ". . . [g]ood women. . . they looked after the old people, the priest, the church, everybody. But nobody wants to live like that today. That's not living. I just wish we got along better, that's all."

However, female participants also seek to retain some characteristics of "good" women. They continue to support their community's church and quietly supervise and take care of vulnerable people in the community. They also see themselves as loyal to their husbands, families and communities. One woman pointed out that being good was still the central message for young girls: "Be a good girl'. . . the main thing is to look after your husband and children." Consequently, talking to a researcher could be "not safe" for a "good" woman. Some women acknowledged distress over their treatment under TAGS, but did not want to speak if this would jeopardize their husband's eligibility for TAGS. This may be a realistic response to their family's economic vulnerability, rather than behaviour regulated by gendered social expectations. As one woman said, "This is not the place to talk about it. . . there's too much going on."

Both women and men were concerned throughout the interviews about the research's outcome, who would be reading it and consequences for their community. This unease was related to people's uncertainty about who was making decisions about them and their criteria. During my research, people often talked in their homes about the

lack of public support for TAGS and the probability that it would be cut back or closed. While both men and women were anxious, women were more so because as females they received less support from TAGS and were more likely to be dropped. For women like Bridget and Colleen's mother, this emerged as a point of rupture because they could not trust the state to support them through the crisis. Smith (1987) argues that the ruling group depends upon the silence of those excluded from the creation of ruling relations. Fearing reprisals for self-expression, women consistently asked me to exclude their angry comments about their treatment under TAGS. They did not want to be identified as troublemakers by HRDC, which could have resulted in a future backlash. Women appear torn between perceived duty to family and community, and the need to speak of their own oppression. While field research was ongoing, a dispute involving a female fisher's eligibility for TAGS reached the courts. Most research participants (both female and male) did not want to discuss this dispute with me in interviews. While this incident was a further point of rupture within the community, the general feelings of lack of safety around TAGS precluded its discussion and analysis here.

Paradoxically TAGS training appeared to more acceptable within the community for women than for men. More women than men participated in training outside the fishing industry. Male participants, like Colleen's Dad, were stressed about returning to school and being "tied to a desk like a youngster." One man was "never much for school," and going back would "take some doing." Most men also resisted training because TAGS policy implied that he would have to abandon the fishing industry after

training. This would mean significant loss of investment in boats and gear. Men were offered training to work in mines, which would be "the end of the fishery for them." But one male participant doing the geology course saw himself as having no choice:

> It's a good course. I like doing it. I don't want to leave my family nor more than any other man but that's the way of it. You got bills to pay and youngsters to look after and TAGS is not going to last forever and that's a fact. And the fish is not looking good from the signs of it. So you do what got to be done.

Women, in contrast, took courses such as accounting and computer programming. These assisted the family enterprise and did not jeopardize fishing licences since few women held them. Several female participants were taking courses at a private college in their community. They were generally positive about the courses, feeling as students:

> Great to get up in the morning and get out of the house, away from everything. I was scared to death when we first went in but they had good people there, put you right at ease. We are all alike so that's good. But what a good time we had, all of us together. And I come home and did my homework with the children. They were some proud of me. I surprise myself at the marks I got.

Women also worried about succeeding in school. Others in the community took a keen interest in their progress. "They all wanted to know how you were doing. When you did okay you didn't mind but it was hard when you didn't do so well."

Colleen's mother's training strengthened her; and female participants involved in training also felt empowered. This encouraged some to leave the community to find work.

Participants showed that they were able to resist TAGS' agenda and paradoxically employ it to strengthen community. While TAGS served to maintain the invisibility of

women's role in the fishery, it also provided an avenue of empowerment for women through training programs. Moreover, participants strengthened the boundaries of community and overcame divisions by directing their anger and frustration at TAGS, treating it as the opposition to community.

8.4.3 TAGS Neglect of Social Relations and Informal Support Systems

Shared meanings of community, as discussed in Chapters Four, Five and Six (such as support during crisis and shared experience of oppression and survival) are the basis for a sense of belonging to community. In those earlier chapters, Cohen's definition of community and Collin's description of the collective "we" are articulated by participants in their meanings of community. As their profiles indicate, Colleen, Bridget and Rory move freely between the impact of the fisheries crisis and government response to its impact on themselves, their families and their community. A point of rupture emerging for all three was the secrecy, deceit and conflict that TAGS policy promoted in the family and community relationships from which participants normally drew support. For example, the relationship between Colleen's parents was disrupted by the discrepancy in the policy between fishers and plant workers. Resultant tension in the homes created a vacuum in children's social lives. Colleen had withdrawn from her family and community: "I just want to get away from here." For young people like Colleen leaving home becomes less stressful than staying. They were being told of low expectations for their own and their families' future in their community. This contributed to high levels of

stress in homes and in the community generally. Canning says this also contributes to both poverty and lower educational achievement for young people (1996: 40). Williams (1998) in her report on the impact of economic change on young people has said that there are not enough counselling and treatment services for young people experiencing high levels of stress due to the economic and social changes in communities.

The out-migration of young people and families worries older people in particular who are afraid that their social supports are being eroded. Historically, elders counted on younger families to assist them in their declining years which enabled many elders to remain in their homes and community. Elders indicate that the out-migration will mean that many of them will have to move to senior citizens' facilities which are located away from their community. The community as a whole feels the loss of the energy of young people as workers lament the lack of available young people to help with such jobs as pulling up boats, babysitting or eldercare.

The three profiles point to participants' awareness of TAGS contribution to meanings of community. Those meanings are drawn from internal and external connections, including social support and social relations; history and cultural representation; and agency. Textual analysis of TAGS in the previous chapter demonstrated that the designers of TAGS assumed those affected by the policy lacked insight. This negative view of human agency creates a rupture in everyday community life. People cannot participate fully in a process which assumes they are powerless and unaware of ruling relations.

Colleen, Bridget and Rory all worried about their families and their community, showing compassion for those losing their traditional work and without real choices for the future. Colleen watched social supports she had known for most of childhood collapse around her. The effect is apparent in her urgency to leave home. The needs and concerns of such young people were not addressed by TAGS. Participants were frustrated that support was available for their own training, but not for their children. As one male fisher said, "Its not fair. I can't be expected to be taking up space from the young fellow over there. He's just starting out and I'm about ready to give it up. What's the sense?" Neis (1998) agrees that TAGS ignored the impact of the fisheries crisis on the upcoming generation.

Some participants hope to heal the strain and conflict in the community. Some see this as a desire to reclaim the past but don't think: "we can go back to what we was but we got to move past where we are some way or another. They say time heals all things. We just have to wait" says a female plant worker and mother.

The past is often idealized and, as demonstrated in Chapters Four, Five and Six, present everyday community life is coloured by the reflected prestige of this idealized past community life. According to both Cohen (1982) and Collins (1990), this idealization of a commonly experienced past is a powerful mechanism for creation and maintenance of a sense of community. Chapters Four, Five and Six speak of a common or sacred past which binds people together. Some participants believe that ' ideal' or 'traditional' everyday community life changed because TAGS broke down social

relations in the community which emerged from this past. Other participants welcomed some of these changes, such as changes in the sacrificial role of women, and the involvement of male partners in homemaking and child care activities.

Comorra has a shared historical meaning as a fishing community. TAGS' objective of moving people out of the fishery was experienced as a rupture with this shared meaning. The fear of breaking connection to the past makes it difficult to envision a future, alienating a community from its own future. A male fisher said ". . . this is a changing time for the community. Perhaps the worst time in the history because we always had a future. Now we don't."

TAGS ideology, revealed in textual analysis, supported relocation of fishers and plant workers to reduce overcapacity in processing and harvesting. In practice this meant that TAGS' success was measured by the number of people it could retrain out of the industry and relocate from fishing communities to areas of high employment. Consequently, TAGS ideology supported resettlement of fishing communities as a major part of the solution to the fisheries crisis.

8.5 Lines of Fault and Resistance

Participants reveal that TAGS contributed to lines of fault in everyday community life. Less obvious are the links between these lines of fault, resistance to TAGS and the resultant reinforcement of community meanings. While TAGS created lines of fault in the lives of participants, these fault lines also strengthened boundaries of belonging to community .

Belonging means more than ". . . merely having been born in a place" (Cohen, 1982: 21). In his work in Shetland, Cohen saw that people of Whalsay demonstrated "belonging" to their Island community by setting boundaries, including a public face or mask created for the outside world (1986: 13). Boundary symbolizes belonging in at least two ways, both how they are seen by outsiders as well as their own experiences of community and its internal meaning. Boundaries "condense symbolically their bearers' social theories of similarity and difference" (Cohen, 1986: 17). Boundaries are also inherently oppositional, so that "almost any matter of perceived difference between a community and the outside world can be rendered symbolically as a resource for its boundary" (1986: 17). Cohen says that community members use opposition from outside to enhance their boundaries and strengthen belonging "Members of a community can make virtually anything grist to the symbolic mill of cultural distance" (1986: 17). Cole (1991) demonstrates this use of opposition by showing how the *pescadores* in one Portugese community constructed a positive social identity through a "culture of opposition" with the *lavradores* with whom they shared common origins and distant kinship and had socioeconomic differences. While Cohen's observations are focused for the most part on men and Cole's are focused mainly on women, both show that belonging is strengthened by external opposition. They also recognize the agency of community members. Recognizing the activity and creativity of social agency is vital to understanding the power and complexity of the meanings assigned to everyday community life.

My research shows that community response to TAGS in Comorra follows a similar pattern to that suggested by both Cohen and Collins. TAGS was used by some participants to construct boundaries to strengthen their mask for outsiders, as well as enhancing internal boundaries. Both women and men described themselves as belonging to a collectivity of sufferers experiencing negative attitudes towards them as a TAGS dependent community. This opposition was seen as external: "They [the media] make it sound like we don't want to work, don't know how to work." Some women and men employed TAGS to construct gender within the community and many struggled with the ruptures in meanings of community created by TAGS inherent contradictions. Almost all participants demonstrated a critical social analysis of their experience under TAGS, both by understanding the contradictions it created and by strengthening boundaries. In this critical social analysis participants made connections between their personal experiences and the social and material conditions engendering these experiences. This is what bell hooks calls "a critical understanding of the concrete material reality that lays the groundwork for personal experience" (1988: 108). Participants articulated their own theories about what was happening to them and their community. This research reveals participants to be interpretive and communicative actors.

The research reveals that meanings of community can be gendered. The gender analysis employed here allows for "critical standpoints," in which meanings of community emerge differently for women and for men. For example, while the female participants identified with the experiences of male oppression in relation to TAGS, the

male participants generally did not address the collective experiences of women. However, they were often concerned for individual women. This difference is also evident in the tendency for women to talk about taking or failing to take collective action. Men took a more individual sense of responsibility for lack of action against TAGS.

However, some meanings of community were not gendered. For example, both women and men describe ruptures in meanings of community created by TAGS which reduced community cohesion. Considerable tension resulted from differential treatment under the TAGS programs in terms of benefits and eligibility. This is consistent with the research of Sinclair, Downton, Heath and Squires (1999) in which people in Bonavista saw themselves as less cohesive and more individualistic than in the past. In the early days of the moratorium, Solberg (1997) found that people on the Bonavista Peninsula were satisfied with their communities despite tensions related to the cod moratorium. Canning (1997) also indicated that high levels of stress, social anxiety and weakened social support were not present during the early years but warned that adverse effects might increase over time.

8.6 Conclusion

Meanings of everyday community life during the research period were linked to, and ruptured by, TAGS in many significant ways. The underpinning of TAGS ideology in giving primary responsibility to individual fishers and primary support to them as individuals was the basis for the marginalization and oppression outlined in the textual

analysis in the last chapter. In this chapter research participants showed awareness of a profound rupture between TAGS' stated objective of stabilizing community and their own experiences of TAGS in everyday community life. The established forms of resistance in everyday community life were mediated by the practices of TAGS which consistently threatened to assist people out of the fishery, and therefore, out of their communities. Women, in particular, were marginalized as a group, since TAGS ideology saw the fishery as primarily a male-dominated industry, ignoring the gender difference in fisheries work, ignoring women's histories and current needs and roles in everyday community life.

As demonstrated in Chapters Five and Six , women's historical identity as "good" wives and mothers served as a mechanism of social regulation within community life in the past. TAGS ideological practices have reinforced this perception and women have been further marginalized by TAGS policy. The consequent reality for these women is that the "good" behaviour expected of them has made it difficult to challenge TAGS policy, silencing them somewhat about their own marginalization. Other social realities include their families' and communities' economic dependency on TAGS, and the historical invisibility of women in the fishery. These realities make women very vulnerable. The combined realities of male privilege, economic hardship and dependency, all reinforced by TAGS, serve to disempower women.

TAGS ideology divided males and females in the fishery, banishing the realities of linked productive and reproductive work, and perpetuated gender bias. The emphasis

on paid production in the fishery by TAGS at times alienated male fishers from others in their community, including family members, and reinforced male-female social boundaries contributing in some cases, to conflict.

Little room existed within TAGS for discussing other responses to the crisis. Downsizing the fishery was normalized by TAGS as the removal of people from the fishery; threatening the existence of fishing communities but acknowledging this. Thus, TAGS ideology and practice created frustration and dissonance within community life. Paradoxically, however, the research shows participants used TAGS to strengthen their sense of belonging to community by relating to each other as a community of sufferers, misunderstood and oppressed by TAGS and its practices. In their conversation they made visible the hidden agendas of TAGS and its practices in order to resist its influence over the future of their community. In doing so, they demonstrated their understanding of and resistance to the ordering of their lives by TAGS. For example, they resisted TAGS in ways which strengthened community such as by participating or not participating in training programs using training programs to encourage children to leave the industry and their communities. In other words, participants demonstrate that they are indeed interpretive and communicators actors in everyday community life.

CHAPTER NINE

Conclusions

9.0 Introduction

This thesis has considered meanings of community, contrasting the narratives and comments of those living in a fishing community with those found in existing research and in TAGS related documents. It adds to the growing body of literature which examines the impact of the groundfish moratorium on fishing communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. I return now to the unravelling metaphor. Throughout this work, I have unravelled meanings of community in three tapestries: scholarly literature, government documents, and lived experience. In this chapter I will draw together these unravellings, weaving together the tapestries of lived experience, community research and policy development in ways which will support positive social change.

9.1 Unravelling Meanings in Scholarly Literature

The scholarly literature on community sketched in Chapter Two is informed by many definitions of community. These include dichotomized categories such as urban/rural, male/female and public/private: oppositions that are often assumed to be real distinctions. For example, dichotomized approaches to community often valorize the idea of "traditional community" over present day community or urban centres. They

also allow for the identification of women with reproductive work and the identification of men with productive work.

As is shown in Chapter Two, scholars often assume community to be an entity determined by abstract structures and forces such as size, heterogeneity, or the marketplace. Women and other marginalized groups are frequently rendered invisible in those approaches to community. Furthermore, people appear to be victims of abstract structures and forces, rather than creators of their everyday lives and communities.

The social constructivist perspective (Cohen, 1986; Cole, 1991; Collins, 1990) I used to develop the framework for this study addresses community in a fundamentally different way. It begins with Cohen's definition of community which points to the importance of community as a social process for its constituents. He argues that the essence of community is the feeling of togetherness held intact by the perception of shared symbols, using the outside world as a "resource for its boundaries" (1986: 17). Boundaries, Cohen says, are inherently oppositional. For example, research participants' anger at TAGS' perceived agenda of resettlement re-enforced boundaries between Comorra and St. John's and government.

This study has shown that meanings of community also emerge through the experience of togetherness as constructed from a shared past (Cohen, 1982). Boundaries were formed in part by historical opposition to the ruling group and strengthened more recently by resistance to elements of TAGS. My research supports Cohen's view that a shared past enhances community unity based on commonalities; however it also

demonstrates that a shared past can strengthen unity through acknowledging and accepting diversity. Cohen insists that a shared past is sacred and to be valued and accepted rather than questioned. What I found is that participants stories demonstrated a critical remembering of the past. This critical remembering allows the possibility for exposure of social reality, along with resistance and social change.

The experience of community as described by participants often included awareness of differences and incongruities within meaning of community. Research participants define and position themselves as active communicators; while they see themselves as part of a common project, the meanings community has for them (including multifaceted roles, and identities within meanings) are subject to change. My research supports notions of community as belonging and involving connections. These notions are drawn from scholarly sources and are coloured by the accounts of lived experience of my research participants.

9.2 Community as Belonging and Connections

Throughout this research, participants talk about the meaning, purpose and effect of community in their lives. In this mapping of their experience, I have attempted to show that participants recognize themselves as connected by elements such as fisheries, shared history, place, environment and the church. Participants have countless ways of connecting. For example, they spoke of marshalling scarce resources, as well as attentiveness and trust in the support of other community members. They also shared

experiences of oppression by and resistance to HRD and DFO. Connecting is not, however, the equivalent of saying that community members have claims on each other's personal resources or consistently accept differences. Connecting to their community is also not equivalent to a commitment to an abstract moral code, from which are derived specific judgments governing situations and choices in everyday life. To many research participants, connecting to their community takes as its primary focus their unique community identity, as well as needs and wants within it. They acknowledge, honour and celebrate the uniqueness of their particular history. Individuals take on that uniqueness as part of their own individual and family identities. The interests of the community become central, though not exclusively so, to determining which actions are right or wrong, and which goals and aspirations are worthwhile in order to keep the community intact.

How participants demonstrate their connection to the needs, interests and goals of community seems to vary considerably. In most cases, both women and men exhibit support and nurturing at the micro level. In some cases, individuals find it fitting to withdraw from support at the macro level. Nevertheless, they give examples of micro support, which, in any case, contribute to the overall support of the community.

Community, according to research participants, changes all the time. Some connections appear, however, to remain more constant. Community may incline participants to take seriously their shared history and what that history means to who they are as a community. Having a shared history does not mean only shared values or

principles. Sharing an heroic past beckons people to transcend differences, at least temporarily, to demonstrate a commitment to community. Participants speak of their past as a present part of who they are. Their common history may encourage them to see each other as moral equals. This respect is not necessarily based on a connection to the uniqueness of individuals in their community, but rather to the inherent worth and rights of persons who are part of that history.

Affection generated to some extent by a shared history seems to generate commitment to, and connection with, the general well-being of the community. Research participants are connected as well by a shared history of oppression and tell bitter stories of continuous unjust rules and oppression which governed and continue to govern their everyday life. Their stories also speak of close connections in which trust, intimacy and disclosure open up experiences and knowledge. Through seeing what has happened or happens to members of the community, participants can attend to what happens as a result of their acquiescence and accommodation, or as a result of their resistance and rebellion. Participants relate, in minute and intimate detail, much of what has happened in their community historically and currently, imbuing their narratives with specificity and richness. Their stories about historical events vary, revealing different conceptualizations, standards and values. Those stories offer opportunities for different perspectives to be introduced without necessitating direct conflict. As an individual narrates her story, she reveals herself, her conceptions about what happened or is

happening to the community, and herself within that place. This enriches the range of responses and resources of those around her.

These stories of everyday life reflect degrees of mutual intimacy and benevolence. Interest and concern evolve from shared (actual as well as perceived) historical and present oppressive practices of ruling groups, both inside and outside the community. This mutuality, while limited and temporal, promotes trust and the sharing of perspectives, a kind of mutuality that, in turn, assists in keeping the community intact.

The shifting nature of roles, identities and feelings described in interviews and profiles reflect the temporal nature of meanings of community. Women and men describe their everyday community roles as changing. Many participants point out that they have strengths now such as formal education and access to information which contribute to more informed decision making about community issues. They speak of how they have creatively constructed their community, in accord with their reconstructed identities. For example, it is more common now for women and men to share household tasks and child care.

Nevertheless, their history continues to convey a special sense of identity and is frequently drawn upon to portray the community's differences from outsiders and to strengthen resistance to TAGS. Oppression and ruptures in the lives of the Irish are commemorated in rebel songs and stories frequently told by men. While many women talk about the strong and good women of the past, they seem more comfortable than men with the changes in lifestyles. Women say that they have more freedom than the women

of the past for a number of reasons including birth control and modern conveniences. There are other changes in menanings of community which are not well received by men or women.

The fishery, which lent meaning to everyday community life, and which has been an economic, social and spiritual resource, is seen as being transformed by TAGS and other government policies. There is a sense of loss and a deepening fear that the inshore fishery will have no place in the fishery of the future. Many participants coped with the present fishery crisis by seeing it as part of a larger historical pattern of fisheries crisis. Crisis has marked lived experience over the centuries and also provides important connections between historical and current community life. Participants indicate that hearing about previous, similar experiences has been helpful in the present fishery crisis. As indicated in earlier chapters, many respond by telling stories of earlier times when the fish disappeared; this helps them to believe that this present crisis is also part of a cyclical pattern for fish populations: "Fish have always come and gone. That's the way of it. Even right at the beginning, when people had just come over from the old country, the fish went then. People starved back in them days. No government help back then."

While such stories give patience, hope and courage that help people support each other, many participants are concerned about their ability to keep the community together. Many express fear that TAGS has created hostility and conflict which may not heal. There is also concern that the community is endangered because people no longer have the necessary abilities to resist ruling groups. Men particularly see their male

ancestors as more self-sufficient, with more, and better, skills for resisting authority. Many are anxious because they believe they should be openly resisting TAGS as they believe their forefathers would have done. However, people generally feel that open resistence to TAGS would result in the federal government taking punitive measures which would ensure resettlement of the community.

While research participants were struggling with changing federal programs and an uncertain future, many were confronted with spiritual and religious challenges to their historical meanings of community. Many felt the loss of the church as a permanent source of solidarity and central meaning of community. At the time of this study, participants were talking about sexual abuse of boys by Roman Catholic priests. Historically, crimes involving the Roman Catholic church were dealt with quietly and out of the public eye (Harris, 1990). This was largely a reflection of the political power of the Church. However, in January of 1988, charges of multiple sex crimes were laid against the first of many priests who had served in fishing villages throughout the province; the priests were subsequently found guilty of abusing some of the male children in their congregations. The arrests, trials, and convictions sent shock waves through many communities. The Church was largely silent in response to inquiries from communities about the charges of abuse by priests and Christian Brothers. There were strong indications that the justice system was alerted to the abuse of male children particularly at Mount Cashel, an orphanage run by Christian Brothers, in the late seventies, and opted to terminate the investigation (Harris, 1990). During the research

period, some participants expressed anger and feelings of betrayal towards the Church and its priests. Other participants felt there was a conspiracy against the Church and the sexual abuse had not happened. Still others expressed relief that the former power of the church had been severely damaged by the revelations of abuse. The overall result is that the Church no longer serves as a connection to community. It has become a source of personal and interpersonal conflict for many participants. There are divisions particularly between younger people and the elderly about such issues as the priest's authority in the community. However, it is also apparent that these divisions are temporal. There were a number of occasions when participants seemed to re-connect and experience a sense of belonging together through the church. Most of these occasions were community events such as weddings and funerals. The baptism and confirmation of children continue to bring the community together to celebrate their children as well as to bring their children into the faith. It is interesting to note that even though many participants were angry at the church, most continued to involve their children in church activities and rituals. There is a general feeling that some of the basic moral teachings of the church are important to keeping the community together and therefore, the children are required to learn these teachings.

9.3 TAGS and Meanings of Community

The analysis presented here argues for a view of participants as interpretive and communicative actors in a context of changing meanings of community. Chapter Eight,

for example, showed how people developed analyses of and built resistance to TAGS in order to protect their community. Their analyses illustrate first and foremost that they saw TAGS as attempting to control and restructure the fisheries for the benefit of large corporations.

In unravelling meanings of community, I have explored the practices and mechanisms of government (Chapters Seven and Eight). I have shown how, through the implementation of TAGS, these have influenced the meanings of community in everyday life. Using interviews with local research participants, I have demonstrated the links between ideology, practices and mechanisms of TAGS and their effects on people. I have shown that TAGS' practices of exclusion have created lines of fault for both men and women.

In my analysis, I have followed the argument of Smith (1987, 1990) that experiences of exclusion make the lives of these men and women epistemologically privileged starting points for conducting research. The oppression of the women and men demonstrated in my research provides such a starting point. I show that TAGS is "integral to the relations of ruling" (Smith, 1990: 11) and reproduces the ideology of ruling groups; that TAGS itself was developed primarily by men from the ruling group and thus reflects their interests.

Like other researchers, I have paid particular attention to the way TAGS programs emphasize patriarchal authority and male privilege, using Smith (1987, 1990) and Cole (1991). I explored how such privileging encouraged dissent and discord in everyday

community life. TAGS inspired fear of authority among many participants making it difficult, if not impossible, for people to openly challenge its ideology. They were afraid to publically express anger at their treatment under TAGS as was evident in their examples of life under TAGS. They were concerned that challenging TAGS would result in negative consequences even resettlement for the community. In their analysis, silence in public forums about their private situations was preferable. Their silence was contained to public situations however discussion, debate and information exchange about TAGS was a everyday occurrence in informal settings throughout the community. As I heard many times, "there's a time and there's a place."

I have used Smith's notions of resilience and emergent consciousness to demonstrate that the historic, oppressive practices of government were re-mobilized in TAGS, which reflected the resiliency of patriarchal, capitalist ideology generally, and individualistic ideology more specifically. I have demonstrated that the research participants are "communicative actors," who are aware of and quietly resisted these oppressive practices. I have contrasted the meanings of community in everyday life with the ideologies in the textual analysis of TAGS. Briefly, the lines of fault were interconnected and complex, beginning with understandings of the causes of the crisis and leading to lines of faults in the solutions. The fisheries crisis has been experienced by research participants as a community crisis that was created primarily by government mismanagement. Government viewed the fisheries crisis as a labour market crisis affecting individuals and caused primarily by lax entry requirements and too many

fishers. Research participants saw the fisheries crisis as permeating most aspects of community life whereas it is seen by government as primarily affecting male fishers. Community is experienced by research participants as belonging to and connecting with such elements as place, ocean, fisheries and shared history. The fisheries are seen by participants as belonging to the community through historical attachment. Furthermore, the fisheries is seen as belonging to the community and part of the ocean's resources. However, the ocean itself is not seen as belonging to the community in quite the same way as the fisheries. There is a powerful connection to the ocean which enhances everyday life. The ocean is experienced by participants as providing strength to their community in a myriad of ways and as central to the health of their community. That connection also represents an understanding of the link between the future of fishing communities and the health of the ocean. The solution to the crisis, from the perspective of many participants lies in respecting the ocean through fisheries management which ensures long term viability of the community.

TAGS, on the other hand, supports removal of people and, indirectly, the resettlement of fishing communities. The success of TAGS was measured by its administrators in the numbers of people retrained and relocated. TAGS policy demonstrates governments' neglect of the connections that are essential to community life. Its individualistic approach shows a lack of concern for the essential links between people, communities, their environments and histories. Contradictions in TAGS policy and practices subvert and undermine the meanings of community for research

participants. For example, TAGS treated community as *fixed* and *given* versus *changing* and *negotiable;* susceptible to the influence of policies. This was partly due to the fact that TAGS was developed by policy makers, with little involvement from people living everyday community life. TAGS assumed that citizens could not make decisions because they could not understand technical matters. My research demonstrates participants' knowledge of and competence in technical matters related to TAGS.

Many participants saw TAGS as created deliberately by government to undermine community. Chapter Seven shows that TAGS documents and programs promoted individual adjustment; but the textual analysis and participant interviews revealed TAGS' harmful consequences for community life. Within its practices and mechanisms TAGS overlooked such aspects of community as sharing, co-operation, generalized skills and shared division of labour and failed to promote these. Mary O'Brien has argued that the "The opposition of public and private is to the social relations of reproduction what the opposition of economic classes is to the social relations of production" (1982:265-66). TAGS' focus on fisheries as private production failed to acknowledge the many interconnections of public/ private and production/reproduction within community. This failure can be seen as opposition to the interconnections which keep community together.

TAGS emerged from a long tradition of domination of women by ruling groups, as shown in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. Scholarly literature, local history and lived experience demonstrate that the dominant ideological tradition promotes the viewpoint that the fishery is male and females are inferior and weak; in fact, women were moved

out of the fishery by government in the past to preserve their femininity. TAGS forms part and parcel of the governing ideal for women which seeks to preserve their economic dependence and powerlessness by failing to acknowledge the historic and present contributions of women to the fisheries.

Feminists have long argued that the control of financial resources is an important indicator of the distribution of power, linking social powerlessness to low economic income (Ng, Walker, and Muller, 1990). The labour of both genders in the fisheries is tied, by most research participants, historically and currently to the meaning of everyday community life. However, the ideology of TAGS appears to be unwilling to recognize and tolerate the evidence of equal contributions to the fishery by both genders. TAGS documents demonstrate a singular lack of knowledge of, and commitment to, feminist perspectives in scholarly literature on the fishery. This literature has consistently and throughly supported the historic and changing role of women in the fishery. This analysis is supported by participants' lived experience, which shows that women are actors in the social construction and reconstruction of community. However, women have been challenged by contradictions and paradoxes in TAGS documents, where constructed gender relations actually give primacy to the needs and wants of males, while purporting to equitably address those of both females and males.

Women and men's resistence to the organization of their lives under TAGS includes a range of efforts that opposed, modified, refused to cooperate with or submit to the exercise of different aspects of the TAGS programs. Many men resisted by refusing

to participate in TAGS programs which were meant to train them out of the fishery. Women resisted by filling up training programs. Most of the programs originally designed for fishers were in fact filled by women who developed expertise in modern shore related fishery activities such as accounting and information technology. TAGS could not, however, overcome a local history of resistence which had assisted in keeping the community together.

9.4 Implications for Research and Policy Development

The title of this thesis "Living on the Other Side of Nowhere" is one man's description of his experience of community during the TAGS era. This phase captures his insight into community disruption and his feelings of being dislocated from his community and from himself. The familiar rhythms and patterns of his life are fragmented and he is fearful that there is no returning to community as he has known it.

In my analysis of meanings of community, I have attempted to show the insight of ordinary social actors into the conditions of their existence. My argument here is that these concepts of how people act are integrally related to community research. If the task of social policy is to promote equality and justice then these tasks suffer when academic and government bodies fail to link with people as social actors with insight. This failure not only increases the likelihood of making serious errors in research; it also obstructs the lines of communication necessary to bring about positive social change. Current practices of research and policy often reproduce relations of ruling. We construct

research that homogenizes and marginalizes. Thus, the outcome of such processes is polices that ignore the centrality of people's lives and that contribute to the fragmentation of everyday life.

Earlier in this thesis, I wrote that scholars who seek to sustain the critical function of social inquiry into community could further their objective by reforming the conception and practice of community research. I argued that they need to move toward the model which Smith proposes in her critique of the established sociology of North America (1987, 1991). Smith contends that social scientists have erred in following the natural science model of inquiry. She presents an alternative vision, a sociology that "will look back and talk back." Her conceptual perspective, applied to the real-life context of my study, helps us understand ruling relations and their effects on people's lives. Smith's vision contributes directly to my discussion of human agency, in that she argues that revising community research necessitates recognition of the competence and creativity of social actors.

Smith shows that too often researchers and policymakers are engaged in work integral to the ruling relations. She argues that work by professionals, including researchers and policymakers, is most often performed as objective administration; this lends itself easily to transformation into the instruments of domination (i.e., laws and policies). The discussion of scholarly literature in Chapter Two demonstrates that some scholars have supported the gender biases and dichotomised categories of community found in government policies such as TAGS. In contrast, Smith recognizes the positions

of various interest groups: scholars (the professionals, who observe, record and analyze), citizens (whose voices can be subordinated), and ruling authority (which needs to be disorganized) (Campbell and Manicom, 1995). She supports the notion that scholars hold a particular kind of position where they can choose to support the ruling relations as administered by the ruling group or they can assume a position of authority through an analysis of lived experience which challenges ruling relations. From my perspective, Smith's methodology permits scholars to move into a new position as a ruling group who have authority through their ability to control analysis of the experiences of marginalised people. While this approach to research can begin to challenge ruling relations, it fails to substantively change the subordinate position of marginalised peoples.

Smith insists that analysing ruling must begin from outside ruling positions. However, because the analysis remains located outside the everyday lives of local people it limits her ability to theorize resistance of marginalised people. I have extended Smith's framework by demonstrating that participants are not only able to describe their experiences but to analyse them and to take action based on this analysis. While Smith contributes to our understanding of lived experience as human agency and our recognition of the competence and creativity of human actors, she overlooks their capacities for analysis and social change. These capacities appear regularly in participants' accounts of historical and current community life in Comorra. Participants see themselves as both capable and motivated to challenge authority. This opens the

possibility of empowerment through analysis and acts of resistence and paves the way for meaningful challenge to ruling relations.

Women and men of Comorra have consistently employed critical self-reflection resulting in awareness of and resistence to ruling relations. As researchers and policy-makers have we been equally aware and consistent in resisting ruling relations? Have we been complicit in contributing to the experience of "the other side of nowhere" in everyday life through TAGS or other community policies? And if so, how? Are we clear about our involvement in the knowledge production about communities? How do the language and constructions we use disempower and exclude people from policy development and decision making? Are we using homogenizing discourse for community research and policy development? Are we aware of the implications? Do we involve people in community research and policy development in ways which are truly inclusive? This process of critical self-reflection by scholars, policy makers and community members is important in all stages of research and policy processes because it allows all standpoints to be heard.

New models for research and policy making need to operate within a discourse of collaboration and respect for differences and to recognize the necessity of political struggle. These models must move beyond assumptions of a unified community with one voice. They can begin to do so through critical self-reflection, which can reveal how all parties can be implicated in reproducing oppressive ways of thinking about and working within communities. Critical reflection involves learning to perceive social, political, and economic contradictions within one's own experience. It involves personal analysis of

largely invisible ways in which social structures, processes and practices work to organize all of our lives.

Professionals such as researchers, policy makers, social workers, health workers and educators have to understand how people in communities bring about change through empowering acts such as analysis and resistence. Professionals need enhanced understanding that the self-referenced theories and acts of resistence of local people are strengthened by the authenticity of their lived experience. Professionals are also required to share their own understandings of ruling relations and their own acts of resistence with each other and local people. The importance of this shared capacity for understanding is central to new models of collaboration in order to differentiate between what Gil calls "adjustment-oriented, status-quo maintaining approaches" and "social-change-oriented alternative approaches" (1998: 04). This shared capacity between local, professional and scholarly people allows for new ways of knowing and working politically.

These new models for research and policy making need to operate within a discourse of collaboration and respect for different approaches to analysis and resistence such as those employed by environmental, aboriginal and women's movements. We must recognize the necessity of both accepting differences and recognizing commonality in our political struggles.We have to explore together how particular policy and research processes exclude subjugated knowledge, voices and experiences. Wharf and Mckenzie (1998) draw upon the work of Schon and Rein (1994) to tackle the difficulties involved in requiring participants in a process to reflect upon their own and others' analyses. Avenues they recommend include:

> . . . the ability to contribute to the creation and maintenance of a climate of mutual trust . . . the ability to put yourself in the other party's shoes . . . the ability to act from a frame while cultivating the awareness of alternative frames. . . the skill of inventing new policy modification and practices with an eye to resolving conflicts" (Schon and Rein, 1998: 133).

While Schon and Rein limit the people involved in the construction of policy to professional policy makers, Wharf and Mackenzie believe that the inclusion of those affected by policy is crucial. My contention is that policymakers, researchers, community-based professionals and community members need to work to bring together lived experience, policy making and community research. With all parties contributing, they can educate and strengthen each other by analyzing and communicating the ways they are caught up in their particular relationships with authority. Through recognizing existing links, with their strengths and weaknesses, divisions, contradictions and limitations, new and more effective links can be forged.

A critical component of these models is creating an environment in which all standpoints can be heard. This component employs processes such as the Fogo Process developed in rural Newfoundland to build safe environments by using technology such as videos which allow marginalized voices to be heard. (Williamson, 1995; Taylor, 1995). Participatory research (Robbins, 1997; Ristock and Pennell, 1996; Taylor, *et al.* 1995) employs techniques such as small group discussion and kitchen meetings. The focus of these processes has most often been on bringing the issues of marginalized peoples to the attention of bureaucratic and government structures. These techniques must also be used to make room for marginalized standpoints of peoples within their own communities. One of the barriers to genuine collaboration in community policy making and research is

practices of exclusion directed toward some community members. Critical self-reflection by scholars, policy makers and community members is important throughout the research and policy processes. Critical self-reflection can reveal how all parties can be implicated in reproducing oppressive ways of thinking about and working within communities.

If scholars, policy makers and local people work together to make room for differences related to social categories such as class, age, gender and power, new configurations of collaboration will emerge. These new alliances will fashion research and policy which is informed by the connections and contradictions of community life.

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APPENDIX I

Consent Form for Research Participants

The purpose of this study is to compare the meanings given to the concept "community" by people who have been or are receiving TAGS with the meanings given to community within TAGS policy and sociological literature. By meanings, I mean the ways in which people look at and think about community. A comparison between meanings assigned to community in lived experience, in social policy and in sociological literature allows the possibility of enhancing awareness of local people, policy makers and academics about their commonalities and divergencies in relation to meanings of community.

Participants are invited to join a study which may help to educate policy makers, academics and local people about differences they have in thinking about community which may influence future fisheries policies. Participants may benefit from exploring the impact of TAGS policy on their experience of community.

Local people helped me to identify potential participants in this study. This consent form is an official invitation to participate.

The study will be conducted over a two month period. It will consist of at least two extensive individual interviews.

I _____ (research participant) understand that all interview transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet. I understand that participants' names will not appear on transcripts; aliases or codes will be used.

I understand that there are risks to the participants. While every effort will be made to ensure confidentiality and to protect anonymity of the participants (for instance, through the use of pseudonyms) identification of participation in the study is a strong possibility. Participants need to be aware that this is a very high risk.

As the research proceeds, transcripts and interpretations of the data will be made available to the participants. A second consent form will be presented to the participants prior to completion of the study. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. In other words, participants may withdraw their written consent after it has been granted to the researcher.

I _____ understand the terms of this study, agree to abide by these conditions and consent to participate.

Signed _____(research participant)

Date _____

Researcher (Sharon Taylor) _____Date _____

APPENDIX II

Consent Form to Release Research Data

I have participated in a study conducted by Sharon Taylor. I have read the interpretations of the data and have been given an opportunity to comment on these interpretations. I understand that if I disagree with the researcher's interpretation, she will report these disagreements in her research.

I ---------- consent to release the interpretations of the data for publication in her thesis (to be housed and available for perusal and loan through the Centre for Newfoundland Studies). I am aware that parts of this study may be published in popular or scholarly journals, or be published in its entirety in book form. Further, I have been consulted about the most appropriate places to send the results of this study for publication.

I am aware that any audio tapes of recorded interviews will be erased upon submission of the thesis. I am aware that the master list which matches actual names to given aliases will be destroyed upon submission of the thesis. I understand that all transcripts will not list actual names of participants but will be identified through the use of aliases. **Further, I am aware that the researcher wishes to hold onto interview transcripts for three years after the date of thesis submission, during which time the transcripts will be stored in a locked file cabinet, and after which time the transcripts will be destroyed.**

Signed ----------

Date ----------

Researcher ----------

Date----------

APPENDIX III

Individual Interview Guide

Introduction

The purpose of this research is to understand what community means to the people who live in it. This is the first of two interviews. The questions are open-ended. If you wish to miss a question, or answer it later, please feel free to do so. (I am not tied to these questions. I only use these questions if people need them as cues in telling their stories.)

I would like to hear your story about your life in this community: what this community means to you, how it has changed over time, how it supports you, how it undermines or limits you.

People live here for many reasons. What are some of the reasons you live here?

People sometimes think about going somewhere new and starting over. What would you miss if you left here? Are there any qualities of some other place that might make you think seriously about leaving here? What features do you wish this place had? What are you missing by living here?

How do people get along in this community? Has this changed over time? In what ways?

What do you think contributed to these changes?

Do you have pictures of gatherings in the community? Can we talk about these pictures? What do they show about changes in the community? What do they say about what has gone on here?

Do you have family heirlooms such as old quilts, furniture etc. that tell a story about your life in this community? Something that will help me understand what living here means to you, either positive or negative feelings about living here.

Is there a place or object which represents the community for you? How did it come to represent the community for you? Has this feeling changed over time?

What stories or songs do you remember about this community? What do they mean to you?

What do you remember about your grandparents' work? What unpaid work did they do (household, child rearing, caring for others, garden work etc.). What things did they do in the community? How is that different from your parents? From yourself? How do you

feel about your work, paid and unpaid?

What dreams do you have?

What did you dream of becoming when you grew up?

What are your hopes and dreams for your children? What do you think are their chances?

Do you participate in community activities? What have you done for your community? How have you felt about being involved in community activities?

Where do people gather for public events? How has that changed?

What is it like to be a woman/man in this community? Has this changed over time?

Who looks after the community? What kinds of things do they do?

Has your community experienced changes which have drastically altered some aspect of community life? How do these changes effect your life in small and big ways? Of these, which is the most difficult? Why? How do you feel about it? Has anyone benefitted from these changes and how? Who has suffered from these changes? Has anyone been untouched by the changes which have taken place? Who? Are the changes reversible? Which are not reversible?

What do you see as the most important changes for people in this community?

What do you like most about this community? What are your dislikes?

What are the relationships among people or groups of people in the community? (Between generations, women and men, people with different levels of income.) How would you describe these relationships?

What kinds of differing values, traditions exist in your community? What institutions pass on these values? Have these values changed over time? In what ways? What caused the changes?

Who has power over people and resources? How is this power distributed? Who benefits?

Who loses?

What are your hopes for the future of this community? Your fears?

APPENDIX IV

Profile Guide

Introduction

The purpose of these interviews (there will probably be at least two interviews) will be to expand knowledge of your experiences in this community during the TAGS program.

Can you tell me your story about this experience?

What are the relationships among people or groups of people in the community? (Between generations, women and men, people). Have they changed during TAGS? How?

Describe your everyday life in this community? Has it changed? In what ways? What has contributed to the change?