

**Biological, Linguistic and Cultural Change and Education
in One Coastal Community in Newfoundland and Labrador**

by

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Dedication

I dedicate this work to the memory of two dearly loved,
and deeply missed, family members:

My mother, Mildred Breta Gilbert
October 13, 1928 – December 23, 2015

and

My brother, Reginald Sterling Gilbert
January 30, 1949 – June 11, 2016.

Abstract

Much attention has been focused on issues of ecological and biological loss but less so on the worldwide loss of languages. There is heightened awareness of the need for sustainability in the ecological domain but less so in terms of language and culture. Nettle and Romaine (2000), whose research showed remarkably high correlations between areas of biological diversity and linguistic diversity, coined the term biolinguistic diversity to describe “a common repository” (p.13). It is a key concept for scholars across disciplines who explore diversity through integrated and holistic approaches. An examination of the relationships and differences between the domains of biology and language might explain reasons for loss, or sustainability, in both (Maffi, 2001; Romaine, 2013). I explore how a holistic approach will demonstrate the interconnections and interrelations within different domains. I relate these issues to the ecological disaster of fisheries mismanagement in Newfoundland and Labrador, particularly with reference to the cod moratorium of 1992, and examine the impact on language and culture in one coastal community in the province. Furthermore, I examine how education can contribute to biological, linguistic and cultural sustainability.

Key words: Biolinguistic diversity; Public education; Critical ethnography; Critical education; Language and change; Newfoundland and Labrador

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List of Acronyms

AAE	African American English
BAF	Bull Arm Fabrication Site
CBD	Convention on Biological Diversity
CNR	Canadian National Railway
CNS	Centre for Newfoundland Studies
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans
ESL	English as a Second Language
EGIDS	Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale
ERCO	Electric Reduction Companies of Canada Industries Limited
FFAW	Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers/Fish, Food and Allied Workers
FFRC	Fisheries Resource Conservation Council
GMI	Global Mapping International
ICNAF	International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries
ILD	Index of Linguistic Diversity
IUCN	The International Union for Conservation of Nature
LSD	Local Service District
MUN	Memorial University
NCARP	Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NL	Newfoundland and Labrador
OAS	Old Age Security
RCMP	Royal Canadian Mounted Police
SSHRC/CRSH	Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council/ Council- Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada
TACS	Total Allowable Catches
TAGS	The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy

TRC	Truth and Reconciliation Commission of Canada
UN	United Nations
WWF	World Wildlife Fund
UCW	United Church Women
UNEP	United Nations Environment Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization

“And there’s a backwards old town that’s often remembered,
So many times that my memories are worn...
Then the coal companies came, with the world’s largest shovel,
And they tortured the timber and stripped all the land.
Well they dug for their coal till the land was forsaken,
Then they wrote it all down as the progress of man”
(Prine, 1971, Track 5).

Chapter One

Introduction

“Nobody lives somewhere in general;
we all live somewhere in particular” (Hall, 2016, 14:23).

“But, most importantly, tell them we don’t want to leave. We have never wanted to leave. And that we are nothing without our island” (Kathy Jetnil-Kigner, 2012, 3:14).

Overview

In 1992, the Northern cod fishery was closed in Newfoundland and Labrador. It was the consequence of resource exploitation that resulted in the near eradication of this resource. It was a momentous event in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador and it affected the entire province. However, the greatest impact was felt in the hundreds of outport communities around the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador. This research explores the nature of the impact of the cod moratorium on one of these communities in three intersecting domains — ecology, language, and culture. In this chapter, I provide an overview of the historical and current context of that community. Furthermore, I discuss my connection with the community, outline the research questions I explored and explain the significance of this research locally and within a broader context.

Community of Cod Bight: Background and Context

Newfoundland and Labrador (NL), located on the most northeastern coast of the North American continent consists of two geographical areas. Newfoundland is the island portion of the province and Labrador is the mainland portion. Up until 2001 the province was known as Newfoundland. Newfoundland and Labrador has a land mass of 405,720 sq. km (Summers, 2010). On July 1st, 2017 the population of Newfoundland and Labrador was 528,817 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2017). Approximately 41% of

the population live in rural¹ areas (Statistics Canada, 2016), in one of the more than 700 small communities that are spread along 10,000 km of coastline (Howard, 2007). Cod Bight² is one such small, coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador. The community was relatively isolated for many years. The only access to the outside was via limited ocean transportation and a footpath leading to a railway station, seven kilometers from the community. The main means of transportation for Cod Bight, and the hundreds of communities scattered around the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador, was via coastal boats. This transportation system existed until the late nineteenth century when a formal, government subsidized operation began. In 1880 the construction of a Newfoundland railway system began and was completed in 1898. Thus, a system of both ocean and rail transportation was available to communities around the island portion of the province, including Cod Bight. In 1949, when Newfoundland and Labrador joined confederation with Canada the railway was taken over by the federal government as part of the Terms of Union. A national company then ran the railway, the Canadian National Railway (CNR). Cod Bight was not accessible by automobile until 1957, when a road was built into the community.

European³ fishers first settled Cod Bight in 1835 (nearby areas were settled much earlier because of their proximity to fishing grounds). The community is divided into two

¹ In Newfoundland and Labrador, rural is a relatively new term that is used to describe what was originally called, "outport life". The use of the term "rural" to describe the outport lifestyle was introduced as a government descriptor in 1949.

² Cod Bight and all other place names are pseudonyms, except where identification of an actual place does not pose a threat to anonymity. All informants have been given pseudonyms as well.

³ Previous to European settlement the original inhabitants of the province were the Inuit of Northern Labrador who spoke Inuktitut, the Beothuk who lived on the island portion of the province (now extinct) and the Innu of Labrador who spoke Innu-aimun (a language belonging to the Algonquian family). The

distinct geographic areas that were originally separated by a barachois⁴ and a beach, until a road, built around the harbour in 1955 provided a connection. These two areas, one located at the upper and the other at the lower end of the harbour, were given different names to denote the distinction. The upper end is known as The Rooms and the lower end The Bottom. It is believed that the upper end of the harbour was first settled because of its proximity to the fishing grounds. As the population increased, more waterfront accessibility was needed, and the lower end of the harbour became the main area of settlement.

At one point, there was a fish factory, located in the upper end of the harbour. It, reportedly, was divided into several rooms, hence the name, The Rooms. The Rooms, also a name for a common type of building (fishing shed) that was found along the water in outport communities, is a metaphor for the interrelation of language, culture and community. As O'Flaherty suggests, the fishery was "...the quintessential defining element in Newfoundland life" (as cited in Murphy, 1994, 2:08). It has shaped all aspects of life, including language and culture. Furthermore, Wolfram and Reaser (2014) maintain that "Nothing is more intrinsic to culture, community and identity than language" (p. 20).

The economy of Cod Bight was built around the summer inshore fishery. The men would catch fish close to shore while women and, sometimes children, would work on shore. The women and children would split and salt codfish and then place it on wooden

settlement period of the Europeans occurred from the 16th through to the 18th centuries and, during this period, many believe Mikmaq emigrated from Nova Scotia, as well (Clarke & Hiscock, 2012).

⁴ "A sand-bar" (Story, Kirwin & Widdowson, 1982, p. 23). Pronounced locally as barasway.

fish flakes to dry in the sun until it was cured. The fishery was not always abundant and, therefore, income from other sources of employment supplemented earnings. Many men would leave the community during the winter to cut timber in the central Newfoundland towns of Millertown or Terra Nova. While the men went to “work in the lumber woods” (the local expression to describe their work), the women remained in the community to take care of the home and family. In later years, there were a few residents who worked with the Newfoundland Coastal Boats, the Canadian National Railway, and, the Department of Transportation and Works (locally referenced as the Department of Highways).

More recently, the Come By Chance Oil Refinery, the Long Harbour Nickel Processing Plant and the Bull Arm Fabrication (BAF) site have provided work for a few individuals from the community. Currently, there are people who reside in the community who have completed post secondary education and have found employment in their chosen fields in neighbouring communities. As well, there is a small, woodworking operation located in the community. The owner/operator specializes in hardwood staircases, cabinetry, flooring and other custom wood products. A fish processing plant, opened in the late 1970s, remains operational today, but ownership has changed. It continues to be run by a local company within Newfoundland and Labrador. The fish processing plant currently provides employment for three residents of the community as well as two to three other people from a nearby community. The number employed is dependent on the quantity of fish to be processed but the maximum number is approximately six to seven people. There are peak periods and down times, usually during the winter. At the time of this research there were ten full-time fishers in Cod

Bight. In 1992 there were from twenty-five to thirty fishers in the community. Presently, the main source of income for two-thirds of this community is the Old Age Security (OAS) pension.

Many surrounding communities were resettled⁵ but Cod Bight was not, and the population had a small but steady increase. The population peaked at 181 in 1981 but has steadily declined since. In 1992, there were approximately 165 people living in the community. At that time, the community had a Kindergarten (K) to grade six school with an enrollment of 19 students (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2016). The school had two multi-grade classrooms with a teacher for grades K-3 in one room, and another room for grades 4-6. There was also a multi-purpose room which included use for physical education classes. In 1996, the school closed, and students were bussed to neighbouring communities to attend school. There were sixteen students enrolled at Cod Bight Elementary school in 1996 (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2016).

In 1992, there were three churches (United, Salvation Army and Anglican), a convenience store, a community centre and a post office in Cod Bight. The store closed in 2002 and the Anglican Church no longer has a large enough congregation to support it. In 1990, the community raised funds to build a larger and modern community centre. Currently the community centre, post office, as well as both the Salvation Army and United Churches remain. The community has a volunteer fire department, a United

⁵ The government of Newfoundland and Labrador, lead by Premier Joseph R. Smallwood, attempted to resettle to larger growth centres approximately 800 fishing communities from 1953 to 1970.

Church Women's (UCW) Committee, a Harbour Authority Committee⁶, a Recreation Committee, as well as a Local Service District (LSD) Committee⁷. Since 1992, the population has been gradually decreasing because of a declining fishery, outmigration and a low birthrate. The current population is eighty-five and they range in age from two to ninety-seven years old. See following table:

Table 1														
Current Population: Gender/Age														
Age	Female	Male		Age	Female	Male		Age	Female	Male		Age	Female	Male
2	1	–		45	–	1		65	1	1		76	3	–
9	1	–		46	–	1		66	–	2		77	1	1
13	2	1		48	2	–		67	1	1		78	1	1
15	–	1		50	–	1		68	2	1		80	1	–
22	–	2		51	–	1		69	2	–		81	2	–
31	1	–		52	–	1		70	1	2		82	1	–
36	1	1		57	2	1		72	4	–		83	–	2
37	–	1		58	3	2		73	1	2		87	1	1
41	–	4		59	2	2		74	2	2		92	1	–
43	1	–		63	3	2		75	–	2		97	1	–

⁶ Harbour Authorities are incorporated, non-profit, independent businesses that are run by a board of directors and other members who are harbour users or and local interest groups. They oversee the operations and maintenance of a public fishing harbour.

⁷ Local Services Districts (LSDs) are run by a group of elected members who make up the LSD committee. The purpose of an LSD committee is to offer services to several communities in a specific geographic zone.

Cod Bight: The Collapse of the Northern Cod Fishery

In 1992, the near eradication of a species (Northern cod), resulted in the closure of the 500-year-old cod fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador and a loss of thirty thousand jobs. It was the single largest loss of jobs in Canadian history (Rose, 2007). Rural areas bore the brunt of the closure, with a population loss of 18% between 1991 and 2007 (Higgins, 2008). Residents relocated to other provinces and elsewhere or commuted between their homes and places of employment (Greenwood, 2013; Howard, 2007; Rose, 2007). By 1994 it was hoped that the cod stocks would rebound, and that the fishery would resume but it did not happen (Rose, 2007). What at the time was expected to be a two-year closure is now in its twenty-fifth year. And, as I write, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO) has announced that despite significant improvement since 2012, there has been a serious decline in the Northern cod stocks in the past year (Kelly, 2018).

The ecological crisis that occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador was not an isolated incident but was indicative of what was happening globally. The fishery crisis in this province caused concern for fisheries around the world (Harris, 1999; Rose, 2007). Currently, Ireland is experiencing an eerily similar crisis with the exploitation of that country's ocean resources and an indifference on the part of politicians and business people to the impact of resource exploitation on the lives of local fishers and their communities (Ó Domhnaill, Garvery, Knox-Gosse, Wilson & Rikardsen, 2016). Worldwide globalization has broken down political and economic barriers and allowed for more movement of people, money, goods and services within regions (Grenoble and Whaley, 2006). The global economic system offers benefits and opportunities that

everyone from small rural areas to large urban centres want to take advantage of (Homer-Dixon, 2001). Cod Bight has felt the effects of these global forces.

In Cod Bight, within months of the closure of the Northern cod fishery, seven individuals left the community to seek employment either within or outside the province. Eventually, outmigration increased, particularly with younger generations. Young people moved on to higher education and other types of employment as they were encouraged to find a more viable occupation and, purportedly, a better lifestyle. The cod fishery was the reason for the existence of Cod Bight and the near extinction of the species brought a sea change.

Cod Bight: Language, Culture and Identity

Travelling along the 12-kilometers of deteriorating pavement that leads off the Trans Canada Highway (TCH) and into Cod Bight you pass local landmarks that have names dating back more than a hundred years. Names such as Boxes Smashed, Charlie's Ridges, Light Sky Hill and Wilson's Rock readily identify a geographical location for local people. However, it is much more than a location as each name invokes a story of people and events that are part of the community history. Within the community one might go berry picking on The Green Hill, a lofty, tree covered hill, that overlooks the bottom of the harbour. If you travel around the community you will proceed up Crick Hill, named because a creek flows beside it. Edmondson (2003) asserts that landmarks are part of the history of a community and the land is one of many symbols that "...have shaped the meaning of rural life and the people that live there" (p. 67). Words name more than a geographical location; they are a part of the history of, and connection to, place and

are indicative of a particularity of place. As Reimer and Bollman (2010) suggest, “There is an old saying among rural analysts—once you’ve seen one rural community, you’ve seen one rural community. No two rural communities are the same” (p. 47). Furthermore, they suggest that terminology is important and

...policymakers must also consider the issue of identity and social representations when defining rural. People develop a shared understanding of themselves and others, their values, and opportunities, which often includes a strong commitment to a rural identity and the social networks that reinforce it. Rural may not be the word used in each population group—small town or remote or northern may be the term used by residents of some “rural” communities (p. 14).

While rural tends to describe a general way of life, in Newfoundland and Labrador people were distinguished by the bay or town from which they came. The hundreds of outport communities around the coast of Newfoundland and Labrador share many aspects of a common language and culture. However, there are often variations evident, that creates a uniqueness within a place, as is seen in the community of Cod Bight. Like many other communities in this province, the fishery has been integral to the life and culture of the community for generations. The lines of demarcation were fine between the fishery and other aspects of life. It was the site of work, play and socialization. The men of the community earned an income from the fishery and women’s unpaid work in the fishery was essential to family sustenance. The young boys of the community cut out codfish tongues and sold them to earn pocket money. Children’s playtime activities were connected to the wharf and the ocean. They might swim in the ocean or catch conners from the side of the wharf during the day. At dusk, they would often fish for eels among the rocks in the brook that ran into the ocean. Young men might also go out in a punt or a dory to shoot bull birds or turrs. The fish within the ocean and the sea birds that flew

above it were important food sources. Young boys and men socialized on the wharf, on the stage head and in the fish stores and there was much intergenerational mixing. The fish store was always a place to hear a good cuffer. The cuffer spanned a variety of topics including the history of the community, stories of disaster at sea, as well as ghost stories. Additionally, the cuffer would be used as an instructional strategy, to teach the young about the fish trade and pass on knowledge of the occupation. The fish store gradually changed in function and purpose and, has all but disappeared. With less fish and fewer fishers, there is no longer anyone to teach or to socialize, and the young people have chosen other occupations. Therefore, the lexicon of the fishery is dying.

The community hall was the primary place where women would congregate and socialize. It was the meeting place for women's church groups and social gatherings. As was noted previously, the United Church Women's group is the only women's group remaining, with just six members. The loss of the community school means there are no more school concerts where once local culture and lore were shared and maintained. And, a decline in church attendance, is yet another loss of opportunity for socialization and dialogue. Both the school and church were meetings places for the entire community. The fabric of the community and what made it a "place" is wearing thin. Hence, the opportunities for intergenerational and community wide communication have significantly declined.

As a young person visiting this community, I participated in social gatherings, both in homes and at the community centre, that represented all ages within the community. At these events I listened to conversations and heard stories told by people who provided a rich and detailed history of Cod Bight through a language, and in a

vocabulary, that is now all but forgotten. There was a language specific to the place, and people were readily identified as coming from a specific bay, or location within a bay, by their dialect. Historically, on the island of Newfoundland, the geographic divisions were “bays” and “shores” (Webb, 2002, para. 1). It was a key identity marker and there were songs, stories, and cultural traditions particular to certain bays. This type of identification is, perhaps, illustrated by the title that local writer Ray Guy chose for one of his books. His book, entitled *That Far Greater Bay*, speaks to his identification with Placentia Bay, the bay where he was born and raised.

The language was of the community and the culture; and integral to culture was how people made their living. In Cod Bight the language of the fishery was learned on the wharf and the water and the language was of that place. The fishery, once integral to children’s playtime activities, is now insignificant to most young people. The opportunities for people to socialize and share language and culture have diminished. Language is culture specific and therefore loss of language is a loss of culture (Romaine, 2015). The fishery is so intertwined with the culture that the loss of the workplace register also signifies significant cultural loss. As well, what was once a very community-centred way of life has changed.

Important in considering linguistic and cultural change and loss is the role of dominant institutions, such as schools. Historically, schools have influenced change through the curriculum, policies and attitudes they put forward regarding local languages. Furthermore, education has been primarily about mobilization. The primary purpose of education was linked to getting a job, which often meant leaving. It was not about making a life and living in small communities. Such a focus can be detrimental to community

survival. Moreover, it does not recognize the importance of language, culture and community; in many ways, it can position them as liabilities to social mobility. However, schools can play an alternative role by recognizing and building awareness of the importance of diversity and exploring ways of building more sustainable communities.

Locating the Author

I have an intimate connection with the community of Cod Bight. Both my maternal and paternal grandparents moved to the community as young, married couples when the community was vital, and fish were plentiful. My parents were born in Cod Bight but moved away as young adults. Therefore, I have never lived there but I did make regular yearly visits with my parents. In 1983 my father retired, and my parents moved back to Cod Bight after thirty years of living and working in a small city in Newfoundland and Labrador. In the same year, one of my brothers also returned to the community. My father passed away in 1998, but my mother and brother continued to live in Cod Bight until they passed away in 2015 and 2016 respectively. For the past thirty-five years, I have made regular visits on a bi-weekly or monthly basis. Many members of my extended family still reside in this community and, therefore, I have maintained a close connection to this place.

Because of my ties to the community I have first-hand, albeit impartial, knowledge of the impact of the closure of the cod fishery on many people who live and have lived there. But, I have not been directly impacted. However, I am aware of the changes and challenges that have occurred for people in this community. Many have had to leave their home, family and community in pursuit of employment opportunities.

While it was not necessarily a choice they would have made, circumstances beyond their control have forced such change. People in this province have heard the statistics, i.e. the numbers of lost jobs, the population loss and the numbers of communities in decline because of the cod moratorium. Most recognize the environmental cost with the near depletion of the Northern cod. However, the linguistic and cultural costs of this ecological tragedy as demonstrated in the many personal stories of those affected have not been widely researched. My research considers this gap as a social justice issue as I believe it demonstrates insufficient concern for the impact on cultural lives in this community. Community decline and the resulting linguistic and cultural loss are considered unimportant or “natural”. Here, I am committed to presenting the voices of those who I feel have been unheard or ignored and to consider the cultural costs of such changes and losses.

Through my previous work, I have firsthand experience of some of the difficulties that people experience because of the loss of language and culture. I worked with new immigrants and refugees for ten years as an English as a Second Language (ESL) instructor. My extensive experience working with individuals from over fifty different countries has given me insight and understanding regarding the myriad issues around language, culture and identity. Furthermore, I have gained a much deeper awareness of the importance of maintaining linguistic and cultural diversity. As well, I am aware that, currently, ecological crises are among the main reasons people are forced to migrate from their homelands. Consequently, most refugees today are “environmental refugees” (Simard & Simard, 2006). I am cognizant of the interrelation of the three domains of ecology, language, and culture.

Research Problem

Research suggests there is heightened awareness of issues of ecological devastation, such as that experienced in Newfoundland and Labrador in the early 1990's. The eradication (or near eradication) of a biological species can impact the livelihood and culture of those who are dependent on it. Researchers use the term biocultural diversity to describe the relationship between biological and cultural diversity (Harmon & Loh, 2005; Maffi, 2014; Sutherland, 2003). Furthermore, Nettle and Romaine (2000), in their research, showed remarkably high correlations between areas of high biodiversity and high linguistic diversity which "[allowed them] to talk about a common repository of what [they called] biolinguistic diversity: the rich spectrum of life encompassing all the Earth's species of plants and animals along with human cultures and their languages" (p. 13). Biolinguistic diversity is a key concept as scholars across disciplines are exploring the issue of diversity through an integrated and holistic approach (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, Romaine, 2007). Sustainability is often discussed in relation to ecological preservation, but less attention is given to issues of sustainability in terms of cultural diversity and language maintenance. Studies indicate there is an interrelation and interconnection between biological, linguistic and cultural diversity. An examination of the relationships and differences between these domains may offer insights into reasons for loss or sustainability in all (Gorenflo, Mittermeier, & Walker-Painemilla, 2012a; Harmon, 2002; Harmon & Loh, 2005; Maffi, 2001; Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Romaine, 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2014). According to Maffi (2014), worldwide, local communities are attempting to maintain the "eco-cultural health of their

communities and landscapes” including preservation of “culturally important species...” as well as “...revitalization of local languages” (p. 5). George Rose, a fisheries scientist in Newfoundland and Labrador, declares that “The devastation of the cod fishery has not only devastated a marine economy but debased a unique culture” (2007, p. 13). This ecological crisis has had a profound impact on the province and especially on the many coastal communities that relied on the fishery for a livelihood. This ecological crisis that resulted in the near extinction of a species has brought change to many communities and these changes can be seen in many interrelated aspects of the character and structure of everyday life: ecology, language and culture. Biological, linguistic and cultural change in these communities brings up concerns about change, loss, difference and sustainability and questions the role of education and schooling therein.

Purpose of the Research

The purpose of this study is to explore community change within three intersecting domains — ecology, language and culture. I used a qualitative approach, adopting an ethnographic methodology to explore this change. Such change raises the question of how schools and education, in general, can respond to change and contribute to sustainability in all domains - biological, linguistic and cultural. Research suggests a strong interconnection between ecology, language, and culture and indicates that a loss of language, which is an expression of consciousness, is a loss of knowledge that is important for both ecological and cultural preservation (Crystal, 2010; Davis, 2007; Gorenflo et al., 2012a; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2005; Nabhan, Pynes & Joe, 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000). Key to this research is the context

created by the crisis of the Northern cod fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador and the resulting cod moratorium of 1992. The focus of this research was an exploration of the lived experience of this community and their response to this crisis of cod. I explore language change and loss. In this research, it is the replacement of a 'smaller' language by a dominant one that is the replacement/loss of register/dialect with a wide range of cultural implications. In my research, I discuss, change in register, i.e. workplace register, or the language of the fishery. Furthermore, I attempted to understand if other factors may have precipitated or contributed to change in this community.

Significance of the Study

Theories of biolinguistics and biocultural diversity are part of an emerging field of research. To date, there has been no research conducted in Newfoundland and Labrador that focuses specifically on these intersecting domains of diversity in relation to language, biology and culture. Worldwide there is increasing concern for biological, cultural and linguistic loss and this research addresses these crucial challenges in this place and within an educational framework. No work has been done in this province that directly addresses biolinguistic and biocultural diversity and education. Although linguistics is part of the educational aspect, a study within education and with an educational focus is less common.

In general, there is a need for more studies within this area and there is a need for studies of places. While much research has focused on various aspects of the cod moratorium and its impact on people and communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, none has been done in Cod Bight. This research will contribute new and valuable

knowledge of this community and the impact of the cod moratorium on the community. Furthermore, the story of this community will forefront issues and concerns that may be relevant to rural communities both locally and worldwide.

Research Questions

The central thesis question I explored is: How do individuals experience ecology, language and culture in a post-cod moratorium community?

To examine this question, I further asked: 1. How did community residents respond to the near collapse, and eventual closure, of the Northern cod fishery? 2. What changes economically, socio-culturally and linguistically have been experienced by the community since the moratorium? 3. What were the educational responses to this ecological crisis? In response to my findings I also considered how educational institutions could contribute to linguistic preservation, adaptability and sustainability in the face of changing biological, linguistic and cultural diversity.

Limitations of the Study

This study focussed on one community, Cod Bight, and, therefore the findings may be relevant only to that context. The research may not be generalizable because of the relatively small sample size. Nevertheless, the study contributes an understanding of the central phenomena in this study. The informants recruited for this research include a diversity of perspectives. They represent a diverse age range, those employed in the fishery as well as other occupations, those who have remained in the community as well as those who have left. The sample includes women's voices; however, I was unable to recruit women fishers. They were somewhat reticent and believed they would only

provide the same information as their husbands, who were informants. I endeavoured to recruit more fish plant processors and educators but was unsuccessful. I took measures to limit researcher bias and ensure the validity of the research, but complete objectivity is never possible.

Outline of Chapters

In chapter two I provide a literature review which offers extensive background information on the relevant areas that inform this study. I outline the methodology I used to conduct this research and discuss why I chose this approach in chapter three. Chapters four to six are interrelated data chapters, focussed, respectively on, ecology, language and culture. In chapter four I demonstrate how an ecological crisis that resulted in the closure of the Northern cod fishery impacted the community of Cod Bight and its residents. I examine how the impact of this crisis contributed to linguistic change and loss in chapter five. And, in chapter six I demonstrate the cultural change and loss because of environmental degradation and consequential loss of a resource essential to the livelihood and culture of the community. In each of these chapters I present the findings and also provide discussion. Chapter seven is the final data chapter. In this chapter I look at the response of formal schooling, and education generally, to the impact of this ecological crisis and provide discussion around these findings. I offer recommendations and suggestions that arose from this study in chapter eight. I have included a glossary of terms, which follows the appendices, to clarify what may be unfamiliar terminology.

Chapter Two

Review of Literature

“Human greed would destroy in ignorance if not intent those ecosystems, languages, and cultures that stood in the way of profits” (MacPherson, 2011, p. 35).

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of research that focuses on the interrelationship of diversity within three areas - ecology, language and culture - and explores causes and consequences of loss of diversity in each. Scholars across disciplines have begun to explore and conceptualize the interrelationship of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity. An increasing amount of research suggests that an understanding of the factors that contribute to loss of diversity in one area might offer insights into loss and change in others. Furthermore, research suggests that a holistic approach may help in finding ways to protect and maintain biological diversity as well as linguistic and cultural diversity. This review also includes studies that have explored the impact of the ecological crisis that resulted in the closure of the Northern Cod Fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador. These studies examine what led to the near collapse of the Northern Cod Fishery and demonstrates the attendant effects on people in the province. I also examine literature that explores how formal schooling can contribute to cultural loss, particularly as it relates to language management, change and loss. I situate my work within the current literature and demonstrate how it builds on, and adds to, previous research. This literature review is not exhaustive, but it is substantive with respect to the area being researched.

Ecology, Language and Culture: Interrelation

Researchers have begun to examine the interrelation of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity, to explore causes and consequences for the loss of each and to find ways of contributing to sustainability in all domains (Gorenflo, Romaine, Mittermeier & Walker-Painemilla, 2012a; 2012b; Harmon & Loh, 2005; MacPherson 2011; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2007; Maffi & Woodley, 2010; Mühlhäusler, 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Romaine & Gorenflo, 2017; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). Studies have explored the relationship between biological, linguistic and cultural diversity, their geographic overlap, and common threats to each and have found the continued loss of biodiversity globally appears to be happening alongside and is connected to the loss of linguistic and cultural diversity (Harmon & Loh, 2010; Harmon & Loh, 2005; Krauss, 1992; Maffi, 2005; Maffi, 2014; Nabhan & Pynes, 2002).

The term *biodiversity* was coined in the 1980s to bring attention to the need to protect and maintain biological diversity (Maffi, 2005). In 1996, Luisa Maffi and David Harmon introduced the term *biocultural diversity* to describe the interrelation of biology and culture (Harmon & Loh, 2005; Harmon & Loh, 2010; Maffi, 2001). In the same year, Maffi and Harmon also established the organization *Terralingua*, an international non-governmental organization (NGO) founded to work towards sustainability of biocultural diversity (Terralingua Website, 2016). As well, they organized the first conference that brought together researchers from the social, natural, linguistic and biological sciences as well as indigenous leaders and activists. Research demonstrated “increasing recognition of the value of ecological knowledge and practices of indigenous and other local peoples, and of the significant extent to which such knowledge and practices are developed,

encoded, and transmitted through language” (Maffi, 2005, p. 601). *Terralingua* has done extensive work in partnership with organizations such as the World Wildlife Fund (WWF), United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP), United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO), The International Union for Conservation of Nature (IUCN), the Convention on Biological Diversity (CBD), and the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment. Furthermore, they have published extensively on the issue of biocultural diversity.

Nettle and Romaine (2000), whose research showed remarkably high correlations between areas of biological diversity and high linguistic diversity, coined the term biolinguistic diversity (p. 13). Researchers investigating the loss of biological and linguistic diversity have identified specific geographic areas as “biodiversity hotspots”. These areas have exceptionally high levels of endemic species but have lost about 70% of their natural habitat and they have high levels of linguistic diversity as well (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Gorenflo et al., 2012a; 2012b). Languages and species appear to co-evolve, for example, areas such as, tropical forests have high species and linguistic diversity whereas deserts and tundras are areas which have both low species and linguistic diversity (Mace & Pagel, 1995; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Moore et al., 2002; Sutherland, 2003; Stepp et al., 2004; Loh & Harmon, 2005, as cited in Loh and Harmon, 2014). Furthermore, biodiversity and linguistic diversity not only share a geographical location but face common threats (Gorenflo et al., 2012a; 2012b; Loh & Harmon, 2014; Maffi, 2007; Nabhan et al., 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). The common threats to both types of diversity will be discussed later. And according to Maffi (2000), biological and cultural and

linguistic diversity appear to be mutually supportive. Thus, scholars are now linking these three areas of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity to understand reasons for loss and or sustainability that may be common to all.

In the mid-1990s a substantial amount of research began to explore the interrelation of these three areas of diversity (Maffi, 2005). Studies have investigated separately a global index of linguistic diversity as well as a separate index of bio-cultural diversity (Harmon & Loh, 2010, Harmon & Loh, 2005). These quantitative studies resulted in the first-ever Index of Linguistic Diversity (ILD) (Terralingua, 2016). However, Harmon and Loh (2010) suggest that the *Ethnologue*, which originated in 1951, also provides a comprehensive listing of the world's languages and the numbers of speakers of each language. This web-based publication lists information on 7097 world languages and reached its 21st edition in 2018 (Simons & Fening, 2018). Additionally, in 1996, UNESCO published the first edition of the *UNESCO Atlas of the World's Languages in Danger*; the third edition was published in 2010. There is both a print and an interactive online edition.

A recent quantitative study has produced improved data on geographic distributions of languages and biodiversity and enabled closer examination of the co-occurrence of linguistic and biological diversity (Gorenflo et al., 2012a; 2012b). Using these improved data sets allows for substantive, in-depth and detailed research exploring correlations between biological diversity and linguistic diversity. Gorenflo et al. (2012a; 2012b) used data previously compiled, by Global Mapping International (GMI), on the geographic distribution of over 6,900 languages. They used this to analyze linguistic diversity in areas that contained much of Earth's biological diversity as well as high

biodiversity wilderness areas. The languages they focused on in this study were non-migrant and indigenous languages, as opposed to languages that had spread over much of the world, such as English and Spanish. They found that almost seventy-percent of the world's languages are found in approximately twenty-four percent of the earth's land area. Many of the languages in these areas are endemic to the regions, and many are facing extinction (Gorenflo et al., 2012a). The authors suggest the work they have completed provides a starting point for examining this potential interrelationship and for looking at ways to develop and design conservation approaches that would help to maintain both species and languages in areas where they co-occur.

Harmon and Loh (2010) believe that such quantitative studies are important as they may help government, policy-makers and the general public understand the seriousness of the decline in linguistic diversity. Thus, they undertook a quantitative research study, using a characteristic random sample of 1,500 of the world's 7,299 languages from the 2005 edition of the *Ethnologue*. Their findings demonstrated that from 1970 to 2005, globally, linguistic diversity declined by 20% and the world's indigenous languages showed a decline of 21%. More specifically, indigenous linguistic diversity showed a decline of over 60% in North and South America, 30% in the Pacific (including Australia) and close to 20% in Africa.

Research does suggest that linguistic diversity is disappearing even faster than biodiversity (Crystal, 2010; Davis, 2007a; Maffi, 2005; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Phillipson & Skutnabb-Kangas, 2017; Romaine, 2015; Romaine, 2013; Romaine 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010). Generally, there has been heightened awareness of the need for biological sustainability but less so in terms of

language and culture (Crystal, 2003; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2004; Maffi, 2001; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2015; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). As Crystal (2003) concludes, “I doubt whether there is anyone in the thinking world who is not now aware, even if only dimly, of the crisis facing the world’s bio-ecology” (p. 2). According to Davis (2007a), the terms *biodiversity* and *biosphere* have become “household words” (p. 4). The widely-used term, *biosphere*, refers to all the genetic information on the Earth (Davis, 2007b). However, less well-known is the term *ethnosphere* which anthropologist Wade Davis coined to describe the “cultural web of life” (Davis, 2007b). It refers to all the information from human cultures and languages (Davis, 2007a). As well, Kraus (2007) introduced the term *logosphere* to describe the “ecosystem of linguistic diversity that is the delicate environment of cultural and intellectual and linguistic diversity in which we have evolved...” (p. 16).

Krauss was one of the pioneers of this work who, in 1992, “explicitly linked the threats to both realms of diversity [biological and linguistic]” (Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018, p. 17). Krauss estimated the scale of linguistic loss, in 1992, and he suggested that by the year 2100, ninety percent of the world’s languages would be critically endangered (Sallabank, 2010). However, the results have been more optimistic than originally estimated with “just” a 50% loss (Crystal, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2000). Simons & Lewis (2013) have provided an update to Krauss’s work on global language statistics and the sustainability of languages. Using the most recent edition⁸ of the *Ethnologue* they looked at the strength of 7480 languages (living and extinct). They used a thirteen-level

⁸ They used the most current edition of the *Ethnologue* at the time of their study; it has now reached the twenty-first edition.

assessment scale, i.e. the Expanded Graded Intergenerational Disruption Scale (EGIDS). They found that specific regions indicate predominant language loss, however, from a worldwide analysis there are more areas of the world where language maintenance outweighs language loss⁹. Nevertheless, they contend that we should still pay attention to Krauss's warning as minority languages are still under threat but probably for different reasons. As they suggest, the foremost threat is urbanization. It is one about which Harmon (1996) had serious concerns and is one of the common threats to both biological and linguistic diversity.

Languages and Species: Common Threats and Linkages

At this point in planetary history, ecological concerns have been fore-fronted more than ever before. The world is facing its sixth mass extinction, one that is caused by human activity. In 2005, the Millennium Ecosystem Assessment (MA) reported that human activity has resulted in the extinction of species, habitat loss and ecosystem degradation. The impact of human activity has brought about radical changes in the environment that is resulting in the loss of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity (Harmon, 1996; Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018).

Harmon (1996) maintains that habitat destruction is a key contributor to loss of both species and languages. He argues that context is crucial to the evolution and adaptation of both in that species require a "natural habitat" (p. 101) and languages require a "traditional social setting" (p. 101). Furthermore, "If those contexts undergo

⁹ Their key finding is that children are no longer learning 19% of the living languages of the world.

unprecedented rapid change - as the world's environment and culture are now doing - many species and languages will likely lack the resiliency to adapt to the new conditions” (Harmon, 1996, p. 101). Maffi (2005) makes a similar observation,

It was increasingly apparent that the variety of cultural knowledges, beliefs, and practices developed by human societies, as well as the languages that embody them, are being placed at risk by the socioeconomic and political processes threatening the integrity and the very survival of indigenous and local cultures and of the environments in which they live—and that this massive and rapid change has profound implications for the maintenance of life on earth (p. 602).

Habitat loss, often a result of environmental distress and degradation, contributes to the extinction of both biodiversity and language (Harmon, 1996; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2007; Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Romaine, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018; UNESCO, 2017).

Loss of both language and species are the consequence of extreme changes within the environment, and human activity is effecting this change more than ever before (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). This change is in part, the result of globalization and resource exploitation (Gorenflo et al., 2012a; Harmon 1996; Harmon & Loh, 2005; Loh & Harmon, 2014; MacPherson 2011; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2007; Maffi & Woodley, 2010; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Ommer & Team, 2007; Romaine, 2007; Simard & Simard, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). Loh and Harmon (2014) believe that “Ultimately, both linguistic diversity and biodiversity are diminishing because of human population growth, increasing consumption, and globalization which erodes differences between one part of the world and another” (p. 48).

The effects of globalization on people and communities worldwide is raising grave concern (Donehower, Hogg & Schell, 2007; Edmondson, 2003; MacPherson, 2011;

Neis, Binkley, Gerrard & Maneschy, 2005; Maffi, 2014; Maffi & Woodley, 2010; Ommer & Team, 2007; Romaine, 2009; Romaine, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Sobel, 2005). Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon (2018) contend that “neoliberal globalization” (p. 21) is one of the fundamental reasons for the loss of both biological and linguistic diversity. Harmon (1996) demonstrates how this occurs,

In terms of species, we now have the unprecedented and pervasive invasion by humans into the remotest corners of the Earth. In many places the result has been habitat conversion on a massive scale and thus the current biodiversity crisis. In terms of languages, the dawning era of global telecommunications means that dominating languages can now be heard daily in the remotest corners of the Earth. Geographic isolation no longer necessarily produces communicative isolation (p. 96).

Globalization is a leading cause of the loss of diversity resulting in uniformity, homogenization and monocultures (Homer-Dixon, 2001; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2014; Romaine, 2013; Romaine, 2009; Shiva, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). Neis et al. (2005) demonstrate how globalization has affected the lives of women fish workers and their families both locally and worldwide due to depletion of resources and loss of ownership and control in fisheries. Globalization and consumerism displace family and community-based relationships. What is happening in Newfoundland and Labrador is not an isolated case but is part of the “global modern” (MacPherson, 2011, p.13).

Ecological disasters, often the impact of human activity, are forcing people worldwide to leave their homelands and migrate (Cummins, 2001; Crystal, 2010; Davis, 2007a; Howard, 2007; Kelly, 2009b; Romaine, 2013; Simard & Simard, 2006; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004). People are displaced from their local communities because of either unsustainable environmental or economic conditions, or perhaps both. Thus, displacement

results in the erosion of both languages and cultures (Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2015; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018).

Furthermore, Harmon (1996) believes,

The actions which fragment or destroy wildlife habitat also serve to homogenize cultures and languages: converting wildlands to pasture or cropland (which is in part driven by the burgeoning global export market for agricultural goods); building roads, rail lines, and air strips in remote areas; developing logging concessions, mines, and other industries in tribal areas, and so on (p. 102).

Loh and Harmon (2014) suggest the Highland clearances in Scotland around the late 18th and early 19th century was a prime example of the effect of a homogenizing force. In this case, small-scale farmers were forced off the land and large-scale sheep farmers took over. The forced relocation and migration of substantial numbers of people resulted in the loss of cultural traditions and the near decimation of their language, Scots Gaelic. The Scottish government is making attempts to revitalize the language through the promotion of primary education in Gaelic.

Furthermore, the dominant ideology within a global economy is that uniformity is preferable to diversity (Maffi, 2014). Thus, Shiva (1997) suggests the increase in monocultures has more to do with “politics and power” (p.8) with little concern for either ecological or biological diversity.

Correlation or Cause: Biological, Linguistic and Cultural Diversity

Research suggests there is a correlational effect and, in those areas where there are high levels of biodiversity, there are also high levels of linguistic and cultural diversity and vice versa (Gorenflo et al., 2012a; Harmon, 2002; Harmon & Loh, 2005; Harmon & Loh, 2010; Maffi, 2000; Maffi, 2005; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2013;

Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2003). According to Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson (2010), some research does suggest a causative effect. However, Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) argues that a correlation need not necessarily suggest a causative effect in that one type of diversity is “an independent variable in relation to the other” (p. 36). But, “...linguistic and cultural diversity may be decisive mediating variables in sustaining biodiversity itself, and vice versa, as long as humans are on the earth” (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003, pp. 36-37). Indeed, research studies indicate that loss of biological diversity correlates with loss of linguistic and cultural diversity (Gorenflo et al., 2012a, 2012b; Harmon, 2002; Harmon & Loh, 2005; Harmon & Loh; 2010; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2005; Sallabank, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2003; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018).

Sutherland (2003) states there is a correlational effect between cultural and biological diversity but no causal connection. Furthermore, he indicates that the reasons are different for extinction of biological species as compared with languages. Mackey (2001) argues languages and organisms are different as the laws of physics or biology do not govern a language; it is human behavior. Harrison (2007) states that a language is not a living thing like a biological species is and, therefore, using terms such as language death or language extinction is not accurate to describe linguistic loss or change. Furthermore, an alternative way to view it is that “...languages change by cultural selection, species by natural selection” (Harmon, 1996, p. 91). However, as Skutnabb-Kangas and Harmon (2018) contend there are key differences between both kinds of diversity, and linguistic diversity is a choice, but nonhuman species are unable to make a

choice to abandon or add to its “species identity” (p.21). Furthermore, they add that “Human languages are shaped by a host of sociocultural factors that are far more intricate, and at the same time more wide-ranging, than any that obtain in even the most complex societies of nonhuman social species (p.21). Nevertheless, Harmon (1996) believes the two are analogous as, “. . .the broad outlines run parallel while the particulars may not” (p. 91).

Sustaining Diversity: Biological, Linguistic and Cultural

Nabhan et al. (2002) observed that the Colorado Plateau is a vast area that has conservation measures in place for protection of both the biodiversity and the cultural heritage of the area but seldom are the two conceptually linked. However, they, like many other researchers, argue for the preservation of both the biosphere and the ethnosphere (Davis, 2007a; MacPherson, 2003; Maffi, 2005; Maffi, 2014; Harmon and Loh, 2005; Harmon & Loh, 2010; Nabhan et al., 2002; Romaine, 2013). It is suggested that if biological diversity is essential to sustain the biosphere then likewise social and cultural diversity are necessary for the viability of the ethnosphere (Davis, 2007a; Davis et al., 2008). According to MacPherson (2011), we are unable to determine which language may potentially “contribute significantly to the well-being of the human species and of this planet” (p. 9), therefore, “it is cultural and linguistic diversity that are of evolutionary and ecological significance rather than a specific language or culture” (p. 9).

In evolutionary thought, diversity is pivotal as the more diverse a system is the more stable it is (Davis et al., 2008). Thus, diverse systems are known to be more sustainable (Davis et al., 2008; Davis & Sumara, 2008; Sterling, 2003). Importantly, to be

resilient an ecosystem must be complex and similarly a uniform culture means loss of ideas and understandings that might help with challenges humanity faces (Homer-Dixon, 2001). Monocultures either of “the mind” or nature are not helpful to sustainability. Davis et al. (2008) suggest that “In the same way that biological diversity at all levels is needed for the ongoing viability of the biosphere, so social and cultural diversity are needed to ensure the viability of humanity” (p. 9). Likewise, as Romaine (2009) states, “A varied natural system is inherently more stable than a monoculture” (p. 138).

Monocultures contribute to loss of diversity (MacPherson, 2011; Romaine, 2009; Shiva, 1997) while diversity, on the other hand, “...is a source of alternatives” (Shiva, 1997, p. 7). Thus, diversity is a key ingredient to continued learning, developing and understanding. Corbett (2010a) asserts that in places with a relatively homogenous population, it is even more essential to recognize the value in diversity and work to promote it. Diversity is a key ingredient to continued development, understanding and knowing (Corbett, 2010a; Davis et al., 2008; Sterling, 2003). It is, as Romaine (2007) asserts a “...a prerequisite for life”. Schools are necessary sites for such promotional work (Davis et al., 2008). Yet, often within school and society, generally, diversity is a problem rather than a resource (Corbett, 2010a; Cummins, 2001; Crystal, 2010; Shiva, 1997; Davis et al., 2008; Romaine, 2007; Romaine, 2015; Valenzuela, 2017).

Language as Knowledge

It is recognized that ecological knowledge and traditional knowledge of all societies is understood and conveyed through language (Davis, 2007a; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2005; Nahban et al., 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine,

2015; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018; UNESCO, 2017). UNESCO (2003a) indicates that the WWF has a record of 900 eco-regions and within this group, 238 (known as Global 200 Ecoregions) are considered crucial to maintaining ecological sustainability worldwide. These Global 200 Ecoregions contain a large variety of ethnolinguistic groups. Consequently, there exists within each, rich ecological knowledge because of the extensive history within a local environment, much of which is embedded in language. Furthermore, diverse ways of knowing and understanding, including the traditional knowledges of indigenous peoples, are important as it may contribute to ecological and cultural sustainability (Davis, 2007a; Davis 2007b; Davis et al., 2008; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2005; Nabhan et al., 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2001; Romaine, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2005; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010).

According to a "...United Nations environmental programme report, threatened languages store the knowledge about how to maintain and use sustainably some of the most vulnerable and most biologically diverse environments in the world" (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001, para. 6). Thus, if languages are lost a wealth of knowledge that is important for conservation of ecology and culture is also lost (Crystal, 2010; Davis, 2007a; Gorenflo et al., 2012a; MacPherson, 2003; Maffi, 2005; Nabhan et al., 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2001; Romaine, 2007; Romaine 2015; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001). Gorenflo et al. (2012a) have found that these languages often co-occur with conservation policies thus these specific areas are important for maintaining both linguistic and biological diversity. UNESCO (2000) maintains that because of the strong link between ecology and language, "conservation biology needs to be supplemented by conservation linguistics (p. 6). However, Nabhan et al. (2002)

indicate that often areas that are recognized as being important because they are rich in biodiversity are not recognized for their cultural diversity.

Protecting endangered languages is important because linguistic loss means the loss of a distinctive way of viewing the world (Davis, 2007a; Davis, 2007b; Harrison, 2007; Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Nettle & Romaine, 2001; Romaine, 2007; Romaine, 2015; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Matsuura (2008) maintains “When languages fade, so does the world’s rich tapestry of cultural diversity. Opportunities, traditions, memory, unique modes of thinking and expression – valuable resources for ensuring a better future are also lost” (Promotion and preservation of languages section, para. 1). The loss of language or a dialect of a language is a loss of knowledge and culture that is vital and irreplaceable (Wolfram, 2008). People learn to live in and have knowledge about their local setting and culture and language is integral to this understanding of place.

Davis et al. (2008) remark that people all over the world live and adapt to diverse conditions unique to where they are living, for example, the “arctic tundra, equatorial jungle, prairies in the middle of continents, mountain rainforests, and so on” (p. 9). They believe that in each place a culture develops with a “system of knowing” (p. 9) that is an essential part of that place. Consequently, there is a knowledge and understanding of how to live in each place. Abbi (2006) demonstrates the importance of place-based knowledge in her discussion of the Great Andamanese tribe, a group threatened with extinction, who survived the December 2004 Tsunami that struck the Indian Ocean and Bay of Bengal. Their survival was directly related to the knowledge of their environment and understanding of specific trees that would not be swept away. Likewise, according to Nettle and Romaine (2000),

The Inuit people who inhabit northern Arctic regions developed ways for surviving in an extremely cold and adverse climate. Knowledge of which kinds of ice and snow could support the weight of a man, a dog, or a kayak was critical for the continued survival of the Inuit, so they were named individually (p. 41).

Fürst (2016) describes a local example of how connection to place is evident in the way fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador navigate the oceans,

Inshore fishers remember their mark by name, and often gave names to ridges and hills they can see from the land, as a way to triangulate their location on the water. Sometimes, these were real names that might be found on maps, a headland or a hill. And other times, they were names assigned by fishers to help them remember, and sometimes pass on, their marks (11:02).

Through her work, particularly in coastal communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, artist and scholar, Pam Hall, has attempted to understand how people are connected to and embedded in place for she suggests, "...we live in a very specific way because of the place we live in" (as cited in Fürst, 2016,11:02).

Mackey (2015) suggests that knowledge is encoded in language, and an aspect of this is the knowledge of how to live and survive in specific environments. He explains,

For example, nomadic Canadian Inuit on the treeless fringes of the Arctic seas had little interest in distinguishing different types of trees; what they needed were words to talk about snow. In some Inuit dialects, more than 50 words referring to ice and snow are in use. All cultures have words that reflect their needs" (Language, culture and society section, para.1).

Sable and Francis (2013) state there is an essential link that the Mi'kmaq have, to Mi'kma'ki, their homeland, which is expressed through language. A Canadian task force on Aboriginal languages and cultures concluded that,

The most important relationship embodied by First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages is with the land. "The land" is more than the physical landscape; it involves the creatures and plants, as well as the people's historical and spiritual relationship to their territories. First Nation, Inuit and Métis languages show that the people are not separate from the land. They have a responsibility to protect it and to preserve the sacred and traditional knowledge associated with it (p. 2).

As well, local musician, Harry Martin, a Southern Inuit of Labrador, describes how language is a personal and intimate connection for his people to their homeland, Labrador. His song lyrics speak of this connection: “Legends of our people / spoken, in the language of the land / tell of hard times and injuries / strangers would not understand” (2000, Track 2). Through his music, he speaks of the importance of preservation of cultural heritage and respect for the natural habitat.

Importantly, Romaine (2000) argues biological, cultural and linguistic diversity have been under threat for similar reasons, currently and in the past, and therefore answers might be found in the “same place” (p. 129). These answers may be found in the language and the knowledge that people hold.

Language Ecology

However, Mackey (2006) argues that there is a distinction between species and languages as a language cannot exist independent of a community of people. Therefore, for languages to be maintained human communities must be sustainable (Loh & Harmon, 2014; Mackey, 2006; Mühlhäusler, 2002; Romaine, 2007). Thus, the issue is not simply language preservation but, more importantly, “living communities and language ecologies” (Romaine, 2007, p. 127). According to Romaine (2007), “Language ecology refers to the social environment and domains in which a language is used” (p. 127). Furthermore, Loh and Harmon (2014) indicate that for linguists, ecology refers to “the languages spoken in an area and the dynamics of the interactions between them and the social and political context in which they exist” (p. 26).

Therefore, language preservation is ultimately about safeguarding or protecting a group of speakers and, since people are closely linked to their environment, language maintenance is essentially about “preserving cultures and habitats” (Romaine, 2007, p. 127). These environments can be “friendly, hostile or indifferent to the life of each of the languages” (Mackey, 2006, p. 67). A sustainable habitat is vital to language maintenance and to the culture and way of life. Romaine (2007) offers a concrete example of the importance of a sustainable environment for language maintenance. She suggests grammars and dictionaries are unnatural ways to maintain the language; she likens it to putting a stuffed owl in a museum but doing nothing to protect the bird in its natural environment or to ensure its ability to reproduce. Nevertheless, she does not discount the importance of such measures, i.e. grammars and dictionaries, in situations where languages have reached a point where this may be the only alternative. I will discuss similar measures that have been taken, both locally and nationally, to preserve and revitalize languages, later in this chapter.

Romaine (2007) states that knowledge and folk traditions that may have survived for generations can be lost very quickly, within a generation. Nettle and Romaine (2001) provide evidence of the interconnection between a sustainable environment and knowledge preservation as they state, that “Today’s typical youngster in Koror, Palau’s capital, cannot identify most of Palau’s native fish; nor can his father. The loss of this knowledge has gone hand in hand with over-fishing and degradation of the marine environment” (Language and critical knowledge section, para. 1). Nettle and Romaine (2000) believe that the context for using language, for example, traditional spaces where cultural knowledge or language are passed on, are vital. Skutnabb-Kangas and Phillipson

(2010) state that the Nenets, an ethnic group in Siberia, northern Russia, have maintained their language, Tundra Nenets, partially because of the number of speakers but, as well, because they have retained their traditional occupation, reindeer herding, and their way of life. When these spaces disappear, or are no longer used, language erodes. Therefore, a loss of connection with the traditional spaces and the local environment, as well as a change in activity within these spaces, leads to linguistic and cultural change (Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Mühlhäusler, 2002; Maffi, 2014; Romaine, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Wolfram, 2008; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014).

Language Under Pressure

According to Nettle and Romaine (2000), “The fortunes of languages are bound up with those of its speakers” (p. 7). Stress on communities that include social, cultural, economic or military pressure often leads to linguistic loss and change (Crystal, 2010; Davis, 2007a; Maffi, 2007; Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Shiva, 1997; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). Furthermore, Romaine (2007) argues that loss of languages is indicative of the ecological devastation that is occurring throughout the world and it is directly related to human involvement that has changed the environment. Environmental changes have substantially increased the extinction rate because of human intervention (Maffi, 2007; Maffi, 2014; Romaine, 2007; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Loh, 2017). Nettle and Romaine (2000) suggest the loss of languages is connected to “the larger picture of worldwide near total ecosystem collapse” (p. 17). Romaine (2007) argues that all extinctions are a result of human behavior which is radically changing the ecosystem. Harrison (2007) suggests that

biological or species loss, however, is not equivalent to language loss as a language does not die in a literal sense. Moreover, he suggests, we “lack an appropriate technical term to describe people abandoning complex systems of knowledge like languages” (p. 6).

Nevertheless, the global acceleration of language loss at this present time indicates a grave concern as it is happening faster than any other point in human history. Much research has identified the interrelation of language loss and ecological change whereby individuals are forced to move because of ecological change or crisis which results in language loss or shift (Crystal 2010; Davis 2007a; Maffi, 2014; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine 2013; Sali, 2017; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Loh, 2017). About half the known languages of the world have vanished in the last five hundred years (Nettle and Romaine, 2000, p. 2). According to UNESCO (2010), if measures are not taken to help maintain them, more than half of the 6000 languages spoken throughout the world will disappear before the end of the century (para. 1). Crystal (2010) extends the research into language death and why linguistic loss matters.

Davis (2007a) believes that the loss of many of these diverse ways of life is a loss to all cultures. Folkins (2015) builds a compelling argument for preserving Aramaic, one of the oldest languages on earth and a dialect of a language that began in ancient Mesopotamia. Amir Harrak, a professor of Semitic languages at the University of Toronto argues that losing Aramaic is a part of a “greater calamity” and that is the loss of the “Aramaic culture as a whole” (as cited in Folkins, 2015, p. 36). He suggests we can talk about genocide, linguicide and also culturicide, “[b]ecause three millennia of culture is going” (as cited in Folkins, 2015, p. 36).

MacPherson (2011) suggests that the loss of diversity, in all domains, has been viewed in two extremes: pessimistically or idealistically. It is either the “catastrophic demise of the quality of life on Earth” or it is “the inevitable outcome of progress and evolution” (MacPherson, 2011, p. 43). However, neither of these extremes contribute to understanding “the actual complexity of change” (MacPherson, 2011, p. 43). Davis (2007b) suggests change is not the problem as “All cultures through all times have constantly engaged in the dance of new possibilities of life” (14:42). The concern is not whether change should take place but to investigate why it does, under what conditions and to find the appropriate response, including mitigation.

Dialect: Language Change and Loss

According to Wolfram and Schilling (2016), “Professional students of language typically use the term ‘dialect’ as a neutral label to refer to any variety of a language that is shared by a group of speakers (p. 2). Furthermore, “...linguists maintain that the difference between a dialect and a language is impossible to determine on structural grounds or even in terms of mutual intelligibility” (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014, p. 125). Indeed, language boundaries are often decided politically (Harmon, 1996; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2015; Sallabank, 2010; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). As sociolinguist, Max Weinrich, argued, “A language is a dialect with an army and a navy”. It is not whether people understand each other or not but rather whether they “*want* [original emphasis] to understand each other” (Sallabank, 2010, p. 50). While dialects are often considered minor or inferior varieties of language (Nettle & Romaine, 2000;

Wolfram & Reaser, 2014; Wolfram & Schilling, 2016; Nettle and Romaine, 2000), they are a natural part of language and everyone speaks them (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014).

Thus, if there is no way to determine the difference between a language and a dialect “...then how can we exclude a variety of a language on the basis that it is a dialect rather than a language?” (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014, p.125). The dialect versus language debate around African American English (AAE) has figured prominently for some time. There has been considerable controversy around whether AAE is a language or a dialect of Standard English (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014¹⁰).

Since dialect is often considered a lesser variety of a language, there has been considerable debate about whether dialect loss can be considered an important aspect of language endangerment. Nevertheless, when a dialect is threatened in a bilingual context, versus a bidialectal context it is considered an endangered language. For example, in Newfoundland and Labrador, a dialect of French is considered endangered because English surrounds it (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). However, and regardless, dialect is important to both regional and ethnic identity (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Monolingual speakers can experience language loss through dialect loss often associated with loss of identity and cultural heritage (Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Hiscock, 2012; Crystal, 2010; Foley, 1986; Romaine, 2007; Wolfram, 2007; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). People sometimes regret dialect loss because it is a loss of identity (Crystal, 2010). According to Wolfram and Reaser (2014), “Saying that dialect loss is not as important as language loss is like saying that we should be vitally concerned with the general species *canis familiaris*

¹⁰ Wolfram and Reaser (2014) caution that language use among African Americans is highly varied; therefore, African American English is not uniform.

- or 'dogs'- but not worried about particular breeds" (p. 124). Clarke and Hiscock (2012) note that in Newfoundland and Labrador increased contact with mainland North America has resulted in a loss of many of the traditional aspects of local speech, i.e. regional dialects, throughout the province. There have been attempts to preserve the regional dialects, which will be discussed later in this chapter. These attempts have been made because it is considered an important part of the culture and heritage of the province. Similarly, as Wolfram and Reaser (2014) state, "Dialectologists argue that science, culture, and history are lost when a language or a dialect of a language is lost... We as a society, are poorer if these traditions are not preserved" (p. 124). Consequently, the loss of a smaller language, such as a regional or ethnic dialect, is as important as the loss of larger languages.

The Complexity of Change: "Industrial Greed" and "Local Need"¹¹

In a global marketplace with a primary focus on profit there is less concern for the environment, and especially local habitats. Maffi and Woodley (2010) suggest that globalization has resulted in the ability "to turn a blind eye to the profound social and environmental consequences of massive exploitation and transformation of nature" (p. 4). From an extreme perspective, it can be argued that "...all of the biosphere and ethnosphere [is] private property capable of being rationalized, accorded a value and traded within a competitive global market order" (MacPherson, 2011, p. 34). Extensive research points to the impact of industrial carnage and resource exploitation, which has lead to environmental degradation around the world (Cadigan, 2009; Donehower et al.,

¹¹ Ommer & Team, 2007, p. 73.

2007; Edmondson, 2001; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2014; Neis et al., 2005; Ommer & Team, 2007; Romaine, 2013; Rose, 2007; Simard & Simard, 2006; Theobald, 1997).

Maffi & Woodley (2010) state as the world becomes more urban and industrialized there is a loss of awareness of the limits and instability of the environment. Likewise, according to Gorenflo et al. (2012a; 2012b), globalization and with it ever-expanding industrialization has the potential to endanger both languages and cultures.

Ommer and Team (2007) demonstrate how industrial practices that exploit natural resources lead to environmental degradation, which leads to community erosion. Rose (2007) suggests poverty results because of the corporate greed that exists on the part of a few. This greed resulted in desperation for many fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador whose livelihood depended on the Northern cod fishery. Furthermore, Rose (2007) suggests poverty and desperation can lead to destructive fishing practices when there is a greedy few in control who see nothing but profits as important. Consequently, it results in poverty for those fishermen which leads to less concern for the environment. There is a confluence of factors that contribute to environmental disregard. Ecological devastation is often a result of human intervention and therefore it is important not only to look at the impact of this devastation on people but to recognize their role in it. Maffi and Woodley (2010) indicate that a "...breakdown of the perceived link between humans and nature underlies many of the environmental and social problems humanity faces today" (p. 4). Similarly, Skutnabb-Kangas (2003) believes that "[a]s soon as humans came into existence, they started to influence the rest of nature" (pp. 36-37). Kelly (2008) asserts that human beings should not see ourselves as independent victims of abusive environmental and ecological activities but rather as being "deeply implicated" (p. 35) in

their emergence. As in this province, the combined effects of environmental destruction and economic poverty occurred in rural America (Edmondson, 2001; Donehower et al., 2007). Ommer & Team (2007) provide examples of how "...industrial greed and local need borne of poverty..." (p. 104) resulted in a blatant disregard for environmental concerns on the part of government, business and local people. In Newfoundland and Labrador in both the fishery and forestry industries, people exploited these resources until all but depleted.

There are other issues that contribute to a neglect or exploitation of the environment. Depopulation of a community resulting in a loss of those who are closely connected to the local environment, loss of local control in decision-making and, consequently, decisions being made by those who are both physically and psychologically distant from local environments are key factors in community and environmental consciousness and sustainability. Nettle and Romaine (2007) maintain that conservation is more likely a concern when people have local control over resources. Hall (as cited in Fürst, 2016) argues that if decision makers are removed from the context they lose sight of the people about whom decisions are being made and the consequences of those decisions. Likewise, Ó Domhnail, Garvey, Knox-Gosse, Wilson, & Rikardsen (2016) make a similar observation about the condition of the fishery and its effects on communities and people in Ireland. According to Skipper Máirtín Éanna Ó Conghaile, in Ireland "Fishing isn't done at sea anymore, it's done at tables in Brussels and these places you know" (as cited in Ó Domhnail et al., 2016, 32:21). If control is taken away from local people and decisions are made in boardrooms in Toronto (Hall, 2016) or in Brussels

(Ó Conghaile, as cited in Ó Domhnail et al., 2016) the distance is so great that it can make and has made a difference.

Stewardship

There is a stewardship within rural areas because of people's connection to place (Corbett, 2010b; Gruenewald, 2003; Hall, 2016; Howley & Howley, 2010; Theobald, 1997). Hall (2016) rejects the notion of sentimentalizing or romanticizing an idyllic or quaint way of viewing rural people and suggests they are not particularly better stewards, but they know about and are invested in the local place. The loss of people from rural places means the loss of those who have a reason to care and who are connected to the place, thereby resisting environmental destruction (Corbett, 2010b; Hall, as cited in Fürst, 2016; Theobald, 1997). Likewise, Ó Domhnail (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2016) remarks, "People are part of that ecosystem and need to be protected and encouraged (6:46). Maintaining rural communities and their populations is not a nostalgic quest to maintain traditional lifestyle or keep people fixed in the past. It does not mean people are set aside like museum artifacts to remain unchanged nor is it about putting indigenous people on reservations and expecting them to stay the same (Nettle & Romaine, 2001). Rather than preserving an idyllic past it is a way of moving forward. Part of this forward movement is having people in the community involved in decision-making about policies that directly impact their communities. According to Nettle and Romaine (2001), "Good development involves local community involvement, control, and accountability" (Planning for survival section, para. 2). Rather than attempting to preserve the past it is about building sustainable communities with the people who are a part of them.

From Global to Local

Environmental degradation through both global warming and resource exploitation are forcing people worldwide to leave their home environments, especially rural areas (Cunsolo, 2017; Howard, 2007; Jetnil-Kijner, 2012; Maffi, 2014; Singh & Divine, 2013; Ommer and Team, 2007; Simard & Simard, 2006; Theobald, 1997). Environmental refugees now outnumber political refugees (Simard & Simard, 2006). Howard (2007) states that the social and economic devastation resulting from the collapse of the Northern cod stocks has forced thousands of families in Newfoundland and Labrador to leave their home as “eco-refugees” (p. 110) and live in other cities in mainland Canada. Howard (2007) argues that while the term migration appears quite harmless it “conceals the deep pain and suffering imposed on people forced to leave” (p. 119). Similarly, Singh and Devine (2013) suggest there has been a Newfoundland and Labrador diaspora created because of economic instability in many rural communities in this province that has forced people to leave to find employment. Historically, Newfoundland and Labrador has suffered environmental degradation, depletion of woodlands and industrial carnage (Cadigan, 2009).

Environmental degradation and forced relocation often causes trauma for individuals who must leave their homes (Cunsolo, 2017; Jetnil-Kijner, 2012; Simard & Simard, 2006). Kelly (2008) discusses the connection between environmental distress and human distress because of (mis)management of natural resources with specific reference to Newfoundland and Labrador. What happened in this province was indicative of a much larger issue. As Harris (1999) notes, the environmental disaster of the cod stock collapse was on the same bill at the 1992 United Nations Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro as the

ecological catastrophes such as the destruction of the rain forests and global warming. Fisheries scientist Rose (2007) suggests the collapse of the Northern cod stocks in Newfoundland and Labrador is not simply about mismanagement of the fishery but is indicative of the "...broadly unsustainable relationship that exists between humans and Nature" (p. 15). What happened locally is situated within a much more complex picture of change set within issues of "globalization, climate change, fish habitat destruction, and a general disregard for the biosphere" (Kelly, 2008, p. 32). Human beings must recognize the vital connection we have with nature and our potential influence on the environment. Rose (2007) maintains it is imperative that fishers become more ethically responsible around the ocean ecosystems of which they are a part – "not as dominators or controllers" but as those who "care for the harvest as food" (p. 531). Furthermore, environmental degradation (and species loss), often a result of "industrial greed" (Omer & Team, 2007) does not foster an ethos of environmental care. However, we must move "toward an economic ethic that forefronts environmental sustainability and planetary consciousness" (Kelly, 2008, p. 35).

Local Studies: An Environmental Crisis

Several studies have explored the impact of the cod moratorium on people and communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. Ommer and Team (2007) conducted a seven-year study under the *Coasts Under Stress Project*. *Coasts Under Stress* is an interdisciplinary research project that began in April 2000 as a five-year project that extended to seven years. Researchers working on both the East and West coasts of Canada conducted case study research to explore the effects of "socio-environmental

restructuring” on individuals, their communities and the environment. This work focused on the individual’s experiences and how their lives were impacted by the (mis)management of natural resources. It included formal research combined with the lived experience of individuals in communities and explored how environmental and human health are intertwined.

Several researchers and writers within Atlantic Canada have explored the importance of the integration of traditional knowledge of local fisherman and community members with scientific knowledge (Finlayson, 1994; Harvey & Coon, 1997; McCay & Finlayson, 1995; Rose, 2007; Harris, 1997). McCay and Finlayson (1995) argue against the role of modern science as an authority on fisheries management. They suggest that a “co-management” approach combined with “participatory research” would be more effective in maintaining and sustaining the ecological balance of the oceans. Such an approach should include fishers along with other community members and scientists engaged in research. Through an investigation of the collapse of the Northern cod fishery in Newfoundland and Labrador, the authors examine how a power imbalance, one that gave too much control to scientists and ignored the advice of fishers, contributed to the closure of the Atlantic cod fishery. Finlayson (1994) explores the fishery through a critical, sociological perspective with a focus on the scientific aspects of fishery mismanagement. He critiques how information on the condition of the cod stocks relied exclusively on “scientific” data to the exclusion of the local knowledge of fishers whose experience gave them first-hand knowledge. Artist and scholar Pam Hall makes an interesting observation in this regard. Hall (as cited in Fürst, 2016) states, “I think, even science, big capital S Science, begins as local, specific, place-based knowledge, even if

it's in a lab. That lab is in a climate, in a culture, in a history" (15:07). Yet, these "local" knowledges — of fishers and scientists — are often not collaborative or reconcilable. Harvey and Coon (1997) suggest that managing and sustaining natural resources will provide ongoing wealth to communities. Proper fisheries management, including a more community-based ecological approach to management of the fisheries in Maritime Canada, would lead to a more ecologically sound fishery. Similarly, Cadigan (2009) discusses the connection between the environment and political, social and economic factors.

These local studies offer insights into the factors that impact the viability of a community with a focus on issues such as human health, economy, social and ecological impacts and so on. When a community is unsustainable, for whatever reasons, its residents are at risk. When people are at risk their language and culture are at risk. As a central institution, schools can educate people to examine the issues and conditions that create change and help them to address these issues to build a more sustainable community.

Education: Loss and Sustainability

Formal education, i.e. K-12 institutions, serves diverse groups of individuals from a variety of cultures and backgrounds but does the curriculum and pedagogy of formal schooling serve the diversity of learners? Education, in a broader sense, can take place in a variety of settings. According to Kelly (2009a,) education, both formal and informal, can teach us to live with a respect for the planet, its natural resources and its people. What role can schools play in preserving and sustaining diversity, ecological, linguistic and

cultural? According to Clearksy (2011), schools are vital in helping language and culture survive and essential, in this regard, is building “...a curriculum that is based on culture” (p. 264). Curriculum can — and has been — a way of domination and control and a means to reshape identity and culture. Therefore, many groups defend their right to maintain control of their curriculum. Clearsky (2011) contends that “The Blackfoot Nation¹² is one of many communities that are making every effort to revitalize their culture by consciously and purposefully sustaining and carrying on traditions within their community and in their schools” (p. 265). Furthermore, in Canada, First Nations, Inuit and Métis peoples believe it is necessary to have control over the development of their language curriculum to ensure they maintain their language and culture (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, 2005, p. 60). Doyle (2016) maintains that educators must be reminded that “Part of [their] job, what [he calls] the bigger job, the illusive job, is to help students respect their own cultures. This means their cultures need to be affirmed if they are to be the building blocks of learning” (p. 1212). Similarly, Cummins (2001) argues,

When educators within a school develop language policies and organize their curriculum and instruction in such a way that the linguistic and cultural capital of children and communities is strongly affirmed in all the interactions of the school, then the school is rejecting the negative attitudes and ignorance about diversity that exist in the wider society (p. 20).

¹² The Blackfoot Nation is also known as *Siksikaitsitapi*, and is made up of three Indigenous nations, the Kainai, Piikani and Siksika. In Canada, they live in parts of Alberta and Saskatchewan and, in the United States, they live in Montana (Dempsey, H. Parrott, Z. & Filice, M., 2016, Blackfoot Peoples section, para 1).

Thus, it is important for educators and policymakers to respond in a way that respects and values the identity of all, especially “school children” (Cummins, 2001, p. 17). While Cummins’ work is primarily focused on second language education, and the maintenance of bilingual children’s first or “mother” language, the same holds true for other kinds of linguistic identification. While Cummins (2001) discusses how the loss of a first language undermines family communication, Corbett(2010c) indicates that insistence on Standard language usage has the potential to distance rural students from their home and community. Wolfram (2008) believes that maintaining vernacular dialects enables people to maintain a connection to place and stresses the importance of education in sustaining language, culture and community. He has done extensive research on the dialect of the Ocracoke Islands in North Carolina, United States and makes the following observation,

One thing seems to be certain about the Ocracoke Brogue. It has been an essential part of Ocracoke culture and people in the community and *students in the schools* (emphasis added) need to know about it if they have any desire of staying in touch with the legacy that has made the island a unique place (p.11).

Similarly, Delpit (2006) maintains, “Students’ home discourses are vital to their perception of self and sense of community connectedness” (p. 163). A meaningful curriculum is one in which students see themselves reflected, thus reaffirming who and what they are (Boldt, 2006; Corbett, 2010b; Corbett, 2010c; Silan, 2003). Wolfram and Reaser (2014) emphasize the value of curriculum materials that allow students to learn about their linguistic and cultural heritage both past and present. Furthermore, Corbett (2010c) argues, “...when we attempt in school to unify and standardize discourse patterns we lose the opportunity to help preserve regional dialects and the particular place-based knowledge they contain” (p. 122).

The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures (2005) suggests that to educate and empower their children they must carefully consider both what is being taught and how it is taught. Furthermore, they state that “language education programs require qualified language training instructors, as well as appropriate linguistic and cultural pedagogy” (p. 93). Thus, they indicate the importance of the how (properly qualified) but also the what (appropriate linguistic/cultural pedagogy). It also answers the why — to honour identity and culture. Curriculum must be rooted in place, time and culture with a focus on what is to be achieved with students in a specific place (Kelly, 2009). However, according to Pinar (1991), the concept of place was missing from curriculum literature. He contends that “From its conceptions as a specialized field this century, curriculum has tended toward the abstract, for instance the formulation of principles of curriculum development applicable anytime and anywhere” (Pinar, 1991, p. 165). Corbett (2010b) states, “If education takes places and spaces seriously, then it becomes difficult to justify a monolithic approach to teaching and learning. The rise of place-based education attests to this fact” (p. 83).

Place-based or Place-conscious Education

Place-based education began in the early 1990s and “...might be described as a pedagogy of community, the reintegration of the individual into her homeground, and the restoration of the essential links between a person and her place” (Lane-Zucker, 2004, p. ii). Laurie Lane-Zucker and John Elder coined the term, “place-based education” as part

of their work with the Orion Society¹³. The pioneers of place-based education are David Sobel, John Elder and David Orr (Elder, 1998; Orr, 1996; Sobel, 1996; Sobel, 2005).

Subsequently, other research has been done in the field of place-based education (Gruenewald, 2003; Haas & Nachtigal 1998; Smith, 2002; Smith and Gruenewald, 2007; Theobald, 1997). Gruenewald (2003) believes that “Place-based education challenges all educators to think about how the exploration of places can become part of how curriculum is organized and conceived” (p. 8).

Furthermore, Gruenewald (2003) suggests a marriage between critical pedagogy and place-based education, a critical pedagogy of place. He states,

Place-based pedagogies are needed so that the education of citizens might have some direct bearing on the well-being of the social and ecological places people actually inhabit. Critical pedagogies are needed to challenge the assumptions, practices, and outcomes taken for granted in dominant culture and in conventional education (p. 3).

Likewise, Kerkham and Comber (2013) suggest, “...a critical pedagogy of place and critical literacy can mutually inform each other and provide a strong basis for a proper education for rural-regional sustainability” (p. 213). According to Kelly(2009a) such an education would examine loss as a means of hope, that is, a way to reconsider that which is taken-for-granted, to produce new ways of thinking and build different kinds of connections. Such an approach would have students take a critical look at what is happening in their local communities and encourage reflection and action based on this knowledge. Furthermore, Kelly (2009a) contends,

Sustainability is not only for a population seen to stay and nor should it be reduced to a common yet narrow view of upkeep of a social and ecological status

¹³ The Orion Society is a non-profit organization based in the United States. Its mandate is to take up environmental and cultural issues through publication of magazines, books and educational materials.

quo—susSTAYnability. Rather, sustainability should be a centerpiece of an education that attends to a profound form of inhabitation, involving ethics, politics and affect—a complex and compelling call to care in which transience is a feature of life, a way of thinking, a mode of identification, a form of belonging, and a mark of loss as possibility and hope—of reparation, for people and their places.

Nevertheless, as Gruenewald (2003) indicates, it is not to suggest that all of conventional education should must be replaced with critical, place-based pedagogy. Rather, “The question is whether we will embrace place at all - What happened here? What will happen here? - as a critical construct in educational theory, research and practice” (Gruenewald, 2003, p. 11).

Local and National Initiatives: Language Preservation

Several initiatives in Newfoundland and Labrador highlight the importance of language and dialect preservation. In 2005 a project to revitalize Innu-aimun, the language of the Labrador Innu, was begun, led by Dr. Marguerite MacKenzie of the Linguistics Department of Memorial University. The work was carried out in collaboration with Aboriginal organizations through a series of projects funded by the Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council-Conseil de recherches en sciences humaines du Canada (SSHRC /CRSH). Through this work researchers have developed a wealth of resources in Innu-aimun and one of the primary resources is a Pan-Innu-English-French Dictionary that includes over 27,000 Innu words. As well there are three dictionaries in print (English-Innu, Innu-English, and Innu-French) and a fourth (French-Innu) will soon be available (Innu-aimun.ca, 2017).

In 2007, a project was initiated to protect, preserve and revitalize the Inuttitut (also written as Inuktitut, Inuttut and Nunatsiavumiuttut) so it becomes part of all aspects

of life of the Labrador Inuit (Torngâsok Cultural Centre, 2013). This is a 50-year Inuit Revitalization Strategy entitled *Asiujittailillugit UKausivut* (Preserving our Language). They have a series of ongoing and current language initiatives.

Professors Sandra Clarke and Phillip Hiscock of Memorial University have built on the work of Dr. Harold Paddock, former professor in the linguistics department of Memorial University. In 2013, they formally launched the online Dialect Atlas of Newfoundland and Labrador. This atlas documents “the regional distribution of many of the traditional linguistic features (lexical, phonological, and morphosyntactic) that characterize Newfoundland and Labrador English” (Clarke & Hiscock, 2012). Clarke and Hiscock continue to direct this work.

In 1997, the online dictionary of the Mi'gmaq/Mi'kmaq language was launched. It is a developing project that began with seven headwords and three sentences and now includes over 3900 headwords. Most of these words include two to three additional forms. The words are recorded by three speakers, and each word is used in an accompanying phrase. The project was initiated in Listuguj; therefore, all entries have Listuguj speakers and Listuguj spellings. In collaboration with Unama'ki, the site now includes several recordings from Unama'ki speakers. Listuguj is in the Gespe'g territory of the Mi'gmaw; located on the southwest shore of the Gaspè peninsula. Unama'ki is a Mi'gmaw territory; in English it is known as Cape Breton (Mi'gmaq/Mi'kmaq Online Dictionary, n.d).

Conceptual Framework

As the preceding review indicates, recent research offers evidence of a strong interrelation between biological, cultural and linguistic diversity (Crystal, 2010; Gorenflo et al., 2012a; MacPherson, 2003; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2005; Nabhan et al., 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). Both the terms biolinguistic diversity (Nettle & Romaine, 2000) and biocultural diversity (Maffi, 2005) are used to describe the connection between of these three areas of diversity. The ecological framework of the need for diversity and the arguments that support biodiversity apply to language as well (Crystal, 2010). Research suggests that a loss of language is a loss of knowledge that is important for both ecological and cultural preservation (Crystal, 2010; Gorenflo et al., 2012a; MacPherson, 2003; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2005; Nabhan et al., 2002; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001). Therefore, key to this research is the interrelation of phenomenon (Davis et al., 2008; Gorenflo et al., 2012a; Loh & Harmon, 2014; MacPherson, 2011; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2005; Nabhan et al., 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2001). Research indicates an integrated, holistic and systemic approach might be useful for sustainability and maintenance of diversity in all domains. Complexity thinking, or complexity theory, posits that the recognition of the interrelation and connection of various systems is integral to sustainability (Davis et al., 2008; Davis & Sumara, 2008; Sterling, 2003). Davis et al. (2008) argue that this approach needs to be part of our ecological thinking and needs to be brought to bear within the educational realm as well. Both education and

society have a vital role to play in sustainability however up to this point it has not been vigorously taken up within dominant educational frameworks.

Education: Ecology and Sustainability

According to Davis and Sumara (2008), “[complexity thinking] has captured the attention of many researchers whose studies reach across traditional disciplinary boundaries” (p. 33). These transdisciplinary studies within this school of thought coincided with a movement in education away from a mechanistic approach to curriculum and pedagogy to a more organic and holistic understanding of what it means to learn, know and teach (Davis et al., 2008). O’Sullivan & Taylor (2004) suggest that “mechanistic images of Newtonian science and technology have shaped our understanding of ourselves, our purposes, our relations with each other, and our relation to our environment” (p. 8). Sterling (2003) believes education that is informed by ecological thought, systems thinking, and complexity theory might re-position educational thinking towards “a renewed sense of connectivity, community and meaning which is essential if we are to work towards a more sustainable and collaborative future in an otherwise fragmented and turbulent world” (p. 10).

Human beings are not independent of other people or the natural world and “... knowing is about who you are and what you are doing, and it unfolds within interlaced sets of political, social and environmental conditions” (Davis et al., 2008, p. 11). In this respect, it moves away from “a model of education that is one of social reproduction and maintenance, towards a vision of continuous re-creation or co-evolution where both

education and society (or at least parts of them) are engaged in a relationship of mutual transformation..." (Sterling, 2003, p. 51).

Education, in the modernist sense, was about the transference of knowledge (O'Sullivan & Taylor, 2004). Sterling (2003) suggests that the assumption that learning and knowledge are a good thing without any consideration of what type of knowledge, its interests and effects, is misguided. The type of knowledge that gets sanctioned by the curriculum of schools, by whom, for whom and for what purposes is never neutral. Schools, as social institutions, are powerfully positioned to endorse certain beliefs and worldviews. As Apple (1979) states, "The knowledge that gets into schools...is a form of cultural capital that...often reflects the perspectives of powerful segments of our social collectivity" (p.8). Furthermore, as Walker (1990) contends,

The question of what knowledge is of most worth becomes mixed up with the question of whose knowledge is of most worth and the curriculum, no longer a neutral selection from objective knowledge, becomes an issue of cultural politics. This amounts to the claim that the school curriculum is ideological in that what is taught is influenced by particular dominant worldviews that represent and support, innocently or wilfully, certain relationships of power in society (p. 177).

According to Davis et al. (2008), within the critical framework of critical pedagogy there is no such thing as "a neutral educational strategy" (p. 179). Neither curriculum nor pedagogy are neutral terms.

An education that teaches the necessity of respect and care for both people and the earth is required. To want to take care of place one must have a deep attachment to that place and a "deeply ethical sense of place" (Kelly, 2008, p. 45). Sterling (2003) suggests this ethical aspect is implicit "in the purpose and context of learning" within an ecological framework (p. 214). Furthermore, as O'Sullivan (1999) maintains, "To foster a

transformative education that is embedded in an agenda of ‘planetary consciousness’, it will of necessity have to be a vision that resists the corporate visions of an infinitely exploitable planet” (p. 201). Moreover, Davis et al. (2008) insist that,

Knowing, learning and teaching must be understood in terms of global citizenship. *Global citizenship* is about the obligation to respect and protect the people around us and the world in which we live. It is about ethical and mindful action—that is, a deep attentiveness to one’s participation in the unfolding of possibilities. A motto might be: Everything matters (p. 222).

Knowledge Gap

A study is required if research is lacking on a topic and further investigation is needed if it provides new knowledge and information in an area that has not been previously studied in detail (Creswell, 2015). Researchers investigating loss of biological and linguistic diversity have identified certain geographic areas as “biodiversity hotspots”. These are geographic areas that have exceptionally high levels of endemic species but have lost about 70% of their natural habitat. They are areas that have high levels of linguistic diversity as well (Gorenflo et al., 2012a; 2012b). Newfoundland and Labrador is not a “hotspot” but I suggest it can be considered part of a continuum for it has a rich but declining linguistic heritage and has experienced a recent ecological crisis. As was noted in chapter two this province suffered — and continues to suffer — from environmental degradation. Within this conceptual framework no research, in relation to place, has been done in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Furthermore, the ongoing environmental degradation in this province is evidenced in the protests by a group of indigenous and non-indigenous people, The Land Protectors. This group has been vociferously protesting the development of a massive hydroelectric

dam at Muskrat Falls in Labrador. They insist the building of this hydroelectric generating station will be a risk to both culture and food security in the homeland of many indigenous people. As Barry, White and Goodyear (2016) stated, “Living off the land is integral to Inuit culture and they fear methylmercury — a neurotoxin linked to heart issues, intellectual problems in children and other effects — will poison their food supply, especially fish, which is a dietary staple” (Who is protesting the project section, para. 8). Protesters are not opposed to the project but rather believe it must be built in a manner that is ecologically sound.

Previous local studies have investigated the impact of the cod moratorium on communities in Newfoundland and Labrador, but researchers have taken different approaches (Neis et al., 2005; Perry, Ommer, Barange, Jentoft, Neis & Sumalia, 2011; Neis, 2000). My study is focused on the personal insights or understandings of individuals as seen through their experience of change, adaptation and loss within three intersecting domains. A critical ethnography and the theoretical framework used is an aspect of this research that is unique. This research would address the issue of marginalization of people in small, rural communities. In this case, the marginalization can be viewed in terms of voices, language and places. There are issues of power and indifference to losses. The losses that occur because of change are often not seen as important or even understood as a loss. They are considered “normal”, “acceptable” and related to what is disposable. Why this is so, is part of what this research investigates.

Conclusion

This review of the literature examines research conducted in the field of biolinguistic and biocultural diversity and provides a discussion of the interrelation of these concepts. It gives an overview of research in the field that demonstrates the interdisciplinary approach and the connections that scholars are making between the three domains – ecology, language and culture. These transdisciplinary studies take a holistic approach to explore connections between three distinct areas of diversity to discover reasons for change, loss or sustainability that are common to all (Davis, 2007a; Harmon, 2002; Harmon & Loh, 2005; Harmon & Loh, 2010; Maffi, 2001, Maffi, 2005; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Romaine 2009; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). My research explores how an ecological crisis and the decimation of a species, the Northern cod, influenced linguistic and cultural change in one Newfoundland and Labrador community. I examine this connection within these three interrelated areas. Undoubtedly species and languages are different as has been explored in this review. However, based on the substantive previous research it can be argued that there is reason to continue to explore the possible interconnections between all domains. This research investigates issues of social and ecological justice through a critical reading of culture that questions the taken-for-granted assumptions and misconceptions about rural life (Donehower et al., 2007; Edmondson, 2001). To do so, I used a critical qualitative approach, adopting an ethnographic methodology in my research. I will outline and discuss my methodological approach in chapter three.

Chapter Three

Research Approach and Methodology

Introduction

This research used a critical qualitative approach, adopting an ethnographic methodology to explore community change in three intersecting domains – language, culture and ecology. This study examined the impact of an ecological crisis, the near depletion of the Northern cod stocks and the resulting cod moratorium, on one community in Newfoundland and Labrador. I began my research with a strong belief that, historically, injustices have been done to people living in the hundreds of coastal communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. Many of the individuals involved in this research have been a part of a history of change that has impacted life in their community and, indeed, many other rural communities in this province. However, the cod moratorium was a very significant event in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador. Writer and commentator, Rex Murphy, suggests, it was the “...second biggest story since Confederation” (as cited in Chatterjee, 2012). The consequences of this event continued to be unjust in myriad ways.

Worldwide, Newfoundland and Labrador cod has become “*the* [original emphasis] example of a pilloried resource” (Rose, 2007, p. 14). This ecological disaster had a significant impact on inshore fishermen and their families in many Newfoundland and Labrador coastal communities. The consequence of this affected “...not just an occupation but a way of life for hundreds of years” (Harris, 1999, p. 307). However, prior to this disaster, politicians, bureaucrats and scientists paid little attention to or had little

concern for the fishermen who foreshadowed the disaster (Harris, 1999). As Harris (1999) notes, “It was the handline and trap fishermen in Petty Harbour who were among the first to insist that DFO scientific assessments of the northern cod were wrong. Some were skeptical as early as 1983 when they noticed that the fish were getting smaller and that the season that had once stretched from June to November now ran from July to the middle of September” (p. 218). Likewise, McCay & Finlayson (1995) suggest,

The day-to-day operational reality of the inshore fishing community increasingly diverged from that of DFO’s science-based construction of reality; the inshore sector was landing progressively few-and smaller-fish while the offshore trawlers’ catches were continuing to increase. Inshore fishermen began to claim [in 1982] that the stock was in danger-that the scientific description of a healthy, growing stock must be wrong-and that the northern cod quotas, particularly those for the corporate offshore fleet, should be immediately and significantly reduced (Problems in the science of Northern cod assessment section, para. 1).

Largely, their voices were ignored (Finlayson, 1994; Harris, 1999; Harvey & Coon, 1997; McCay & Finlayson, 1995; Rose, 2007).

Much research has explored different aspects of the impact of the cod moratorium on people and communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. However, previous research has not investigated the intersecting domains of language, culture and ecology and the role of key institutions, in this case, schools. Although it has been twenty-five years since this ecological crisis, Barbara Neis, one of the lead researchers on the *Coasts Under Stress* project is skeptical whether education has taken up this issue at all (as cited in Mair, 2012).

Macpherson (2011) discusses the importance of large statistical analyses of specific populations but suggests there is also a need for studies of place. She believes that ethnographic studies offer the *particular experience* (emphasis added) of “biological,

linguistic, cultural contact, shift and loss and educational change” (p. 12). Following MacPherson, through this critical ethnographic study of one community, I sought to explore the inter-relationship of change in these three domains to understand community loss, adaptation and change in this community through the lived experiences of several of its members. Furthermore, I examined how educational institutions might contribute to preservation, adaptability and sustainability in all three domains.

Critical Research

I chose a critical research approach because, to some degree, it can deal with “the nature of social life, the relationship between self and society, the structure of social institutions, social transformation, as well as themes such as gender, race, and class” (Murphy, 2013, p.4). Critical research can be considered big-picture research. A critical social research agenda endeavours to reveal structures of power and domination, and to deconstruct the discourses and narratives that reinforce such structures. This critical social research approach questions how we get knowledge, how dominant institutions and belief systems are sustained, and how society can be transformed. Critical social research attempts to look beneath the surface to expose unfair and repressive social processes and structures to challenge the taken for granted and find ways to move towards action (Jupp, 2006).

As a critical researcher, I am interested in focussing on people whose needs are not met within the current system. Furthermore, critical research looks at how the system itself is unjust. As such a researcher, I entered the informants’ world to gain an interpretative understanding of the culture that they have created and maintained, often in

opposition to dominant systems. Critical researchers endeavour to reveal social contradictions under which human beings work, in a society that does not work well for them. Critical researchers then suggest a plan of action to help change the current social condition (Willis, 2007).

As a critical researcher, "It is important to make explicit one's loyalties, alliances and values as well as how these affect their research" (Kincheloe, 2003, p. 36). I see this as a fundamental aspect of the research process. I am aware that "'knowing' is not linear, it is complex; nor is it objective in any simple observable or measurable sense because it is infused with the subjectivity of the person doing the knowing" (Murphy, 2013. pp. 70-71).

Methodology

I used critical ethnography because this methodology focuses on challenging the existing status quo of political, social, and institutional structures (Creswell, 2015). Critical ethnography is based, in part, on critical theory, which is a social theory oriented toward equity through critiquing and changing society. Critical ethnographies are focused, theorized studies that seek to transform understanding of particular social institutions or practices, or of life itself. They may engage in ideology critique or demystification, showing, for example, interests hidden behind, or vested in, cultural meanings and practices or revealing forms of domination or power. This research will contribute to understanding the historical exploitation and devastation within the fishery because of inequity, corporate greed and government indifference (Cadigan, 2009).

According to the naturalist account of ethnography, its value as a social research

methodology is founded upon the existence of such variations in cultural patterns across and within societies, and their significance for understanding social processes. Therefore, such work would be done by the researcher in a natural setting, for example, the researcher's own community. Ethnography utilizes the capacity that any social actor possesses for learning new cultures, and the objectivity in which this process results. Even where a researcher is studying a familiar group or setting, such as I am, the informant observer is required to treat this group or setting as 'anthropologically strange', to make explicit the assumptions he or she takes for granted as a culture member.

According to Thomas (1993), "Critical ethnography is grounded empirically in explicit prior evidence of a variety of debilitating social conditions that provide the departure point for research" (p. 33). The "departure point" for this research is the fact that in Newfoundland and Labrador countless "coastal communities [were] socially and economically devastated" (Howard, 2007, p. 110) because of the collapse of the Northern cod fishery in 1992. Thomas (1993) suggests that although critical and conventional ethnography are very similar; the key difference is that the former has "a political purpose" (p. 4). Important in critical ethnography is to contribute to "discourses of social justice" (Madison, 2012, p. 6).

This present research addresses biological, linguistic and cultural diversity as a social justice issue. Romaine (2007) contends that "Maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity is a matter of social justice because distinctiveness in culture and language has formed the basis for defining human identities" (p. 130). Furthermore, Howard (2007) argues that what happened in many of the communities in Newfoundland and Labrador "are matters of environmental justice and ecological rights" (p. 109). Therefore, the

purpose of this research was not to simply describe change in this community. I examined the interconnections between an ecological crisis and linguistic and cultural changes and the role of education therein.

I used a critical ethnography to recognize and bring to the forefront the experience of this rural community. Rural communities tend to be misrepresented, under-represented and marginalized (Corbett, 2010c; Corbett, 2007; Donehower et al., 2007; Edmondson, 2003; Edmondson & Urso, 2008; Theobald, 1997; Theobald & Wood, 2010).

Worldwide, people are increasingly leaving rural life behind, either by choice or force, for an urban life that is purported to be superior. Much research has explored the fact that the dominant discourses of politics, media, and education have perpetuated the belief that success equates with leaving rural areas (Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Donehower et al., 2007; Edmondston, 2003; Rebanks, 2015; Schafft & Jackson, 2010; Theobald, 1997; Theobald & Wood, 2010). Furthermore, traditionally educational institutions have not valued linguistic diversity (Corbett, 2010b; Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Davis, 2013; MacPherson, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018; Wilinsky, 1998) or cultural diversity (Corbett, 2010b; 2010c; Rodriguez, 1982; Stillman and Sleeter, 2013; Walker, 1990). Educational institutions, rather than being respectful of diversity and difference, tend to be assimilative. Assimilation occurs through the knowledge that is taught and promoted through a standardized curriculum. Historically, schools have been designed to meet the needs and endorse the culture of white, middle-class students and all students are expected to conform, assimilative influences that are driven through the curriculum and the culture of the school (Corbett, 2010b; Corbett, 2010c; Cummins, 2001; Donehower et al., 2007; MacPherson, 2011;

Stillman and Sleeter, 2013; Walker, 1990; Wilinsky, 1998). Furthermore, rural identities, languages and cultures have been marginalized or ignored.

Researcher Role

I brought significant yet partial knowledge and understanding to this research site. My personal knowledge of the community and the residents of Cod Bight was essential to building trust and rapport (Whitt, 1991). My established relationship with community members helped me to gain the confidence of informants in this study. I took measures to maintain and to further the initial trust by being respectful and ethical in my research (Creswell, 2015). However, as Merriam (2009) indicates there is always a balance to be maintained between being “the insider and outsider in qualitative research” (p. 124). Therefore, role negotiation can be difficult (Cohen, Manion, & Morrison, 2007, p. 180). I was aware that my role as a doctoral student and researcher could position me differently than usual in the community context and, potentially, as one of perceived authority. However, I worked to maintain my usual relationship, to avoid any type of intimidation and to ensure informants maintained a sense of their own agency. As such, I endeavoured to maintain a degree of informality and comfort in all interactions with informants in order to put people more at ease. Therefore, I had to continually find the balance between being both “stranger” and “friend” (Merriam, 2009).

Ethnographers must continually work at maintaining and building rapport through all stages of the research (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). Therefore, the behavior and manner of the researcher, both in general, and, particularly during the interview process is crucial to ethnographic work (Madison, 2012). The researcher must have a “mindful

rapport” (Madison, 2012, p. 39) to ensure informants are heard and respected.

Furthermore, she must have a “positive naïveness [sic]” (Madison, 2012, p. 39) and realize that she does not know everything and respect that others have knowledge. In this research, there were occasions when individuals indicated that they felt they did not have anything worthwhile to tell me. In these instances, I believe it was due to both insecurity and self-consciousness borne of positioning within unequal relations. For example, some women dismissed the possibility of their own knowledge, deferring to their male partners’ accounts. I strove to make people aware that their knowledge and experience were key to this research. Furthermore, when I began the interview process, I became aware very quickly that despite my intimate connection to this community I was limited in my understanding of the experience of this community because, essentially, I was an outsider. I realized that I had very peripheral knowledge and information as I began to get a deeper and broader understanding about the experience of this community.

In critical ethnography researcher and informants must be “conversational partners” (Rubin and Rubin, 2012). Therefore, the interview becomes less rigid in terms of question and answer and a more flexible interchange between researcher and informants emerges (Madison, 2012). While I did have an interview protocol, it was not followed precisely, as I used a semi-structured approach. Thus, during each interview, all questions were asked according to the interview protocol; however, the interview followed more of a conversational approach as opposed to a strict question/answer interview method. The conversation took a variety of directions, depending on where informants wanted to go. Ethnographers must spend considerable time in a community, and there must be a willingness to become very intimately involved in that community

and with its people (Creswell, 2009; LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). As previously noted, I have had a lifetime connection to this community, but I spent five months as a part of this community while doing my research and became involved in many aspects of life there. I lived in the community for extended periods of time and participated in many different social events within the community. I also socialized with people, visiting them in their homes and, as well, inviting them to my home. Consequently, I developed closer bonds with some of the residents.

Merriam (2009) contends that since the researcher is the “primary instrument of data collection, subjectivity and interaction are assumed” (p. 127). Therefore, the critical ethnographer positions herself in the research and is “reflexive and self-aware of [her] role” (Creswell, 2009, p. 479). Having an awareness of “who you are” both shapes and enriches the study (Bogdan and Bilken, 1982; Peshkin, 1998; as cited in Merriam, 2009). Reflexivity means that the researcher is aware of how her own knowledge both “benefits and limits” (Russell & Kelly, 2002, p. 10). Harvey (1990) contends that critical ethnography “...is reflexive in its constant confrontation of taken-for-granted” (Approaches and techniques of critical ethnography section, para. 12).

Furthermore, LeCompte et al. (1996) state that “qualitative research is distinguished partly by its admission of the subjective perception and biases of both informants and researcher into the research frame. The subjectivities of informants are usually a major part of what investigators seek to capture in their records” (p. 92). The critical researcher does not maintain a non-neutral position but is an advocate for change (Creswell, 2015). According to Fine (2014), qualitative researchers can position themselves differently within their research and one role is that of an activist who helps

marginalized voices to be heard, “[voices]which seemingly contrast with and interrupt hegemonic discourses and practices” (p. 17). I believe this research attends to the voices of a group of people and speaks to the importance and value of a way of life, culture and language that within dominant discourses have been historically undervalued and ignored and, therefore, made vulnerable because of it.

Ethical Considerations

According to the Tri-Council Policy Statement (2010), “Qualitative research approaches involving a community, group or population of interest (e.g., marginalized or privileged groups) usually follow a process of prior dialogue, exchanges and negotiation of the research, which precedes the formal data collection involving informants” (p. 139). My entry into the proposed research site was facilitated through my established connection with the community and many community residents. I did not believe it was necessary to access this community through a gatekeeper. However, I did not presume that entry into the community for research purposes would not have to be addressed. Walford (2001, as cited in Cohen et al., 2007) suggests that gaining entry is a process not an event and therefore unfolds over time. Before I began this study, I spent several months making visits to this community where I discussed my research with community residents. This discussion took the form of very informal conversations whereby I discussed my work and described what I hoped to do. These conversations were a part of the constant process of negotiation.

I followed accepted protocols to get permission from individuals who were interviewed for this research. Upon approval from the Memorial University Research

Ethics Board, I obtained permission from informants. I provided a detailed letter of consent (Appendix A) to describe the purpose, methodology, timeline, and benefits of the study, as well as measures to protect anonymity (Creswell, 2015). I provided a detailed recruitment letter, guaranteeing specific rights, to potential informants (Appendix B). I advised informants that their participation was voluntary and that they were free to withdraw up to three months after the date of signed consent. As well, they were informed of the purpose of the study and were told they would have an opportunity to read, and suggest changes to, any material that involved them. I took measures to ensure all materials were safely stored and pseudonyms were used to ensure confidentiality. I took every reasonable effort to ensure confidentiality and anonymity throughout all phases of the study.

Part of the ethical responsibility in research is recognizing that researchers doing ethnographic work do not only take from but must also contribute to the community as there must be a “mutual reciprocity” (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010, p. 15). Upon completion of the research, my findings will be shared with the members of the community. I will present a summary of the findings at a community meeting or gathering, and I will provide a printed copy of this summary to the community. Furthermore, I will provide a printed copy of this dissertation to the community. As well, I will inform the community that copies of this study will be available through the university library.

Sample Selection

I provided informants with a recruitment letter to request their participation. As well, I provided a detailed description of the study, and informants were given the opportunity to seek further clarification by telephone, e-mail, or in-person. They were then asked to respond as to whether they wished to participate in the study. Prior to beginning interviews informants were given a letter of consent with a description of the research and they were given the opportunity to ask further questions and seek clarification.

Informants should be chosen based on their potential to help the researcher gain insight and understand the phenomena (Merriam, 1998). I chose informants through non-probabilistic sampling which is most suitable for qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). In qualitative research, purposive sampling or purposeful selection is commonly utilized (Creswell, 2015; Maxwell, 2005; Merriam 1998). Purposeful sampling is “a strategy in which particular settings, persons, or activities are selected deliberately in order to provide information that can’t be gotten as well from other choices” (Maxwell, 2005, p. 88). I chose informants based on the information they could provide and from whom I could learn the most regarding the research agenda (Cohen et al., 2007; Merriam, 2009).

In addition to being a non-random and purposeful sample, the sample was relatively small as is often the case in qualitative research (Merriam, 2009). Snowball sampling was used, whereby informants were asked to identify other individuals who could make a significant contribution to the research as needed (Creswell, 2015). A recruitment letter was given to informants to pass along to potential informants they felt might contribute.

There were twenty-one informants - six females and fifteen males who ranged in age from thirty-four to seventy-six. All informants have lived significant periods of time in the community, although not all were born there. Twelve of the informants were born in the community, three were born in other provinces (two of whom moved as young children and one as an adult to live in the community) and three were resettled from other places to the community as young men and women. One informant from another province and one from elsewhere in Newfoundland and Labrador married members of the community and have lived there for twenty-seven and forty-five years respectively. One informant is from outside the community but lived and worked as a teacher in the community for a number of years. All informants, but one, still have close family ties to the community.

Sixteen of these informants still reside in the community and five live in various other communities in the province. Of those who still live in the community, two commute daily for employment, four are fishers, and the remaining twelve are retired from various careers. The informants included fishers, former fishers, community leaders, individuals who live and work outside of the community, as well as a former educator in the community. One informant was an elementary school student and one a high school student when the cod moratorium was imposed. One informant, a former fish plant worker, took advantage of government funding¹⁴ and retrained for employment outside the community. Two informants, a couple, were forced to leave the community in 1995¹⁵

¹⁴ On May 16, 1994, the Federal Government announced The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS). This funding was offered to fishermen and fish plant workers throughout Atlantic Canada and Quebec for retraining (Harris, 1999).

¹⁵ In this year 18,000 people left the province (Harris, 1999, p. 246).

and move to another province. They returned in 2007. One informant commuted for employment, daily, from 1994-1995 until eventually moving out of the community to live elsewhere in the province. Both moves were a direct result of the cod moratorium.

Informants included those with longevity in the community who could provide an historical perspective. Individuals who lived in the community prior to, during, and after the cod moratorium offered discussion around historical and longitudinal changes. However, informants were chosen from a range of ages because although each individual experience is unique, each generation was impacted differently. This cross-section of individuals helped to provide a more detailed, in-depth and comprehensive description of the experience of this community. LeCompte and Schensul (2010) contend that ethnography must include multiple voices because a community story could not be told from a single perspective (p. 26). Similarly, Carspecken (1996) states there are a “multiplicity of viewpoints...to constitute the reality in any social setting” (p. 27). The following table includes a listing of all informants with demographic information on each:

Table 1							
<i>List of informants and demographic information for each</i>							
Gender	Pseudonym	Age	Time lived in community	Time lived outside of NL	Place of birth	Occupation	Current residence
F	Martha	74	Since birth	Never	Cod Bight	****Retired	Cod Bight
M	Bill	56	Since birth	Never	Cod Bight	+++Accountant	Cod Bight
F	Ann	46	Since age 10	10 years	**Outside Community	+++Business person	Cod Bight
M	Jim	76	Since birth	Never	Cod Bight	Retired Department of Transportation and Works	Cod Bight
F	Doris	73	Since birth	Never	Cod Bight	****Retired	Cod Bight
M	Clarence	69	Birth to 6 years	6 months	Cod Bight	Public Servant	Outside Community
M	Charlie	61	Birth - 20 years/ 36 – 39 years	5 years	Cod Bight	Fisher/ Finance/Fisheries Based Union Work	Outside Community
M	Ed	34	Age 8 -20 years	5 years	**Outside Community	Information Technology	Outside Community
M	Mike	74	Since 1990	48 years	*Outside Community	Construction Worker/Transport Truck Driver	Cod Bight
F	Diane	75	Since 1990	49 years	**Outside Community	Retired	Cod Bight
M	Sam	64	Since birth	Never	Cod Bight	Fisher	Cod Bight
M	Steve	73	++++1981 – 1993	Never	Outside Community	Teacher	Outside Community
M	Walter	71	Since 1967	Never	***Outside Community	Fisher (Bull Arm - 20 months during moratorium).	Cod Bight
M	Kevin	61	Since birth	8 months	Cod Bight	Mechanic/Fisher	Cod Bight
M	Tom	76	Since 1967	Never	***Outside Community	Fisher	Cod Bight
F	Janet	68	Since 1967	Never	***Outside Community	****Retired	Cod Bight
M	Don	57	Since birth	4 months	Cod Bight	Fisher	Cod Bight
M	Duncan	40	Birth - 20 years	years	Cod Bight	Business Person	Outside Community
M	George	46	Birth - 1999	Never	Cod Bight	Fisher	Outside Community
F	Joyce	76	Birth – 17 years Returned 1972) ++Left from 1995-2007	25 years	Cod Bight	****Retired	Cod Bight
M	Henry	74	Since 1972 ++Left 1995-2007	25 years	+Outside Community	Fisher/	Cod Bight

	<p>Note: *Married to person with family connection to Cod Bight; born in another province. **Parents from Cod Bight ***Resettled to Cod Bight during resettlement campaign in the late sixties ****It is difficult to categorize the work of many women who worked in the home but, who as well, took many temporary jobs to help economically with the household. to make a financial contribution to the household. + Married to person from Cod Bight. ++ Left the community in 1995 as a direct result of closure of the cod fishery. +++Commutes daily for employment ++++Commuted daily from 1994-1996 until school closed.</p>
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Data Collection Methods

When I obtained consent, I began the initial stages of data collection by spending time in the community observing and getting a deeper and more thorough knowledge and understanding of the community. Previously I spent time in the community, essentially, as a visitor. However, when I began my research I lived in the community for extended periods of time. In ethnographic research the researcher is a “methodological omnivore” (LeCompte & Preissle, 1993, p. 232). Therefore, data collection may include any of the following methods: field notes, observation, journal notes, interviews, diaries, life histories, artefacts, documents, video recordings, audio recordings, and so on (Cohen et al., 2007; LeCompte et al., 1993). For my purposes, I used the following methods of data collection: interviews, observation, field notes and document analysis.

I contacted informants by telephone, email and in person to arrange interview times. The interviews were conducted in a private and comfortable space that was without distractions. I requested permission to audio record interviews and took reasonable efforts to assure confidentiality by using pseudonyms (Creswell, 2015). All interviews were labeled with as much information as possible including, informant’s name, time, date, and other relevant information to maintain accurate and detailed files. Interviews are key to

several types of qualitative research including oral and life histories, ethnographies and case studies (Dilley, 2004; Merriam, 1998).

An interview protocol (Appendix C) was designed to give the interview structure and for note taking purposes (Creswell, 2008). The research questions guided the interview protocol. Interviews took place over a period of an hour to an hour and a half. Interviews were one-on-one using a semi-structured format with open-ended questions (Creswell, 2015). This type of questioning is often used in qualitative interviews as open-ended questions allow for more depth and elaboration (Creswell, 2015). Additionally, it allows for clarification. A degree of flexibility is required during interviews so that the interviewee's conversation can be followed, and it may take a slightly different direction if appropriate (Creswell, 2015).

I conducted one follow-up interview, with one informant, to get further elaboration and clarification on questions that emerged after reviewing the transcript of the initial interview with this informant. I sent numerous emails and made several telephone calls to verify accuracy of information, to fill in missing details and to get some informants to expand on issues raised in the initial interviews. All interviews were transcribed and given to informants to read to confirm accuracy of recorded information.

I considered gender, age, type of work, i.e. paid or unpaid, education, level of community involvement, place of residence (i.e. within or outside the community) as well as institutional affiliations (e.g. school, church or business) as key factors in getting diverse perspectives. I achieved depth of engagement with each of these individuals through thoughtful and detailed questioning during the interviews.

I also collected data through document analysis, observation and field notes.

Hesse-Biber & Leavy (2011) suggest that “Qualitative researchers conducting descriptive research are typically after what Clifford Geertz termed ‘thick descriptions’ of social life from the perspectives of those being studied” (p. 10). However, such description is not simply about gathering detailed information (Ponterotto, 2006). As Ponterotto (2006) suggests,

Thick description captures the thoughts and feelings of informants as well as the, often complex, web of relationships among them. Thick description leads to thick interpretation, which in turns leads to thick meaning of the research findings for the researchers and informants themselves, and for the report’s intended readership (p. 543).

Various types of community documents provided detail and depth to help understand how this community was affected by the cod moratorium and the change that has taken place. I read minutes of meetings from the Fishermen’s Committee of Cod Bight as well as community briefs for meetings with local, provincial and federal politicians. These documents detailed quite clearly the issues and concerns that were being raised in response to the lead-up and subsequent closure of the cod fishery in the area. I also read news releases, government reports, memorandums from the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers Union (FFAW¹⁶), as well as reports from various other local fishermen’s committees within the area. The document analysis brought out many of the same themes that emerged from the interviews. This type of data can provide information or bring to light “what people cannot or will not say” (Eisner, 1998, p. 63).

¹⁶ The name of the union changed to the Fish, Food and Allied Workers.

Creswell (2008) suggests that an important point to remember is in doing a critical ethnography is that “the data collection [is focused more] on the active collaboration between the researcher and the informants during the study” (p. 489) as opposed to length of time in the field or the extent of data. Whatever the methods, they should be those that build intimacy between the researcher and the community as opposed to creating or maintaining distance (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010).

Data Analysis

In qualitative research, organization of the data is critical due to the large amount of information collected during the study (Creswell, 2015). Thus, data was carefully labeled, stored and organized according to type. In most qualitative research, including ethnographic research, there is an iterative and cyclical process whereby the researcher gets a general sense of emerging themes and patterns throughout the research process (LeCompte & Schensul, 2010). Part of the analysis within this study was to get an in-depth picture of the culture and the community which is essential to any critical ethnographic research (Creswell, 2015). Creswell (2009) states that “with all qualitative research there is a process of developing a description, analyzing the data for themes, and providing an interpretation of the meaning of [the] information” (p. 489). However, within a critical ethnography, it is necessary to find “a balance among description, analysis and interpretation” (Creswell, 2009, p. 489) as all are a key part of the analysis. The focus in critical ethnography is always the “critical” issue (Creswell, 2015). Thus, interpretation must be done considering the change that needs to be made and how best to advocate for improvements in informants’ lives (Creswell, 2015).

Data analysis began during data collection as I began to develop a sense of emerging themes and categories. When all transcripts were completed, an initial analysis of the data included deepening my sense of the material, coding it, and looking at emerging themes (Creswell, 2015). Coding is a process that “allows you to recall the extra-ordinary complex range of stimuli with which you have been bombarded” (Lofland and Lofland, 1984, p. 46). Initial coding was “low inference coding,” which is descriptive, and was followed by “higher inference pattern coding” (Punch, 2005, p. 200). This coding is a process of moving from exploring abstract ideas to the actual data (Carspecken, 1996). As such, I moved beyond identifying and labelling the data to making connections and interpreting to deepen my understanding of the data (Punch, 2005). Memos were used in the initial data analysis (Punch, 2005). Memos are useful to help find new patterns or for finding “higher levels of pattern coding” (Punch, 2005, p. 201).

I analyzed the text by “marking and referencing units of text” (p. 567) with specific codes or labels to indicate patterns that were occurring (Creswell, 2015). I used *in vivo* coding whereby text segments were coded using informants’ own words (Creswell, 2008, p. 252). Using the analysis of these codes allowed me to collapse the codes into broad themes (Creswell, 2015). Creswell (2015) suggests using lean coding, which is using a small number of codes and then drawing out themes according to these codes. Carspecken (1996) suggests, that “themes emerge from your coding, these themes guide your analysis”. Given that the database was manageable, it was possible to do the analysis by hand without the aid of software (Creswell, 2015).

I kept a reflective journal throughout the research process to note ideas, and document broad themes that emerged throughout the research process (Creswell, 2015).

Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness can be ensured through different strategies according to research experience and the literature on qualitative research. I used triangulation, member checking, long-term observation and researcher reflexivity to ensure trustworthiness and validity of the research findings. According to Creswell (2008), triangulation is a process of talking to a diversity of people as a way of “corroborating evidence from different individuals” (p. 266). I interviewed a cross-section of individuals in the community to find this diversity. Therefore, the findings were validated “through the use of multiple perspectives” (McMillan & Wergin, 2002, p. 151). Furthermore, I triangulated the data using different methods of data collection, including interviews, document analysis, and field notes. Within these various sources of data, I found evidence to support themes that had emerged (Creswell, 2015).

I also used member checking, for example, by asking all informants to ensure descriptions, themes and interpretations were accurate to ensure validity of claims being made (Creswell, 2015; Leech and Onwuegbuzie, 2007; Merriam, 1998). Additionally, I audio recorded all interviews and verbatim transcriptions were produced to ensure accuracy in the data collection. I organized the database by type, e.g., interviews, observations, documents, and notes (Creswell, 2015). In ethnographic work, validity is achieved as well by ensuring enough time is spent at the research site to ensure repeated

observations that are not simply one-time events thus ensuring an accurate representation of what has been observed (Spindler & Spindler, 1992 as cited in Cohen et al., 2007).

I am profoundly aware that my own subjectivity and involvement with the community could influence my interpretation of the research. My intimate knowledge and connection to the research site have the potential to prejudice my work. However, I worked to set those biases aside. In critical research, the subjective role of the researcher is accepted and therefore I am cognizant of the need for reflexivity and awareness of the role I play in the research process.

Biographical Connection

This research is meaningful to me on a personal level because I have an intimate connection with a community that has been significantly changed because an ecological crisis that occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador. I have seen the impact on people and the attendant losses and adaptations. I believe loss within this community may be characterized by a loss of linguistic and cultural diversity that led to a more homogenized community. Through this research, I worked with people and provided a forum for them to express their experiences and that will provide recognition of a marginalized people, community and language. Furthermore, this research attests to the importance of recognizing the ecological devastation that is occurring and the role and responsibility humans have in this regard. I have a strong belief in the value and worth of this research and I feel it has helped to forefront some of the issues that may assist in maintaining biological, linguistic and cultural diversity and building a more sustainable planet.

Timeline

The following is the chronology for this study:

<i>Chronology</i>	
February 2016	Obtained approval from Memorial University Research Ethics Board
May 2016	Sought informants
June 2016 - September 2016	Completed data collection and confirmed data with informants
October 2016 - December 2016	Coded and Analyzed Data
January 2017 – July 2018	Wrote Draft of Report

In this chapter I have outlined the research approach and methodology and explained why I chose this approach. I have discussed my role as a researcher and outlined possible ethical considerations and limitations. As well, I discussed participant recruitment, data collection and analysis, challenges to reliability and validity and I outlined the timeline for this research. In the subsequent chapters I will present and discuss the findings of this study.

Chapter Four

Ecology

“...the sea is *covered with fish* which are caught not merely *with nets* but with *baskets...*” (Raimondo de Soncino, London, 1497, as cited in Biggar, 1911, p. 20).

“Twenty-five years ago, a tide ebbed, that may never be full again”
(Murphy, 2017, 3:53).

The extinction of the Northern cod stock may yet be seen as one of the great ecological savageries of this entire century. One of the great food resources of the planet, an incredible richness, has evaporated” (Murphy, 1994, 00:15).

Introduction

This chapter is the first in a three-part interrelated data analysis that includes themes of ecology, language, and culture, respectively. In this chapter I provide a presentation and discussion of the data as it relates to the first theme, ecology. I begin with this chapter because an ecological crisis has impacted the community of Cod Bight, the consequences of which have influenced linguistic and cultural change and loss. As was previously discussed there is a growing body of research that has focussed on the interrelation of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity in an attempt to find reasons for and effects of the loss of each in an effort to find ways of building sustainability in all three areas (Gorenflo, Romaine, Mittermeier, & Walker-Painemilla, 2012a; 2012b; Harmon & Loh, 2005; MacPherson 2011; Maffi, 2014; Maffi, 2007; Maffi & Woodley, 2010; Mühlhäusler, 2002; Nettle & Romaine, 2000; Romaine, 2007; Romaine & Gorenflo, 2017; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018). Ecology is defined as an aspect of biology that explores the interrelation of organisms, with one another, and with their physical environment. As Levin (2010) notes, “Ecology views biological systems as wholes, not as independent parts, while seeking to elucidate how the wholes emerge from and affect the parts” (para. 19). Ecology is also concerned with

how human beings are a part of, and affect, the Earth's environment. There is global concern that increasingly human beings are influencing change that is affecting the environment in seriously harmful ways. We are at a point in planetary history, known as the sixth or Anthropocene extinction, whereby extinctions are largely a consequence of human activity. I examine a local example of the impact of human activity that resulted in the near decimation of a species. The ravaging of the Northern cod stocks was an example of exploitation for immediate economic gain with little concern for future sustainability. I discuss the events that lead to this crisis in relation to changing fishing practices and an increasing lack of concern with conservation measures. This crisis had far-reaching and long-term consequences for Cod Bight and numerous other coastal communities in Newfoundland and Labrador.

Overview

The ecological devastation that occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador was not a localized issue but was indicative of a global crisis of the world's oceans. Rose (2007) states that "The collapse of the Newfoundland and Labrador cod stocks sent a shock wave through fisheries and resource management agencies around the world, and more than any other single event, has precipitated a worldwide concern about fisheries, fishing cultures, and the future of the world's oceans" (p. 13). As Levin (2010) states, "Marine fisheries have always provided crucial sustenance to human beings, but many of the most favored stocks have collapsed because of overfishing" (para. 5). Research suggests that biodiversity within the world's oceans is seriously threatened "by many human activities including overfishing, use of destructive fishing methods, pollution and commercial

aquaculture” (Allsopp, Page, Johnston & Santillo, 2009, p. v). Climate change, heightened by human activity, is also affecting the world’s oceans (Allsopp et al., 2009; Rose, 2007; Simard & Simard, 2006). According to Levin (2010), we need to pay close attention to the work of Umberto D’Anacona and Vito Volterra, two pioneers in the field of ecology, “...and manage fisheries as components of complex ecosystems rather than as independent entities” (para. 5). The near collapse of the Atlantic cod stocks has implications for all human societies (Rose, 2007).

Ecology and Community

The word ecology comes from the Greek word *oikos* which means home, place to live or living relations. Davis et al. (2008) also maintain that the term ecology, while “commonly used to refer to environmental issues...has a much broader meaning...the study of relationships” (p. 106). Generally, home is a place of sanctuary and one of innermost connections and relations. Hall (as cited in Fürst, 2016) states that in outport Newfoundland and Labrador, “we have this remarkable privilege...to actually step back into that direct, sensory, embodied relationship to the larger ecosystem and bioregion in which we live” (7:29). She believes this closeness to the “natural” world adds a dimension that is often lost in urban areas where there are layers of distance between people and the natural world. Connection to place, produces an ethic of care (Hall, as cited in Fürst, 2016). People who are “inhabitants” versus “residents” of place “have a detailed knowledge of place, the capacity for observation and a sense of care and rootedness” (Orr, 1992, p. 130). When people are distanced from the direct, physical environment in which they live, they are less in tune with what is happening and feel less

involved in and complicit in what happens to the “natural” world (Hall, as cited in Fürst, 2016). Furthermore, when decisions about local issues are made by bureaucrats and politicians in boardrooms that are far removed from the places about which decisions are made, there is less obligation to steward (Hall, as cited in Fürst, 2016; Ó Domhnaill et al., 2016). An industrialized and regulated fishery, one that is managed, from without, rather than within, has influenced notable change in Cod Bight.

Fishery: Modernization, Industrialization and Regulation

Industrialization and the introduction of modern technologies such as electronic navigational aids and fish finding devices, as well as changes in vessel and equipment design have changed the fishery (Higgins, 2009). These changes occurred in both the inshore and deep-sea fisheries whereby vessels allowed for further and faster travel with more predatory technologies. The increased efficiency also had a devastating ecological impact. In the 1950s to 1960s the introduction of factory freezer trawlers changed the quantity of fish that could be harvested. These deep-sea trawlers that were able to stay at sea for months were described as “floating fish plants” (Higgins, 2009, Fishing technology section, para. 5). While the inshore fishery was pursued by local fishermen, fishers from around the world fished off-shore on the Grand Banks of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Clarence suggested that in some ways, technological advances, such as the advent of trawlers impacted how local fishers in Cod Bight approached their work,

When people were just making a living, it was nice and comfortable, until they got the battle against the inshore and the offshore. The way that the fishery was being pursued changed so much. And, people, sort of, gave up looking for ways to be equal and just to get whatever they could at the time. Because everybody was

grabbin'. And, with the factory freezer trawlers, it made a difference to the way people looked at the fishery. I think it made a harder edge, too, in the whole, overall being of the community, feeling like somehow, they were being cheated out of something, and they couldn't quite understand why it was happening.

He suggests that previously, people were more environmentally conscious but with others taking so much they believed they had a right to do so, as well. This change affected environmental and conservation measures. As such, Rose (2007) makes the following observation,

Having too many people dependent upon the fishery is not simply a social problem; it affects fish stocks and the marine ecosystems on which the fisheries depend. Too many people caps individual productivity and leads to poverty. Poverty inevitably leads to desperate fishing practices and lack of concern for conservation (p. 532).

Clarence further elaborated on the possible reasons for an attitude change,

They [inshore fishers] were forced into becoming, more (pause), take what you can get while you can get it. That was the kind of attitude. Rather than when it was just a small, inshore fishery and people were doing (pause), they had their own grounds. It was almost like they had their own place out there. But, except for a few people, those places started to disappear. There was no Uncle Ralph's ground, or this one's ground, or that one's ground. That was a big shift, in the fact, that one time they understood the idea of conserving. Simply because, it was their own thing to conserve.

Lockocz, Ryan, and Sadler (2010), in two studies on sustainability within rural Massachusetts, found that if people feel an attachment to the landscape (personally or in general) they are more motivated to steward and find ways to preserve and sustain rural places and economies (p. 65). Rose (2007) contends that linkages between poverty and damaging fishing practices is not unique to Newfoundland and Labrador but is seen worldwide. Examples are the destruction of coral reefs, which are "dynamited by poor fishermen to kill fish" (Rose, 2007, p. 550), as well as wildlife poaching when people are

poor and derive no benefit from the wildlife. Owens (2001) believes we need to understand how poverty contributes to ecosystem decline and recognize that a sustainable resource is one that is shared intergenerationally. To simply consume and continue to take without giving back will have disastrous consequences.

Over time, especially following Confederation with Canada, the fishery became an industrialized, corporatized and regulated industry. Fishery restructuring is now a worldwide phenomenon affecting many small, coastal communities. Ó Domhnaill et al. (2016) observed, “Coastal communities who once rose and fell with the cycles of the ocean now find themselves at the mercy of the stock market” (43:24). Clarence describes what was happening in the following way, “They [local fishers] didn’t have time; they were forced, like, into immediate action. Not that kind of ebb and flow that they had, because now the wave was coming at them and it made a difference.” His suggestion is that the industry forced a change of approach to their work as well as how they viewed it. This business discourse brings perceptual change that affects how people see the industry and consequently how they act. Informants suggested that when there were few regulations and less monitoring, people had a different attitude and approach to what they were doing. As Walter said, “When I got into it, it was different. Yeah, it was different. There was no restrictions like there was then [after the moratorium].” Duncan made a similar observation,

Yeah, well, I mean, back (pause), well, from when I was very young, a very young child, I can recall it would be sort of a free for all, pretty much. When fish was there to get, you caught it.

These observations suggest that they understood the cycles of the fishery and knew at times there may be less available, and they moved with the cycles of the ocean.

However, the decline in the cod stocks made it necessary to put measures in place to prevent overfishing and rebuild the stocks. Such measures indicate the beginning of the “professionalization” of the industry with a focus on management and control through credentialing and oversight. This issue will be discussed in chapter six.

Fishing Quotas

The introduction of a quota system, by the government, was one of the preservation measures for ground fish. As Higgins (2009) indicates,

To help preserve cod and other ground fish, the International Commission for the Northwest Atlantic Fisheries (ICNAF) established catch quotas in 1970, which were known as Total Allowable Catches (TACs). ICNAF issued TACs it believed would equal the maximum amount of fish workers could take from the ocean without depleting the stock. By 1974, TACs existed for most fish species being harvested in the northwest Atlantic, including northern cod (Catch rates and regulatory bodies section, para. 3).

Rose (2007) believes that some fishers had been taking more than their share for a long time and in Newfoundland and Labrador we did have the “unrestrained fish killers of old” (p. 531). According to Story et al. (1982), a fish killer is defined as “a fisherman, esp. a ‘skipper’, known for catching great quantities of fish” (p. 179). However, Rose (2007) maintains now we must “adopt a new sea ethic as Aldo Leopold described for the land 60 years ago” (p. 531). Leopold believes this ethical responsibility means respecting and caring for the land and people and creating stronger relationships between the two (Aldo Leopold Foundation, 2018, The Land Ethic section). Thus, according to Rose (2007), adopting a new sea ethic would mean “thinking and acting as part of the ocean ecosystems that we harvest, not as dominators or controllers, something we may pine for but never achieve” (p. 531). There is an interdependence, interrelation and connection of

human beings with the environment and it is a connection that we must recognize (Davis et al., 2008; Maffi 2007; Maffi 2014; Sterling, 2003). Hall (as cited in Fürst, 2016) contends, “We live in histories and in physical and cultural environments. And, humans are not the only ones who live in these environments. And, we are connected, to all of those, human, and more than human, collaborators, on the planet” (3:50).

Mike was not directly involved with the fishery but noted, “Well, Uncle Ralph told me years ago [mid-1970s] the cod disappeared, really, back then. He didn’t think the cod moratorium was going to do any good and a lot of people thought the same way.” However, it is often difficult to admit complicity and, perhaps easier, to shift responsibility. Many fishers looked for others to blame, such as the bureaucrats, politicians, foreign fishers, etcetera. As Walter said, “Because it was all government’s fault anyway, far as I’m concerned, the moratorium. They let the foreigners destroy the fishery.” It has been a common refrain. Undoubtedly, politicians allowed foreign catch limits to exceed what the resource could withstand (Harris, 1998; Rose, 2007).

John Crosbie, then Minister of Fisheries in the Government of Canada, is well-remembered for his response to the shouts of angry fishers, with his announcement of the closure of the Northern cod fishery, in July of 1992: “Why are you yelling at me? I didn’t take the fish from the God damn water, so don’t go abusing me” (as cited in Smith, 1992, 2:02). The flaring tempers of these fishers were the result of frustration at the loss of their livelihood and the implications of that loss for their families and communities. In hindsight many recognize and acknowledge the role that everybody played in this ecological disaster. As fisher Todd Chafe states, “ ‘Some fellas like to point fingers; Ah, this done it, foreigners done it...’ ” (as cited in Murphy, 2017, para. 3) but “[w]e all done

it, every single person that went fishing done it. Everybody fished for it, so everybody had a hand in destroying it"(as cited in Murphy, 2017, para. 4). Twenty-five years after the fact, with the Northern cod fishery still closed, there is an increasing realization that it was a necessary measure. Duncan made the following comment,

Then, after when the moratorium took effect, after when it came back, it became very much more regulated, where you had quotas, you had monitoring of your catch that was come in. You had quality assurance right from the time it came out of the water with ice, and all those type of things. So, a very vast difference. I can see the both sides of it. And then, when I did live out there for that brief period after Dad passed away, I seen it in fish plants. So, I seen that side of what the differences were, from A to B, to after the moratorium, to before the moratorium. And, I can personally say, that it was definitely a huge difference. And, I mean, obviously, once a stock is decimated, as that cod stock was, there has to be things put in place so that'll never happen again. So, I think that is why all these regulations were put in place.

Gord Janes, a fisher from Newfoundland and Labrador, reflecting on the decision, says, "I hate to admit it but the man [John Crosbie] was right; it definitely had to be shut down" (as cited in Mansbridge, 2017, 3:17). Likewise, Glen Winslow, another fisher, remarked, "Oh, it was definitely the right decision. It should've been made earlier" (as cited in Mansbridge, 2017, 8:01). There is increasing recognition that such measures will contribute to more sustainable fishing practices.

Cod and Other Species: "Nothing handy to what it used to be"

Informants offered their reflections on the condition of the fishery then, and now.

As Sam said,

...So, the fish wasn't scarce then, not as scarce. Right now, the fish is scarcer in this area. Back then the fish wasn't scarce. I mean we fished here, and we did well with the fish.

Likewise, Don said, “So, for me personally the cod moratorium, yes, it is probably hurting me more now than it hurt back then. The market is gone and not bein’ able to (inaudible) and sell fish and that right”. Kevin also remarked on the condition of the cod stocks in the area,

Before the moratorium there was an abundance of fish (pause), four and five thousand pound a day. Some boats would get, perhaps, six and seven thousand [pounds]. For whatever reason (pause), those winters, we’ve never got back to that, other than first when they opened. Those years now (pause), last year, I think it was 3000 pounds the most that I got in a day (pause); lot of days I had 1000, 1200 pound or 1500 or 1800. Whereas, back before the moratorium, you were getting four, and five, and 6000. We all think they done wrong when they re-opened (pause), they gave out too big a quota too quick. And, boats from Sculpin Bay which is, Sculpin Bay is #XX¹⁷ area (pause), they could come in here and take 25,000 pound a week. And, there was a lot of boats came in here. They closed it down for three years. When it opened, there was lots of fish. But they mismanaged it, once again mismanagement. The fish is not near so good here now as it used to be (pause), before ’93(pause,) and I see it, I’m out there!

Things have not panned out as was expected after the closure of the Northern cod fishery.

The latest data from the Department of Fisheries and Oceans suggests that the cod stocks are still in a “critical zone” (Dwyer, as cited in Kelly, 2018, Still in critical zone section, para. 4). As Sam stated,

Well, when they called the cod moratorium, what we figured, the younger people figured, that after the cod moratorium we’d have a better fishery right? But things didn’t work out that way, and after the cod moratorium it was all downhill. Like I said, we had a couple of good years, two or three good years in cod. They gave us quotas and they didn’t let us fish too much. Caught the cod that was there; it was almost extinct then right.

When the cod fishery was closed, many people turned to the lucrative shrimp and snow crab fisheries but there are warnings that these species are now in decline (Sherren, as cited in Mansbridge, 2017). Sam made the following comment in this regard,

¹⁷ Fishing zones are listed alpha-numerically; I use this designation to maintain anonymity.

Well, we fished other species, then. We went after, we went after lobster, we went after lumpfish, and the crab, we went after crab. Whatever we could fish we fished it; but it was the wrong thing to do. I mean, we were taking other species out of the system then. They says the cod was bad and we were taking other species out of the system then. So, you take that species out of the system, and the cod is gone, when you go back to fishing, you only got the cod to fish and you got nothing. And, we're right back, that's where we're to now. Our crab is gone, our lobster's gone, so, and our lumpfish is gone. So, we got none of that left now. Only got a bit of cod.

Similarly, Don remarked,

The crab fishery was good. We had a new boat there, and we were doing well with the capelin, and lump roe was good. There was a lot of positives. But, I think, what happened there I think was, where there was no cod, with the moratorium, and one thing and another. Then, a lot of people stayed at this stuff, like the lobster. And, they fished it to the hilt; and it brought everything back. They made it miserable. The lobster still hasn't come back. Fished it, and fished it through, and fished it through. The moratorium, overall, changed the whole fishery in Newfoundland, in my opinion.

Several informants have suggested that European green crab is destroying other species, such as crab and lobster, in the Cod Bight fishing grounds. Janes (as cited in Mansbridge, 2017) argues that people want to blame the decline in other species on environmental reasons, just as they did with the Northern cod. However, according to Janes (as cited in Mansbridge, 2017), "There's nothing environmental about overfishing. You know, you're taking too much. You know, it's as simple as that" (11:01). There is just too much pressure on the species. Likewise, Kevin remarked, "And, everything was so scarce this year. The crab was (pause), the first year since we had a crab quota that we never got our crab. It's really scarce." Similarly, Henry stated, "Crab is going now, so." Walter remarked,

[The fishery is] nothing handy to what it used to be. The crab fishery, that was a failure, this year. No lobster; cod is scarce. The best cod months is usually

October or November. But, the last few years, I don't think, it's not like it used to be years ago. The cod is still down here in [Cod Bight], yeah.

Many informants are skeptical about the return of cod. With this ambivalence about the rebuilding of the cod stocks and the ongoing debate as to their condition one might question the introduction of a recreational "food fishery"¹⁸. While it maintains an albeit changed relationship to a historic practice, it is also a measure to encourage tourism, an industry that has thrived since the moratorium.

Community: Decline and Loss

The social and economic consequences of the collapse of the Northern Cod stocks forced thousands of people to leave their communities (Harris, 1999; Howard, 2007). However, very few residents of Cod Bight were forced to commute or relocate as a direct result of the cod moratorium. Within a year, one individual began to commute between St. John's, and his hometown, while his family remained in the community. He commuted for eight years and eventually relocated to St. John's. Another individual moved throughout various provinces in Canada for employment and eventually returned home after four years. One family moved to Alberta where they remain to this day. Another couple moved to Alberta for employment and stayed for twelve years until retiring and returning home. Another resident, a former fish processor, retrained and gained employment close to home which allows him to commute daily. However, outmigration continued because of the decline in the fishery, and in 1991 Cod Bight had a

¹⁸ Each year the federal government permits a recreational groundfish fishery for a limited period and with a limited catch rate. This fishery is open to both residents of non-residents of the province. It is referred to locally as the food fishery.

population of about 165, and by 1996 it was reduced to 145. It continues to this day; during this research two families left Cod Bight. These two relatively young families, with school-aged children, are representative of the demographic that continues to leave. Although many people chose to stay in their community it was not without its challenges.

Albrecht (2005) coined the term *solastalgia* to describe the impact of environmental stress on a community which results in stress on its residents. Albrecht (2005) defines *solastalgia* in the following way,

It is the pain experienced when there is recognition that the place where one resides and that one loves is under immediate assault (physical desolation). It is manifest in an attack on one's sense of place, in the erosion of the sense of belonging (identity) to a particular place and a feeling of distress (psychological desolation) about its transformation. It is an intense desire for the place where one is a resident to be maintained in a state that continues to give comfort or solace. Solastalgia is not about looking back to some golden past, nor is it about seeking another place as 'home'. It is the 'lived experience' of the loss of the present as manifest in a feeling of dislocation; of being undermined by forces that destroy the potential for solace to be derived from the present. In short, solastalgia is a form of homesickness one gets when one is still at 'home' (p. 45).

Albrecht (2005) states, "Hence, literally, solastalgia is the pain or sickness caused by the loss or lack of solace and the sense of isolation connected to the present state of one's home and territory" (p. 45). In many of the hundreds of coastal communities around this province people lived with this "homesickness" when the cod moratorium took away their living and their way of life. Kelly (2008) concludes that in the Newfoundland and Labrador context,

Solastalgia is also evident in the devastation and displacement caused by the collapse of the Northern Cod Fishery. Many of the tiny outport communities out of which this centuries-old fishery operated hold names that suggest the degree of solace provided their inhabitants: Little Heart's Ease, Happy Valley, Comfort Cove, Heart's Delight, Paradise, Happy Adventure, and Heart's Content. No longer able to find solace in adequate sustenance from the oceans on which they

have historically relied, fishers and their communities have been rocked by the vicissitudes of such loss (p. 38).

Globally, people are living with the pain of *solastalgia* as their communities are impacted by environmental degradation. Jerry Earle, a fisher from Ireland, avidly advocates for the restoration of traditional fishing rights for island communities. He laments what has happened to his community, because of the ban on wild salmon drift netting there. He states, “You can almost forgive them for giving away a resource, but it is unforgivable to take away the life blood – the heart and soul of a community. I mean, look at what they did to the likes of this place” (Earle, as cited in Ó Domhnail, 2016). As with fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador, the Irish suffered the same type of ecological degradation on their side of the North Atlantic Ocean and were banned from fishing. Similarly, the waters continue to be overfished by deep sea trawlers from foreign countries. Hall states, “We must look beyond profit and resource exploitation [to] the lines of dependency that hold us in, you know, what many, many, thinkers would call this web of bio and social ecosystems of which we are a part” (as cited in Fürst, 2016, 10:36). Hall recognizes that people are deeply rooted in and part of the places where they live. This point is important as it speaks to the connection between ecology and environment. It demonstrates an understanding of the interrelationship and the operation of a complex system. Similarly, Rose (2007) observes the interdependency of people and the environment as he states,

The long-term viability of many small fishing communities ultimately depends on the productivity of the fishing grounds of the Grand Banks and continental shelf, and the abundance of cod, as it always has. With the productivity of these ecosystems reduced substantially since the 1950s – especially to the north – the ecosystems are mere shadows of their former selves, and many fishing communities live in those shadows. Many can survive only as bedroom or

seasonal communities, not as working fishing villages – their fate sealed by the radical changes that have occurred in the marine ecosystems of the Northwest Atlantic (p. 503).

According to Bill, the impact of the cod moratorium and other factors have created the scenario that Rose describes, in Cod Bight. He said,

This is where their bedroom and their kitchen is. But, everything else they do, all their business activities, are all outside the community. So, rural communities, yeah, I don't want to sound insensitive saying that. But, if I was to compare it to something (pause), people sleep in these communities, eat their meals here, but everything else gets done outside.

The following observation by Clarence reflects a change in a sense of solidity and security. He stated,

The sentiment that was there is changed. It was always, when I think about it, even at my age and my involvement with that community over the years, having been born there and back there, fished there, hunted there. The whole host of things in the way that people thought of it as, this is where it'll always be, started to change [with the moratorium].

There was a gradual change, one that was seemingly very minor initially. However, while it appeared to be insignificant there has been radical change whereby young people now expect to leave and must learn to want to stay. The community decline and change in morale is evident in the following comments. As Ann said, "I do remember Wilf, Rick and Henry being part of that [buy back program]. And again, that changed the morale and not seeing the boats go out there." She further described what happened,

And the Rooms, what we call the Rooms' wharf, because there was no one left fishing here [in the upper end of the harbour]. [This wharf is collapsing into the ocean]. So, that's the things you notice, some boats in a garden rotting, or some slipways not being kept up, and that kind of stuff.

The deteriorating boats are now iconic, often-photographed representations of other types of decline and loss, not only in Cod Bight but throughout the province.

Community Impact: “It was like a death in the family”

It is evident from the data that the closure of the Northern cod fishery affected people differently. Although individual perspectives are unique, there is a distinct difference in how each generation explains their experience. Fishers and fish processors (fish plant workers) took a direct blow, economically. Others, who did not rely solely on the cod fishery for their livelihood, did not feel the monetary impact quite as heavily. Nevertheless, all informants suggested there was a collective weight. As Sam remarked, “I mean, everybody was (pause), everybody was dumbfounded by the cod closing, right (pause). It was just devastating to the community, closing it.” Charlie said, “It was like a death in the family.” And Ann remarked,

I remember seeing the news. I remember John Crosbie. I remember the words. I remember seeing the people. It wasn't a personal vested interest, it was just an overall general feeling of, oh my God. I immediately went to all the small towns and communities in my mind, not only Cod Bight, but the surrounding. I remember this feeling in the pit of my stomach, would that be the end of rural Newfoundland? I remember that. Yeah, I remember that very well.

The fishery, especially the cod fishery, was essential to life in the community. The following responses demonstrate the intricate connection between their livelihood and their life:

Well, obviously, it was a very impactful time for everybody in the community. Because, when you are a small outport community in Newfoundland obviously you are tied to the fishery and everything involved with the fishery. You are very well connected to it. So, anytime that, basically, you're taking away peoples', basically their livelihood, and the way for them to survive and their families. You know it's a very devastating thing. (Duncan)

Yeah, I think it brought the community right down. You take a community that was solely dependent on the fishery. And, there was a half dozen people that worked outside the fishery. In this community, since I have been old enough, and, people before me (pause), everybody else was tangled up in the fishery. So, I

guess, if you take eighty-five or ninety percent of the jobs away from people, then it is pretty devastating. (Don)

It had a very large impact on the community, as a whole, as the community is very solely dependent on the fishery. It's, basically, a one-industry community. And, the cod moratorium impacted tremendously, directly and indirectly, socially and economically. It had, for lack of a better word, it had a black mark across the community. There wasn't a whole lot left to do in the community after the cod moratorium. People was left wondering what to do next, and where and what they were going to do, to fill in the void of the cod fishery collapse. And, that was, well, the cod fishery basically, that is how the community started up. And, that basically generated the income for the whole community. With that taken out, basically, it took away their right to live, so to speak...It was basically fish harvesters that got up in the morning and went out fishing. So, for the most part, in the community it, sort of, left a big, gray, void there. (George)

It was a big blow to the community, right. Fishing, that's all that was there. That was the only industry that was there was the fishery, right. If that was gone, there was nothing else here. (Henry)

Initially, the general feeling in the community was apprehension and disbelief. There were very few individuals who were employed outside. Most people in the community relied primarily on the cod fishery as their source of livelihood and it would be a challenge. As Clarence stated, "We were talking about what this was going to do, when the announcement came down. It was quite obvious that people knew this was going to be a long haul and a rough period to get over." However, people responded differently to the challenge.

Fishers: "They catch crab but dream of cod"

I asked informants, who were employed in the fishery at the time, how they felt and what impact it had on them personally. George described his feeling of hopelessness,

I was totally lost. I got on the phone, and I talked to a couple of individuals that I sort of looked up to in the fishing industry. And, they basically, for the most part, those individuals had all good things to say to me, related to the fishery, when I

was feeling somewhat down or, you know, in despair. And, they brought me around. I believed in them and I looked up to them. Their words was, what are we going to do to change this around, and where do we go from here? And, what do we do to make this better? There was a lot of bitterness, again; and a lot of uncertainty. There was a lot of hardship associated with it.

There was a lot of consternation because of the limited employment options and the resulting financial hardship. As Don said,

Devastated. I was a young family man, with three young children, not knowin' where the next dollar was going to come from. And, not much education, and no training, or anything. It was quite a slap in the face for me, I can tell you that.

Likewise, Tom remarked, "It was hard to get along you know." But beyond the financial concerns there were other kinds of loss that were equally, or more, important. As Walter stated, "I think most of the fisherman felt pretty devastated. It was takin' away their way of life. Guarantee you there was nobody happy about it." There was a sense of loss of an integral part of the culture in this community and the province. Cod was not only important to people economically but it defined them. As Kevin declared, "[We were] devastated if you couldn't fish cod anymore." Murphy (as cited in Chatterjee, 2012) suggests it was not only was an economic tragedy but "the greatest cultural shock to Newfoundland, ever" (3:33). Rose (2007) makes a similar observation,

...there is no stronger definition, no stronger attachment or symbolism, than Newfoundland and Labrador with the Atlantic cod. Even now, with the cod almost gone, the knot holds. Defying economic rationalization, many fishermen remain more excited catching one cod worth two dollars than tonnes of crab worth thousands. They catch crab but dream of cod (p. 13).

Many informants questioned the need to close the cod fishery in their area. They had reservations about the statistics being quoted by both politicians and scientists

regarding the condition of the Northern cod stocks. Many felt the fishery in their area was just fine. Tom concluded,

I don't think anyone liked it. Because at the time, here, see we were gettin', not a big pile of fish per se. But, we were doin' what we call half decent that way, you know. And, uh, they cut it back a lot. And, when they cut down that, we were down to the lobsters.

Similarly, Sam remarked,

Well, it didn't sound very good first when we heard it. Cod (pause), the fishery was gonna close (pause), didn't sound very good. We were making a good living all through the year (pause), and they say we're not allowed to catch any fish. We thought it was going to be a disaster, right? But, I guess that's (pause), that's the way things has to be done, right?

Likewise, Kevin observed,

We didn't want it to shut down because the cod stocks was great here. We really didn't want it. We went to meetings, like I said, we almost came to smacks sometimes. We just didn't want it to close. And, I guess [places] where there was no fish, yeah, it made sense probably to close her down. But for us?

Kevin's comment is, perhaps, indicative of an inability to take a broader view beyond one's immediate space. Moreover, it demonstrates how bureaucrats neglected to see the specificity and difference from one location to another. As Kevin indicated the resentment and bitterness people were feeling almost ended in physical violence. Martha also described the anger people felt initially,

John Crosbie was the member then and they had a big (pause), almost a riot. Yes, it was pretty touchy for awhile. They[fishers] had meetings different places, and two demonstrations, and all of this.

Perhaps the anger and resentment suggest a shifting of blame but little acknowledgement that everyone had a role in all of this. As Kelly (2008) remarks, this and other incidents are "not [ones] from which we are separate or by which we are (only) victimized" (p. 35).

Furthermore, Coles (2012) observes that what happened in Newfoundland and Labrador is something we must recognize that we are “all implicated in” (para. 10). It means recognizing the interrelation of human beings with the environment and understanding we are not separate from but a part of that system.

However, the acrimony was exacerbated because people felt their opinions were not important and their voices were ignored by those with decision making power. As Don remarked,

(Laughs). Yeah. Oh yeah, well, I suppose for a lot of us, we never met with many politicians and scientists and bureaucrats, or whatever you want to call them. And, we never had much experience in dealing with them. And, I'll tell you, their views on the fishery and our views weren't very handy. I can tell you that. We had big concerns in the way they were doing things.

He elaborated,

They never listened to the fishermen. Well, for the north-east coast part of the fishery, when the moratorium came on, the fishermen on the north-east coast were saying for years the fish were going down. And, here they were bringing in them otter trawlers¹⁹ and putting them off the coast of St. John's. First they started in Port-aux-Basques; they cleaned it up over there. I was in Petty Harbour at the time and there was a guy in there from Port-aux-Basques. And he said, those otter trawlers are coming in here now. And it won't be long before your fishery will be ruined. And he wasn't far out.

Albrecht (2005) suggests that the feelings of loss and lack of solace people feel in relation to their damaged home environment is, in part, a result of “...a profound sense of isolation about their inability to have a meaningful say and impact on the state of affairs

¹⁹ A fishing vessel that drags a net across the ocean floor. The net is attached to the rear end of the ship and the mouth of it can range between thirty to one hundred feet.

that caused their distress (p. 44). Many fishers noted that the scientific data did not match what they were seeing first hand:

I never really thought it should have been closed here. Just before they closed it, me and Mike was out, we hauled fourteen nets. We brought in eleven thousand pound of fish...seemed like enough to us. (Walter)

Well, from the time I started, up to the moratorium, we always had a good cod fishery. And, when they took it from us, it was like they almost robbed us. Like we were doing well[and]we done well that winter before. And, even in the summer time you always did fairly well. (Kevin)

If I had to use one word, I think, the vast majority would have been outraged more than anything. The decision (pause), at the time cod fishing was good in this area. Lobster fishing was good. The people were doing very well, thank-you very much. So, I think outrage might be a little bit strong. Not in agreement, most definitely. (Charlie)

There are many issues to consider here, and the debate about whether the fishery is viable or not is key. Despite the evidence that the cod stocks are seriously endangered, there is a disbelief and a desire to fish nevertheless. Thus, a lack of acknowledgement might lead to further environmental destruction if the attitude is to ignore facts and fish anyway.

Nevertheless, scientists and bureaucrats ignored the local knowledge and understanding of fishers. This divide between local knowledge and scientific knowledge is important to an understanding of ecological issues.

Local Knowledge Versus Scientific Knowledge

For many years fishers in this community reported declining cod stocks in their area but the government set higher and higher TACS (Community Brief, 1994). There was a disregard of the value of the knowledge of fishers who worked intimately with the environment. Ó Domhnail (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2016) argues,

These small coastal communities are not just important economically. There's a real social value, a depth of knowledge that needs to be protected. People are part of the ecosystem, not just the whales and the fish. People are part of the ecosystem on our coast that need to be protected so they can manage the resource sustainably.

As was discussed in chapter two there has been increasing awareness of the importance of the ecological knowledge of indigenous and local people. And language is essential, for it is through language that knowledge is encoded and transmitted (Maffi, 2005). Local knowledge can be important to conservation measures, but the value of this knowledge and experience often goes unrecognized. Scientific and local knowledge can be complementary as opposed to polarized, one being right and the other wrong. As was noted in chapter two, increasingly scholars have suggested the importance of integrating the two (Finlayson, 1994; Harvey & Coon, 1997; McCay & Finlayson, 1995; Rose, 2007, Harris, 1997).

Further Implications

Although, fishers were banned from cod fishing, they could, and did, fish for other species. As Charlie noted, "While the moratorium was indeed a rough time for the industry in [this bay], there were species like crab and lobster that helped fill part of the void left by the moratorium on cod." However, while many fishers moved on to fishing other species, some were forced to sell their fishing boats and licenses and retire earlier than anticipated. It was not a desirable option for many. As Bill said,

Well, there was a sense of loss in terms of the fishermen who were not quite ready to retire then, who expected to have a few good years in the fishery. There was a sense of loss, in terms of these men having to sell off their fishing enterprises. Yeah, that's a thing I remember from my father-in-law. It wasn't an easy decision and people, you know, had major concern over that. There certainly was a sense of loss to the community as such.

Duncan expressed concern that it was something that would affect the older generation as opposed to the younger ones who were going to move on. He stated,

I would have at the time been more concerned about the effect that it would have had on Mom and Dad, than me personally. Because, growing up (laughs), (pause), and of course, Dad always tells me, well, you're never going into the market.

Many of the older fishers were not ready to retire but felt their age limited them from moving into other types of employment. Duncan noted,

I remember having a conversation with Dad, too, (pause), like you got all this gear, all this money tied up, boats, and fishing gear and everything. Then, the biggest thing is just what are you going to do? And, what are you going to do with everything, and your enterprise that you have? I think it's more of a, where do you go from here once it happens?

George made a similar comment, "We were looking at all the investments and all the work that was put into making a living in the cod fishery; it was sort of left for nothing. And Dad himself (pause), there was a lot of heartache." People were concerned because they had a large financial investment put into their fishing enterprise. They felt trapped because by keeping the enterprise they would put themselves at a financial disadvantage, but they did not want to give it up. Don was concerned about the buy-back of fishing licenses and whether it had a negative impact on the fishery. He stated,

Probably seven or eight of them here that sold their license at the time. There was a fault with that too, Barb. Because they bought back, in some places. I don't know about here, but I know first when it come out, they paid the people to get out of the fishery. But, they allowed their license to be transferred to (inaudible), or somebody else. So, it did nothing to enhance the fishing industry; all it did was crippled it. They paid that money out to these people and they passed their license on down...Actually, it put more catching capacity in the fishery when it reopened, than it was before (inaudible).

One measure the government took to help reduce the number of fishers, and thus take pressure off the already declining cod stocks, was buying licenses from fishers who were at, or close to, retirement age. Don suggests it was not handled as it should have been. Although licenses were bought from fishers, in some cases the license was simply transferred to another person thereby defeating the purpose of such a measure. However, as he states, this was not the case for Cod Bight but he is aware that it happened elsewhere.

Fish Processors: Women and Young People

The fish processors, often referred to as fish plant workers, were mostly women and young people. They were directly affected as they lost their main source of income. As Joyce said,

When the fish went, like I said, the fish plant went. Sometimes there was twenty-five to thirty people out there working, so that work was gone. You know, mostly women and younger people went to work in the fish plant. And that was gone.

Joyce speaks to the fact that biological loss, the loss of a key resource, created change and much more loss as a result. The fish went, the fish plant went, and, in time, the people went. Steve summed up the situation quite succinctly, “If there’s no raw material, there’s nothing for the people to do.” His comment is somewhat poignant in its simplicity. As Romaine (2013) maintains, “The ultimate cause of all extinctions is environmental change” (p. 773). In this case, the near decimation of a species was a significant environmental change and it meant more change to come.

Charlie noted,

Most work in the fish plant would have been for cod. But, the plant owner still bought lobster and stuff. So, I guess, it never technically closed. But, based on my

recollection the activity in that plant significantly decreased with the closure of the cod fishery. That's what was the major (pause), the cutting lines²⁰ were for cod and not for other species. So, the workforce would have been drastically decreased based on my recollection.

Whereas the fishers turned to other species, there was no alternative employment in the community for fish processors. Don contrasted what happened to the fishers versus the fish processors,

Once the moratorium happened we got into the crab. We'd go out and get twenty thousand pound of crab at three dollars a pound. You can see (pause), but in saying that now with the plant gone, the plant workers, their income was down the other way. Where else were they gettin' work?

Thus, it increased gender disparity as women have traditionally earned less than men; it is indicative of another level of the social impact. Similarly, Kevin remarked,

In Cod Bight, we had a fish plant, cod was the mainstay, and with the moratorium I mean they were all laid off. And, it was just (pause); the fishermen fished other species, like lobster, lump roe and crab and everything else. It was just that one part of our income lost, right. The cod, that was the largest at the time.

And because the fish processors had no other option, their only choice was to move on and, of course, it was the young people who left. The women who were employed in the fish plant remained because most, if not all, were married and their husbands provided an income as well. Diane remarked that "Because of the moratorium, you know, younger people who were involved with the fishery [meaning fish processors] had to move on because they had no work." Diane and Mike both suggested that the downsizing of the fish plant meant younger people had to leave to find work and their son was one of those people. However, the fish processors were provided with some compensation. As Kevin

²⁰ Workers who fillet the fish in a fish processing plant are known as the cutting line.

stated, "...They were affected big time, fish plant workers. They did take retraining²¹, and it affected them of course." Don also commented,

Oh, yes, all the people that were doing cod in the plants, and one thing and another, they all lost their jobs. That had a big impact on them. But, a lot of them qualified for the program [financial aid], the same as us. Only, I think, it was a different set up than what the fishermen was, right.

Duncan, now forty years old, noted the impact on his generation. He stated,

But, again, in another sense, I remember at the time thinking okay what's everybody gonna do and where does it lead me to at the end of the day? I wasn't gonna be directly involved in it. And, I did what I figured I would do, as a lot of us did, we ended up going to Alberta.

Thus, the younger generation began to leave but most of the fishers remained. However, the impact was felt differently depending on the individual, and people made different choices in response to the crisis.

Other Responses

Some people remained with the fishery and fished other species, some retired, but others were forced to make other kinds of change. Some had to face the reality that they were unable to make a living in the community. Henry was a deckhand; therefore, he did not own a license but assisted another fisher. And Joyce, his wife, was employed in the fish plant when the cod moratorium was announced. Thus, they both lost their source of employment and eventually were forced to leave. As Henry suggested, "You didn't know, perhaps you'd think you'd have to leave your house, and move. And, with your house and

²¹ Fish processors did receive some financial aid through the Northern Cod Adjustment and Rehabilitation Program (NCARP) program. In 1993, the NCARP program provided an income supplement for two years to those affected by the moratorium. Those receiving funding were required to participate in a retraining program, or otherwise, accept early retirement packages. In 1994, a second income supplement plan followed, The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS).

everything, then you'd have to move. This was going to be a big, hard blow to everything and everyone." Joyce replied to his comment, "Well, we did move (wistfully)." She described how they felt about having to uproot and leave their house and home, but really having no other option,

Well, I mean, we didn't want to move at that time (laughs), you know. We were getting up there, too, in age, you know; and we didn't want to move. But, we had no other choice. We had a home to keep, and you know we couldn't stay, unless (pause). And the fish plants then was pretty well all gone, you know. So, we never had a really big choice. But, it was not something that you wanted to do. But, you just had to do it.

Henry elaborated,

It is hard leaving your home, right. And, when we went away two of us got jobs so we couldn't quit. And, we couldn't come back and forth. We had to stay there. Two of us had pretty good jobs there so we figured we'd stay. We had a lot of work to do on our house when we got back, after eleven years.

Ann provided a somewhat different perspective as a young person, who was attending university and only returning to the community on weekends. She commented,

Ah, well, I mean, I guess coming from a fishing community, you know as a young person here, you would look to faces and people, try to read their thoughts. You wouldn't be brave enough to ask. Just that for an amount of time the wharves weren't as busy. For an amount of time you didn't see a boat every day on the water. And, you know, instead of a fisherman out there [on the ocean], you'd see them doing their own things, on their own property. Whether it be in their fishing stages, or what have you. But, you'd notice that morale was down for awhile.

Ed, who was a ten-year-old child when the moratorium was announced, said,

... Well, there definitely was a sense of worry because of what they were getting from their parents. I guess, because their parents were upset about it. So, I think that's (pause), I don't know if any of us at that age really understood what the magnitude of what it was really.

Steve, a former elementary school teacher in the community, did not recall a lot of obvious concern but he did state, “Now, that’s not to say there wasn’t some out in the community. But there wasn’t anything [he] became aware of.” He elaborated,

Not really [any obvious concern], you know. It’s a small community. And, it was the biggest employer, the cod fishery, and, it was seasonal. And, it didn’t seem to have any impact; because the men still went about their business. None of them moved out of the community, that I can recall, to work. And, the enrollment [in school] stayed pretty consistent. Even though it was a small enrollment, it didn’t change. And, that is about as good as I can recall.

According to the school attendance registers, only one student did move out of the community in the year following the moratorium on cod fishing in Cod Bight. Many informants in this research suggested that the family of this child was forced to leave as a direct result of the cod moratorium. And, within two years after the cod moratorium, seven residents left because of the closure of the Northern cod fishery. However, outmigration was only one of the consequences of the cod moratorium. Henry noted,

Some people got jobs around Newfoundland. Some people took jobs in other things, that could find work, where they wouldn’t have to leave the community, you know. But, I don’t know if anyone packed up and left like we did.

Individual experiences were very different, and people experienced change and loss in many ways. Ed commented on how the change impacted on his family and family relationships. He stated,

Well, I mean, Dad did what he needed to do to keep us going as a family. Because, without him getting the job [in St. John’s] and having to drive back and forth, ah, hmmm. I guess, really, in my early teens, and even before that, I didn’t have a relationship with my father (pause), a great one, because he was gone. In the beginning he started to drive back and forth every day. So, he was home every evening. Obviously, he couldn’t keep that up. Then, he was [in St. John’s] all week and coming home on the weekend. So, being a kid, weekends I’d be out, you know. I think it really, really affected my relationship with my father. Since I’ve grown up it’s gotten a hell of a lot better. But, I know that looking back, and

certain things that I hear people say to me today about their Dad, and growing up, I didn't have that. I think that was a direct result because he had to leave for work.

He further added, "Obviously, in the long run, I think it did affect my mother's and father's relationship because she still stayed there [in Cod Bight], as well. They did eventually separate." As was noted earlier the impact was felt on those who remained in the community as well as those who left. And, the closure of the fishery affected everyone, including those who had no direct involvement in it.

Indirect Involvement

Informants who were not directly affected noted change in the overall community and believed it was a communal impact. Doris believed that although neither she nor her husband were involved in the fishing industry they felt it as a part of the community. She said, "And, the people that worked at the plant, lost their jobs and everything. So, it made a difference to the community for sure. They had to haul up their boats, and nets, and everything." Likewise, Jim stated, "...You had the fish plant, and that, out there. And, I guess, people was workin' there would lose their jobs when the fish was gone. So, that made a difference." Clarence, who no longer lives in the community, but who still has a connection to Cod Bight, made the following observation,

All I can say, it was more of a general concern, a pessimistic view of what might happen in that bay. As well as (pause), well, obviously, when you are throwing probably thirty thousand people out of work, on the other side of things (pause). The news travels fast, and of course, in conversations with people around, the consensus was things are not looking very bright – that kind of a discussion you know.

Rose (2007) said his attempt to write the story of the fishery in Newfoundland could not be a "straightforward fish story" (p. 14) because it could not be separated from the history

of the province, which is told through the fishery in many ways. Essentially, the province's history and the story of the fishery are intertwined, and one cannot be told without the other. The same observation applies to the story of Cod Bight and the voices of the informants attest to the intricate ebb and flow that is the history of this community.

Unsustainable Fishery: Loss and Change

The ecological devastation and resulting loss impacted both the economic and social health of the community. Joyce felt the decline in the fishery affected the stability of the community and, therefore, it forced young people to leave. As she stated,

They [young people] know they can't make a living no more, at the fishery. They can't do it no more. They are not going to live in a little community like this where there is nothing left here. It has changed in that way.

Likewise, Henry remarked, "I think some of them would [leave], because a lot of the fishing was going down. The cod fishing was (pause), had pretty well gone." The downturn in the fishery and resulting loss of the primary source of employment meant younger people had no option but to leave. As Kevin noted,

No, the fishery wasn't the same after the moratorium, and everything. For my son, it just wasn't the same. The lobsters wasn't the same; the cod wasn't the same. Just couldn't make the same living at it, right.

Duncan, a young person at the time, remarked,

So, you had to make decisions at that time that were (pause), and, I think, most of my friends, and the people that I grew up with were all the same. They were going to be moving on, somewhere out of Newfoundland after, especially with the moratorium and how (pause) it affects society, in general, when you have that kind of news, and impactful news.

Joyce noted the impact of the closure and contrasted the difference after the fact,

Well, I think it changed it quite a bit; because it was booming at that time. We had a big fish plant going, lots of people employed. Everybody was fishing then. But, after the moratorium, well, all the young people left; and nobody went into the fishery. And, then the community (pause), well, everybody left, all the young people. And, no one came back after they finished school or university. No one came back here. So, it changed it in that way as I see it.

The cod moratorium was a key factor in the increased movement out of the community but it was not the only reason.

Outport Lifestyle: A Changing Attitude

One of the precipitating factors in this decision is that people are educated to leave. In Cod Bight, like many other small communities elsewhere, there have been increasing numbers of people who have chosen to leave the community and lifestyle behind for an allegedly better life in the city. As Bill said,

Well, I think that people like to be in major centres where there's lots of things they can do, lots of things they can participate in, better services. Things are right at their fingertips, sort of thing.

Similarly, Henry observed,

The younger people are moving away. One time that didn't happen. They worked with their fathers and they took over the fishing gear from their fathers. That's the boys now. They would build homes there. At this time, now, there's nobody staying. The younger people are moving out and getting trades and getting jobs and building houses in around St. John's.

This is not unique to this province, the belief that to be successful is to leave rural life behind (Edmondson, 2001; Corbett, 2007; Corbett, 2010c). Ed said if he stayed in this community he would simply be "mucking along". His comment was not meant with disrespect but it is the belief that the place has little to offer. Duncan made a similar point,

Well, I mean, for me personally, if I were to put myself back there right now in that community I'd probably feel pretty depressed about the whole situation...

But, really, if you look at it and count the number of young people that are there, obviously, the majority would probably feel the same way that I would (laughs).

Ed commented on how his connection to the community had changed,

Honestly, it would have to be my last-ditch effort, or my last resort, to move back there. Again, it is a special place, like I said. And, I still love to go visit my grandparents. But, I don't feel as tied to the community as I once was. Other than family members and stuff.

In an age of globalization people move to where the work is, or technology allows them to work from anywhere, so the work is, essentially, placeless. This creates a lessening of attachment to place. This detachment is evident in some of the informants in this research, especially younger generations. As Steve remarked,

I think the ones that moved on or didn't become involved in the community like today, for whatever reasons, are the ones that saw an opportunity. It could have been job related to move on. And, of course, unfortunately, what's happening today is that we all know that rural Newfoundland, in general, is dying, not only here but everywhere.

According to a report by The Harris Centre, Memorial University, the population in Newfoundland and Labrador is expected to have an eight percent decline overall by 2036 and rural areas will be significantly affected (Simms & Ward, 2016). Rural areas have already shown significant decline and will continue to do so. As Simms and Ward (2016) state,

The situation is not new, for the last 20 years or more the demographic structure of the province has shifted from a rapid growth model, in which the population was sustained through natural replacement, to a no-growth model in which population stability or growth can only be achieved through in-migration. This is particularly true for rural Newfoundland and Labrador where many of the regions have been in decline for multiple census periods (p. 5).

This will be discussed in more detail in chapter five. The loss of younger generations means there are fewer people to take leadership roles and to infuse innovative ideas to make Cod Bight a more vibrant and sustainable community.

Change: A Retirement or Summer Home Community

A key change in Cod Bight is that the population is largely an aging demographic. There has been a decline in community services. Thus, it is difficult to attract young people to a community that does not have basic services such as a school, a store and employment opportunities. Don described the momentous change in the community,

It is going to come to where it won't even exist, in my opinion, if it keeps goin' the way it is goin'. And the moratorium caused a lot of that, the income that people were makin', and the plant that was down there. People were workin' and it kept people around. We had a school here; we don't have a school no more. We had stores here; we don't have a store no more. And we're only just hangin' on to our post office. So, you talk about the community changin', we're after changin' big time.

Similarly, Charlie commented,

That's painting a pretty bad picture. But, I think, if you look at it realistically, unless something really changes, with respect to the fishery, or if there is some gold discovery (laughs) up on The Green Hill, the sustainability of the community is not realistic.

According to some, the only hope for the community is as a place for those who would like to retire back to an outport lifestyle or as a place for summer homes. As such, Don remarked,

Why is anybody ever going to move into Cod Bight, other than what I just talked about, retirement. Nothing never goin' to get no better here, not regards to boostin' up the economy for the community itself. We're done, we're done.

Similarly, Clarence remarked, "I have grave doubts that many of the kids will stay there and keep that community [going]. It's going to be summer homes, you know, a summer

place.” Likewise, Walter said, “It’s all changing. After a spell, all you’ll see are summer cabins.” But there are those who decide that they prefer the values and lifestyle that can only be found in a rural community. And while this trend outward may be a generational thing, there are still those who did stay. There is a generational split in those who want to stay and those who feel the community has little to offer. Walter stated, “Got no plans on leaving, no...Nice and close to Harbour Delight; run back and forth, the cabin’s around the corner. I’m going tomorrow morning.” This is a place where Walter has a summer cabin in what used to be his home community before he was resettled to Cod Bight. Walter epitomized what Malone (2007) contends, “The happiness experienced by generations of Newfoundlanders extends in no small measure from their access to the land, to their cabin on the pond, their cup of tea in the woods (p. 43). Don’s emotional attachment to place is evident in his following comment,

Let me tell you this. In 1979, on the fourth of September, me and my wife decided we were goin’ to go to Ontario. We left and went to Ontario in the first week in November. And, I seen a lot of pretty lights when I was up there them three or four months. But, when I topped the Light Sky Hill, comin’ back here in the later part of March month, that is the prettiest lights ever I seen.

His reference describes the hill that allows people the first sight of the lights of the community when returning home.

Cod Bight may become a retirement or summer home community; it may not be realistic to think of its sustainability in any other terms. The cod stocks have been depleted and “ninety percent of all large species have disappeared from the oceans in just the last fifty years....” (Malone, 2007, p. 46). However, as Malone (2007) argues, we

need to learn from our past mistakes and realize previous generations were too “greedy” (p. 46) and did not leave enough for present generations.

Sustainable Future: Economics and Ecology

To create sustainability, there must be a balance between economic success and environmental consciousness. Derek Butler, Executive Director of the Association of Seafood Producers in St. John’s, believes a sustainable fishery must be built on “sound ecological and economic foundations” (2012, para.14). Furthermore, Kelly (2008) questions whether it must be a choice of one or the other and notes that both ecology and economy have the same root, *ecos*, and why must we see them as separate? Perhaps a stronger marriage between economics and ecology would create an economic discourse that is different. As Reimer and Bollman (2010) maintain, “Even the environment may be viewed as capital and thus sustainable development may be defined as living on earth and not reducing the so-called environmental capital” (p. 43). To do so, as Ó Domhnaill et al. (2016) argue, people must look beyond short-term economic gain with no concern for long term sustainability (43:57). In 1992, the same year as the ecological crisis of cod in this province, the Earth Summit held in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, suggested a movement towards this very idea, both “sustainable economies and environmental practices” (Donehower et al., 2007, p. 5).

Donehower et al. (2007) suggests the importance of a “multidimensional view of sustainability” (p. 6) one that recognizes the interrelation of ecological, social, political

and economic factors²². Complexity thinking, or integrative thinking is helpful in building sustainability (Davis et al., 2008; Davis & Sumara, 2008; Sterling, 2003). However, Sterling (2003) contends, “Yet ecologically sustainable development requires an extension of thought, beyond that which was the norm for most of the 20th Century, towards a much more integrative perspective that brings together (at least) society, economy and environment, and present and future dimensions” (p. 40). Sustainability is about finding ways to maintain small communities, not as some romanticized past but a way to look to the future (Ó Domhnail, as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2016). Furthermore, it is about “...giving people a standard of living and a 21st century standard of living and a bright future without destroying the ecosystem and without damaging the long-term prospects” (Ó Domhnail, as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2016). Cadigan (2009) makes an important observation,

The offshore oil industry may be the economic saviour of Newfoundland and Labrador but that depends on whether the province may use the wealth generated by the industry to invest in people and communities in ways that sustain both them and the ecologies in which their fortunes are inextricably bound (p. 297).

The offshore oil industry in Newfoundland and Labrador has become an important part of the provincial economy. However, informants noted they are cautious about the potential for environmental damage within their region if the industry does not take appropriate preventative measures. I discuss their concerns later in this chapter.

²² Donehower et al. (2007) draw on the work of Derek Owens who, working within composition studies, is one of the first to take up sustainability as a conceptual framework.

Community: ‘ “The Times They are A Changin’ ”

I asked informants about change within the community, why changes occurred and whether change would have occurred despite the moratorium. Their responses indicate the complexity of the change. Charlie remarked,

(Pause). It's a hard question. But, let me put it this way, had there not been a moratorium I would still be living in Cod Bight. Of that I am absolutely certain. I think that there probably would be other sons, younger than I was at the time, who might very well be there.

George said,

You can never rewind time. But, I don't know if the moratorium didn't happen, and the fishing practices was good, if there would be more people moved in there. And, it would have been a better community, too.

Duncan remarked,

But, if the moratorium hadn't of come into effect, it may have had a different impact on some of the people that were there. They may not have left, if they had that option to stay, and go into the fishery, or make a living and being able to stay in that outpost...Because, I mean, back then, if you didn't fish, or anything like that, you couldn't really stay in a small community like that. You had several people, maybe, that worked outside. But, the majority of the people are going to be directly involved with the fishery right.

However, there were alternative opinions as to whether the community would have changed despite the moratorium. Diane contends, “Well I think as the population changes, changes would have taken place anyway... Yes, because more and more people were leaving and going out to get work. And, of course, once they go out they don't come back most of the time.” Kevin stated, “I don't know if you can relate the changes to the moratorium because I think it's related to the community as such. I think it was going to happen anyway when all the young people moved out.” Janet said, “because the younger

people don't want to be in small communities." Undoubtedly, there are more opportunities available. As Tom remarked,

No, they want(pause), things change. Like, when we were growing up there wasn't much else to do only go fishing, or work in a fish plant, or something like that. Those days there's so much things that you can get a trade for, you know.

Duncan said, "I think, obviously, it's gonna change. Time changes everything. In a small outport community, things are never going to remain the same." Don believes there were many reasons for change to occur,

Like the song says, "The Times They are A Changin". They certainly are. (Laughs). Probably would've because people were gettin' more educated. And, there was more opportunities. The oil industry was comin' on. There was different projects on the go. There was a lot of work for a young man or young woman that wanted to go to work. So, maybe without the moratorium we were headed for change anyway.

Several factors influenced change and there are no simple answers to the cause of change.

As Charlie said, "It's a combination of things and I think the moratorium definitely helped in the decline." Steve elaborated,

Well, see again, as people get older, people that were involved in the fishery, they are no longer involved. So, economically, the community is not as vibrant as it once was. I know Sam and Kevin, and Don and Larry, they are still involved in the fishery, but there are quite a few who aren't.

Steve said, "And, people just drift away." But people don't just drift away, sometimes they are forced to leave because of circumstances beyond their control. This comment does not seem to adequately demonstrate the complexity of the situation. There is a resignation that change happens without questioning why and whether it should happen? Do some feel a lack of autonomy? If so, why?

Ecological Concerns: “What Chance Have a Lobster Got?”

An issue that arose through the course of my research is the impact of industrial centres on the oceans and its resources. Informants had concerns about the negative impact of several types of industrial activity on the bay in which they fished. When I asked about the impact of the cod moratorium Charlie brought up environmental issues that had previously affected the fishery in this area. He stated,

Long Harbour, shortly after it opened, the bay was closed because of the red herring. It was only closed for three weeks, or something like that. I was in my very early teens. And, when they closed it I can remember being on the wharf where Dad was, and it was cod trapping season. And, he was totally, absolutely devastated. I don't know if he cried or not, but that was the end of the world. When the #XX cod moratorium was declared, there was some of that. But, it was nothing compared to what it had been back with ERCO [Electric Reduction Company of Canada Industries Limited] and the red herring. I don't know why. Again, it could be something to do with the connection culturally and heritage wise. But, I know, that the reaction to that one was far more heartfelt. Now, I'm not saying the reaction to the cod moratorium in the 1990's wasn't heartfelt. Yes, but it was very different, the earlier one.

The ERCO phosphorus plant opened in 1968 and closed in 1989. This operation was a brainchild of then premier, Joseph R. Smallwood, who always believed the province's future was in industry as opposed to the fishery. Environmental and health-related issues arose shortly after the opening of the industrial plant. The key issue was the appearance of dead herring – discolored because of internal bleeding, hence red herring. Cod was also affected with a type of meningitis. The plant was closed for approximately six months to install “pollution prevention” equipment. Nevertheless, there were other health and environmental concerns because of fluoride emissions. In 2014, a nickel processing plant

opened in the same community; it is still in operation. Walter raised concerns about the impact of tailings or waste products from this plant on the ocean species. He commented,

And, now, they got this fit out, up in Long Harbour, with the old waste sewage pipe going out in the mouth of Long Harbour. Nobody knows what's coming out of that. All the old sewage, now, that's coming from that nickel plant (pause), that's gonna all go out in Placentia Bay. That could all have an effect on it.

There is concern that the Come-By-Chance Oil Refinery might have an impact on this bay as well. The oil tankers travelling through the bay on route to the refinery may be affecting some species of fish. As Kevin said,

Once again, we don't really know [what is causing the decline]. We might even think [it is] the big tankers going in and out, vibrations of the big old props. 'Cause lobster's very sensitive, they say, to noise. So, for some reason it's almost like they left in this bay. There was never lobster in Sculpin Bay like it was [here] (pause). And we had the lobsters; it was great here. For some reason, it seems like they're not staying. It's not overfished 'cause there's nobody at it now, only two or three of us.

Similarly, Walter observed, "...All these tankers, goin' in and out (pause), vibrations, sounds, underwater. I don't know if there's anything to it; but I heard people mention it. And, it could be makin' a difference." He elaborated, "I guess sound, I guess (pause) it scares them. Perhaps there's nothing to it. But, you never know if it's a possibility."

There is also concern that the increased ocean traffic, because of both industries, increases potential for environmental disasters. Walter also noted, "[There's] so much tanker traffic. And, now, with the boats goin' in and out of Long Harbour, with that nickel plant (pause), there's more boats goin' in and out."

Another environmental concern in this bay is the recent influx of European green crab, a highly invasive species. According to Fisheries and Oceans Canada (2016), the green crab is a problem all over Canada and entered Newfoundland waters in 2007. It has

become all but impossible to control. They are voracious eaters, especially of mussels, clams and juvenile lobsters, smaller crabs, other crustaceans and small fish. They are also in competition with adult lobsters for food. The European green crab is considered one of the ten most unwanted species in the world (Fisheries and Oceans Canada, 2018).

Informants had varying opinions on this issue. Walter described the impact it was having,

Small lobsters, when they molts and their shell gets soft, I think the green crab attacks them cause they got no shell. And, they [green crab] dug up the cocks and hens over on Harbour Delight. And, the mussels, [they] eat all them with the hard shell on them, and they killed them too. What chance have a lobster got? When he sheds his shell, he is attacked. I think that's what happened to the lobsters here in Placentia Bay.

However, there is some debate whether the decline in the lobster fishery is, the result of green crab attacks or overfishing. As Kevin says,

Well, yeah, the green crab, some fellows are blaming it on that. But, I mean, Nova Scotia, up around there there's lots of green crab and lots of lobster. Just talked to a guy from Port-au-Port Peninsula. He got green crab over there he told me. And, he said that their lobster, they're getting three or four hundred pound a day, lots of lobsters... It might be those tankers coming in, in the bay so often and, some kind of vibration, (inaudible), who knows, we just don't know. But, for some reason, we had lobsters and our cod was good. Placentia Bay was one of the better bays. And, right now, I think it's probably the worst bay. I been fishing since '78 and this is the worst ever I've seen it, you know this year.

Kevin's comment is indicative of the complex nature of the problem and the difficulty in ascertaining what may be the issue. However, as many informants concluded, all species have declined within this area.

Conclusion

In this chapter, I have discussed the interrelation of people and the environment and the impact of environmental changes on people and their community. The near

decimation of the Northern cod influenced significant and multifaceted community change. The key dimensions of community change include a declining and changing industry, economic uncertainty, and outmigration. Many changes affected areas deemed important for language maintenance such as maintaining traditional places and living closely with the sea (Nettle & Romaine, 2000). In the next chapter, I will explore how this ecological crisis, and the attendant effects on the community, influenced linguistic and cultural change.

Chapter Five

Language

“Language death is symptomatic of cultural death; a way of life disappears with the death of a language” (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, p. 7).

Introduction

This is the second chapter of an interrelated data analysis on ecology, language and culture, whereby I provide both a presentation and analysis of the data. The near depletion of the Northern cod stocks and resultant closure of the Northern cod fishery had a significant effect on life in the community of Cod Bight. It influenced changes in both work and lifestyle. These changes influenced linguistic and cultural change. Language evolution and change is a natural process (Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004) but events, such as ecological crises, can precipitate and hasten change. Nettle and Romaine (2000) suggest that the term ecology has an important link to language for, as stated in the previous chapter, its meaning originates from the Greek word *oikos* which means home. A language is an intricate part of people and their environment, a communicative means for establishing and maintaining relationships and creating ease and comfort in the context of daily meaning-making. If that environment is at risk so is the language (Romaine, 2007). In this chapter I explore linguistic change, specifically, change in dialect and register. As previously noted, I use the term dialect to refer to a variety of a language of a specific group of people. In this case, register refers to the language of the workplace, i.e. the fishery. I look at change and loss of workplace register. I discuss how an environmental crisis resulting in the closure of the Northern cod fishery, a changing industry and changing workplace has influenced linguistic and cultural change.

Overview

A language cannot exist independently and to understand the birth and death of languages means "...looking not just at the languages themselves, but all aspects of the lives of people who speak them" (Nettle & Romaine, 2000, p. 79). Nettle and Romaine (2000) further state,

This is what we mean by an ecological view of society; people are actors in a complex field whose boundaries are set by physical geography and natural resources, by their own knowledge and opportunities, and by the behavior of others around them. A language is enmeshed in a social and geographical matrix just as a rare species is enmeshed in an ecosystem (p. 79).

Romaine (2007) maintains that "A community of people can exist only where there is a viable environment for them to live and a means of making a living. Where communities cannot thrive, their languages are in danger" (p. 127). One of the impacts of ecological disaster is loss of the means to make a living, resulting in forced migration, a leading cause of language change (Cummins, 2001; Crystal, 2010; Davis, 2007; Romaine, 2013; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2004). George remarked on the impact of the cod moratorium on Cod Bight, "...it gave people the mobility of moving out of the community where there was no sustainability in the fishery." George also commented on linguistic change in his community,

And [people] has come back there with a totally different language development. And, I've talked to individuals, my peers, and friends that left the community, and I had to really look at them hard to see if it was the same person that left the community. Their language, and behaviour, and everything else has changed. And, I said, my God you realize you grew up in the same place that I grew up, but you got this totally different dialect and language.

Language loss is experienced in multiple ways. It can be the loss of a primary language for multilingual speakers such as English as a Second Language speakers or indigenous

peoples. Local examples of such loss are Innu-aimun, Innuttitut, and Mi'kmaq for the Labrador Innu, Inuit, and Mi'kmaq peoples, respectively. For monolingual speakers, language loss is experienced through dialect loss (Clarke, 2006; Clarke et al., 2012; Crystal, 2010; Foley, 1986; Romaine, 2007; Wolfram, 2007; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). The loss of either a language or dialect is a loss of science, culture and history (Wolfram, 2007). Furthermore, as Romaine (2015) states, "Because such a large part of any language is culture-specific, people often feel that an important part of their traditional culture and identity is also lost when that language disappears" (p. 32). Language is not the only element that distinguishes identity, either within a group or individually, however, it is considered "a benchmark for cultural diversity because virtually every major aspect of human culture ranging from kinship classification to religion is dependent on language for its transmission" (Romaine, 2015, p. 32). Likewise, accents²³, "...immediately mark out who we are and they form a core part of our identity" (Luu, 2017, How far is too far section, para. 3).

Language and Identity

Much research has focused on the complex and intricate connections between language, culture and identity. Language is defined as both "...the most natural badge, or symbol, of public and private identity" (Crystal 2010, p. 18) and "...the cornerstone of a people's identity (Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, 2005, p. 78). Furthermore, it is described as "a vital aspect of one's person" (Willinsky, 1998, p. 190).

²³ An accent is a distinct way of pronunciation of a language and can be associated with a specific country, locale or social class.

It is so intimate a part of people's being that it is like the skin that envelopes us (Delpit, 2002b) and is as "...necessary as breathing" (Isenberger & Willis, 2006, p. 131). As well, it is the initial source of identity, long before any other (Delpit, 2002a, p. xvii). Through language people identify with family, home and community (Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Delpit 2002b; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Willinsky, 1998). The intricate connection between language and identity has been extensively explored (Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Cummins, 2005; Delpit, 2002b; Norton, 2010; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Rodriguez, 1987; Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures, 2005; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). The Task Force on Aboriginal Languages and Cultures (2005) states that for First Nation, Inuit and Métis people "[clearly] language and culture are inseparable concepts" (p. 25). The importance of maintaining identity through preservation of language and culture is evidenced in the struggle of many groups of people, e.g., Aboriginals, immigrants, as well as minority language groups (Rockhill & Tomic, 1995).

Change in Workplace Register

Romaine (2007) asserts that essential to maintaining a language is both numbers of speakers and areas of use. She states, "usage declines in domains where the language was once secure, e.g. in churches, the workplace, schools..." (p. 117). I asked informants if the language of the fishery was changing and, if so, how and why? Steve commented,

Words related to the fishery, oh yeah, they do get lost. Because the way of doing certain things, or [knowing] what's that for, they become lost. Because these generations don't know what that is or don't know how to do that. Unless they are translated for them. You take the word punt. Now, you go out and say to someone that your father has a punt. Now, children would not understand what that means.

Similarly, Janet noted that the current generation of fishers may have maintained the language to some extent but for younger generations, “That’s gone, yes”. Likewise, Sam said that

A lot of people now like...don’t know the language that you use. Even my boys [ages mid to late thirties], like, when we talk to them about some stuff now (pause), different things that you talked about years ago and that, they wouldn’t understand what we’re talkin’ about, right.

Furthermore, many other informants confirmed that changes occurred. They commented:

“Oh yeah, big time.” (Sam)

“Yeah, absolutely. Oh yeah, I think so.” (Kevin)

“Changed, yeah.” (Walter)

“I’d say that’s gone [dialect of previous generations].” (Tom)

“I would say it is [changed].” (Henry)

Population decline is a key factor in linguistic shift and change (Romaine, 2007) which was evident in this research. As Walter remarked, “...fishermen are gettin’ scarcer” and he added “The young people is not gettin’ into that, they’re not gettin’ into the fishery. So (pause) there’s no [one left].” With a gradual decline in the fishery, younger generations are not actively involved in it. Thus, there has been less and less opportunity to learn and use the register of the fishery. Those who were in high school in the 1990s, during the cod moratorium [about forty years of age now] and younger have abandoned fishing as an occupation. Don made the following comment,

I don’t know what other way it would be passed down, unless they listened to the older people. And they are not there no more. And, we don’t be out like years ago. We talked about [how] you’d be out on the wharf and there would be a dozen people. And, there’d be always a young one around. And, you’d be hearin’ this word and that word. This is not happening no more.

If the language is not being passed on to the next generation it will decline and eventually die. The gradual movement of young people outside the community for work, and various other reasons, increased contact with people outside.

Isolation: Language Maintained

The historic pace of linguistic or cultural change was slow for a long time due to relative isolation. When Cod Bight was initially settled it was connected by a system of waterways. A coastal boat, part of a coastal steamship service in Newfoundland and Labrador, would visit the community. However, such visits were infrequent. In the late 19th century, a railway system was completed on the island of Newfoundland and this provided a new method of transportation. In 1957, Cod Bight was connected to the Trans-Canada highway when a road was built into the community²⁴. Informants commented on notable change with the building of a road that enabled easier access to the outside. As George remarked,

That goes back to the community where you have a paved road to the highway, which is an avenue to the rest of the island, and to the world. And, when people now can get in their vehicles and move around to other areas, areas like St. John's and whatever.

Similarly, Steve noted,

I don't think the community is as insulated as it once was. It was off by itself and the rest of the world didn't exist. I think the community now has been drawn more to the mainstream. And of course, having vehicles and going to St. John's [makes a difference].

²⁴ At around this same time many outport communities also had electricity and television for the first time which would have influenced change as well.

Additionally, the road increased mobility and gave outsiders easier access to the community. As Bill stated,

Well, it probably is because they're not like a group of people that are, basically, isolated here in this community for twelve months out of the year, with the odd visitor coming in like it was one time. People are out there mingling. They are back and forth to the mainland²⁵. They are all over the world basically, yeah.

Informants discussed the impact of isolation on language maintenance. Henry said, "They are goin' to St. John's more often, and goin' to different places. One time they didn't go nowhere, as such. I used to, perhaps, go to [Jack's Cove] across the bay, to get groceries right."²⁶ Joyce made a similar observation,

There's more things for them to do now. There's roads, and different places to go and stuff. We didn't know anything about any other community when we were growin' up. You didn't go anywhere. No way out. You know. Only time we used to get out in the summertime, a couple of times, we'd go across to [Harbour Delight] with Dad, in boat. You know, when he'd go over to buy supplies and stuff. But, you didn't (pause). I guess, the young ones today got more to do and they're not interested in that kind of stuff.

Similarly, Don suggested,

It might have to do with gettin' out at an earlier or younger age, and listenin' to so many different voices and people. One time you were locked in the community, and your words was always the next person's words, and you would hear it, and you would repeat it.

Similarly, Joyce commented, "Everybody spoke the same."

Many informants suggested the language changed because of outside influences.

As Jim said, "Well, I suppose, it's where you're mixed up [with other people]." Likewise,

Doris stated, it was the result of being around "different people". She added, "Sure we

²⁵ The mainland refers to the part of Canada that is not connected to the island portion of Newfoundland and Labrador.

²⁶ Jack's Cove is 45km by car. The distance across the water may be significantly shorter.

didn't see nobody, only the same ones." This situation changed as successive generations had more contact with, and exposure to, the world outside of the community. As Charlie remarked,

Mom grew up in [Cod Bight]. She lived with her Mom and Dad, her sisters and brothers; [she] never lived outside the community. And, the language, the terminology, the words, were with her everyday. Even for myself, that changed with me; I moved away.

Similarly, Steve noted, "They are exposed to so much today, whereas years ago they weren't." Therefore, the dialect remained unchanged because there was very little outside contact. The generational difference in language usage is evident according to Don. He stated, "But, now you'd have a job to [detect a dialect]; the older crowd you can still pick it up a bit. But, the younger crowd you would never say he's from Tickle View, or Cod Bight, or whatever." Similarly, Martha said "Well they are out more, out in different places and they change with that I guess." Diane suggested that "...maybe they're [younger people] more worldly, I don't know." Joyce suggested that young people influenced change. She said, "There's young people comin' in and everything is different right." Similarly, Doris remarked, "And then you'll get the odd kid that comes from away, and different languages again. I mean spoken different and they pick it up too sure right."

This increased contact was a result of numerous factors including easier accessibility via road transportation, access to higher education, and a trend towards moving out of outport communities, which began when the province joined

Confederation in 1949. This movement intensified with a resettlement²⁷ drive that began in 1954 that focused on moving many people from various outport communities into growth centres where they would have more social and educational opportunities.

Historically, there has been a focus on downsizing and eventually eliminating many of the small coastal communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. Thus, the movement outward has been ongoing with a depopulation of many communities and it has resulted in a gradual erosion of an outport way of life. The movement toward urban living is a worldwide trend and Newfoundland and Labrador is no different. Thompson (2017) suggests, “The rural-to-urban migration, set in motion by the Industrial Revolution and launched into warp speed by corporate interests and the forces of globalization, is something most of us take for granted” (Thompson, 2017, Hard times and good times section, para. 5). In Newfoundland and Labrador there has not been a full-scale relocation in all communities, but many outport communities are being shut down incrementally. There has been a gradual erosion of services, including the closure of community schools.

Life Lived Outside: “Places Where People Sleep”

In Cod Bight children have been gradually moved out of the community for education. The community school was restructured from an all grade school (K-11), to K-8²⁸, and finally to K-6²⁹ with its eventual closure in 1996, just four years after the

²⁷“In 1954, the provincial government, through the Department of Welfare, began to provide financial assistance to families prepared to resettle” “Between 1965 and 1975 some 148 communities were abandoned, involving the relocation of an additional 20,000 people”. (Maritime History Archive, 2004 <https://www.mun.ca/mha/resettlement/>)

²⁸ At this time, students would live in another community during the school week and were funded through a bursary program.

²⁹ Students beyond grade six would commute daily on the school bus.

moratorium. After 1996, all school-age children were bussed to nearby communities to attend school. These changes meant young people were spending more time with people from other communities. In this regard, Kevin stated,

You went to school in Cod Bight up to grade eight. And then, of course, you went to New Cove. And, at the time, we went over there and stayed all week – boarding over there. Government gave us a bursary to stay over there – they paid our way.

Similarly, Duncan made the point that,

Schools amalgamated. One time we had our school in Cod Bight. So, from K-6 you just basically associated with the kids in your community. So, everything was intact of your community until you go out. And then you get all these communities, and that's when everything starts to (pause), and now from Kindergarten you are starting that.

People will change their language because they do not want to stand out. Furthermore, it is a way to fit in and demonstrate they are as “smart” or “sophisticated” as others. Often accent or dialect is perceived to indicate backwardness or lack of sophistication. If people are negatively judged on dialect or accent this, often, public shaming will influence change (Clarke, 2006; Crystal, 2010; Luu, 2017; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014; Wolfram and Schilling, 2016).

Thus, the identity someone wants to put forward will influence language choice as identity is encoded in language. Romaine (2000) notes that different age groups or genders may bring such change. She describes a group of young women in Dakar, Senegal who choose to not speak their traditional language, Wolof, but prefer French instead as it establishes and allies them with an identity they desire. People construct identities through connections with intimates within their own cultures. And although identity is related to intimate connections, identity construction is very public, a result of connections to the world outside of family. Language is a part of that identity

construction and therefore as people move from their own cultural comfort zone they will work to construct an identity that works outside, often navigating the languages of public and private life.

In Cod Bight, children now as young as four years of age spend most of their day outside the community. Thus, as Don noted,

But, now, you take someone that is four years old got to go to [Piketown] to go to school. We only had to go in there [indicating the community school], and come back and listen to the old people talking...I don't know if that's what's doin' it. But, that's all I can figure.

As previously stated, intergenerational transmission is key to language maintenance.

Furthermore, schooling itself, as a driver in linguistic change and erosion, is a worldwide phenomenon (Austin & Sallabank, 2011; Corbett, 2010c; Donehower et al., 2007; Edmondson, 2003). As Corbett (2010c) states, "One arguably noble purpose of school has been to mobilize people, to pluck them out of particular places and specific language communities and give them credentials that certify that they possess a generic intellectual capital that is negotiable anywhere" (p. 121). Thus, one of the primary focuses of schooling has been to educate students to leave their culture and community behind, actually and culturally, especially those from outport areas. One of the steps to achieve success is linguistic and cultural assimilation.

The children of Cod Bight are increasingly engaged in activities outside the community, including extra-curricular and social activities. Therefore, there is less intergenerational mixing and involvement in home community activities, of which there are very few for young people. Furthermore, both media and social media offer increased contact with the outside world. All of these factors work to create a different kind of

linguistic and cultural community. As a result, the community language now can best be described as a bricolage.

Movement from outport areas to the city will bring dialect levelling as the language becomes standardized. Tom noted, “You get in another community, we’ll say, where people talks a different language [referring to formal speech or Standard dialect], after awhile you’re goin’ the same way, you know.” Bill stated, “Their language has to change in order for them to be able to communicate effectively wherever they are.” People move to the city to improve their status as cities are associated with mobility and sophistication. As Clarke (2006) suggests, many Newfoundlanders have “...negative attitudes towards their speech variety, perceiving it to be of limited value in terms of socioeconomic mobility” (p. 207). Linguistic change to a Standard way of speaking, one believed to be superior, is a step towards increased social mobility. Thus, as Romaine (2000) states, “In-coming migrants from rural areas often discard marked dialect forms as part of the process of accommodation to urban speech ways” (p. 66). As Diane, remarked, it is, perhaps, a part of becoming more “worldly”. Similarly, Sam observed, “And they’ll try to be so good as that one is there [meaning outside the community].” Once again, this is indicative of the need to fit in, to feel one belongs. There is also sometimes a prestige associated with a way of speaking and people choose to change to a Standard dialect when they feel their speech flags them as inferior. Luu (2017) remarks, “...[a]ttitudes about how we sound are so pervasive that people judge their own accent as inferior or incorrect (How far is too far section, para. 10). Similarly, Grenoble and Whaley (1998) indicate “...it’s fairly common for a language to become so exclusively associated with low-prestige people and their socially disfavoured identities that its own potential

speakers prefer to distance themselves from it and adopt some other language” (p. 3). In Newfoundland and Labrador many people “...tried to correct their speech and embraced the ethnic jokes that were being told about them” (Webb, 2016, p. 73). As Romaine (2000) contends, “All groups recognize the overt greater prestige of standard speech and shift towards it in more formal styles (p. 75).

The movement outward starts at an early age and increases into young adulthood. While many may have gone on to post-secondary education, the cod moratorium forced many younger people to rethink the fishery as a source of employment. Spurling (2003) found in her study in an area of Suffolk, England that, “Increased education levels...down [through] generations has led to people having a more diverse range of employments other than traditional occupations e.g. farming, causing people to commute for employment, thus increasing dialect contact” (Education section, para. 1). Many of the residents of Cod Bight spend much of their day outside the community. Bill observed that life now is lived largely outside the community, even for those who reside there. He stated, “I like to refer to a lot of rural communities now as basically places where people sleep.” This claim is indicative of the changing nature of life in the community and the mobility of people. Many informants discussed how life previously was much more community centred, including school, work, and social activities. The cod moratorium took away part of their livelihood and precipitated change. Important in the preservation of any language is the space where language is used. Nettle and Romaine (2000) argue, “A language can only thrive to the extent that there is a functioning community speaking it and passing it on from parent to child at home. A community can only function where there is a decent environment to live in, and a sustainable economic system” (p. 79).

Mühlhäuser (2002) suggests that

...traditional ways of communication in a complex and natural ecology disappear because of habitat impoverishment and destruction. This includes the weakening of the languages continuum and networks, layered multilingualism, loss of cultural contexts for language use, loss of places where language can[sic] been spoken traditionally and numerous more. I have tried to reframe the problem as one of preserving linguistic ecologies, i.e. dynamically changing and adaptive ecologies whose inhabitants are linked to one another and their sustaining environment by many functional links” (pp. 37-38).

Linguistic change has taken place gradually in Cod Bight because of contact through migration, education, work, travel, media and social media. However, change has been accelerated because there is increased pressure to move away for employment, largely as a result of a declining fishery. The changes are more pronounced within successive generations.

Generational Changes

A UNESCO ad hoc committee on language vitality and endangerment identified “intergenerational language transmission” as one of six factors in determining the vitality of a language (UNESCO, 2003, p. 7). And Fishman (1991) identifies it as the key factor used to assess language vitality. Many informants in my research discussed how language usage is changing with successive generations. Kevin, who is sixty-two years old, remarked, “The words that Dad would use is different than what I would use. And my son is different again. He picks me up on some stuff I says. Each generation I think tries to change it.” Similarly, Charlie, who is sixty-one years of age, commented, “I don’t talk like Mom would have, or Dad would have, and my son even less.” He elaborated,

The younger generation, especially. Well, there’s not many young people left. But, you take twenty, or even thirty-year olds, some of the words or sayings,

there's words that thirty-year olds haven't even heard. And, when the sixty-year olds are gone, those things are gone.

Likewise, Tom stated, "...and the grandchildren, they're different." Similarly, Don remarked, "You know a lot of the words you talked about, that the older crowd used, the younger crowd don't even hear it anymore now." Diane said, "I think maybe a lot of people haven't heard it as they're growing up; they just don't use it." These informants make a pertinent observation because, as they note, the language is no longer heard, thus cannot be maintained. In his study of dialect change on the Ocracoke Island in North Carolina, Wolfram (2008) found that,

While grandparents may still retain many traditional speech characteristics of the dialect, including pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar; the children, however, show a significant reduction in the use of the forms, and the grandchildren have virtually none of these features. So, the dialect could, in fact, vanish within several generations (pp.8-9).

In Cod Bight, increased contact through education, work and travel, with each successive generation, resulted in linguistic and cultural change. Change is gradual but the generation of children who grew up after the cod moratorium have experienced significant linguistic and cultural change. This is largely a result of outmigration, which is an ongoing reality for outport communities in this province, that "...intensified during the 1990s after the collapse of the cod fishery deprived most small villages of their economic base" (Heritage Newfoundland and Labrador Web Site, 2017, Rural depopulation, para.

2). As Kevin indicated,

I've seen it change in my generation [60 years old], with the younger generation more so than the older one. There's a few of us left here now; they still use some of these words...Then the kids, I mean, they're out more than we were. They are movin' and they're in St. John's and CBS [Conception Bay South] and Paradise. Things changed everywhere in Newfoundland.

Romaine (2000) maintains "...urbanization tends to promote linguistic diversity as well as uniformity" (p. 66). She suggests, although cities are sites with much linguistic diversity, because of large immigrant populations generally one dominant language or dialect will unify diverse groups of people in urban areas. When people are forced to leave their homelands for whatever reason and they are dispersed around the country, or the world, their language changes. One of the oldest languages still in use today, Aramaic, is endangered for this very reason. Refugees who are forced from their homelands tend "...to assimilate to the language and culture of their host communities" (Folkins, 2015, p. 35). People in this province have been referred to as "eco-refugees" (Howard, 2007) and they have moved elsewhere where they too have had to assimilate linguistically and culturally.

The generational change in language is evident in the following comment, "I got a grandson there now, four years old, and he picks up on different things that I says, right." Sam, who is sixty-four years old, further noted, "Well, different way you talks...they [the younger generation] picks up on it, right?" Ed, who is thirty-four, remarked,

Last going off, I still heard mom saying expressions I never ever heard before...I don't know if I'd be able to name any of them off right now. But, there's definitely expressions that I've never heard. And, even from growing up there, I can't believe I never heard them.

Doris, who is seventy-three years old, commented, "[Chelsea, my eight year-old granddaughter] will ask me sometimes, 'What were you talkin' about?' " Both grandparents found it amusing that there were instances when they were unable to be understood by their young granddaughter. Chelsea's mother, Ann, who is forty-seven

years old, was also an informant in this research. Interestingly, she concurred, "...we use them [particular words or expressions] in front of [Chelsea] who will ask (pause), you know, she will put that face on [quizzical] and we'll explain it." However, Chelsea does not use any of the words or expressions herself. The parents are not attempting to help her maintain this language. Because she is not hearing it elsewhere, and it is not a dominant form of language, it will be lost. However, younger generations are the key to maintaining a language (Fishman, 1991; Nettle & Romaine, 2009; Wilson, 2009).

Although the older generation may maintain some older dialect features, they are still able to communicate quite easily with children and grandchildren. Yet, the data speaks to the chasm that can occur when a primary language or dialect is lost, and intergenerational communication is hindered (Cummins, 2001; Nettle and Romaine, 2000; Rodriguez, 1982; Truth and Reconciliation Commission, 2015). Jim made the following observation about his granddaughter's spoken language, "You take [Chelsea] there, now, you wouldn't know she was from Cod Bight when she was talkin'. You know, like the way we talks, hey." As Ann noted "I know, my generation everyone knows those sayings...." However, they do not use them. Therefore, as she suggested, "And, you'll have people like myself, you know, if you don't use it in everyday language how is it going to be passed on?" She further elaborated, "And because of that, it's not in their everyday vocabulary and it just gets lost." When asked about language change Clarence noted, "Well, it's a pretty tough question in a way. But, I guess, what I would say there, is that the people, like the older people there, still converse pretty much in the same manner. You know, local idioms, or whatever you might call them, are still evident."

Romaine (2000) indicates that previous studies show that often a younger generation converts to Standard language usage. Standard language is a codified version, thus it adheres to a standard form using dictionaries, grammar books, and style and usage guides, and so on (Nordquist, 2018). It is language used in schools, government institutions, media and international communication. While Standard is never singular or fixed it is maintained by institutional power, that is, the language or dialect of these public institutions. Language that deviates from the Standard is often called non-standard. There is a mainstream language ideology that suggests that Standard language is fundamentally superior to vernacular forms and that its use should be encouraged (Van Herk, 2012; Wolfram, 2013; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014; Wolfram & Schilling, 2016). As Crystal (2013) suggests, if people do not approve of language usage they often “rudely” (para. 3) refer to it as sub-standard. Standard language is considered the “correct” form whereas other forms are considered wrong or substandard. Language differences are not viewed as merely an interesting variety. According to Haug Hilton (2010),

The linguistic forms related to the standard language ideology, however, are often the ones that have prestige through either a codified variety, the educational system, or the cultural and economical higher social classes and centres, i.e. capital cities. A standard language ideology is therefore notions people have about language that sounds [sic] correct, educated, socio-economically superior or capital city-like (p. 81).

Haug Hilton (2010) argues that “Standard language is better defined as an ideology than a realistic language variety” (p. 81). However, to enforce Standard language usage is an imposition on, and management of, diversity. Often types of employment, for example, will bring people into contact with Standard language usage. In this case, fishers who remain and work in the community might maintain the dialect and register whereas those

who are employed in occupations outside the community begin to change. Thus, language is particular to a situation. In Cod Bight, the language of the fishery was learned on the wharf and the water and it describes a way of knowing in and of a place. As Corbett (2010c) says, “Language ‘works’ and the work it does is giving shape and nuance to a particular kind of life in a particular place” (p.119). The cod moratorium and resulting closure and, eventual decline, of the fishery meant fewer young people choose this occupation. Therefore, people have been increasingly employed outside the community.

Linguistic Propriety

Don believes that all aspects of life in Cod Bight have changed and, thus, language usage has changed. He stated, “It is pretty proper now. I mean, the whole cycle of being is changin’ in every respect. And, around the words, in the language, in the way we did things, the way we got around, it is all changed.” It is, in part, linked to increased mobility and an ecological crisis that forced younger people to relocate for employment. As George said,

So, the individuals that are there now, are moving about. And, my generation has moved on into other parts of the world, [in]Canada and Newfoundland, and, has learned, and has accepted, the properness of language. And, has come back to the community and has a totally different way of language.

Informants suggested there is a need to speak “properly” in different contexts. When people stayed within their local environment, there was little self-consciousness about language, except for that which was brought on by schooling. But with increased outside contact, differences were noted and there was pressure to adapt. Rodriguez (1982) explores the conflict between learning a “public language” and losing one’s “private language”. For him, learning English meant successful assimilation into public life; but it

also meant alienation from his most intimate connections of home and family. Diane observed how there is comfort in using a language among intimates, one that you would not use elsewhere. She said, “Yeah, well I mean, you wouldn’t (pause), at home you wouldn’t notice if you were using your own Newfoundland language, as we would call it.” Similarly, Ann suggested, “So, back in my mother’s generation and, you know, for sure in our grandparents’ generation, your language was fine the way it was [as people were just within their community].” However, linguistic usage that deviates from a Standard has never been acceptable within educational and formal institutions, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in chapter eight.

As was discussed previously, adopting the “proper” language is a way to forge an identity. As Ann suggests, “Once you go out it is different, if that makes sense.” As residents move outside the community for work they adapt and the language changes. As Ed suggested,

Well, for me, working too (pause); I work for a global company. So, if I’m traveling to here or there I’m trying to talk, in, you know, (pause) everybody in the company is not English. But, I try to talk in as good English as I can so that they’re understanding me. So, if I’m saying t’ings [things], and dat [that], and you know. Pause. So, I think being with that company for the last ten years, kind of changed the way I speak for the most part, as well.

Bill echoed this sentiment,

But, certainly for me at work, and just communicating on the telephone, and different things that’s going on, I don’t use the language [vernacular] anymore. And, I mean, I realize just from being at work and seeing some of the people there that still hold on to some of that language. Sometimes Mainlanders³⁰ look at them and they don’t have any idea what they’re saying. You have to sit down and actually explain what’s being said.

³⁰ Mainlanders is the local term used to refer to anyone who is from mainland Canada.

Bill's comment demonstrates how this province is viewed within Canada. As Tilley (2000) indicates, there are "stereotypical notions of Newfoundlanders embedded in the national psyche" (p. 236). Historically, people in Newfoundland and Labrador have been stereotyped as simple, unsophisticated and provincial and their accent and dialect is considered evidence of these claims. However, as Tilley (2000) states, "Stereotypes of Newfoundland, for the most part built through media discourse, hide the complexities of the rich cultural, historical and dialectical history of the province and its people..." (p. 238). Indeed, such attitudes ignore the unique cultural heritage but they also perpetuate negative attitudes and beliefs.

Romaine (2000) states that increased contact with the Standard language because of changes in types or places of employment influences change (p. 150). Sam suggested that language change means improvement, i.e. it is about social mobility and a way of "getting ahead". He stated,

Yeah, I would say it's probably changing so much. People's getting' out more than they would one time...Like, they're movin' around more, and getting' involved with other things, and with other people, right. So, and tryin' to be as good as the ones outside, hey.

Likewise, Henry made the following comment,

See, people is getting' out, and movin' around. And, they can't use that in the cities, you know what I mean. We can't go to Alberta and use that language. We got to try to get half decent with it, right.

Henry's comment is somewhat ironic because he was forced to leave Cod Bight and find employment in Alberta as a direct result of the cod moratorium. Therefore, he realized that he had to change his language and adapt if he was going to fit in. As Van Herk (2012) indicates, language choice is often used as a way to "fit in" (p. 76). If a language

has low prestige people will choose a more powerful one (Dorian, 1999; Grenoble, 2013; Romaine, 2001). Furthermore, as UNESCO (2003a) purports, “If members view their language as a hindrance to economic mobility and integration into mainstream society, they may develop negative attitudes towards their language” (p. 14). The negative attitude is often due to “...socioeconomic pressure of a dominant speech community” (UNESCO, 2003, p.14). And a minority language can have negative associations such as “...poverty, illiteracy and hardship, while the dominant language is associated with progress/escape” (Austin & Sallabank, 2011, p. 6).

The attitudes that people have towards language is a key factor in language shift (Grenoble, 2013). Essentially, speakers choose to abandon or maintain the language, not outsiders (Austin & Sallabank, 2011). And, they do so for myriad and complex reasons. Ways of speaking, including a particular accent, can provide easier access to employment and housing and it can be considered a sign of intelligence (Luu, 2017); these are reasons why people change their dialect and accent.

It is evident that all informants have accepted the dominant attitudes towards their non-standard dialect. Joyce suggested you must speak differently when you go outside, “...for people to understand you.” And, perhaps, it is because they have a strong desire “to belong”. Thus, there is both a positive and negative aspect of such change. Power influences how people make the decision to change, that is, dominant beliefs about language may force change. Nevertheless, people have agency and make the decision to change because they do want to belong to a larger group, one that will afford them more benefits. However, as Romaine (2000) maintains, “To establish a linguistic order is to declare a social order” (p. 95). Language is a way of endorsing the dominant and the

correct point of view (Corbett, 2010c; Morgan, 1990; Rockhill & Tomic, 1995; Temple & Edwards, 2002; Walker, 1990). Hierarchical relations are established and maintained through the interaction of languages (Corson, 1990; Kalantzis, Cope & Slade, 1989, as cited in Temple & Edwards, 2002). Linguistic dominance is about developing or defining an identity that is considered preferable to others (Corbett, 2010b; Corbett 2010c; Morgan, 1987; Rockhill & Tomic, 1995; Walker, 1987). Furthermore, if people are forced to accept an alternative discourse, it changes their relationship with their home and community. Gee (1989) defines Discourse as,

A socially accepted association among ways of using language, of thinking, and of acting that can be used to identify oneself as a member of a socially meaningful group or ‘social network’. Think of Discourse as an “identity kit” which comes complete with appropriate costume and instructions on how to act and talk so as to take on a particular role that others recognize (p.18).

People learn the language to assimilate, which provides social mobility, but it also separates them from home and community. Corbett (2010c) suggests that “To speak Standard English is to stand outside that community and its discourse” (p. 122).

Therefore, as Janks (2000) insists, learning new discourses can be “simultaneously both a threat and the object of desire” (p. 183). Ann, who is a parent of a young child, made the following comment,

Being the mom of a girl, preparing for kindergarten three years ago. They are coming home, believe it or not, with homework in kindergarten. And, you are doing everything in your power to teach them proper pronunciation, and proper dialect, and proper language. So, I guess, I think that matters, too. Because, there used to be a school here and now there isn't.

The point here is, that because her daughter is being educated outside the community it matters how she speaks. She feels there is a need to be aware of how to speak appropriate

to the situation, but she is comfortable with her maintaining her own dialect and accent.

As Ann stated,

But, I do notice that some people will say, you know, our young girls and our young guys, when they get to the school will have the Cod Bight slang, they will call it. I'm fine with that. It's just for me. I'd like to teach the pronunciation thing for me. And [Chelsea] has picked that up already. But, yet, you can tell she's from [Cod Bight]. So, as long as she(pause), and I believe I can only teach them and just go from there. So, how she carries it is absolutely fine with me. But, I just believe there's a proper (pause), you have to understand there's a proper way to pronounce words.

Clarke (2006) suggests there is an increasing number of young people in Newfoundland and Labrador who maintain their "home speech variety [and] continue to use it with members of their in-group" (p. 209). Ann's comment seems to speak to this postmodern notion of having the ability "to shunt" back and forth among language varieties and their usage and rather than choosing one or the other they use each in situ as needed.

Harrison (2007) suggests that often language shift is considered progress as parents don't want their children to speak a politically inferior tongue (p. 9). Ed made the following comment, "I mean, I moved back there when I was in grade 3. And, I came from Nova Scotia. So, I had a bit more of a Nova Scotian accent; for lack of a better word, proper, more (pause) pronouncing your th's, you know." His comment is indicative of what has been internalized about local language usage in Cod Bight. George suggested the language can be lost over time because of lack of contact with the community and interacting with others outside the community and using a more formal way of speaking.

George remarked,

But, when I'm talking to an individual that has very little involvement into outport Newfoundland, or the fishery, I'll be very careful in what I say and how I pronounce something. And, when you come back to those communities you sort

of forget the old-time traits, and you talk more proper and you talk...and day by day as time goes on the old-time trait gets lost.

Donal, a character in Jane Urquart's novel, *The Night Stages*, quite poignantly illustrates the loss that occurs when people move and the language is not used anymore. He says, "More lakes, each one with its name in Irish, and each Irish name a story that is being told less and less...as the people moved away from the language and gathered elsewhere" (p.159). Similarly, Susan Tilley, originally from Newfoundland and Labrador but now residing elsewhere, comments on her own language changes, "Over the last few years, I have used this phrase and similar everyday Newfoundland phrases less often" (p. 241).

However, as Romaine (2000) states, "Just because people can evidently survive without their languages or their traditional cultures does not necessarily mean that enforced uniformity is a good thing, or that nothing of consequence is lost when a people loses its language" (p. 23). Indeed, there is language appropriate to various contexts, as Ann commented, "Absolutely, there's a time and a place for each." Yet what comes through in these voices is that the language is not proper, therefore inferior, and hence, there is a feeling that one's language, culture and identity is lacking and must change. However, people were often shamed, ridiculed and scolded to create an adherence to a standard. As Clarence stated,

And, I think, also, there's a tendency to think that the old expressions that were used somehow got misdirected or bastardized, in a way that made them feel like they were being made fun of, to use that kind of language. That is only just an opinion that I have. But it seems to me they changed because they were always beaten out of the old language ways that kind of wasn't with it anymore.

Therefore, people believe the language is inferior and only use it in a self-deprecating and humorous manner. Doris related a “humorous” story about the use of a word by her sister’s father-in-law. She remarked,

The old language that was used. Sure, Joyce [her sister] said, when she was down in [Urchin Arm], well, Henry’s father was getting ready for church this Sunday. (Laughter). And, he said, “Missus [referring to his wife], would you go up the stairs and bring down me galluses to me? (Laughter). Joyce said, “Well, what in the name of God is she going to bring down now? What is she going to bring down to him now to put on?” (Laughter). So, when the Missus came down, this was his braces. I never heard it before.

I asked Joyce about this and she elaborated,

No, I wondered what he was going to put on. We were going to church. And, he had everything on, his belt, his shirt, and he was all dressed for church. And, he said, “Myrtle where’s me galluses?” And, I said to myself, “What’s he going to put on now?” (Laughter). When he come out, this is what he had, and he said, “Here button those on for me”. And, we used to call them braces.

I checked for the origin and meaning of this word and conveyed this information to Henry. He responded very enthusiastically and was interested in knowing that the word was originally from Britain and Scotland. He informed me that the people in his community originally came from Poole, England. Henry remarked, “Now, I’m glad you mentioned that because now I know.” As Tilley maintains (2000), Newfoundland and Labrador has a rich dialectal heritage but it is not recognized or understood. In fact, as Patterson (1896) noted, what was considered “...the rude speech of the unlettered fishermen was really a part of the language of Shakespeare, Milton, and Chaucer” (as cited in Walker, 1990, p. 67). And, of course, these authors are considered of “high culture” and therefore, have been part of the formal, standard curriculum in secondary and post-secondary education for a long time. Yet, as Walker (1990) suggests, despite the

now prestigious source of the dialect, there is still a sense of inferiority in the local linguistic usage. The Newfoundland and Labrador language, heritage and culture has long been undervalued or ignored because of social biases perpetuated in large part by education and the media.

Thus, because of the perpetuation of such negative stereotypes people internalize inferior feelings about their language and culture. Other informants discussed their language usage as a source of fun and jokes. Charlie said, "I think some people are still using it [a vernacular]. But, when they use such language, it is not because it's their everyday [speech]. It's because they are joking, more so than it being the way they communicate". Similarly, Ann suggested, "It seems now, like, if you're getting together and just sitting among friends, and someone mentions one of those [local expressions or idioms], it always garners a chuckle." As Martha said, "Now, when a crowd of us gets together, we go on with old nonsense that we used to get on with when we were growing up right." Again, it is the language of intimates and insiders as noted previously, and only used with those whom we feel close. It is a way people identify with one another. But the language is considered "nonsense". Tilley (2000) makes a pertinent observation with respect to "Newfie jokes". She states,

While my sister suggests I don't have a sense of humour, I push her to think of the implications of the stereotypes that are reinforced with the telling of these jokes, I ask her to consider what we internalize about ourselves and what the rest of Canada comes to understand about Newfoundlanders in light of these humorous anecdotes. These jokes are tools to mark our provincialism. Although couched in the cloak of that "It's only for fun," they are used against us (p. 241).

As was noted earlier, by changing the language and accepting the "ethnic jokes," it is a way of demonstrating sophistication or at least an alliance with what is seen as more

sophisticated and valued (Webb, 2016). George said, “I like to laugh, and joke, and carry on, and bring myself back to the days when those individuals was in the fish stores.”

Indeed, many of the younger generation see the dialect and accent, which has been retained by the older generation, as a source of amusement. Joyce described how her daughter and grandchildren joke about the language. She said,

Sometimes like, Henry (pause), she'll [Sherry, their daughter] jokingly use some of his language. When her boys come down here, some people still got a bit of slang, and when they hear them people talkin' they get a big joke out of it. (Laughs). Because of the accent and everything, right.

Her husband, Henry, elaborated,

Sometimes, Sherry's youngest one, Joseph, especially. Right now, he's almost fifteen. He'll phone, and he'll say, “How's ya doin' now, my son? G'day. G'day?” (with accent and very fast) (Hearty laugh). She still uses it in a jokingly way for the boys too, right.

George made a similar comment,

The new generation, now, my daughter, she is here in St. John's attending her high school. And, her language and development is somewhat different, I know, from the community where I come from. But, she hears me talking to individuals from the community and the surrounding communities. And, she realizes that, Dad do you really talk like that? And, every now and again, she, sort of, I'll say, “Go and get me an orange”. And, she'll say, “Yes b'y, I'll go get you an arrange I suppose”. And, now, you can joke and laugh about it but that was the trait, the uniqueness of the community.

George's final comment indicates the cultural significance of language and how it reflects the uniqueness of a culture. Wolfram (2013) suggests “The effects of linguistic subordination are pervasive, and just about all vernacular-speaking, non-mainstream communities suffer from a collective perception of linguistic inferiority aligned with mainstream language ideologies” (p. 759).

However, the language, as a source of humour, is a key point of consideration, for it is a double-edged blade. It is a source of intimacy and fun but, on the other hand, it is something that is not valued as a source of identity and cultural history.

Language of Home and Identity

Through language people identify with family, home and community (Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Delpit 2002b; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Willinsky, 1998). Many informants noted that the language they use outside this space is different from that used when in the community, with friends and family, or if on the wharf talking to other fishers. As George stated,

When I'm comfortable and know the individual, I am talking to has some sort of sense of connection to outport Newfoundland, I'll talk randomly to those guys. As if I'm talking to an individual on the wharf in the community. Because, I know that they understand what I'm saying.

Likewise, Bill (emphatically) stated,

A lot of the old expressions and sayings (pause). Some of the fishermen, and some of the older people here, and myself included, I mean, I can still sit down and have a conversation, when you're out with a crowd of the b'ys and that sort of thing. There's a lot of that comes into conversation.

As Corbett (2010c) states, "Members of fishing families do not talk about fishing in Standard English, but rather in a nuanced language specific to fishing but also to the particular bioregion in which the practice of fishing is carried out" (p. 119). Others also discussed how they felt the need to change if they were speaking to "outsiders". As Duncan commented, "If I go somewhere, like you said, if I go somewhere like that I clean it up a lot more, too, than when I'm talking, generally, to somebody from here. Do you know what I mean?". As well, Ann stated,

I know my generation; everyone knows those sayings. And, many talk that way, especially if you had people like John [a community resident]. You enjoyed having a conversation with him. And, if you could use those [words or phrases], if you will. But, then you have others they don't talk it, so you don't say it.

Language creates intimacy and connection; there is a knowledge and understanding within (Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Dowdy & Delpit, 2003; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014; Wolfram & Schilling, 2016). As Corbett (2010c) maintains, people talk to intimates in the language of home and identity for “language is tied up in who people are...” (p. 119). Each community had its own dialect and people were aware of the differences. What is also clear is that they are becoming adept at maneuvering differences as they build new forms of community.

Cod Bight and Surrounding Areas

All informants who had moved to Cod Bight from elsewhere remarked on how aspects of the language there differed from their home communities. Wolfram (2013) maintains that people are “...aware of lexical variation within their communities or regions” (p. 761) and it is something that they take ownership of and feel knowledgeable about. As Janet stated, “Cause when we moved here I found a difference in, you know...” (from the way people spoke in her former community). Janet, and her husband, Tom, who moved from different outlying islands within the area, both noted the distinctiveness of the language in each of their communities. As Janet stated, “He [Tom] came from [Fish Island]. He had different speech than the [Harbour Delight] crowd, you know.” Henry, originally from a nearby community but married to a woman from Cod Bight, noted, “Even my community, down home, talked different from Cod Bight, you know. Every community had a different kind of language.” This distinctiveness in

Newfoundland and Labrador was a result of the settlement history and the isolation of the communities for many years. Wilson (2009) states that “Isolation can certainly allow distinct language to emerge and develop...and once isolation is broken, such languages can be particularly susceptible to assimilation” (p. 18). Indeed, this has been the case in Newfoundland and Labrador as was discussed earlier in this chapter.

Linguistic Superiority

Some informants perceived others spoken language as less proper than their own.

Don remarked,

But, I can remember being over around with friends, in Guy’s Inlet and Red Cove, even in the later years when I got up in age. They always said, it is a job to tell the people from Cod Bight with their slang because they could fit in with almost anyone. You talk about the Southern Shore or Upper Island Cove you could really (pause), but like our language was pretty (pause) better spoken... I’ve talked about it dozens of times over and it’s a job to tell people from Cod Bight. They say, you, like you’re from St. John’s or anywhere, as far as language is.

Similarly, Doris suggested, “They had worse languages down there [another community she is familiar with], than we did up here.” Many people often think others have a dialect while they, themselves, do not (Wolfram & Schilling, 2016) and it seems that, sadly, all speakers learn and utilize the criteria for ranking language forms.

While many informants did not distinguish their spoken language as “better”, they did note distinctiveness in each community. They commented:

Well there is a distinction. You go up on the Southern Shore and they really have an accent, as opposed to the Northeast Avalon. And, there is nothing wrong with it; everybody is fine. (Steve)

You still notice a bit of old slang we got too with the Cod Bight talk. Even over in [Summer Bay], or different bays, it is different talk. You take over around Jone’s Harbour, and Kelly Inlet, and these places. (Jim)

You talk to someone from the Southern Shore, you know they are from the Southern Shore. You talk to someone from Beach Cove you know where you're to. (Don)

Steve remarks on the very distinctive accent of people from the Southern Shore. The original settlers to the island of Newfoundland were from either southwestern England or southeastern Ireland (Van Herk, 2012). For a long time, communities and certain regions were isolated so many of the original features of the language were retained, including accent. Those who settled on the Southern Shore were originally from Ireland. Thus, someone like Steve, whose ancestry is British and who is unaccustomed to the accent, might consider that they “really have an accent”. Furthermore, as Don noted here in this community, “...you'd never say he's from Harbour Delight or Cod Bight or whatever...”. People believe that their own language has changed but in other areas the accent has remained. However, in this province, the dialect and accent have changed significantly for most communities because of population loss, outmigration, and socio-economic change and increased access to higher education (Clarke & Hiscock, 2012) as well as exposure through media and social media. As Duncan remarked,

I find you could almost peg where someone was from in the province by the way they spoke. Like each area had sort of (pause), like the Southern Shore, like everybody had their sort of different quirks and twangs when it came to their speech. But, you talk to the younger people now and you can't tell. You can't tell anymore because it's just not there anymore.

Indeed, as Duncan suggests, the distinctiveness in language that once identified people and their geographical location is being lost. Like the codfish in the ocean, the unique dialects and accents are no longer there.

Language: Shame, Pride and Connection

Some informants noted that people detect a Newfoundland and Labrador accent when they themselves are travelling outside the province. As Duncan commented,

I've travelled, and I've been down to the southern states and small places like that. They have their southern accent and everything. But, you know, I find that once, this is my opinion, that once you go to the States somewhere they don't recognize your accent as a Newfie accent. A lot of Canadians would say oh you're a Newfie. But, if I travel to the States and I talk, they are saying you got like an Irish or a different accent. Where are you from? But it's not being said in a derogatory way or in a hurtful way. They are just trying to figure out the accent that they're picking up.

Tilley (2000) makes a similar point as she suggests that Americans respond differently than Canadians. While travelling outside of Canada she met an American who upon finding out she was from Newfoundland took a genuine interest in the details about the province. However, the (stereo)typical response from many Canadians is, "You don't sound like a Newfoundlander" (p. 237), which was intended as a compliment. To speak like a Newfoundlander had negative connotations; within the national framework, it marked a person as somehow lacking, "provincial" (p. 238). Diane made the following comment about travelling within Canada, "...One time when you went somewhere, for example, when I first went to Ontario. Oh, you're from Newfoundland, I can tell by the accent." Similarly, Tom stated,

This one year we were out in, out in British Columbia, out where [Joey, our son] is to. And, we went in the store. And, soon as I opened me mouth the clerk said, 'You're from Newfoundland', just like that. And, [Joey] told me he was three or four years out there and they still knew he was a Newfoundlander, you know.

Steve stated, "And you'll develop an accent [an alternative]. It is like the fellow who went away to Ontario for two or three months and no one could understand him and [someone]

said, well you've got some accent." If people pay more attention to what others say, as opposed to how they say it, it just might enhance understanding (Tilley, 2000). George made the following observation,

So, you know, this is the things you take for granted in small communities, which it is not (pause), it is the uniqueness of the community. But, in comparison to when you get out in the world, and you get into fields that your language and your dialect is met with skepticism and not understanding.

When people are "met with skepticism" meaning their language is considered improper and wrong they will change. Corbett (2010c) argues that

When we say or even imply to an individual that the way they use language is wrong, we say a great deal about the worth of that person. To say that a person's language is incorrect, or a corruption of a superior linguistic form is to say that the way they form concepts and the way they think is flawed. The basic human tool that we use as a species to navigate and negotiate the world is, in your case, broken, truncated, restricted (Bernstein 1977), uncultured, and just plain wrong. The concepts you use are incorrect and your very way of understanding and structuring the world is substandard. This is a powerful indictment (p. 119).

Many people from this province can appreciate the effects of being negatively judged on their spoken language. George related a personal incident,

My sister-in-law lives in New York city and she came home one summer. And, she was asking me some general questions. Now me, being from the community, and [I] never had done a whole lot of travel. Maybe, I was at the age say, of eighteen or nineteen. Basically, I answered her in what I considered as a fair speed of language. And, she looked at me puzzled and said, "What did you just say?" And, she said it to her husband, "What did George just say?" And, he had no problem in answering; he heard me quite clearly. She said, "You guys talk very fast and with a very different dialect."

Undoubtedly an unfamiliar accent may be difficult to understand without careful attention to the speaker. A recently released film, *Atlantic*, included speakers from Norway, Ireland and Newfoundland and Labrador. While each of those people spoke English, with a different accent, the only sub-titled part of the film was for those speakers

from Newfoundland and Labrador. There is a prevalent attitude towards the local accent and dialect that obviously remains.

But accent change is not always forced. There is a woman living in Cod Bright who emigrated from England seventy years ago and she has maintained her British accent, despite other language models that surround her and few other speakers with her own accent. However, Newfoundlanders often change their accent as quickly as possible because of negative attention. Thus, a more privileged accent is maintained but a subordinate one is abandoned quite quickly. Tilley (2000) demonstrates the power a privileged way of speaking holds. As she states, "I wear my provincial identity on my sleeve, understanding that I can resist the stereotyping – push the cause – because of my privilege as a formally educated woman who has learned to speak properly" (p. 239). Those in positions of power and privilege do not get the same reaction. Purcell-Gates (2002) argues that

...the dialects of those in power do not elicit the same knee-jerk disdain and assumptions of deficit as do the dialects of the socio-politically marginalized. For example, the Boston dialect of the Kennedys or the southern dialect of Jimmy Carter are never pointed to as evidence of cognitive and linguistic deficit (p. 133).

Similarly, Dorian (1999) argues that if the people who speak a language have very little power or prestige often their language too will not be "well thought of." Purcell-Gates (2002) states that she has witnessed various groups of people being dismissed as cognitively and linguistically inferior; these include people "on Native American

reservations in [the United States], in Israel towards Palestinians, in England towards the lower classes and the immigrants and in El Salvador toward the campesinos³¹” (p. 134).

Steve remarked on how accent is a connection with others when outside of Newfoundland and Labrador. He stated,

We were in Hinton, Alberta, passing through, a few years ago. And, the young lady, the clerk there, as soon as we spoke, she said you're from Newfoundland. What we said or how we said it was a trigger. So, she picked up on it automatically. Turns out she was from Bay Roberts. So, there is something there in the way we talk. Definitely so.

The language provides a point of connection for people, both inside and outside the community and, as this informant's story indicates, a way to maintain those connections even when time and distance can appear to break them.

Population Decline: Linguistic Change and Loss

A decline in the number of speakers will influence language change and loss. As Mike noted, “There's not that many people anymore....” Similarly, Don remarked,

You take this place now we got eight-five people. I'd say sixty or seventy percent of them are over sixty years old... There's not going to be any of that, that you talked about earlier, having a conversation on the stage head, or learning something on the stage head. That day is gone. And, the dory, that is gone. There are no more dories here now. One time there would be dories here in the harbour; other guys paddling around in flats. Like, that is what we did. There is none of that now. Somebody got a rubber dinghy, now, or a canoe, or something.

I asked if there was still a distinctiveness in accent and dialect among the older generation

Steve said, “Yes, it is still there.” When asked if the language was changing Jim said,

“Well it is changing, yes. Say, for example, was you out on the wharf this smarnin'?”

³¹ Campesinos are country people or peasants.

Doris replied, “You don’t hear none of that, anymore do you? Like the older people used to say.” I asked about the language used in the fish stores and wondered if people today would understand such a conversation. Walter remarked,

No, I’d say young people now, could go back, and walk in with those fellas talkin’ the way they talked, they wouldn’t have a clue what they’re talking about. No, they wouldn’t have any idea what they’re talkin’ about. Pick up a piece of twine and see a tree [three] leg that has to be mended. What’s a tree[three] leg or a beaver in your twine; they wouldn’t have a clue what it is now.

I asked informants if they felt the loss of language was negative or positive. Jim stated, “I don’t know. Well it’s gonna be lost, the old sayings.” Bill stated, “I don’t know if it’s good or bad; but, it’s inevitable.” Kevin remarked, “Things changed everywhere in Newfoundland.” Similarly, Don commented, “In every respect it is changin’. In everything we’re after talkin’ about, the whole cycle of life itself and attitude, the things that we done are changed. Big time.”

Many informants stated that the media, technology, as well as social media, are factors in change. Steve stated,

But, I would say, yes, I’d agree with you, that it is changing. And, it is changing because of the social media, and it’s evolving. You pick up some accent, but, for the most part, people generally speak the same.

Charlie suggested, “Oh, I think, progress is computers, and iPhones, the worldwide web. So, I think it’s not only Cod Bight or Newfoundland, everybody is facing it.” It is a valid point that this community is no different from many others worldwide that are impacted by globalization and technological advances. Technological connectivity brings change to even the remotest regions of the world (Romaine, 2007). This community is responding to these changes as well. People are part of a wider world and the dominant societal language is very different from the one in their community. Romaine (2007) suggests

“...younger generations prefer to speak another (usually the dominant) language” (p. 117) within a city or region. While Romaine (2007) discusses adopting a second language, one that is more dominant, to replace a first language. Younger generations who live, work, and travel, outside the community, are not replacing one language with another but they will adopt the dominant Standard language of society. However, as was noted earlier in this chapter they may be the ones to help preserve language as they learn “to shunt” back and forth. Younger people are becoming “...bidialectal [and they] possess greater style-switching abilities than did previous generations” (Clarke, p. 209). According to Emmy Favilla, BuzzFeed global copy chief, code switching³² is a significant and accepted part of life for millennials and younger generations (as cited in Bambury, 2017). The role of education, in this process, will be discussed in chapter eight.

Dialect: What I Heard

Interviews with informants in this research indicate some elements of a distinctive dialect remain in Cod Bight. A grammatical trait evident in the speech of some Cod Bight residents is the addition of -s to verbs, whereas it would be absent in Standard English. Examples of this usage are, “You knows”, “I sees” and “We talks”. In Standard English usage the -s is only added to a third person singular subject, (*He/She/It*). Oancea (2017) has found that “In Newfoundland English it seems that there are no constraints on the use of verbal -s. Irrespective of the person and number of the subject -s is attached to the verb throughout the present tense lexical³³ verb paradigm” (Newfoundland English section,

³² Favilla suggests code switching defines code switching as changing your way of speaking to suit your audience or even the medium in which you are speaking, e.g. an Instagram caption versus a cover letter.

³³ Most verbs, in English, are lexical verbs; they indicate the main action that takes place in a sentence (Nordquist, 2018, June 28).

para.17). Although this feature is more frequent in “Newfoundland English” (Godfrey & Tagliamonte, 1999; as cited in Oancea, 2017) it is also found in other dialects, for example, Appalachian English and African America Vernacular English (Clarke, 2006; Oancea, 2017; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Another distinct grammatical feature evident in Cod Bight is the non-existence of -s with nouns of weights and measures, such as, “eight-year old” as opposed to “eight years old” and 25,000 pound, as opposed to 25,000 pounds. For example, “I was on the water since I was eight-year old”. And “They could come in here and take 25,000 pound a week”. In their research, Wolfram and Reaser (2014) found this feature in African American Vernacular English in North Carolina, as well as southern Appalachia. The different usage of some irregular verbs, for example, “growed” for grew, such as “Accordin’ as they growed up they’re gone” is a distinct feature as well. I also noticed the use of the preposition *to* for static location. For example, “This one year, were were out in...British Columbia, out where [Joey, our son] is to. Wolfram and Reaser (2014) indicate they found evidence of the same grammatical patterns in their research in North Carolina. Another grammatical trait evidenced in my research is the use of the pronoun, *me*, as opposed to the possessive, *my*, e.g., “me mouth”, for example “Soon as I opened me mouth”.

I heard very little evidence of uniqueness in the lexical traits in conversations with the informants. It is, perhaps, an indication of the changing dialect in Cod Bight. Some informants did discuss this loss. As Walter mentioned words such as tree[three]-leg and beaver, both lost from the lexicon now, were words unique to the fishery. Since there are no longer any young people, new to the occupation, there is no place for, or need, to pass on the vocabulary. In layman’s terms the word “tree”, as used by Walter, can be described

as the loss of an h in the word. However, a linguist would describe this more technically whereby *th* is a digraph, which means the two consonants represent a single sound. Thus, it is stopped to [t]. This is a widely recognized feature of Newfoundland English (Knee & Van Herk, 2013). Many features originate from English and Irish source varieties (Clarke, 2006). Duncan discussed lexical change and loss as he described how young people have lost the vocabulary of the unique dialect of Cod Bight, especially as it relates to the fishery. He said,

So, I mean today...I think you have more of a chance of asking them [current generation] a pop culture question of who got the number one hit, than if you asked them, what would you call a hawk, in a [lobster]pot, a killick, or a yaffle of wood, or anything to do with our history. [Anything] primarily based on that, they are not going to know. They probably would know, because they'd Google it. They'd take out their phone and they'd see what it was. And, again, that in my mind, all goes back to that social side of it that people are just losing now.

The traditional dialect features that do remain are evident in the voices of older informants in this study. According to Wolfram and Reaser (2014), the retention of these features is common in older people as they often retain what they learned as children.

Overall, there is little evidence of a desire to maintain the language or of pride in the unique linguistic heritage. There appears to be a willingness and acceptance that language changes, and in many cases, it is better that it does. Ann offers a reason for this,

Personally, I think it is because the generation, the people that are existing today, the ones that are here among us and living among us, just didn't bother to take enough interest from their forefathers to remember the language. And, because of that it's not in their everyday vocabulary and it just gets lost.

It is important to note that often there is an assumption that in language or dialect endangered communities there is a shift towards a more homogenous language.

However, Dorian (2009) discovered in her research that in situations where a language

may be endangered there is often more language variation as opposed to less.

Furthermore, Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (1999) found in their comparison of the process of dialect recession in Ocracoke, North Carolina and Smith Island, Maryland that in situations where a dialect is endangered the response might be intensification of dialect features rather than erosion or homogenization. Duncan is one informant who seemed to have a sense of regret at the loss of the unique features of the dialect. He stated,

I don't know if it can be saved now, to be quite honest with you. It's to a point, now, that when the older generation goes, who's going to be there? That's why I always liked listening to stories and stuff. Because, if you never hear the story, once they're gone you're never going to hear a story, because it's going to go with them. That's why it's always nice to sit down and have those conversation and soak up all that information. And, you talk about [not only] the accent and dialect, but, just the general terminology and what is used from to community to community. How you say a certain thing, or why you call it this, you know. That's all going.

The acceptance of its loss or the lack of desire to maintain the language is, perhaps, indicative of the devaluing of the language by society generally, as well as what has been learned through public education. Furthermore, it may indicate feelings of a lack of efficacy. George observed how cultural and community change happens and goes unrecognized, until meaningful change has occurred. He stated, "Because you're working and it's changing and unfolding minute by minute and you're going with the flow, not realizing the actual change that is happening...But, when you looks back at the big picture there is a large change happening." He added, "I mean we struggled and we hung on to it; and we clung on to the things that was still left there. But, as time went on that sort of got taken away, you know." And, this speaks to the fact that if there is no concerted effort at maintenance or preservation, or no indication of value but rather the

opposite belief, things get lost. As well, perhaps, there is a longing to belong to a new identity, to be seen as Canadian and to fit in.

Conclusion

While languages continually evolve and change the questions here are why and under what conditions, and for whom? In Cod Bight, language changed, in part, because of resource exploitation, which resulted in changes in employment, living patterns and lifestyle. The consequences of that change are key. There was a forced distancing of people from their home and community. This distancing has created, for some, a lack of interest and desire to remain in the community or to sustain it, which contributes to a loss of culture. Things become urban-centred and rural life is measured unfairly. Overall, today's generation know very little about the language of the fishery or the cultural practices out of which it emerged and which it maintained. And, although there is change, is there not anything of value to salvage? Demonstrations of loss within outport communities indicate the loss of diversity through homogenization accelerated by an ecological crisis and the changes it prompted. Language changes are accompanied by broader cultural changes, a theme to which the next chapter attends.

Chapter Six

Culture

“Economically the moratorium was savage...Culturally, the hit was greater. The greatest, most significant continuity, in the tenacious Newfoundland way of outport life, had been snapped” (Murphy, 2017, 1:19).

“The devastation of the cod fishery has not only devastated a marine economy but debased a unique culture” (Rose, 2007, p. 13).

Introduction

In this third chapter of interrelated data analysis, I discuss culture as one aspect of these interrelated themes of ecology, language and culture. As with the previous two chapters I present and discuss the findings. According to Williams (1983), culture can be defined as a way of life, a way of individual improvement or that which one gets from museums, art galleries, books, and so on. I use the term culture here to refer to a way of life of a group of people. It is the “social” definition of culture which “expresses meanings and values not only in art and learning but also in...ordinary behaviour” (Williams, 1984, p. 57). Informants, themselves, define culture as lifestyle, roots and history, traditions that are passed on that include social practices, as well as food habits, i.e. consumption of traditional foods. The Northern cod was a resource integral to the economic base and the cultural base of the community.

In Cod Bight, the closure of the cod fishery precipitated very little outmigration, initially, but within a couple of years this trend began to change. Outmigration increased with successive generations as young people left to pursue educational and economic opportunities, in part, due to a declining fishery. This decline and resulting outmigration have brought change in the structure and lifestyle of the community. Furthermore, this community was part of a rapidly globalizing world that was influenced by technological

change, increased access to media and social media and access to the outside world. In this chapter I discuss change as it relates to socialization patterns, community traditions, community institutions, population decline, particularly the loss of young people, as well as the changing relationship of younger generations with the fishery. Additionally, I explore how the residents are adapting and creating a new kind of community in response to change.

Overview

The coastline of Newfoundland and Labrador is dotted with hundreds (although decreasing) of small, outport communities. While each community has its own distinctive features, what most of these communities have in common is, their *raison d'être*. Historically, these coastal communities were settled because of the abundance of codfish in the waters surrounding their shores. The fish brought European inhabitants there and, undoubtedly, it kept them there. However, after five hundred years of European colonization, an ocean that had once been teeming with codfish has been nearly emptied of this historic species. The fishery that had provided the primary source of livelihood and the economic base for these coastal communities has become unsustainable. Harris (as cited in Murphy, 1994) contends that in Newfoundland and Labrador,

Generally speaking, the patterns are patterns deriving from the fishery. The language derives from the fishery, the mode of settlement derives from the fishery, the mode of community structure and organization derives from the fishery, the tales and songs and stories relate to the sea and to the fishery. I don't think there is any other single influence that has come anywhere near to being as shaping and as moulding as this one, in our case (3:54).

Similarly, Murphy (2017) states, the fishery "...determined how the island was settled; it set the patterns of life, language and livelihood" (1:32). Thus, as Rose (2007) indicates,

the people in outport Newfoundland and Labrador have lost not only a livelihood but a way of life.

Fishery: A Living and a Life

Cod Bight is one of these hundreds of coastal communities, a place with an intimate connection to the ocean. The data for this research clearly demonstrates that many of the residents have a passion for both the work and the lifestyle that was built around the sea. As George stated, "Fishing was a way of life; and it was something we made a living from." Similarly, Kevin remarked, "And it[fishing] is something that I wanted to do. Because it was not only makin' decent money and wages but there was something about it that I just fell in love with. I just loved it, being on the water." These connections compelled people to stay in the community and to pursue this occupation. As well, Sam said,

No, well, I got at the fishing back in '76, I think it was. And, I had good years up through. Most all the years I had pretty good years (pause), if you wanted to work, [to]fish. But, no, I haven't got any desire to leave it. Not to leave the fishery, hey.

George also noted how meaningful the cod fishery was to fishers in Cod Bight and how the cod moratorium impacted their lives. He said,

And, again, with the somewhat small remaining fisheries that was left there, it sort of kept them to continue fishing, whether it was small or not. Mind you it wasn't easy. I think for the most part if they could give back their aid package and go back fishing I think they would've took it. If they had that opportunity.

As was noted earlier, those affected by the moratorium did receive some financial compensation from NCARP and TAGS. However, they wanted to be working and, essentially, this meant fishing for cod.

Nevertheless, when the Northern cod fishery was closed some people were forced to consider other employment options. Many felt they had limited prospects and some informants lamented the fact that they had left school before completion and had not pursued vocational training. They believed if they had a trade they could have availed of other opportunities. Yet, there appeared to be a tension between a desire to move on, and the connection they had to the work, the community and the lifestyle. Don said,

I was staying at this. I had nowhere else to go. I had no trade, no education. Plus, I enjoyed it. The way I sees it, when you get on the water, when the weather is good, what a peaceful place to be.

Tom discussed his concern when the moratorium was announced and believed he might have pursued other employment opportunities if he had the choice. As he indicated, “Yeah, well, see I was in the boat since I was about probably twelve years old. And, I never got no trade for anything else.” However, his love of the work may have kept him there anyway. When I asked how he felt about fishing, he replied, “Oh I loved fishin’. Yeah, I loved fishin’.” Janet, his wife, concurred with this, “Yeah, he loved it. He was seventy-one when he retired, and he regretted it [leaving the fishery] every day.” Despite having an extraordinary skill set and depth of knowledge and understanding these men believed they had little to offer. At the time, there was little indication from other sectors to contradict this feeling. It is, perhaps, indicative of a society that increasingly requires certification to prove capability and one which ignores the value of vernacular and place-based knowledge (Corbett, 2008).

Many informants had left Cod Bight in pursuit of alternative occupations prior to the cod moratorium, but most were very quickly drawn back to the fishery. As George stated,

Well, I worked on some grants that the federal government introduced or brought out. And, I didn't really like it. I had no interest in workin' on the land. My heart wasn't there. Although, it was an income and it gave me some stability for the short term. But, I couldn't really see myself workin' on the land, workin' a day job. And, again, I was only young at the time but I still couldn't see myself (pause). Because, I seen so much positive in the fishery and my poor father done so well in the fishery. And, it was his hard work that intrigued me to be in the fishery. And, there's a lot of my peers, really, their parents was in the fishery but they had no interest.

The land was really of secondary importance to fishers; it was a place to live and prepare for work on the ocean. As Mowat and Blackwood (1973) observe,

They neither knew, nor wished for, any way of life not of the sea. Because the land meant little to them, except as a place to rest, procreate, build one's vessel, or repair one's gear, they did not greatly care what kind of land it was. As long as it was washed by fruitful waters, any bald lump of an islet or rocky cleft on the mainland shore was good enough (p. 6).

However, some were forced to pursue alternative occupations because of the seasonal nature and economic uncertainty in the fishery. Kevin decided to pursue a career outside of the fishery but realized that it was not the right choice for him,

I guess, at the time, when I graduated I thought this was it. I'm going to do this mechanics course and I'm going to follow that through. That was going to be my life, really, at that time. It didn't work for me and I wasn't happy.

As well, Don left Cod Bight and went to Ontario, in central Canada, in search of work. He stated, "When I stepped off of the plane up there and I ended up going to work in a factory, I was stomach sick 'til I turned to come back this way again - missin' the water and the woods." Don's feeling expresses the powerful connection to home, culture and lifestyle, perhaps a feeling of nostalgia. As Kelly (2008) states, "Nostalgia, a word that has its roots in the Greek words *nostos* (to return home) and *algos* (pain and longing), was originally coined in the seventeenth century by a Swiss medical student, Johannes Hofer, to describe the afflictions of merchants working far from their homes" (p. 36). Perhaps,

for Don, the effect of nostalgia offered a "...space within which to remember a sense of cultural self-worth and belonging challenged by the new day-to-day life as an emigrant" (Kelly, 2008, p. 36).

Charlie, too, had spent some time fishing but left to pursue post-secondary education. He did work for several years as an accountant but eventually returned home to work in the fishery once more. As he remarked,

There's no doubt in my mind that I would have still been there. That's most of the reason why I came back from Nova Scotia, was that Dad was getting ready to retire [and he would take over his fishing license]. My heart was always on the water.

The closure of the cod fishery forced him to move on a second time and he eventually left the community to live and work elsewhere. Those who chose to stay had to adapt to both a changing occupation and way of life.

Change: "We Made a Double 360 in This Small Community"

I asked informants if the culture of the community had changed since the cod moratorium. Don said, "I keeps goin' back to it; change, we made a double 360 in this small community." Likewise, Charlie remarked, "Now, versus then, is a completely different place." He discussed the difference from his generation to his son's generation and said, change occurred, "Because the fishery is not a way of life anymore and the moratorium started that, I think. It's not a way of life. The fishery is not part of your culture; it's not your connection. So, my son [34 years old] is exactly the same."

Similarly, Kevin, who is sixty-one years old, commented,

No, it is not passed on. Like my son, he was with me on the water for two winters, or in the fall of the year. And, I don't know if it was my fault or what. But, if he wanted to take my boat and go out and fish himself, I don't think he could handle

it. So, it's not passed on; it's lost (pause). It's a tradition, or something, that is going to be gone by the wayside.

The previous comments by Charlie and Kevin indicated that the decline in the fishery meant cultural loss, it is a loss of a lifestyle and traditions that are no longer handed down. Likewise, Don, who is fifty-seven years old, stated,

From the day that I can remember, almost old enough to walk, I was around the wharf, around a boat, or around a stage. And, everything you were seeing was your... (inaudible). Same with your fishing trade, your fishing ground, and everything was handed down. But, right now, like we talked about earlier, my son is out of it; he has given it up [age thirty-four]. Right now, our generation is the last generation here in this community fishing. We are the end of it.

Nettle and Romaine (2000) suggest that ecological devastation contributes to loss of traditional and culture-specific knowledge. The near decimation of the Northern cod has contributed to the loss experienced in Cod Bight, as well. This resource degradation in Newfoundland and Labrador initiated a series of changes that influenced cultural and linguistic change. Romaine (2013) suggests both biodiversity and linguistic diversity face similar threats. She believes that those who live in small communities, living a subsistence lifestyle, are dependent on a healthy ecosystem and access to land and without it they cannot "maintain their ways of life and their cultural identities on which the continued transmission and vitality of their language depends" (p. 774). While the people of Cod Bight no longer live a "subsistence lifestyle" a parallel can be drawn to the importance of having access to resources that will allow them to maintain a way of life which enables linguistic and cultural maintenance. Duncan discussed the change that is occurring,

Well, again, it's drastically changed all around. You can't even really put it into words. I guess, well, it's not the right word to say, but, there's almost a lack of culture to when we were growing up. You understood where you came from. You

had your different, all the little things that nobody will ever know. Like Dad, when he'd be mending nets or making heads for his [lobster]pots, and showing me how to do it, with your stick and your card. Like, all that stuff, the culture. Well, the fishing culture, because that's primarily what I would think of, when I think of culture out home. I think it is primarily based on the fishery. Where it's come from, where it's been, what made us all live where we lived. Because, basically, without that industry being so predominant the community wouldn't even exist.

His observations demonstrate the changes taking place and the resulting loss of traditional knowledge and understanding as it is linked to the language and culture. A declining and changing fishery altered the day-to-day activities. When activities change, and the language associated with these activities is no longer used it leads to a loss of cultural understanding. Nettle and Romaine (2007) state, "More and more of it is forgotten and it is difficult to recall the old words for things, especially when some of the things referred to have become obsolete because they refer to traditional customs no longer practiced" (p. 53).

Don noted that the decrease in activity around the community wharf has resulted in a changing attitude towards the fishery, and related activities, for young people. He compared the activity around the community wharf today versus twenty-five years ago. He said,

My brother's two boys [ages thirteen and fifteen] don't (pause), no interest at all. Well, I suppose, see Barb the way it was, the moratorium was on when some of them were born. I don't know how to explain it. But, it certainly wasn't like the day when there was nothing else to do, only walk around, and go out and see the fishermen coming in (pause), a lot of activity to get involved. So, like my brother's two boys there, they don't see it the same as we seen it, because activity is not the same. Twenty-five or thirty years ago, you wouldn't get handy to that wharf down there. I mean, I mean, it is not the same encouragement for them.

The number of fishers has reduced significantly and those who remain are an older generation. They range in age from fifty-seven to sixty-four, with one exception, who is

forty-six years old. These fishers discussed their intimate connection to both the community and the fishing culture from an early age. Each successive generation has gradually become detached from the fishery, the culture, and the community. Sam described the impact of the failure of the fishery on this community,

Our community was set up for the fishery. And, once the fishery fails, the community, it's probably three people here now, that have been in the fishery for a few years. But, most all of them are sixty-five, sixty-five plus. Another two or three years, there's not going to be no fishery here, nobody fishing.

The current generation has all but lost any connection with the fishery and its related activities.

Children: Lost Connection

For generations of children in Cod Bight the fishery was a site of play and from there it evolved into the place of work. However, informants noted change in Cod Bight with each successive generation. Henry, who is seventy-four years old, remarked,

We used to get out of school, and we'd go on the wharf in the summer time with a trout pole. It wasn't bamboo because bamboo wasn't around then. An old stick. And, you'd be catching conners, or something like that. Then, in the fall of the year the bull birds would come in the harbour. And you'd be out with the rocks after the bull birds. But, you go down on the wharf, down there, you'd never see nobody. Never see no younger people on the wharf anymore. No, that's gone.

The current generation no longer participates in what used to be traditional outpost activities. Therefore, they would not even know what a conner or bull bird is; to them, the words are meaningless, comic even. It demonstrates the interrelation of cultural and linguistic loss. As, Charlie said, "To my knowledge that's a part of our culture [wharf culture] that is being totally lost. You ask a ten or twelve-year old, if there is one in Cod Bight now, how to catch an eel, I'm absolutely certain they would not have a clue." The

point is that a decline in activity results in loss of knowledge. Furthermore, the more distance between the individual and the activity the greater the loss of cultural history and knowledge. As Nettle and Romaine (2007) suggest, in relation to fishing language and culture in Hawaii,

Often language is associated with the sea for islanders who grow up close to it. However, in Hawaii now most young people would not know any of the expressions related to the sea as they have grown up eating canned fish from the supermarket (p. 58).

While on vacation in the United States recently, I asked a young waiter where the codfish served in the restaurant came from and her response was, “from a truck”. This statement appeared shockingly humorous at first, but the reality is that she probably does not know where it comes from. There is a lack of knowledge about food sources that is general and widespread in a global context.

Charlie, who is 61 years of age, contrasted his experience as a young person in the community with his son’s generation. He stated,

And, when I got out of school in the afternoon, or weekends, or when school closed for the summer, we spent more time (pause). Kids, boys definitely, spent more time on the wharf, gutting fish, or catching fish, or out in the boat with their parents than we spent playing baseball or road hockey. Those things weren’t (pause), the stage, the wharf, the boat was our play time, if you want. It was part of my heritage and culture.

His son, Ed, said, “[his generation played] street hockey, road hockey, winter time on ponds.” Ed’s experience is indicative of the influences on generations of children who grew up after Newfoundland and Labrador became a part of Canada. Sports, such as hockey and baseball, are national sports and mass media allowed for more access to them, thereby building a sense of national identity for the new province. There is a confluence of change that happened with a movement towards a consumer-driven society influenced

by media, advertising and a new national identity. The changes meant that much of what was happening had its origins outside the local environment. Sam's observation indicates the distinct difference and how his life, as a child, was totally community- and fishery-focused,

I don't think they [current generation of kids] got an interest in it, in something like that, right? Years ago, when we were kids and Dad and they were there, that's where I spent my time to, down to the wharf catching small fish, conners, and stuff like that. Spent days and days down there at that, right. I guess, that's probably the reason why I got into the fishery (laughs), right.

The gradual detachment of the younger generation from the traditional fishing culture is also evident in the contrasting observations of Duncan and Ed, who are forty and thirty-four years old, respectively. Duncan, a high school student when the moratorium was announced, noted an intimate connection with the fishing culture,

[We were] down in the beach, crawling around the wharf, down on the boats. We used to make our little wooden boats that we sailed around. *Everything you did was based on the water* (emphasis added). That's where we grew up and that's where we lived to, right. I mean, fishing, when they'd come in [the fishermen] the kids would be like a bunch of rats. There with knives, cuttin' out cod tongues, down on the wharf. We'd sit down in the middle of the wharf and a big pile of fish. And, you'd start cuttin' until your hands were numb, and you couldn't feel 'em (laughs).

I asked Ed if he had ever cut out codfish tongues, once a common activity for young boys in the community. He replied, "I never did. Yeah, I mean, some of the older kids in the community were doing it." However, Ed did suggest that, as a young boy, his playtime was somewhat related to the fishery. Nevertheless, his comments indicate a difference as young people slowly lost touch with the fishery and its related culture. He stated,

So, if we were riding our bikes we would likely just, (pause), we'd go play on the beach sometimes, just by the side of the wharf there. Every now and then we would try and catch sculpins and conners off the side of the wharf.

Charlie discussed why he believes younger people are losing their connection to the fishery. He said,

Ed [his son] was born in Corner Brook. We moved to Marystown, and then we moved to Nova Scotia [and then returned to this community when Ed was eight years old]. The wharf, or a fish hook, or a conner, or a sculpin, or an eel, or the boat, it wasn't even a part of his psyche (pause). Without that connection, without the feeling of that connection (pause); well, if you try and convince somebody to do it [become involved in the fishery] then your task becomes a whole lot more difficult. I don't think I would have [suggested he become a fisherman]. But, even if I had, because of his connection, or lack of connection, sorry, I don't think it would have been possible. And, I think that is probably the case for his generation. Not only in [this community], but in all the other [Cod Bights].

Charlie's comment is key, as the lack of connection is the reason it makes it easier to leave. There is little or no emotional attachment as each generation has gradually become more and more detached. However, informants noted the total disconnect of the current generation. Don said,

[My brother] got a couple of boys [ages thirteen and fifteen], that's it, right. I'd never see them on the wharf. Summertime, as you know, back in the day when you were comin' out here, well, we spent our time on the wharf. There's no kids here to do it.

Similarly, Walter observed,

Never sees a youngster on the wharf anymore, unless they walks out with their grandparent, or something like that. Just hold on to their hand, and walk out, and back in again. There's no such thing as catching conners anymore. No, never sees it done. You don't see a youngster on the road much anymore [uses thumbs to indicate activity on mobile phone].

Certainly, as Walter indicates young people now have other interests and participate in diverse kinds of activities and technology is one aspect of the change. Henry made an interesting observation about the change. He insists, "They got other things to do that suits them more, right. We didn't know any better." This comment implies that there was

something wrong with these traditional activities, perhaps, reflective of the overall attitude towards outport life.

The decrease in the number of young people in the community is indicative of the change that has occurred. There are fewer incentives to stay in the community with an industry that has been in gradual decline and with little opportunity for employment they move on. As Corbett (2008) indicates “In liquid modernity nothing is fixed, everything is in flux, tradition and order are vanquished by the ubiquity of novelty and change. Adapt or perish” (p. 151). Younger generations in this province are part of this change. They have been raised and educated to believe outport life has little to offer and to be successful they must move on. Such an attitude, reflective of all aspects of life, often defies the development of attachment to place and commitment to community.

The cod moratorium precipitated a series of interrelated changes that altered life in this community. Undoubtedly, there are many factors effecting change in Cod Bight but the changing nature of young people’s relationship to the fishery coincides with a changing industry. The disconnect is more pronounced in the generations of children that grew up during, and after, the cod moratorium. As Sam remarked, “Years ago, in the fish shed, in the shed, there’d be, probably, eight or ten people there. And, now, you go up there you almost gotta talk to yourself.” Similarly, George commented,

I go there, and I do work on the boat. And I get the work done and I come back [home]. And, my wife says to me, “Were you talking to anybody today?” And I say, “No, I never seen nobody. I wasn’t talkin’ to anybody”...That’s what I really miss, is the laughter, and the socialness, and uniqueness of that community. When you’d be out on the wharf and you’d be doing work on your boat, or you was at nets, or at whatever, you always had individuals interested who’d come alongside and talk to you. And talk about politics, and things that happened on open line [radio], or wherever, and laughter.

The lack of opportunity to engage in conversation and to share stories, exchange ideas on topics of interest and discuss the work is another factor in the decline and eventual loss of language. As Duncan said,

If I walked out of the house and walked down towards the stage, there was always a bunch of people. There was always people congregated; there was stuff going on. There was always that hustle and bustle. I mean, now, I go out for a visit, I can leave and drive around the whole harbour...and not see one person.

Similarly, Don commented,

Well, like we talked about earlier, being in the stage-heads and on the wharves, there was always somebody there. But, now, since the moratorium, and with the new change in the fishery, and with the crab come on stream the way it was, big money, and one thing and another. There's only a few days of the years that there's people around the wharves. The activity around the community and around the wharf, as it pertains to the fishing industry, it don't exist anymore to what it used to be.

Steve discussed how the spaces where people congregate have changed from those within the community, to places outside. He stated,

Like one time, for example, you'd go over on the wharf, on a Saturday morning, or any given morning, where [there]was the news of the day. What happened to so and so? I don't think that exists anymore. And that is not only here; that's everywhere. Unless, you want to go to Tim Horton's, you'll meet everybody, and they'll talk to you there.

Steve lives in another outport community where people leave and drive to a nearby Tim Horton's coffee shop to congregate. As was noted, in chapter five, many outport areas have essentially become bedroom communities and life is lived elsewhere. Thus, traditional spaces and places are no longer where people interact and socialize. This description demonstrates the movement towards a mobile, modern and placeless society.

I asked Steve why he felt the change occurred. He responded,

Again, it is a bigger issue. It is not only here [in Cod Bight]; it is everywhere.

People generally tend to be, I call it the St. John's syndrome. You have your house, and you have your backyard, and you build a six-foot fence, and you don't say hello to the guy next door. And you could live there for years; why is that?

Steve's comment describes change that is reflected in many aspects of life, i.e. the movement away from the collective and towards an individual lifestyle.

In this regard, Charlie sees part of this change in how the fishery now operates.

What was once a collective has now become a business. He stated,

Because, for the moms and the dads that are fishing right now, it's a business. And, I think, as we all know from the news stories in the last number of years, it's a pretty tough business. And, as well, the lack of access that somebody right now, not connected to the fishery by way of a deckhand (pause), well, access is limited. So, I think, it's the change from a way of life to a business and the difficult times that the fishery has fallen on. And the *declining resources* (emphasis added).

When resources decline it impacts the stability of the community, especially if that resource provides the economic base of the community, as was the case in many Newfoundland and Labrador communities. Romaine (2013) maintains instability in a community is often caused by external pressures and adds that if a community is functional and stable there is a greater chance that the language and culture will be maintained. Steve sees the decimation of the Northern cod as a result of exploitation and disregard, at various levels, by forces external to the community. As he remarked,

They did have that fish plant working out there when I was there; seasonally yes, but it worked and provided employment for the community. Of course, that has changed. There is a bigger reason for that than Cod Bight. There are forces outside the community that caused that to happen.

Edmondson (2003) makes a similar observation about the decline of the small farm in rural America which forced many people to leave and migrate to cities for economic

opportunity. Hence, rural was seen as unstable and no longer viewed as a place of security. According to Romaine (2013),

The disappearance of a language and its related culture almost always forms part of a wider process of social, cultural and political displacement. Not coincidentally, the vast majority of today's threatened languages and cultures are found among socially and politically marginalized and/or subordinated national and ethnic minority groups (p. 777).

There has been a series of interrelated changes impacting this community and important is the change in the fishing industry.

Professionalization, Regulation and Modernization: Another 360-Degree Turn

The initial attempts to modernize the fishery were associated with the resettlement program, discussed briefly in chapter five, which began before the moratorium. As Webb (2016) suggests, at that time it was an attempt to move fishers away from the "...small boat fishery to work in the capital-intensive offshore fishery or other industries" (p. 279). However, for many years small boat, inshore fishers in Newfoundland and Labrador had much autonomy and independence. As Walter said, "You got out of bed in the morning and you knew what you were goin' at, with no government tellin' you to do this, or do that." As well, Don, a fisher for over forty years, remarked on the gradual changes throughout his career. He stated,

Big change, right. You take them [referring to a previous generation of fishers] off-loading their boats compared to the way that I off-load mine, with hoists; and everything on the wharf, being paid for by the federal government. Federal wharves now. In the forty odd years that I been around to know the fishery, in that sense, it has turned around 360 degrees, from the way it used to work to the way you work today.

In Cod Bight, the juxtaposition of the "government wharf", and two smaller wharves that are now collapsing into the ocean is a tangible reminder of cultural change and loss. The

fishing industry had begun to change but Charlie believes the moratorium was a catalyst to accelerate more change. He stated that,

In conjunction with the Professional Fish Harvester's Certification Board, the move was on to make fishing a profession. There were educational requirements, and safety requirements, and all of these things. And, I think, probably, the moratorium added a focus to those initiatives. And, it just increased the focus on training, education, safety, and professional designations of fishermen. Right now, you have to be a member of the Professional Fish Harvester's Certification Board in order to obtain a fishing license. And, you have to go through their courses in order to move up from apprentice to being able to buy a license.

Similarly, Duncan compared the difference in the operation, before and after the cod moratorium. He said,

And, again, at that time [prior to the moratorium], very little in the area of quality control or any of those things. Then, after, when the moratorium took effect, after when it came back it became very much more regulated, where you had quotas, you had monitoring of your catch. That was come in. You had quality assurance right from the time it came out of the water, with ice and all those type of things...I seen it in fish plants...And, I mean, obviously, once a stock is decimated, as that cod stock was, there has to be things put in place so that'll never happen again. So, I think that is why all these regulations were put in place.

Walter suggested, "Well, I guess what it comes down to is that you had to have licenses, and quotas (pause), yeah. Yeah, that made a big difference." These legislative procedures were necessary because of the exploitation of the Northern cod stocks; and such exploitative attitudes have impacted natural resources globally.

Ann believes there have been positive changes because of the cod moratorium.

She stated,

But, the fishermen became more, I think, modern. Yeah, I think, more modern. Ah, you know, having to invest, or the government invested in it for them. How ever that worked, I don't know. But, more search and rescue, and more safety. Our wharf was built up down there. The government wharf they called it; it became more modernized and things. Yeah, that's the things I remember.

The modernization and regulation of the industry were not without benefit. However, it did alter the nature of the work and changed how people viewed the work. It created a different dynamic because what was once a way of life and a livelihood was now a business.

Charlie discussed how an evolving industry changed the outlook of both the fishers and the younger generations. According to him, it meant young people did not learn about the fishery and, therefore, the knowledge was not passed on. Neis, Gerard and Power (2013) state that the type of fishery, i.e. small-scale fish harvesting meant that “...ecological and experiential knowledge of local stocks and adjacent fishing grounds and of fishing knowledge [was] acquired over generations” as it was passed down from father to son. However, as Neis et al. (2013) contend,

Contemporary professionalized fisheries, in contrast, often require knowledge and skills to navigate larger vessels fishing farther from shore, sometimes in zones where harvesters have had no prior fishing experience (Power 2008, Power & Baqee 2010); these are technical matters usually acquired through formal training. In this context, the intergenerational transfer of fishing knowledge is less valuable. Instead, harvesters are expected to get formal training and are encouraged to adopt an individualized, entrepreneurial approach to fishing that is capital intensive and includes investing in vessels, quota, and equipment, as well as professional training. Fishing farther from shore or away from home for longer periods, along with the change in knowledge requirements have meant fewer opportunities for traditional forms of intergenerational knowledge transfer. This, in turn, has implications for young people’s options in fisheries and possibly also for the sustainability of their communities (p. 9).

Whether changes were positive or negative, it did effect change, especially with the added monitoring and increased regulations and restrictions in place. Don maintained that this influenced children’s involvement. He said,

That activity is not here anymore [children involved in activities on and around the wharf]. Not only that, Barb, today, with the regulations that DFO [Department of Fisheries and Oceans] got in place, and one thing and another. And what we did [as children], catch a tom cod off the wharf, or catch a conner, or even hook a salmon for that matter, you can't do that today. Times are changed a hundred percent. You pick something up to go out on the water to catch a conner, or catch something, you got to look at yourself and see if you're a criminal or ask somebody can you do it.

An Irish fisher interviewed in the documentary film, *Atlantic*, described a comparable situation in Ireland. He indicated that the small boat, in-shore fishers, in his community, are considered criminals if they catch specific species (as cited in Ó Domhnaill et al., 2016). Similarly, Walter described the changes and the impact on young people's involvement. He remarked,

Yeah, more regulated. [One time] you'd come put your fish down, [now] you can't leave it on the wharf. You'd leave it on the wharf one time and the youngsters dig into it and cut the tongues out. You can't do that anymore. It's gotta come right out of the boat, in the tubs, and tubs into a vat, and iced. They lost that, cuttin' out the tongues.

An industry that was once locally controlled is now a very costly enterprise that is regulated and controlled by government and corporations. Don discussed some of the changes that have occurred,

I tell you, my opinion of the fishery, back in the day, well, it was survival back then. Now, people got million-dollar boats and million-dollar bank accounts. And, it is a big business for the people that had an opportunity to move forward and get the bigger boats. Myself, I'm still under thirty-five feet, making a year's wages, gettin' by. But it is big business today, the fishing industry, compared to what it was guttin' a few salt fish out on the point. Your missus would go out and pick it up for you. (Laughs). Things have changed a hundred percent.

As Duncan stated, "It was your livelihood; it was your life. This is what you did to survive, but now it's ran like a business. That's what it is." It became a very different

occupation. Sam also discussed the corporatization of the fishery. He said, “But, I mean, the way the fishery is now, it’s owned by big companies – doctors, lawyers. It’s not the way it was years ago.” Similarly, Ó Domhnaill (2016) concurs, “Whatever resource, be it land, fishing, or energy, it’s all about taking it away from local community controls.

Taking it away from the commons, privatizing it, putting it in a few hands that can extract that resource very, very efficiently (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 3:55). Such changes are not always positive for as Nettle and Romaine (2000) suggest, “A small change in the social environment, such as loss of control of resources to outsiders, can have drastic consequences which pass right through to the domains of culture and language” (p. 139).

Duncan noted that the new training and safety requirements made the fishery less accessible to new fishers. He said,

Yeah, again, there definitely is far more training and there’s more involved now than there ever was. I mean basically, as I said before, in the old fishery you basically didn’t need (pause), when you were old enough to work and your parent could show you something, you could get in the boat and you could go and fish. But, today, you have to have all kinds of safety courses, and you have to have navigation courses...It goes back again to where, I guess, they realized that you’re out there, you’re an enterprise, you have to have regulations in place.

Furthermore, in addition to extensive training, there is a much larger financial obligation.

It is yet another measure that may restrict new fishers from entering the industry. Charlie commented on these changes,

I think it probably has not helped somebody who’s got a big investment in the fishery and wants to sell it. All of the regulations and requirements mean that you or I, now, wouldn’t be able to buy that enterprise. So, I think, from that perspective, it might have a dampening effect on what the value of that enterprise is...But, just from a supply and demand perspective of wanting to sell your license and not have the people there, the new people coming in. There are no new people coming into the fishery that I know of, which is one of the big problems in the industry. And, if I’m going to invest a hundred and fifty or two-hundred thousand

bucks, then I want to be able to start recouping that investment right away. And, I can't because I'm not an apprentice, and I don't have a license, and I can't get it.

An industry based on a business model changes perception. As Charlie maintained, "Fishing used to be a way of life. Dad always talked about how much fish he caught or how little fish he caught. He never talked about how much money he made. It was never about the pay cheque." Similarly, according to Edmondson (2003), for farmers in rural America "The expectations for [a] new type of farming that fed the world rather than local communities employed a new literacy that read farming as a commodity rather than a way of life" (p. 77). Edmondson (2003) suggests people make meaning of what they are doing through how they "read" (p. 12) the world, and external factors often influence this reading. The changes in the fishing industry forced people to read the fishery as a corporate venture. These changes are influenced, in part, by a movement towards industrialization and globalization which has affected all aspects of life.

Modernization, professionalization and regulation of the industry has changed the relationship people have with the occupation and the ocean. Similarly, Shiva (1993), when writing about the tropical rainforests, suggests that

...when modelled on the factory and used as a timber mine, [rainforests] become a non-renewable resource. Tropical peoples also become a dispensable and historical waste. In place of cultural and biological pluralism, the factory produces non-sustainable monocultures in nature and society (p. 7).

MacPherson (2011) contends that language can also bring perceptual change and alter the way people view what they are doing. If a livelihood or practice is seen in terms of economic benefit only, it does not reflect its original meaning. In Cod Bight, words such as enterprise, regulation and quotas have become the language of the fishery. This language has brought change in the ways people think about what they are doing and how

they do it. Similarly, Edmondson (2003) observes that neoliberalism with a focus on globalization changed how farmers in rural America saw what they were doing. She contends that "...they now tended to read their role primarily through a capitalist language of markets, mass production, efficiency and uniformity in mind" (p. 77).

Likewise, Dean Bavington, a participant in a panel discussion at Memorial University following the screening of the film *Atlantic*, suggested the importance of getting back to vernacular language. He believes the use of "harvesters" to describe fishers is problematic as it indicates something that is planted as opposed to a renewable resource. I would argue that the term harvester implies ownership or control, inappropriate language for a natural resource. Bavington (2001) questions the concept of fish farming and wonders "must the ocean become like land?" (p. 19) in its movement towards the aquaculture industry. For language is ideological; it shapes understanding of relationships, and this understanding may impact our relationship with the environment. Edmondson (2003) suggests "Rural people work to survive and negotiate their culture within the context of a dominant larger society that increasingly attempts to shift the control of meaning out of the hands of rural people" (p. 13). Rural communities that are based on a single resource, across Canada, are impacted by local, national and global forces "determined to tear them apart" (Fürst, 2016, 9:43). Globalization brings economic change and challenges that affect cultural life and therefore affects identity.

Cummins (2001) maintains that "[a]t a time when cross-cultural contact is at an all-time high in human history, the identities of *all* societies are evolving" (p. 16). Identities are not singular nor fixed but people have multiple identities (Connelly, 2008; Cope & Kalantzis, 2000; Norton, 2010). Identity can change over time partially as a result

of "...social, political, economic and educational influences – rendering a performativity of multiple identities" (Connelly, 2008, p. 86). Romaine (2008) contends, "However, maintaining cultural and linguistic diversity is a matter of social justice because distinctiveness in culture and language has formed the basis for defining human identities" (p. 19). Didier Nalleau, the mayor of Pinware, a coastal community in southern Labrador, suggests one of the reasons people in his town oppose amalgamation with other communities in the Straits region of Labrador is because they feel doing so means a loss of identity and a way of life (as cited in Delaney, 2016).

Globalization and standardization create a different ethos. Diversity is a problem whereas homogenization is efficient. Thus, there is little concern for, or value in, environmental, linguistic or cultural diversity or sustainability. Skutnabb-Kangas and Harmon (2017) maintain that neoliberal globalization contributes to loss of biocultural diversity because of linguistic and ecological loss. They elaborate,

We now live in a world where the dominant economic and political forces are aligned to encourage untenable economic growth that seems to require uniformity, homogeneity and the seamless global interchange of products and information. Government policies (supported by the private sector) generally favor developing resources for human use, which simplifies the landscape as it destroys wild animal and plant habitat. Similar policies promote linguistic unification either directly, through sanctions on indigenous and minority language use, or indirectly, such as by concentrating economic opportunities in cities, thereby making it more difficult for the rural areas in which most languages evolved to remain viable places for the next generation of speakers. It is a question of both structural and ideological means of intentionally destroying human and natural resources, of committing equally heinous crimes against both humanity and nature, despite in both cases having more than enough knowledge to counteract them.

However, Nettle and Romaine (2001) contend that "Globalization on an unprecedented scale does not change the fact that most people everywhere still live their lives in local

settings and feel the need to develop and express local identities to pass on to their children” (Linguistic diversity is irreplaceable section, para. 4).

From Conners to Computers: “They are Into Other Things Than the Wharf”

A rapidly globalizing world has created change in Cod Bight and as Henry noted, “They [the current generation] have access to everything now that they did not have before.” Many informants noted how technology and social media have influenced change within this community. Jim said,

Our grandchildren are the same thing. You take Chelsea there, she is sittin’ down all day long, on all that [iPad]. She’s at this and that. I don’t know what it’s all about and I’ll never know now, I suppose. But that’s the way it is.

Likewise, Kevin noted the influence of technology on children’s leisure activities,

[They are a] different generation. They are into other things than the wharf. We spent all of our time on the wharf, down in the beaches, swimming, and what we used to call, playin’ boats, and catchin’ conners, and doin’ whatever (laughs). I guess, you know, computers, and iPads, and everything, it took over right. They are indoors and we were always out.

As well, Walter indicated, “Youngsters spend too much time with their computers, and their laptops, and the iphones, and the textin’, or lookin’ for Pokémon. Years ago, they’d be on the wharf catchin’ conners and now they’re sat down with their computers.”

Duncan suggests it changed the interaction among people. He believes that now there is connection through technology but less personal connection. He commented,

Back when we were growing up it was all based on social interaction between people. Whereas now, that interaction is not there. It’s all through texting and, you know, what you see on T.V., and all this kind of stuff. So, that connection between you actually telling me a story is not there anymore, right. If you wanted something, you’re going to text someone. You know, you don’t have that same level of connection there when it comes to that.

Initially, people were disconnected from the world but more connected to the community.

Now, technology provides more accessibility to the outside world but, perhaps, it results in less meaningful or different kinds of connections to those in the community.

Technology, media and increased mobility provides access to other forms of socializing and entertainment so people are not as dependent on one another. Similarly, Jim remarked on this change,

But, the young people comin' up today, they got all these phones, and stuff like that, hey. They interviewed a guy on T.V. awhile back. I don't know who he was, but he said the young people comin' up today are not gonna know how to talk (Laughter). They're just textin' back and forth to one another. And, he said, like you go in a place, like years ago, you'd go in and sit down and someone would bring up a conversation, even if you didn't know them. He said, there's none of that today. They are all sat down, [indicating activity on a mobile phone]. That's the way it's gone.

Marche (2012) argues that despite the technological connectivity through networking, we tend to actually "...meet fewer people. We gather less. And when we gather, our bonds are less meaningful and less easy" (para.11). As was noted in chapter five, when people leave communities and gather elsewhere there is linguistic loss as the language is used less frequently. Likewise, cultural traditions are lost when community gatherings become more infrequent and there is less social interaction. Charlie makes a key observation as he states, "So, I think, progress is computers and iPhones, the World Wide Web. So, I think, it's not only Cod Bight or Newfoundland, everybody is facing it." As he indicates, the change occurring here is indicative of societal change more broadly. Diane remarked on change in how both adults and younger people socialize,

I think, maybe, it has a lot to do with the telecommunication things. And, all the games that the children have nowadays; and their tablets, and their Wi-Fi, and their texting, and all of that. I think that's got a big part to do with it.

She believes that media, social media and technology might be another influence on socialization patterns.

Changing Socialization Patterns

There is a marked difference in social interaction and community contact in Cod Bight. It is, perhaps, symbolic of the overall detachment evident with each successive generation. Informants indicated that while community residents do maintain connections, there has been a notable shift. This change can be seen in all social interaction, whether it is visitations in the home, interactions on the community wharf, or gatherings at the community centre. Previously, there was an informality regarding home visitations and people simply “dropped in”. Several informants indicated there is a reluctance to do this now. As Joyce said,

No one had to have an invitation to come to your house, or anything like that. Everybody just came on in whenever they felt like it (laughs). That kind of thing certainly have changed here, you know. I mean, you never see nobody now, only family, if family drops in, or you give someone an invitation.

Likewise, Mildred Gilbert remembered, it was not that long ago that people came to your house to visit and they did not need an invitation (personal communication, April 18, 2014). This informal visiting was reflective of the type of community that existed. It created much more social interaction which people feel is missing today. As Janet remarked, “One time someone would visit your home for a cup of tea or a cup of coffee. You don’t have that no more. You don’t see nobody.” Joyce provided a specific example of the change,

Yeah, it is changing, like that. And, like your Mom down there, I was months and I didn’t talk to your Mom. I’d only see her if we went to church on Sunday,

something like that. I didn't walk down over the hill to visit her and she didn't walk up to visit me. One time that would be done. People would always go from house to house and visit. For no reason, it just (pause); she'd say, "My, I haven't heard from you for so long". Something like that, you know.

The changes Joyce describes are indicative of a change to more individualism and independence, a change in lifestyle. The traditional lifestyle created more intimacy and connection. They lived a more communal lifestyle whereby people depended on each other in all aspects of life. Perhaps, materially, people were less well off and therefore needed the support of others. Furthermore, they depended on each other for entertainment as well. Duncan describes the close social network that existed,

So, I know when I was younger there would always, always, be someone poppin' by for a cup of tea, or a chat. You know, there was always someone droppin' here or there. Mom and Dad would be running here to go see this one or go see that one. But, you don't see people.

Perhaps, this shift can be seen in how language is used as well. Some forms of language may create an intimacy that is no longer there. George, perhaps, described this best as he discussed how the informal language of the community changed to a "more proper" way of speaking. He said,

And, that's what changes the atmosphere and uniqueness of the community. I don't think there's anything more better than having that uniqueness of the community and the language that is used in the community. That sort of gives you the sense of you're still a part of the old-time trait of the community.

The intimate connections changed and, as Walter suggested, people became less welcoming of visitors. He said, "No, I don't think people want to see people comin', and drinkin', and partyin', to their houses (pause), like they did years ago... Those days are gone." Similarly, Joyce suggested there was an attitude previously towards having people come to your home that no longer exists. She remarked,

When we moved back here (pause), we moved in this house, that was '81. We moved in on December twenty-first, right. That Christmas, this place just filled up and we were just after moving home from Toronto, and thinking what's going on here? The house was full until about three o'clock in the morning (laughs). I mean, everybody just came on in.

Walter described the reasons for this change,

People got more up-to-date houses, one thing and another. Carpets...you can't wipe up water anymore. So, if you gets a drink spilled, which is what happens, with a bunch of people drinkin', which I'm sure you know it. I know, I know anyway (laughs). I've spilled it me self.

This description is representative of a change from a traditional way of living and movement into modernity. There is a change in attitude, influenced by a culture of capitalism and consumerism, which promotes the acquisition of possessions. In this case the house becomes just that, a possession, as opposed to a home. The change of attitude also changes the nature of relationships within a community.

Sam noted the change, "I don't really know [why] but that is one big change you see here. I don't know what it means, if you're not good enough to be in somebody else's house or what." Walter and Sam might be suggesting that as people acquired more and there was more prosperity, attitudes changed. For example, at a certain point the men of the community began to lock their fish stores, something that initially was unheard of in the community. Perhaps this move towards more privacy and individuality happened in all aspects of life. This ideological shift reflects changing societal beliefs, influenced by the marketplace. It is movement towards a more competitive, individualistic and materialistic way of being. As people accumulated more, they shared less, and they saw less of each other. As their situation improved and they became more independent there was less of a communal lifestyle. According to UNESCO (2002), "globalization, in its

powerful expansion of market principles...” (p. 9) is a threat to culture, generally, and, in particular, cultural diversity. These market principles crept into Cod Bight without much resistance, perhaps, but not without notice.

Another change that informants noted was the movement away from socializing as a community to socializing in much smaller groups, i.e. family and close friends.

Clarence best described this change,

To me, it was isolated pockets of people in the community who became more to their own. And, in a small community I know that’s not easy to do. But, there’s like (pause), there are little pockets of people who, even though they’re in the same community, they’re not always open and at each other’s doors the same way they were. And, I don’t know if that’s a direct result of the moratorium. But, I think, it may affect it over time; because, there are people who don’t visit each other.

George made a similar observation,

People are, more or less, keeping to themselves more. And, there’s a very small niche of people that are connected. And, that’s what I see socially. Whereas, back twenty years ago, the whole community was like a more connected community.

They share a geographic space, but they are not a community as they were previously.

This change is evident in small towns globally.

Many informants noted changes in the social cohesion of the community and the attitude towards helping others. Henry noted that formerly people did not have to request help because it was simply given,

Well, one time you go at something and there was always somebody there to help. When I done this basement, right, everybody come and joined me. Everybody helped. And, that’s the same when they were building your house [my parents’ house] ...Same with Richard’s and Everett’s and Rod’s [house]. But, everybody was right there then, especially the family. But, it’s not like that now. You got to ask somebody now, right. And, you hates to ask anybody.

Likewise, Mildred Gilbert said, “They [community members] just came, and you were around, and they’d help more, with anything you needed done” (personal communication, April 18, 2014). This aspect of change is further illustrated in descriptions from various informants:

I think the friendliness [has changed]. I don’t think it is quite as friendly as what it used to be. People tend to be into their own things, their own home and their own things. To me, coming over here to visit when I was younger, everybody seemed to interact, talk to each other, and help each other. But to me that part has changed. (Diane)

I just find it, like [Diane] said, even when we first came here, you’d see somebody doin’ somethin’, well, you’d chip in and help. Everybody seemed like it was the same thing. But, you don’t see that so much anymore. (Mike)

But, it is certainly not what it was back in the day when someone was drivin’ a nail, puttin’ on a shingle, everybody was there with a piece of clapboard to help out. You gotta go look for the help now more than you did. It has changed. (Don)

Despite the change, Ed believes it is still a cohesive community, but he senses a difference,

But, I don’t know if it’s just, over the years (pause), like I said, the people feel a little less friendly. Now, they’re still friendly, I won’t say they’re not. I get this weird feeling and I don’t even know how to put it into words to be honest with you.

Perhaps, Ed is aware of something that puts him ill-at-ease, something that he may not want to acknowledge.

All informants remarked on how the loss of informal visitations and people’s willingness to help were unfortunate changes. Noteworthy is that most of the informants would welcome the change back to the way it used to be and are unsure why things changed. As well, informants recognize that everyone is still very community-minded and helpful if assistance is required. If asked, people are more than willing to help, but there is

a reluctance to ask for help. This change may have been influenced by the fact that work has become a commodity. Furthermore, there is a difference between work and labour and, perhaps people think not in terms of work, but paid labour. Hence, there might be a hesitancy to ask people for their time because time and energy have monetary value.

And, it might speak to the reason for other types of change, such as the pace of life.

According to Don,

People hardly got time to stop and talk to each other, or visit, compared to what we had back then. Like, a twenty-four-hour day now is a ten-hour day compared to what it was, in terms of everybody busy.

Joyce made a similar observation,

Well, if I was to say anything that changed (pause), the attitude and the gettin' together, is the fast speed lane we're living in today, compared to what we did back then. And, like I said, you don't socialize a lot like you did back one time. You don't see people only the family, you know. So.

Cod Bight is part of the global modern where society has become more market driven and consumer-oriented, and as such, time becomes money.

Charlie commented on the changes in socialization patterns, from the home, to the wharf, to community events,

And again, maybe it's where I'm not living here, but, when I'm home now, it's this house, this house (pause), people are there but they're not associating. They're not getting together like they used to. And again, for the few that are on the wharf things are the same. If you're going out to the wharf in the morning, there's two or three other boats leaving and they are there when you come in. But, I think, for a lot of the older people, which are most of what's there, you still talk to your brother, sister or the one next door. But, I don't think there's a lot of occasions when the community meets like it used to.

Ed elaborated on the notable difference with activity around the community,

Maybe there is more of that [visiting] going on than I know, because you don't see anybody on the roads. Maybe people are just at each other's houses. I don't know, but it doesn't seem like people interact as much, honestly. But, that is from me, far on the outside these days looking in.

Previously people were a more intimate part of each other's lives both through home visitations and through a variety of community events. Perhaps, as was previously discussed, social media has now impacted where and how people socialize. Charlie outlines the overall changes that have occurred in Cod Bight,

There was always a Christmas concert, I know, from the school, (pause), again, there's no school there but that's another issue. The Salvation Army Home League, the women, always had a concert. They dressed up and they did skits. The same thing with the UCW. There were, I think, if somebody thought there might be a reason to celebrate they cooked a meal and had it at the church hall, or the community centre. It didn't have to happen [it was not requested] but they just went ahead and did it, anyway. Again, I don't spend a whole lot of time there. But, I know that the UCW has things for seniors, and the community. I don't know if it's as often as it used to be. I doubt it very much. Church, everybody went to church on Sunday. I don't think that happens anymore. Again, the way of life. Everybody had a garden and grew their own vegetables. A lot of these things, the moratorium, and the down turn may have definitely had an impact. But, I think, probably, what we are seeing now, as opposed to then, is more a fact of the age demographic. I think that's the big thing.

As well, Bill observed,

There's no more, there's no vegetable gardens. There's no (pause), you don't see people out drying their codfish anymore. There's no livestock, that sort of thing. A few people hang on to that sort of stuff. Yeah, all the stuff that I grew up with, is certainly gone. Gone by the wayside from my generation. Yeah.

Informants' comments demonstrate the overall change from a community that was self-reliant in almost all aspects of their life to one that is apparently more modern, yet dependent on other places or media for most needs. Previously, people were producers in

every sense of the word. They maintained vegetable gardens, raised livestock, and hunted and fished for other food sources. They created their own forms of entertainment with community concerts and other types of social activities. But they have evolved into consumers in a market economy. As was noted in chapter four, the change in the fishery, accelerated by movement towards advanced capitalist practices, meant people became consumers rather than producers. With loss of traditions, comes a loss of knowledge, which can occur very quickly. The cod moratorium occurred a generation ago and as Bill states, cultural knowledge has quickly disappeared.

Many informants noted the decrease in the number of gatherings for all residents at the community centre. As Diane remarked, “Even the community centre, they used to have a lot more gatherings, suppers that you served, and things like that.” Similarly, Janet said, “Well there is, there’s nothing, no events here now at all, only a card game once a week. And then, the fall or winter, they has darts, that’s it.” Likewise, Joyce said,

One time there was always dances going on, and they’d have music down there [Community Centre], and everybody would be going. The hall would be full. That don’t happen no more. If they have anything down there now, I mean there’s not many people goes there. Why? Well (pause).

Walter said, “We used to have dances here years ago. We used to have Christmas concerts here, too, first when we moved here. Now, that’s all over and done with. There’s nobody interested in that anymore.” Similarly, Sam said, “Used to be a tradition, one time, to have parties and everybody get together. Now that’s gone, that’s no more, and different altogether.” Doris agreed,

Well, years ago, you’d have a Valentine Party there, you’d have Christmas party, New Year’s Eve party, you’d have stuff there for anybody who got older. Sure,

there's none of that goes on no more. 'Cause, there's no one goes to anything here anymore.

One reason for the change is that there were more regulations and stipulations after they moved from a church hall to a modern community centre, one that was licensed to sell liquor. The government regulations around selling liquor resulted in change in social activities associated with the community centre. As Martha remarked,

We used to have, what was called, Cod Bight Days. We would have that every year. And, then, it got to where you never had enough volunteers. And, then, the government came up with so many stipulations that we had to have, in order to have those events. It was costing us too much to get involved in it, so.

Ann discussed this change as well,

And, as for a decline in the community centre, I know they used to have the Cod Bight Days and different events for that. But, also, being a behind the scenes person with all the committees here, I was wondering would our low numbers affect it. But no, it was government regulation. And, they came out with different rules and regulations and certain permits. And, certain things had to be there, such as porta potties [for outside events], if there was a certain amount of people. Even though there were washrooms inside. And, being a small community, and not a large budget, we were not able to avail of it. So, that went you know. That was a big thing for the community centre.

The introduction of rules and regulations is a forced movement towards modernity which structures how people can use the space and place that they inhabit.

Both Diane, and her husband Mike, remarked that gathering for meals at the community centre was once a popular event that was highly attended. As Mike said, "One time they [people in the community] would meet, and gather, and talk. You know, have a little chat afterwards, or somethin'. But, there's more and more, they seem to take it home now." Likewise, Diane agreed that it has now become a "take-out". I observed this shift during my research in the community when I attended community events. It is another

indication of a movement from the collective social group to more individual or private ways of being. Many informants noted that the community centre used to be the focus of much celebrating at Christmas time as well. This and many other Christmas traditions are in decline.

Loss of Traditions: Christmas

Joyce discussed the loss of Christmas events at the community centre. She stated, “Every Christmas time here, the women would be there; and they’d have bake sales and auction off all their Christmas cakes. All that stuff was going on here. That’s traditions that are gone, you know”. Similarly, Henry said,

Yes, then they’d have a Santa Claus parade. The last one here, I was Santa Claus. The RCMP [Royal Canadian Mounted Police] would be out here, right. We’d come up here and go down around the harbour. Then go back to the hall and have breakfast with Santa.

Joyce remarked, “They still have their breakfast with Santa every Christmas. Now, like people living close by, that moved out of here, comes back and brings the kids in and everything. So, they still have that.” As well, Janet stated, “The whole hall up there used to be, used to be a hall alongside of the church. That used to be full of people sure if there was a [Christmas] concert.”

Jim discussed how Christmas was very much a community event whereby people would visit throughout the entire season. However, he says now at “Christmas time you don’t see no one. Christmas time people would drop into your house. But, you never sees no one now, only just your family, that’s all.” Doris agreed that “[Other than] your immediate family, never sees anybody.” Both Doris and Jim described the lack of social activity around Christmas celebrations now in Cod Bight. As Doris commented,

“Christmas, back then, there was twelve nights of Christmas and I’m sure we were on the go the twelve nights of Christmas.” Similarly, Jim stated, “Now it is only like a long weekend, nothing to it. So, I don’t know if they got more independent and gone to their selves more, or what it is, you know.” Jim pertinently noted that people have become “independent and gone to their selves more.” It is indicative of the movement towards individuality and the less communal lifestyle that is demonstrated in much of what preceded the changes previously discussed. Henry offered his insights on reasons for the change,

I guess, young people have moved out. Probably the parents go visit them now, during Christmas, or something like that. Or, they could be home at Christmas and Christmas Eve they’re in with their parents, sticks more to home right. They been gone all year and, perhaps, Christmas they come home to visit... There’s more of that now, right.

As elsewhere, Christmas has become a more commercialized and consumer-driven holiday rather than a family-oriented series of religious holy days. Thus, as with other changes, perhaps the loss of Christmas traditions is part of the overall change towards market driven ideologies whereby the focus is on shopping days and product consumption.

Ann made a key observation about the loss of an important Christmas tradition, i.e. the annual Christmas concert, organized by the teachers and students, and performed by the students, in the community school. However, as Ann stated, “...so that went with the community school.” The school is a vital institution, especially in small communities, and the loss of a community school is the beginning of much more decline (Mulcahy,

1999). The loss of the community school, undoubtedly, impacted the social life of the community as it was “the” gathering place for many community events.

School: “The Heart of the Community”

When the school was closed in 1996, Mildred Gilbert had a lot of concern as she believed it meant even greater loss in the future (personal communication, June 27, 1996).

According to many informants, it was an accurate observation. Don discussed the importance of the school to the community,

Well, when we lost our school we lost our community; that’s the way I look at it. I was on the committee when we were fighting, trying to keep the school down there. I spoke harsh on it...If you lose the heart of the community, what is left? ...A lot of events took place, and one thing and another, school concerts and different stuff. And, when we lost the school that made a big change here.

Diane indicated the closure of the school was a loss to the community and it used to be a way of bringing the parents of the children together. As she said,

I think the loss of a school is a big thing for a community, in all honesty, no matter how small or how big. I think it makes a difference in the community because the children are not just right there. And, let’s face it, you had your school programs, you had school things that parents got involved in, and, all of a sudden, it’s gone.

Many informants noted that, throughout the year, school events brought all members of the community together. As Diane said, “It didn’t matter whether you had a child in school or not; you went anyway if there was something going on.” She believes that the children were a way of connecting people, “I think, when you had the children [here in school] and you had the programs, people would associate and be there for all of that, you know.” Joyce also concurred, “The children used to have their concerts, and everything going on at Christmas time. Lots of things going on at the school for the kids that you attended.” Likewise, Ed commented, “Any entertainment that the school put off there was

always a crowd. And, I don't think it was always just parents or grandparents, it was everybody went to see those things." Sam agreed, "Yeah, yeah concerts, Christmas concert and stuff like that, everybody went to that stuff, right." Ed believes the connection was lost when students were bussed to schools outside the community,

And with that going away, no one was joining those. I mean, I guess when the elementary school had stuff over in Churchville or New Cove, or wherever they went after, you'd only have parents and maybe grandparents go to see those things, so.

To a small community, the school is more than a building where the children are educated. According to Mulcahy (1999), the community school is a cultural and social centre for all its residents and it gives a sense of identity. The loss of the school is a loss of hope for the future of the community and its culture as the community invests in its future through the education of its young people (Mulcahy, 1999). This closure of a school is one more way of losing connection with the community. This detachment, on many levels, makes it much more difficult to create optimism for the future of the place. Furthermore, young people are not going to move into a community that does not have a school. And, the loss of the community school meant fewer young families would stay in the community if they had to bus their children to school elsewhere.

Outmigration: Mobility and Accessibility

Young people migrated out of the community for a variety of reasons but, according to Sam, the moratorium was key,

Well, first thing happened here in this small community [after the moratorium], younger people left. Once the younger people leaves, the community starts to fall back...I'd say probably seventy percent of the community here now is sixty plus...We got a poor time gettin' it back up again, right. At one point, we had

twenty-one students in the school, now that's no more. So, that's where the change is comin' in the communities, right? You don't have any young people there, having families. You knows the community is gonna die, right.

As the previous comment indicates the loss of young people means a lack of energy and vitality within the community and it becomes difficult to sustain. The declining population and changing age demographic has influenced change in all types of activities within the community. Joyce discussed these issues,

'Cause, like I said, here, things changed. Because, as soon as the young people (pause), one time they stayed around, like I said, when the fishery [was active]. Now, soon as they're finished grade twelve, they're gone. And, we don't see them.

Similarly, Clarence discussed the increasing detachment of young people from the community,

There was a different attitude towards staying, and puttin' down roots, and staying there. So, over the years that has changed dramatically. Not only with the passing of older people but with the leaving of younger people to go elsewhere.

A young couple, originally from another province, moved into the community a few years ago. I asked if they would stay in Cod Bight. Walter said, "Depends on work. I'd say if they don't get the work [here], they're gone. They're movers and they follow the job."

Similarly, Tom observed, "Well, it changed for the young people we'll say. Because, accordin' as they growed up they're gone, you know, that way. Scattered all over the place, not only my children, but other people's children, too." Corbett (2009) argues that, previously, essential to any introduction of oneself would be to include where you were from (Corbett, 2009). But in mobile modernity most young people are not rooted to place in a way they once were. They may have been born, or have grown up in a place, but they

are now modern nomads who are not “from” anywhere in particular. Their identity is not shaped by the past or one place only. As Corbett (2009) states,

Modern identities are implied to be detached from place. The important question, the question contemporary, real, educated people ask, is “Where are you going?” It is movement that matters, not where you have been. As soon as one arrives then there will be yet another place and another journey to desire (p. 6).

The young people of Cod Bight are part of modernity and they, too, are movers.

The older generation too has become much mobile and outward looking. As Walter said, “...Everybody got transportation. Even if there was a store here, I think they’d still go to the larger grocery stores and one thing and another to get their better deals.” He elaborated,

It was cheaper to go and buy a two weeks supply from a grocery store, in Neil’s Harbour, or Carterville, than what it was to go to your local grocery store. Although, they’re really missed. You wants a can of milk now you gotta go to Guy’s Inlet.

Jim also noted the change for his generation,

Because everyone was gettin’, well, the senior citizens gets their cheques [Old Age Security]. Then they’d leave and go to the supermarket in Neil’s Harbour, or Carterville, or Sandy Cove, some places like that, to change the cheques to the bank. And, when they’d change their cheques they’d pick up their groceries. So, the store here couldn’t last; they couldn’t make a profit. So, they had to let it go.

Likewise, Kevin indicated,

Some of it was because of less people and some of it was the cost. The people, they’re in town, or over to Sandy Cove. They were out where they were picking up the specials, so then that affected the store here.

Sam made the same observation, “Yes, and you had these places like Wal-Mart, and places. And people would jump in their car to go places where they can get it cheaper.

That’s one of the reasons too.” Mike also noted,

I think people probably weren't goin' to [the community store], supporting it as much as they would. Probably it was cheaper for them to go somewhere else to get what they needed. Being a corner store, it would be a bit more expensive, I think. This is just my thoughts (laughs).

The increased mobility and accessibility to franchise stores that could provide more competitive prices meant that small community stores were no longer viable.

Community Engagement: “There’s no one Stepping up to the Plate”

The outmigration of the younger generations has left Cod Bight with an increasingly aging population. However, people are not simply giving up, as the older generation works to maintain activities, for those who remain in the community. As Steve remarked, “So, there’s still a social network within the community. That still happens. There may be fewer people going there [to community events], but it is still there”. Similarly, Bill observed that “[They] still have some of those things [social events]; but, basically now for senior citizens as opposed to kids.” Informants noted that there is a demarcation in the age of those who are taking the lead in community affairs and maintaining a social network. Martha said, “Well, you got the same few people doing the same work, over and over. There’s no younger people to come in, once our age group go out.” Likewise, Bill concurred that “All these white heads are here and, when we’re gone, there’s no one stepping up to the plate.” Diane made a similar comment, “No, I think, once us seniors are out of there that’s going to be it (laughs).” Those who are currently working in the fishing industry consider themselves to be the last group of fishers, as well. No one is going to replace them. Don noted, “Like I said, the young ones, they don’t pitch in (laughs). Always on the go and involved in something else.” Don’s comment

speaks to the detachment from the place as young people's lives change and their focus is outside rather than within.

Many informants noted that while young people are helpful, they do not want to make a commitment. Martha noted that "When we ask for help they [young people] will do it. But they don't want to get involved on committees. But, if you ask them for anything you got it." Sam also suggested, "Yeah, in lots of cases they're willing to help out. But, they don't want to get (pause), they don't want to be involved in any part of the committees and stuff, right." Ann, who is one of those younger community members, said she is more than willing to help but she wants to do so "behind the scenes" as she cannot make a full-time commitment. She commutes to work, sometimes her work keeps her late and she has family commitments. Thus, she said she cannot commit "because [she is] spread too thin". It is indicative of the changing nature of the structure of life in the community. When people lived, worked and socialized in the community life was community-focussed; there were no competing priorities other than family and community.

Walter also noted the lack of involvement on the part of younger people. As he said, "I'd say the youngest is probably in their sixties, the ones on the committees, except on Rural Development. Jerry's on that and he's the youngest on there, and he's forty." When I asked why, Walter responded, "Don't know, don't seem like they have an interest in the community." Diane said, "I don't see any of the younger ones, what we would call the younger, well forties and fifties, I don't really see them involved in any of it." These people would have been teenagers and young adults when the moratorium occurred. The reasons for a lack of interest in the community might be that young cannot relate to the

type of community that the older generation is trying to maintain. Thus, they have no meaningful way of connecting to it. Bill's comment speaks to this disconnection,

I find a small community like this there's no, I mean, I find places to have input in the community, take part in the church work and that sort of thing. But, other than that there is no place to be a part of a vibrant community.

Two of the youngest informants noted they had less attachment to the place and little interest in returning to live in Cod Bight. As Ed remarked, "And, again, I do have a special place in my heart for Cod Bight. I do love to go there, in small doses." And Duncan commented,

Everything is such a, it would be a chore now to go, to live there, because it would be so inconvenient. And, it's probably a lot of prejudice on my part, as well. Because once you live in a city, or urban centre, you sort of take all those things for granted [the conveniences].

Although Bill is still a resident in the community, he feels it can be a challenging place to live. He said,

I mean, you come here in the middle of the summer when everything is nice and green, and the waves are white, and everything looks hunky dory. But, it's a total different story when you are here in the middle of February, in a snow storm, with aging parents, and sick people that you don't know if you are going to get them out of here. It's a whole different [situation].

Younger residents have not developed that same connection to the community as previous generations, for myriad reasons, many of which have been discussed previously. Hence, they have a very different perspective. Bill outlined the change that has occurred,

Well, there's a fairly limited number of children left because the younger people have moved away. And, the birthrate is down. So, yeah, we lost our store. Basically, the things that make a community a community have sort of gone by the wayside. Not because people are less able to do those things, just because there's no people to do it. There's a core of people in any community that take part, and do the volunteer things, and keep everything going. And, it is the same

thing here in Cod Bight. There's half dozen to a dozen people that do everything. And with no new people coming in, things just fall by the wayside.

Bill's comment suggests they are losing all the things that contribute to community sustainability. He notes the loss of young people, outmigration, community losses such as the store [and school] and with these losses a disinterest in the community. Sam reiterated what many have stated in terms of community change since the moratorium,

There's no reason for people to come back here, now. We got no school here, school was taken away. We got no store here now, the store's gone out of it. And, it's a long way from the highway.

There is concern that when the current members who make up the various committees are gone there will not be anyone to replace them. It is a familiar refrain expressed about all aspects of community life. Doris said,

I got no idea [why people are not getting involved]. That's the same as us in the UCW. There's only six or seven of us in the UCW and you can't get no one else involved.

Doris further added,

But you got to have a church and you got to have a cemetery, you know. And, it is only Jim, Henry or Joe, or some of them, will go up to cut the grass. And it would grow up to here [(indicating quite high) before they'd [young people] go cut it.

But, perhaps, this is indicative of a generation who do not see the need for a church; church attendance is at an all time low in Cod Bight. Thus, it may be further indication that such activities are not meaningful or relevant to young people, another trend not unique to Cod Bight.

Lack of Church Involvement: “Times are Changing”

According to Kevin, the United Church Women’s group is key to the social events that take place in the community. He states, “And, the biggest thing here in this community, to keep this community going, is the UCW; and the things they might do, right. They’re aging now; there’s not many of them.” And a way of life may be lost with that generation gone. Bill said,

Well, back in our generation, and the generation before that, well, the church was the mainstay of the community. The activity that was centred around church; that was your entertainment in the community. I mean people went to church, basically, because there was nothing else to do. I know that’s a bad thing to say. But, I mean, a lot of people did go because that was your entertainment in the community at the time.

Previously, both church, and its related activities, offered an opportunity to socialize and get involved with the community. Now, access to other types of entertainment and different activities means people have alternatives. Thus, the church as a focal point for activity has changed. People congregate in other spaces and places. As Bill said they are involved in many other things, “Well everything, you name it. It’s just their own activities, technology, not even as much television, anymore. I don’t know what people do anymore.” Technology and social media provide spaces for online interaction and other forms of entertainment. Furthermore, increased accessibility through transportation enables people to readily participate in activities outside the community. Thus, these changes impact the structure of life in Cod Bight. Duncan discussed the change,

Like, when it comes to, you know, you’d get together as a group, with those little clubs and stuff, that was out home. Like I said, with the church groups and this type of stuff, it just doesn’t seem to be there anymore. There doesn’t seem to be any interest in it from people. And, I mean, I don’t know if it’s a religion-based

thing. You know, it could be changing on that aspect of it. Because most of the groups out home are related to the church groups, and stuff.

Many participants noted how church attendance has declined with each generation. As Sam said, "Yeah, well, I would say really, now, there's about five or six people here going to church; that is regular goers." And Joyce remarked,

I mean, there's young people here. The few that is here, they have probably never been in the church in their life. Except, when they went in to get christened or something. So, I guess it was never a tradition like it was for us you know.

As well, Diane noted,

All I've seen the church used, basically, for, now, is that somebody is going to get a child baptized. Then you'll see a few more people in church. Or, if there's going to be a confirmation. Other than that, there's no young people that go to church. There haven't been young people in church since I can't remember when. The parents don't go, and they don't go.

Martha concurred, "Well from talking to some they don't need a church. They don't need a church to have their children baptized. And, they don't need a church for funerals.

Times are changing." Similarly, Henry stated, "And the way it's going now. People aren't going to want the church. People are going to get cremated now and just their ashes put somewhere. That's the way it's going to be. I see that coming now." Walter commented on how media changed people's perspective on church and religion. He said,

I don't know if people believe like they used to, on account they can see what's goin' on in the world. With television and media and you can see what's goin' on. If you think there's some higher power got control over all this, I don't think so. If he do, he's doin' a poor job.

Undoubtedly, there has been a gradual detachment from the community in many ways. Nevertheless, almost all informants noted that it is essentially a community that still has a strong and supportive network in times of need.

Caring Community: “A Good Community, Good People and Good Times”

Despite all the change that has occurred in Cod Bight, people feel it is still a supportive and caring community. All informants, with one exception, expressed this view. Ann described it in the following way,

When push comes to shove, everyone is still the same. Everyone would take their heart out of their chest and would band together to help anyone. And, that all comes from the way they were raised, I believe, their values. I believe it is still the same with the ones, right now, who are here.

Likewise, Charlie commented,

Community wise, as a whole, I think, if something not so good happens to one person, everybody still feels it. I think that is still the case...Not as much getting together and doing things, but I think that feeling is still pretty deep.

Walter concurred, “They seems, if you need help they’re there to help you. I don’t think anyone would refuse to help anyone. So, they’re pretty good that way, pretty close-knit community. Don’t mind helping their neighbours.” Likewise, Don commented,

They are good community-minded people. And, to all the people that’s here, and the people that come in [to live], whenever they’re asked to contribute something, there’s never (pause) [hesitation to help].

Kevin indicates why he thinks the level of care and concern is still there,

It is probably because it goes way back to the people that was here, the older people. A lot of them were related and good friends, and it just carried on through. And, the people that moved in, since that, I mean, many of them was originally from here...God knows we had some good people, lots of good people, here before us.

There is a cultural connection that maintains the link between people despite the distance that sometimes occurs. As within a family, people usually support each other in times of need.

I asked Joyce if she felt the residents of the community still cared for each other and she replied, “Oh yes, in that kind of way, yes. If someone gets sick, or something happens, everybody pulls together. Everybody is here to help.” And Doris noted, “Oh my dear and at a time when you need somebody they are all there to help. Definitely.” However, as Ed said, “I think they do, but definitely it feels different to me. But there is definitely still caring there.” As well, Duncan said,

In general, they probably still care about each other the same. But, I don't think they have the same level of involvement, or caring for the community, I guess, in general, itself. Because, it seems like as the older people out there now, as they get out of it, there's nobody else that is sort of trying to get involved in it.

It is interesting that Ed and Duncan, the youngest informants, speak of an observable difference, even though people still have concern for each other. It is, perhaps, the changing nature of the commitment to the community. Informants beliefs in a caring and supportive community seem to contradict their reports of disconnection and isolation from one another. However, it may be that they have learned dual ways of living. While they have moved towards individualism and a more private lifestyle within modernity, many of the traditional ways of living are still evident in the belief that they must support one another in times of need. It may be something else that will soon be lost as the two youngest informants, Duncan and Ed, recognize a difference as was noted above. Could it be that their generation are losing these old ways? In fact, Duncan observes that as the older generation steps back, the younger residents may not become involved in the same way.

And, there is meaningful change as Kevin remarked, “We all know it’s a dying community, time is catching up to us. Other than that, it is still a good community, good people, good times. But time is catchin’ up.”

Charlie believes that part of the reason the change occurs is the loss of cultural heritage,

Obviously, our culture and heritage is dying. We’re becoming disconnected from a way of life that brought us here five hundred years ago and kept us here. So, I think that’s the negative. And, I use the word progress (pause), I’m not saying that progress is a bad thing. But, when you put it in the context of heritage and culture, progress is a form of sarcasm.

His comment is indicative of how community connection is sustained through custom and tradition; it is the tie that binds. However, as people lose their sense of who and what they are they become detached and indifferent. Charlie’s thinking might align with Theobald (1997) who refers to, “the meaningless shibboleth called progress” (p. 3) that has destroyed rural America, as well. Nettle & Romaine (2000) suggest that often the thinking is that, “It may be sad to see the heritage of the past disappear, but this is just an inevitable side effect of progress” (p. 153). However, Nettle & Romaine (2001) suggest, “We must get away from seeing modernity and continuity as mutually exclusive (Planning for survival section, para. 3). Moreover, so-called, “progress”, may not be inherently positive at all.

There are ways to maintain the connection and help children maintain traditions, as a story aired on the local radio station of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC) highlighting an initiative to keep the skill of boatbuilding alive in Winterton, Trinity Bay, Newfoundland and Labrador demonstrates. The Wooden Boat Museum of

Newfoundland and Labrador offers workshops in wooden boat building. Ten-year-old Jacob Hiscock wanted to celebrate his birthday with a trip to the museum to participate in a workshop. When the host of the program asked about his fascination with boats and boat building his response was, "...well, I spends a lot of time out on the water with my Pop, in a punt and a rodney" (Barrett, 2016). Most children his age would not understand the meaning of the words punt and rodney as they have been all but lost from the lexicon. However, Jacob and his brother, Ashton, are keenly aware. Jerome Canning, Master Boatbuilder at the museum, suggested that the reason for their knowledge is that they are enthusiastic about having the knowledge and skills of boat building. He further added, "...they're continuously in the land wash, they're up in the brooks, they're out on the boat with their Pop, and their Dad and Mom. I can't say they're typical children in the outport, in the bay communities, but I have to say they're exceptional" (Barrett, 2016). One of Hiscock's final comments was, "I want to go fishing" (Barrett, 2016). Duncan made the following comment in response to young Hiscock's enthusiasm,

But, the key to what he said, is that he spends a lot of time, with his Pop in the dory and [the] rodney, on the water. See, that's the thing, because if you get the social side, being able to have that conversation, you're pickin' it up. He is picking that up from his Pop, because his Pop is saying these things and he's interested in it; and he's picking it up. In most cases, now, you're just thrown in a room with a game or a phone. And, what are you getting? You're not getting nothing only what you're seeing on that T.V., you know. You know that's why, you know, you just don't get any of that.

It is a type of organic learning that is picked up inter-generationally within the culture and the community. These children are learning by doing and being actively involved. Such activity results in a different attitude and relationship with the fishery and

the ocean. As was discussed earlier in this chapter, the intergenerational transfer of knowledge is not happening. Charlie commented on the change,

And, you know, like when I grew up right, when I was in school, and when you got out of school in the afternoon, the first place you went was the wharf. You went down to catch tom cods or conners. Or, just before dark, you went out and tried to catch some eels. Then, when you got old enough for fishing cod with the cod traps it was a duty to go out and help Dad, or whoever, and gut fish and salt fish. And Saturdays, that is where you spent your Saturday.

UNESCO (2003b) defines “Intangible Cultural Heritage” as,

... the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artefacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups and, in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage. This intangible cultural heritage, transmitted from generation to generation, is constantly recreated by communities and groups in response to their environment, their interaction with nature and their history, and provides them with a sense of identity and continuity, thus promoting respect for cultural diversity and human creativity (Definition sect. para. 1).

It can be very easily lost, as Jarvis (2018) indicates because, “This living knowledge adapts and changes, and unlike a building, if it’s neglected for a generation, it can never be restored” (Welcome section, para. 3).

In Cod Bight, even if young people had the desire to stay, they were forced to move on. Kevin’s description of his son’s decision to move on from the fishery into a more lucrative occupation is a poignant reminder of the change and loss that has occurred,

Once he got out of school, he went with me. He fished with me for two years, got him into the workforce. And then, he always, he said, “Dad I’ll go with you for a year or two, then I am going to go to school and go on into something else, right.” But, he did love it; he loved the fishery. He loved that. And, he said, “Dad it is like I’m putting ye down.” He said, “My great-grandfather, my grandfather, and you. And, now I’m the only son, I’m getting out of it. And, it’s like I’m putting all of you down. And, I loves it.” He said, “You can’t make a living at it, like it was

when you started at it.” And, I said, “No, you just can’t, right.” So, he continued; he went to trade school. He done millwright and he’s a journeyman now.

Kevin’s son’s comment is indicative of the longevity of the familial and cultural connection. However, with his son’s generation it is coming to an end. As was noted previously, it has been an ongoing project for politicians in this province to move people out of its many coastal communities. In this regard, the inshore fishery is something that the government, both provincially and federally, would rather see eliminated (O’Flaherty, as cited in Murphy, 1994; Rose, 2007; Webb, 2016). As Don indicated, “There will be no reason for no stages, no nothing. That is my personal opinion. I don’t know who is going to take it over and, I think, that is the way the government would like to see it really.” For many years, the economy and the culture of Newfoundland and Labrador has only been given “lip-service” (O’Flaherty, as cited in Murphy, 1994). Risteard Ó Domhnail, director of the film *Atlantic*, makes a similar observation about the fishery in Ireland when he states that “midsized and small boat fishermen are just a nuisance” (as cited in Fitzpatrick, 2016, 4:30). According to Don, he believes that the corporatization of the fishery and the change that occurred was, in part, an attempt to take control away from the small boat, inshore fishers. He stated, “...that was the whole plan right from the beginning, to get rid of the inshore fishery...I mean the moratorium had a big effect on the fishery, the small boat fishery especially in Newfoundland.” Likewise, Richard Cashin, then President of the FFAW, remarked, in a letter to the Minister of the Department of Fisheries and Oceans in 1992, “There is a genuine belief among small boat fishermen that the moratorium fits an agenda aimed at replacing them...the recently released provincial *Strategic Economic Plan* clearly substantiates the concerns of

fishermen.” Many informants suggested the change that has occurred will result in the death of the community over time.

Dying Community?

Although informants acknowledge that the community is in decline there is, sometimes, an apologetic and wistful tone as is evident in the following comments:

I just think it’s (pause), dead is the wrong word, that sounds bad. But it’s a lot less vibrant than it once was. Yeah, it feels empty. (Ed)

I can’t see it being better. I mean, it looks like it’s a dying community, right. It is sad to say; it’s kind of depressing. You almost don’t want to say it. But, as you [Barbara] come out you can see it (pause). I mean changes like, change has got to be for the worse. (Ann)

I don’t want to be a pessimist. That’s probably the way I come across. I don’t feel optimistic right now that there’s going to be anything down the road, that the community is going to come back and thrive. I think, I’m realistic in saying that. (Bill)

So, what have we got in years; fifteen years, maybe. And, what we’re going to have in [Cod Bight] is five or six families living year-round and the rest of the homes are [going to be] vacation homes...I wish I could move back there, and live there, even the way things are, because I’d be home. (Charlie)

As a community, I can’t feel optimistic about it because as a community it is dying. You can twist it and turn it however you want and you have ninety-eight percent of the people there from that age group we discussed. And you have the rest, the three or four young people. And I say young people, they aren’t young people anymore. They’re in their forties and stuff. And, realistically you have, okay, a couple of people moved there, one or two, or whatever. (Duncan)

But, I mean the day is going to come when this community is going to be small enough that it’s not going to be feasible...We are a dying breed here; for sure this community is. For the simple reason that we don’t have anything to attract people here. (Don)

Well, I mean, my opinion of this is when the older people, now, like the people our age and older passes away, there's not going to be nobody here. There's no young people staying here. Like, [our daughter], would never think about coming back here. Her family, they will never. (Joyce)

I used to leave here Sunday mornings and walk down there, and the house would be there, Skipper's house (his father-in-law). And, I used to come back and say to Joyce, "This house is going to be the same thing as that one of these days. It will be droppin' down and nobody will want it." (Henry)

According to (Kelly, 2009b), these metaphors of "loss" and "death" are promoted daily in this province through "...media, education, and family..." and are indicative of "...a culture grappling with colossal loss" (p. 90). However, such metaphors must be examined "...for the manner in which they enable or disable healing and promote meaningful change" (Kelly, 2009b, p. 90). Otherwise, the result might be either "unreflective migration" or "passionate impatriation", that is, the desire to either maintain a cultural connection versus the economic necessity to leave, neither of which addresses the problems and challenges that have arisen within the particular context (Kelly, 2009b, p. 90). It is a matter that might be addressed through education and schooling, which will be discussed in chapter seven.

Bill asked key questions, "How do you define a community? When does a community cease to be a vibrant community? What do you have to lose?" Perhaps, referring to Cod Bight as a dying community negates the positive aspects of change and ignores how people are adapting to change. Undoubtedly, there is both an aging and dwindling population within the community. However, despite some pessimistic observations, informants did see positives as well. As Clarence observed, after the cod moratorium, "They [community residents] had to start looking outward, rather than

assuming things would always be the way they were.” And, of course, they did, and adapted to the change, regardless of how they felt about it. While there was concern about what the future might hold, informants also demonstrated there is a resiliency in this community. Walter commented in this regard, “Probably, some figured it was probably the death of the community, but it wasn’t (pause), people survived it and went on.”

According to Kevin, there was consternation over the closure of the cod fishery but the overall impact on the community was not quite as bad as other places. He stated,

Like, up on the Northern Peninsula, and up around the North-East Coast, and that, I mean they were devastated. But, the fish wasn’t there anymore (pause). I mean, we never really struggled, or I never. And, I don’t think many of us did. There was always lobsters, or lump roe, or the crab, or something. But, then we got the supplement, the TAGS. Our income, of course it dropped, but it was still (pause), we still survived pretty well. Still went through those years pretty good. And, it was only a short time; it was only like two or three years for us.

Likewise, Walter said, “No, I don’t think any of the fishermen left. We all struggled through with the bit of crab and the lobster, and they made do. They had a little income coming in from the moratorium.” Similarly, Sam commented, “I always figured I could make a living. You had some down time, but you’d save for a rainy day. Yeah.” Also, Duncan remarked,

And you know, obviously, back when the moratorium came in, that was totally a killer, too. But, I have to say, *a lot of people weathered that rather well through it* (emphasis added). And, most of the fishermen, out there now, I guess at the time they were younger fishermen, then. But, they managed to weather that storm and get through it all and stay.

Despite the difficulties, as Don concluded,

...when the moratorium come on I was young, and wherever there was opportunity I used to go; to go on at the squid, or at something else. I lost the cod. But, like I never dwelled on that, I kept at something else. Then, the lump was comin’ on stream. Me, and [Sam], and [Harry], and Dad were just after buying

into the lump fishery and buying gear and that. So, like, there was something. And, the lobster were there and they were very good at the time... We always managed.

Clarence observed that people adapted well to a lot of change that occurred. As he said,

And, of course, you know, people quickly adapted to the fact that there was no longer that [community stores] there. But, I think there was a comfort level in having something close by. And of course, the schools themselves, obviously that meant a fairly major change for people who had to move out for schooling. One of the things it speaks to, I suppose, is sort of, almost the resilience and the adaptability of the people that are there, to a certain degree.

As Massey (2000) maintains, a relationship to place changes, adjusts and readjusts over time and, people bring together the past and the present to create anew. Ann speaks to this point,

Ah, so it didn't affect the community, in regards to placing a black cloud over it, like some places, in my opinion. Again, I was younger looking out. But, what I did see is fishermen getting skills that I don't think they would have had. So, short term courses and training courses, and more money (emphatically). So, this government program was TAGS, or the moratorium money, that the government, I guess, pumped into communities, or those that qualified. I noticed that they were able to, even though there was that cloud over the community of, is our fish gone. But, then, at the same time, fishermen were becoming a little bit more skilled. So, I noticed the community centre turned into a makeshift college, sort of, where people gained skills, trades and short-term things, whatever they wanted to choose. The trainers came out this way and they did some training you know. And, even fish plant workers, or women that were with their husbands out in the boats, they qualified, and they were able to take some of those short-term courses.

For some it provided an opportunity to do other things and move into other occupations.

As Bill commented,

So, yeah, I just came back here to work [when the fish plant closed in Wrinkle Cove], and it was just spotty work. It was kind of seasonal; it wasn't dependable. So, I decided to go back to school. I had planned, previously, to go back to school anyway. But, I guess, the moratorium prompted my decision and gave me the opportunity for funding. So, I took advantage of it.

Edmondson (2003) suggests Discourses can be “tension filled” (p. 4) whereby the past and present come together to create something new. Change can be a double-edged sword. It provided alternatives, but there was a resignation, for some, that there was not much they could do as change simply happens. I asked if there were changes that resulted in anything people miss about the way things were, but are no longer? Sam replied, “No, I just (pause), I guess you just grows to live with the way the community is.” It is a straight-forward, no-nonsense approach to the change that is occurring. Yet, does this response belie much more? Similarly, other informants suggested that change is a part of life. As Steve suggested, “But that’s a natural progression. Things don’t stay the same. It doesn’t matter how big your community is, or how small, the culture of the community will change all the time.” Likewise, Diane stated, “Well, I think as the population changes, changes would have taken place anyway.” Are these responses a resigned acceptance, a feeling of helpless in the face of forces seemingly too powerful to combat?

Loss, Change, and Adaptability

Indeed, change will happen in outport communities just as it will elsewhere and often there is a mistaken notion that life is static in rural places. As Joyce indicated, “I don’t know about since ’92, but, culture (pause), certainly the ways, and the way people live and do things, certainly have changed.” Gibson (2016, as cited in Fürst) suggests that within Canada many people have been city dwellers all their lives, including immigrants, the majority of whom originate from urban areas. And, most city dwellers have never visited a rural area. Therefore, perhaps the only view urban residents, in this country, have of rural is what they might read in literature, such as the writings of Canadian

authors Margaret Atwood and W.O. Mitchell. Such depictions are of a romanticized rural that has not existed for several years (Gibson, 2016, as cited in Fürst), if it ever really existed at all. Thus, urban dwellers have little understanding of what rural is. Nor do they understand who, or what, rural people think they are. Often it leads to a stereotypical view which Shapiro calls "...assumptions of coherence and homogeneity' (117) and it plagues our ability to achieve a nuanced understanding of rural regions" (as cited in Donehower et al, 2007, p. 46). Furthermore, Donehower et al. (2007) argue that such rural places are "...vital and diverse communities that can adapt to economic and demographic shifts" (p. 44). Thus, change can be a conscious choice for people, and they do so choose, in many cases.

Webb (2016) suggests that it is wrong to believe that people, especially in outport Newfoundland and Labrador, rejected change. He states,

Most Newfoundlanders were eager to modernize and pressured the government to provide a better living. As one of my relatives on the island of Greenspond, which lacked medical facilities, once said to me, 'You need only sit up with a sick child one night for you to want a causeway' (p. 278).

As one of my relatives, reflecting on living in Cod Bight in the 1950s, remarked when people began questioning the role of modern medicine, and its necessity in childbirth procedures,

You would change your mind very quickly if you had the experience of being a woman about to give birth in outport Newfoundland with no one, only a mid-wife to assist, and women and children dying all around you because of childbirth complications (Mildred Gilbert, personal communication, January 26, 2015).

Outport Newfoundland and Labrador has been constantly changing in reaction to external forces. The cod moratorium was one in a series of events that has influenced the life experience of people in this community. Many of the individuals involved in this research

have been a part of a history of change that has impacted life in this and, indeed, various other outport communities in Newfoundland and Labrador. They have experienced Confederation, resettlement, and, most recently, the Northern cod moratorium of 1992.

Change is an aspect of life for everyone and change can be positive. Importantly is to question, why, for what reasons and under what conditions, does change occur? Preventable catastrophic change that wipes away so much in its wake is not inevitable; resource depletion and ecological devastation do not just happen. Most informants, especially the older generations, question what will happen when the current group, who are “maintaining” the community, is gone. But, perhaps, the community will continue, in a different way. George believes this is the case,

I feel optimism, in a different light, in the community. I feel the optimism there now, as a place for people to move in there and use it as a summer area. There are, actually, a number of smaller dwellings there that was built from people who had no connection to the community. So, that’s how I see the community now, not in the perspective of what it was before the moratorium. And that’s maybe what could regenerate the community again, would give it some spirit again.

Similarly, Duncan stated,

A retirement place, maybe a few people that moved to Alberta, and did their stint, I’ll call it, up there. Made their few dollars to come back, and come back and retire there, and live out their days. But, other than that, you can’t realistically think or be optimistic about it as a viable community.

Ultimately, people believe that Cod Bight, like much of rural Newfoundland and Labrador, is dying. As Steve remarked,

And, of course, unfortunately, what’s happening today is that we all know that rural Newfoundland, in general, is dying. Not only here but everywhere. And, whether the government wants to, intentionally or not, they are encouraging people to move to growth centres. And, of course, the services can be provided there.

Bill made a similar observation,

On the other side of the coin, I guess, is there something we can do that we can train people, that we can get them trained to get them out in these outports and revive things? I don't know. It would be grasping for me to find anything.

However, some will remain in the community if they see it as viable. They understand the reality but will try to make it work. There are those who find value in outport life and Ann's comment speaks to this,

And for us, I think we are one of the lucky ones because we get to live here and be among that. And, yet, it is only an hour and we're out. Once a week we are in St. John's doing our shopping and we're commuting for work. But, we still get to come back here every evening. And, you know, and on the weekends and holidays still visit friends and family that still have those traditions. And again, just my perspective, but.

Ann was offered employment in Ottawa but refused. Part of her consideration was the disruption to her family but, essentially, she did not want to leave. As she remarked,

I have to see the salt water. There's nothing better for me than being in amongst the busyness and [then] coming home. And, there's a certain part on Cod Bight road when I tip that hill [Light Sky Hill] and I'm like I'm home. So, no, I don't see us leaving unless (pause), and we're not stupid people either. If the facilities or things are not here, we're not going to be those that dig in. But, we're going to stay while we can.

To simply paint a bleak picture of Cod Bight defies what is positive about the community and ignores how people continue to work within their community. The local television station of the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation ran a series on the outmigration and potential demise of the area known as the Great Northern Peninsula, in this province (Roberts, 2016). This area was severely impacted by the Northern cod moratorium and, indeed, many communities were devastated. However, people are adapting, and some continue to live there. Tourism has become an important part of the

economy. Ursula Kelly wonders how people living there feel if they are “working their hearts out for six months during the tourism season” and are then represented so bleakly in media coverage (personal communication, December 12, 2016). Cod Bight has changed significantly, as well. There has been much change and loss in this community, but people are not giving up. As Ann said, “They still have their weekly card games, committee meetings, fundraisers, things at Christmas. Somewhat there’s a decline; but, somewhat, we are just working harder to keep it going.” And there are those who will always work to keep it going. As Sam, argued in 1994, in a brief presented to the provincial government, “We are proud, hard-working people, striving to keep our small community alive.” And this attitude persists. For, as Charlie said, “There are still a few people in Cod Bight, like Martha [a driving force behind whatever happens in the community], who never give up trying to do things (much laughter).” Although it may be becoming increasingly more difficult.

Conclusion

The cod moratorium was not the only factor that created change in the structure and make-up of everyday life in Cod Bight. However, when the cod stocks declined, and the fish were gone, a series of changes were set in motion. An increased process of outmigration began shortly after the closure of the Northern cod fishery in Cod Bight. It continued as upcoming generations were educated and told there was no future in the fishery. Thus, most left to attend post-secondary institutions and to seek alternative employment. The changes are interrelated as the declining population meant the closure of the community school and eventually the community store. The changes affected many

aspects of the culture of the community, including socialization patterns, as well as community and church involvement. On the twentieth anniversary of the cod moratorium, journalist Rex Murphy looked back on what had happened in those intervening years. He suggests the “moratorium presented a cardinal challenge to the idea of Newfoundland and Labrador” that has existed for over five-hundred years and asked, “Can the spirit and the temper of this place, the fellowship of men and women, land and sea, endure without the historic fishery that gave it life?” (Murphy, as cited in Chatterjee, 2012, 1:01). The impact of the cod moratorium on Cod Bight, and many other outport communities, has changed the cultural make-up and the way of life significantly. Murphy (as cited in Chatterjee, 2012) suggests, “moratorium is a complicated word, meaning good-bye” (2:32) and is related to death. It has been a long and complicated period for many people in Newfoundland and Labrador in the past twenty-five years. People said goodbye to much more than expected with the moratorium and a lot has changed as a result. However, twenty-five years later, the people of this community endure, as they adapt and make anew, at least for as long as they can. In the next, and final data chapter I explore the response of formal schooling, and education more broadly, to the ecological crisis that occurred in Newfoundland and Labrador. I provide discussion around the findings.

Chapter Seven

Biolinguistics, Education and Schooling

“The question is, does the educated citizen know he is only a cog in an ecological mechanism? That if he will work with that mechanism his mental wealth and his material wealth can expand indefinitely? But that if he refuses to work with it, it will ultimately grind him to dust? If education does not teach us these things, then what is education for?” (Leopold, 1970, p. 210)

Introduction

In the three preceding chapters I have explored the interrelation of ecology, language and culture and discussed the importance of diversity in all three domains. Schooling, and education generally, can increase awareness and understanding of the importance of diversity. However, historically, schools have been sites of homogenization and assimilation and have contributed to cultural change and loss (Corbett, 2010a; Cummins, 2001; Crystal, 2010; Shiva, 1997; Davis et al., 2008; Romaine, 2007; Romaine, 2015; Valenzuela, 2017; Walker, 1990). Moreover, “[Schools] have also been sites of ideological positions that are, historically, hostile to the land, environment, and ecology and reproduce values of industrialization and globalization” (U. Kelly, personal communication, February 2, 2018). In this chapter, I discuss the impact of schooling on culture within the community of Cod Bight. I use the term schooling to refer to formal education within institutions designed to educate children, primarily K-12. However, I employ the term education in a broader sense to include informal education, i.e. within the community and other settings. I explore how education, that is premised on an understanding of the important connections between ecology, language and culture and a recognition of the value of diversity in these areas might lead to “a sustainable and powerful curriculum practice” (Luke & Carrington, 2004, p. 54).

Linguistic Change and Loss

Language is an essential aspect of identity and the loss of language is a loss of cultural identity (Clearsky, 2011; Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Delpit 2002; Innu-aimun.ca, 2017; Mi'gmaq/Mi'kmaq Online Dictionary, n.d.; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Torngâsok Cultural Centre, 2013; Willinsky, 1998; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Indigenous peoples, immigrants and various minority language groups have fought to maintain their language and culture because it is a way of preserving their distinct identities (Clearsky, 2011; Rockhill & Tomic, 1995). Furthermore, all of these groups of people believe that by protecting their language and culture they will ensure the future of their children and, importantly, they feel education has a vital role to play in such linguistic and cultural preservation (Delpit 2002; Innu-aimun.ca, 2017; Mi'gmaq/Mi'kmaq Online Dictionary, n.d.; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Task Force on Aboriginal Language and Cultures, 2005; Torngâsok Cultural Centre, 2013; Willinsky, 1998). However, historically, schooling has contributed to the widespread loss of both language and culture (Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Delpit 2002; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Valenzuela, 2017; Willinsky, 1998; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014).

Going to “Skewl”

I asked informants what influences linguistic and cultural change and most suggested that formal schooling, including increased access to higher education, were contributing factors. According to informants, education increased mobility, as well as outside contact, and both have influenced linguistic change in their community. As Kevin stated, “I think, where we moved out. I guess, we went out livin’ elsewhere, and different

places, goin' to school and stuff, we'd use different language.” Likewise, Tom noted, “Yeah, [people are] more educated. And, people are growin' up and goin' away. I guess, that's when they changes, too.” Wolfram and Reaser (2014) suggest that some language usage “doesn't survive urbanization and formal education” (p. 93), especially if it is a socially disfavoured variety.

As was noted in chapter four children have been gradually moved out of the community for schooling thus increasing outside contact, especially younger generations.

Kevin spoke of his experience attending school outside the community,

Even us in Cod Bight, and there, like New Cove and Churchville, they'd always pick us up on some of the words that we would say, different words that we would say. They'd be like what do you mean? What are you sayin'? Sometimes we'd pronounce school different and they'd always pick us up on it. I think as you mingle with other people you change it.

Similarly, Duncan noted that a lot changed when schools consolidated. He stated,

Schools amalgamated. One time we had our school in Cod Bight. So, from K-6 you just basically associated with the kids in your community. So, everything was intact of your community until you go out. And, then, you get all these communities. And, that's when everything starts to (pause), and now from Kindergarten you are starting that.

People construct identities through connections with intimates. And, although identity is related to intimate connections, it is also formed through connections external to the home and local community. As people move outside of these boundaries they may construct different identities. Since identity is encoded in language, the identity that individuals want to establish will influence language choice. Young people are often more self conscious about being “different” and peer pressure can influence language usage (Wolfram and Reaser, 2014). They may change the way they speak because they want to fit in or, they may speak less, to avoid drawing attention to themselves.

Therefore, within different age groups, language and dialect, sometimes dependent on how one feels about one's primary language and dialect, can be more prone to change.

One of the forces that create language change is a sense of inferiority, as some dialects and accents are considered primitive or less sophisticated. Thus, through language change people can demonstrate they are as "smart" or as "sophisticated" as others. As was discussed in chapter five, people adopt ways of talking and acting that indicate they can appropriately negotiate within a particular Discourse (Gee, 1989). It is an "identity kit" and it is important to know how to use language appropriately and also how to act. Gee (1989) maintains that one has a primary Discourse, "...the socio-cultural way of using our native language orally... which is acquired within the home and family" (Gee, 1989). People also learn how to operate within many secondary Discourses.

Thus, contact, from movement to attain education, can influence change. However, Sam noted that schools also influence change because they insist on Standard language usage. He stated, "...Like I said, I guess they're going to school and learning the [Standard]language at that younger age. Then, they'll pick it up quicker than they would normally." Similarly, Wolfram and Reaser (2014) found that a focus on standardized English within schools significantly impacts speech in the early grades. Other informants noted that schooling is a factor in this change:

"Probably would've, because people were gettin' more educated and there was more opportunities." (Don)

"I s'pose, people are gettin' more educated is all I'd know." (Tom).

"Because of school." (Joyce)

"Well, the kids now in school, I mean." (Doris)

However, as Wolfram and Reaser (2014) suggest, “Learning standardized English is more than an academic skill; for better or worse, it is also adopting an identity” (p. 180). It is learning how to operate in a different Discourse (Gee, 1989). However, for many students within schools there is a mismatch between their primary Discourse and the Discourse of schooling. Furthermore, the values and beliefs of one Discourse may conflict with the primary Discourse. Thus, adopting this identity may distance people from home, family and community (Corbett, 2010c; Cummins, 2001; Rodriguez, 1982; Valenzuela, 2017; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). This phenomenon is not exclusive to Newfoundland and Labrador but happens worldwide (Corbett 2010c; Donehower et al., 2007; Edmondson, 2003; Valenzuela, 2017; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Wolfram and Reaser (2014) indicate that a “socially subordinate group” (p. 14) such as rural people with a “southern drawl” (p. 14) are often considered “linguistically inferior” to a more dominant group. Furthermore, they suggest it can be hard to fight against these views when, “...socially dominant beliefs about language became ingrained in our institutions, *particularly in schools* (emphasis added) and government agencies” (p. 14). Such beliefs have been established because they are actively promoted and endorsed through curriculum and pedagogy within educational institutions. Indeed, schools have encouraged rural students to leave their language, culture and communities and provided them with “a generic intellectual capital that is negotiable anywhere” (Corbett, 2010c, p. 121).

MacPherson (2003) insists that there is often a “forced language shift through abusive government policies related to education...” (p. 10). In Canada and Australia, such policies have been enacted to assimilate indigenous peoples through the eradication

of their language and culture. American Indian tribes experienced similar treatment (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Many indigenous peoples were removed from their homes and forced to attend residential schools where their languages were banned, and English was the language of instruction (Rockhill & Tomic, 1995; Willinsky, 1998; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). In Canada, a Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC) was formed in 2008, to begin a process to help heal the damage done by this coercion. Over a period of six years and after speaking to over 6,000 people who attended residential schools, the TRC released its final report in January of 2016. There were ninety-four calls to action and among these was the issue of language preservation. It was concluded that “The preservation of Aboriginal languages is essential and must be recognized as a right” (TRC, 2015, p. 155).

Along with these abuses, in Newfoundland and Labrador, French speakers on the west coast, of the island portion of the province, were also subjected to mistreatment. While children were not removed from their homes, the language of instruction in school was English and students were forbidden to speak French at school (Butt, 1998). Furthermore, as the church was an English-language institution, English names were encouraged for children (L'Évangéline, as cited in Butt, 1998). And, in many instances, French surnames were changed to English, e.g. LePours became Power, Beurgeron became Burshell, Benoit became Bennett, LeBlanc became White, and so on (Tricoche, as cited in Butt, 1998). Thus, “It is not surprising that some Acadians belittled their own language, believing that knowing only it, or knowing it at all, was a hindrance to their chances of getting on in the world” (Butt, 1998). Such policies contribute to the

perpetuation and internalization of negative attitudes about one's language and to language endangerment and loss (Austin & Sallabank, 2011).

In Cod Bight, children, some as young as four years of age, now spend most of their day outside the community. Their removal from the home community has influenced change. As Don noted,

But, now, you take someone that is four years old got to go to Piketown, to go to school. We only had to go in there [indicating the community school] and come back and listen to the old people talking. You'd mangle it at an earlier age and pick up the slang. I don't know if that's what's doing it. But, that's all I can figure.

As discussed in chapter five one of the key ways of maintaining language is through intergenerational transmission, which provides for the continuity of language. The extended periods of time children spend outside the community results in less community involvement and intergenerational mixing. As well, media and social media have influenced lifestyle changes that impact on linguistic and cultural change. These changes create new forms of community – both linguistically and culturally. Wolfram and Reaser (2014) found that as change occurs "...the lifestyle and dialect [may] be a reflection of both rural and urban and old and new" (p. 52). However, the demarcation between rural and urban speech cannot be limited to such a basic dichotomy because "...the urban-rural dimension intersects with age, generation, social status and identity, among other social and psychological factors" (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014, p. 82).

In a rapidly changing world, small and remote communities increasingly feel the impact of global forces. Clarence proposed that factors, indirectly related to education, also influenced cultural change in Cod Bight. He stated, "But, of course, the younger people have changed. And they've changed because of an influx of education through

technology, through all kinds of things that have happened with social media, I suppose, over time.” These changes impact the lives of young people in myriad ways. As, Luke and Carrington (2004) suggest, schools have a role to play in preparing “...for the generation of ‘student’ dispositions, positions and position-takings for viable and powerful life pathways through new cultures and economies, pathways that wind through globalised and local, virtual and material social fields” (p. 53). Likewise, Corbett (2010c) asserts that education must “build...bridges between the local and the global” (p. 130) in order to understand how external forces, impact local lives. Language is subject to change for a variety of reasons and in Cod Bight language is changing with each successive generation.

Post-Secondary Education

There has been a marked increase in attendance at post-secondary institutions with each successive generation and some informants believe it has brought notable change. As Charlie maintained, “Everybody goes to MUN [Memorial University] or vocational school.” Likewise, Janet remarked, “Yes, ’cause they’re in the university.” Similarly, Kevin concluded, “Yeah, they go, and they are mixed in with more people, larger [groups], from all other parts and other communities. They are going to trade school and they’re out there workin’.” Clarke and Hiscock (2012) determine that access to higher education is one of the primary factors that has resulted in dialect change throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. Access to higher education and increased mobility also changes work patterns and lifestyle. As Spurling (2003) found, in her study of an area in Suffolk, England, as people become more educated they move away from

the traditional types of occupations to a variety of diverse types of work and begin to commute for work.

In Cod Bight, the same pattern has occurred. As was discussed in chapter five, people moved away from traditional work within the fishery — because it was no longer available — into diverse types of occupations. Consequently, the language of the fishery had little or no relevance to the current generation and therefore, its use declined. In fact, according to informants, younger generations know very little of the vocabulary associated with the fishery. Spurling (2003) suggests that these factors increase the chances of dialect contact and, therefore, change. Education and movement away from the community is a key factor in bringing linguistic and cultural change. There is an interrelation between the ecological crisis and change as it forced people to leave resulting in socio-cultural change, cultural and linguistic loss, as well as adaptation. Many informants believe that as people moved outside the community for education, as well as employment, they felt a need to adopt a “correct” way of speaking. A non-standard dialect is considered unacceptable, especially in educational institutions.

“Peculiarities of our Mudder Tongue”: Lose the Dialect

Non-standard dialects have been considered inferior and schools have encouraged students to lose a vernacular dialect if they are to succeed (Corbett, 2010c; Delpit, 2006; Hilliard, 2002; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Smitherman, 2002; Tilley, 2000; Walker, 1990; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Willinsky (2000) also argues there has been “[a] lack of linguistic tolerance, bred into the bone by education...” (p. 196). As an educator in Newfoundland and Labrador, Tilley (2000) heard “Children were also being told that

their spoken language was wrong, in need of correction, substandard” (p. 238). Ray Guy, a local journalist and humourist, well known for his satirical writing on many issues, provides the following depiction of a school grammar lesson in outport Newfoundland and Labrador,

As far as the more ordinary methods of expression went, you had to watch your step there, too. One schoolmaster in particular was really big on getting us to speak properly...because they says we talks quare. He had a real little campaign going against the use of ‘dem, dese, dis, dat and de yudder; and other peculiarities of our mudder tongue. One day he was drilling us on proper speech for the better part of an hour... ‘Educated people,’ said he, ‘do not say win-DER. They say win-DOUGH. I don’t want to catch you saying win-DER. You must say win-DOUGH. I will knock at least win-DOUGH into you if it takes the rest of this week’ (1976, p. 2).

Similarly, Walker (1990) contends, “It is unlikely that linguistic self-confidence among Newfoundland pupils was enhanced by the authoritarian teaching of the formal system and rules of Standard English as though it were a second language with little in common with local usage” (p. 171). Although both these writers reference a much earlier time, their comments help to explain why many generations in this province abandoned their dialect in favour of another, purported to be better way of speaking. Cod Bight residents are a part of this educational legacy. According to Clarke (2006), negative attitudes were so strong towards the local dialect that in the 1970’s when the provincial government attempted to introduce a dialect reading program into schools “... [it] was met with an outcry from local parents and the plan was put to rest” (p. 208).

From primary school through to university, educational institutions have played a role in contributing to change in the spoken language in this province. For many years the Faculty of Education at Memorial University provided speech classes for those whose

accent and dialect, it was believed, needed correction. These students were largely from outport Newfoundland and Labrador. As Steve, a former educator, said,

Like, some communities out there are quite famous for dropping their h's [deleting the h at the beginning of a word, e.g., 'ow as opposed to how]. And, everything is mudder or fadder. It really is words, or mispronounced words, but that is changing. There's not so much of that now.

Throughout the province *th* is often pronounced as *t* or *d* in casual speech (Clarke, 2006). And although commonly considered a mispronunciation, as noted above, linguists would provide a more technical description whereby *th* is a digraph or single sound that is stopped to [d]. Arguably, language has changed because it has been deeply ingrained, and perpetuated by educational and other mainstream institutions, that the dialect is less than desirable. As was discussed in chapter five, the language, and consequently the cultural heritage, was for a long time, considered inferior because of social biases and was not considered worth preserving. Furthermore, the focus was what was “wrong” with the language as opposed to how language usage, particularly dialect, can be an exploration of cultural heritage and how it speaks to migration and settlement patterns. According to Clarke and Hiscock (2012), “Traditional Newfoundland and Labrador English tends to reflect many of the features of its two primary source areas: the southwest or West Country of England (particularly the counties of Dorset and Devon), and the southeastern corner of Ireland around the cities of Waterford and Wexford” (NL English Primer section, para. 1). Furthermore, as Wolfram and Reaser (2014) affirm, “historical settlement patterns and migrations [provide] the blueprint for modern language diversity...” (p. 22). Moreover, they argue that to study the history of a place is impossible without “considering language” (p. 22). It is an unfortunate juxtaposition that

Europeans immigrants settled these communities because of the extremely rich fishing grounds, but people have been forced to leave because the resource has been so severely decimated and their historic speech practices, now out of context, are thereby threatened.

Propriety in Language

Perhaps because of widespread regressive beliefs about the lack of social value of some dialects, traditionally, educators believed that if students maintained their local dialect it may limit them. I asked informants if, as students, they, or their classmates, were told their way of speaking was wrong. Steve provided his perspective as an educator,

No, I don't think so. It's just that, if you're in the classroom situation and a child uses a word, whether he says, 'fadder' or (pause), you try to emphasize that it is father. But, you wouldn't do it in a sense that is degrading. You'd use it, and, after a period of time they would lose it; it just happens over time.

Steve's final comment is indicative of the subtlety, and seeming insignificance, of linguistic loss. As MacPherson (2003) argues, language loss, like ecological destruction and loss, is such a gradual process that the damaging effects go unseen until it is very difficult to see the effect and resulting loss. It is the gradual wearing away that goes unnoticed and becomes normalized. And, despite potential damaging effects, change is so gradual that the effects are not apparent and what is happening is accepted as normal.

Clarence also spoke to this issue,

And, the bias was certainly there, in some cases, to remove stuff they thought was bad language, or wrong language, even though it was quite communicative, or, they had the ability to communicate. And, it was tried and true, we'll say. But, schools did have, and some people, as I said, mostly I would put that into the lap of the teacher, who was teaching to decide. You know, what kind of bias they had, and whether they thought it was appropriate or not. And, how they did it, did they cajole, or did they make people feel uneasy? But, I'm sure, they were definitely biased towards cleaning up the language, as you might call it.

However, to suggest, in whatever manner, that the language is “wrong” does little to increase self-worth and self-esteem. As Wolfram and Reaser (2014) argue, “If the most consistent predictor of student success is teacher expectations, there is nothing more damaging to minority children than a teacher who believes that dialect is “broken English,” sloppy,” “slang,” “ghetto,” or “ignorant” (p. 283). Clarence raised a relevant point in that all languages are “communicative”. Moreover, language that is not considered “bad English” has a better chance of survival (Wolfram & Reaser, 2014, p. 93). No language is inherently good or bad but rather dominant and mainstream institutions, including schools, have decided its social value. Wolfram and Reaser (2014) insist “...that social acceptability is a totally different issue from linguistic validity” (p. 156). Ann recalls teachers correcting students spoken language,

...So, Summer Bay, next door, they would drop their h’s. And, I have friends from Beach Cove and Summer Bay. And, I remember being in class where the teachers would try and fix that. So, I remember, being a student sitting there, and a student would be trying to say something. And the h would be present, when it didn’t have to be, or not present when it should [e.g., art would be pronounced hart and hat would be pronounced at]. And, the teacher would try and correct them. I just also remember hearing about how young kids, growing up here [in Cod Bight], once they got over to school, even though that place has its own dialect, it seems like when you come into a different place people would make fun of, or admit there was a Cod Bight slang, you know...But, I haven’t heard of any particular thing today, of that happening. But, I certainly remember being in school and teachers trying to correct dialect. I remember frustration on the part of the student because if you can’t say it, you can’t say it.

I asked Ann about how teachers approached this correction and she replied, “From what I can remember, Barb, this was mostly done in a positive way, another aspect of teaching of sorts. Teachers would try and correct pronunciation of th’s [e.g., this may be pronounced dis] the h’s, etcetera.” The fact that it is just considered an “aspect of

teaching” suggests an automatic acceptance of the dominant attitudes towards the language. It is acceptable to correct and try to change the language. As well, Steve provided his perspective, as a teacher,

I won't say it never ever happened [students made to feel badly], but from my perspective, no. If a child said something that I thought was a mispronunciation, you'd just correct it. But, not to put the child down or to degrade them, or anything like that.

However, such correction suggests the language is wrong or sub-standard and implies flaws in the person (Corbett, 2010c; Delpit, 2006; Delpit, 2002; Purcell-Gates, 2002; Tilley, 2002; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). As Wolfram and Reaser (2014) suggest, “Attitudes about language can be complex and nuanced, but ultimately they are tied to attitudes about people” (p. 13) and the language used by those who are in politically or socially subordinate groups will inform how those groups are viewed.

Other informants indicated that they were never aware of teachers attempting to correct spoken language. And, whether they are directly corrected or not, traditionally, schools have done little to promote the preservation of students' home languages (Corbett, 2010c; Cummins 2001; Delpit, 2006; Rodriguez, 1982; Walker, 1990; Willinsky, 1998; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). It is evident from the interviews that all informants have internalized that there is a Standard usage that is correct and other ways of speaking are inferior. Corbett (2007), in his study within the area of Digby Neck, Nova Scotia, found that schools did little to make people feel positive about themselves or their rural community. As one of his informants maintained, “You were conditioned that way in school” (Corbett, 2007, pp. 128-129). Edmondson (2003) also argues that both education and the media present rural life as somehow lacking and best left behind. Thus,

it is not surprising that many people in rural areas leave the community, language, and culture behind for a language and lifestyle that is, supposedly better.

However, according to Delpit (2006), “The point must not be to eliminate students’ home languages, but rather to add other voices and discourses to their repertoires” (p. 163). As Corbett (2010c) indicates his colleagues felt he was putting his students at a disadvantage because, “By letting [them] operate in a colloquial register [he] was not preparing them for other language communities, and particularly for a smooth trip through to higher education” (p. 118). Thus, as opposed to celebrating the richness of linguistic and cultural diversity, schooling does little to recognize it. Delpit (2006) maintains that having the ability to operate in a dominant discourse does not mean one must forego the identity of one’s home and linguistic and cultural identity. As was discussed in chapter six, evolution and progress does not have to come with a loss of linguistic and cultural diversity. However, according to Romaine (2015), those who criticize saving smaller or endangered languages present it as an either/or situation. Either one moves towards modernity or remains stuck in time. But, as Delpit (2006) indicates, social activist, bell hooks, learned from her own schooling experience, that “...black poets were capable of speaking in many voices and the Dunbar who wrote in dialect was as valid as the Dunbar who wrote sonnets” (p. 162). Consequently, she learned the validity of both the dominant and her primary discourse (Delpit, 2006). There may be language appropriate to specific contexts but a dialect that differs from a standard is not wrong. As Corbett (2010b) asserts, “I think good teachers have always understood this problem and have sought to celebrate local culture while at the same time offering different and new kinds of literate possibilities for those who stay, as well as for those

who leave” (p. 86). The current school curriculum includes very little of local culture or of how to make life more viable in one’s community. This deficiency suggests a need to rethink issues of curriculum and pedagogy and what English should be as a subject of study. This topic will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

Curriculum: Urban or Rural?

I asked informants if the school curriculum focussed, in any way, on the local community and provincial heritage. Charlie, who is sixty-one years old, stated,

I can honestly say that the Newfoundland culture, way of life, our history, was a very, very small part of the curriculum. I don’t know if it is now. It is not something that I really remember as being part of the curriculum.

And, Duncan, who is forty years old, responded,

...to me, it was never ever very much gone into, your local history and stuff. We had the course in Newfoundland history, which was great. But, it was never really that whole lot of focus put into that. So, I mean, I guess, a lot of things were cookie cutter type things. You got your courses that you do, and you do them, and that was it (laughs).

Likewise, Steve, a former teacher, suggested,

It was a generic program meant to serve everybody. If I can recall correctly, I think, it was like generic texts. You got in Cod Bight, what you got in New Cove, what they got in Sandy Cove. So, it didn’t focus on regional issues, if I can recall. It was a program brought down, prescribed by, the Department [of Education]. We used that and that was your sources.

However, a generic program meant to serve everyone often serves no one well. It does little to enhance knowledge and understanding of either the local community or provincial heritage. Furthermore, Gruenewald (2003) argues that a standardized curriculum...does not foster an attitude of concern for the local, rather it provides a “placeless” (p. 8) curriculum that is not meaningful. Additionally, Edmondson and D’Urso (2008) insist

that, standardization furthers the "...trend of rendering rural students invisible in the current contexts of public education" (p. 3). The term generic is often defined as "non-specific". This language disguises the fact that the selection of both textbooks and curriculum materials is very specific, never neutral, and thus ignores the ideological nature of such choices. In general, there was little emphasis on provincial matters but, as well, informants noted that neither was there much focus on their local, outport community. Tom said, "I remember doin' stuff about other countries (laughs)." Corbett (2010c) suggests, "...if we were to look at the school as a large text, it was fundamentally a story about somewhere else" (p. 117).

However, some informants offered a different perspective. Tom also remembered inclusion of Newfoundland-focused materials as well. He stated,

I think we did have literature on Newfoundland. I don't know what the book would be. I thought we had to learn things about our lifestyle, and Newfoundland in general. Maybe, part of geography I think it was, or maybe history.

Likewise, Kevin commented, "I guess what was in the books. There was stuff about Newfoundland history." Similarly, Janet noted, "Yes, it was, history of Newfoundland and Labrador." And as Ann stated,

My mind immediately went to Newfoundland culture, only that. I barely remember the books in Cod Bight. I do remember, and I guess I soaked it up more because I knew nothing of the culture at that point [having moved here from Ontario]. And, these books, I remember learning about Newfoundland life. I only remember one course, in particular, in high school, Newfoundland Culture, and that's what that would be about.

I asked Ann if "Newfoundland life" included both rural and urban and she noted, "It seems it was more about boating and fishing and traditions. So, for sure, the rural and urban traditions are across the board. But, it seems like it was more about fishing

communities.” Ann’s response is worthy of note as urban residents in this province often feel that Newfoundland culture has little to do with them because to them culture means outport culture. Perhaps, it is what they have been educated to think. However, the culture of this province, as with any place, is multi-faceted. And culture is always contested within any place.

Ed, the youngest informant, stated, “I think there was some focus on rural type stories and things. But, I think, it was more urban, I guess, just coming from what the school board had. I don’t know. Honestly I don’t know”. I asked which subject area this would have been, and he stated, “It would have been some sort of social studies or history, certain things about the way small communities used to be sort of thing.”

Bill offered a somewhat different perspective from other informants. He remarked,

No, I just remember my years, coming up through the system, that I was, not a proud Newfoundlander, but I was a proud Canadian. I always felt Canadian. Like, I always felt part of Canada. I don’t know if that was the curriculum at the time, but....

Newfoundland and Labrador entered confederation with Canada in 1949 and this set the stage for much change, including change from a provincial to a national identity. Thus, students link a sense of “being Canadian” with what is happening within the school system. It is indicative of how the curriculum contributes to the “active” construction of identity. However, Bill stated,

...there was [a focus on Newfoundland and Labrador too]. I remember our geography books. We learned about all the places right across Canada and we were part of it. And, I was proud that I was part of it. I can remember that.

Nevertheless, as local musician and author Alan Doyle writes about his growing up, “Most of the older people in Petty Harbour said we were still a part of Newfoundland and

therefore I was a Newfoundlander. My mom and teachers said we were part of Canada and therefore I was a Canadian” (2017, p. 2). But many, like Doyle, do consider themselves Newfoundlanders first, as he states, “...though I rarely think of myself as such, I am a first-generation Canadian” (2017, p. 2).

It is also worth noting that such a critical ecological event as closure of the Northern cod fishery, which had an enormous impact on the lives of thousands of people in this province, was rarely, if ever, included in the official school curriculum. I asked informants if there was any discussion of this topic within school. Steve, who was a teacher in Cod Bight when the cod fishery was closed stated, “No never. Didn’t come into play, let’s put it that way. There may have been issues outside in the community, but, it was never a community focus driven through the school.” Hence, although a community institution, the school is set apart from the reality of what is happening in the community. It leads to the question of what is the purpose of education? It does not appear to be about learning how to live within a place, an issue that will be discussed in more detail in the concluding chapter. Ed was in elementary school at the time of the cod moratorium and he made the following comments,

I don’t know if it was part of the curriculum at all for those years that I was there. Again, because, I guess, around the time it was happening this was when I was still in elementary school. There might have been a few things in high school. But nothing too...(pause), usually just be something someone wrote a term paper on.

Charlie, Ed’s father, made a similar observation,

I think it was completely (pause), ignored is not the word. I don’t think it was really seen as something that needed to be done. I don’t recall anything changing. Before, and after the moratorium, I am not aware of any big, importance label attached to it.

Sam had children in elementary school when the cod moratorium was announced, and I asked him if it was a topic they discussed at school. He responded, “No, I don’t even remember them coming home and start talking about anything, anything taught about the fishery.” Duncan, who was in high school at the time, stated,

It was discussed, but, I wouldn’t consider it a part of the curriculum. I had certain teachers; I was very involved in what was going on. When I was younger I used to be, I guess, geeky, when it come to politics and stuff. And, I always used to follow all this kind of stuff. So, when all this was on the go, of course, it was such a big thing, politically (laughs), and all this going down. So, I followed it closely. It was brought up, the moratorium. Yeah, it’s a very important date in our history that this is happening. But, I had more conversations, probably, with one of my teachers, Joe Pike. He did a lot of Newfoundland history and this type of stuff. We had lots of conversations about it, of the impact, and how it was going to affect Newfoundland. But, overall, it was pretty much your regular classroom like it always was, and it wasn’t...(pause), no, no...It wasn’t a big impactful thing like you think it would be.

And twenty-five years later it seems little has changed. Terry Roberts, local television news reporter with the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation in St. John’s, recently reported on the increasing outmigration of people on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland and Labrador. In this report, he asked Principal Dalton McLean, of Viking Trail Academy, a community school in the area, if the impact of the decline in the community was a school driven issue. Roberts (2016) questioned,

Do you have those conversations with students? Do you hear conversations, people talking about the uncertainty? You know, is there a lot of sadness about their futures, about not being able to make a living here, or to plant their own roots here? (1:39).

McLean responded,

Well, personally, from my experience with the students, the topic comes up every now and then. You know, they may talk about it; they may mention that Mom and Dad has to go away to work, and stuff. But, you know, ah, kids are pretty resilient. And I don’t really get that sense, you know, that sadness coming out.

But, I mean, I think, they are very aware no doubt of what is happening. You know, if Mom and Dad, or whomever, has to go away to work, to seek employment opportunities (2:05).

His response suggests the lack of importance that schools sometimes place on issues that are having a significant impact on the lives of people in these communities and the resulting change and loss that might occur. And, informants remember very little of this being addressed in school except in a cursory way. According to Clarence, one of the outcomes of education should be that it allows people to assess and understand what is happening in their lives. He stated,

Well, I guess, ah, you know, on the point about the education. It would give anybody, at least a look at, reasons why this is happening, or any options that they should pursue. It doesn't necessarily mean it is going to solve all the problems in an immediate way. But, education, obviously, is paramount in any kind of situation. If you are in a situation and you can assess it with an informed and educated view point, then whether you stay [in the community], or go, you have more of a sense of why you did or why you didn't.

An "informed and educated viewpoint" is one that increases the likelihood of people experiencing some sort of agency and control. Edmondson and D'Urso (2008) suggest there is a "need for students to read the word and the *world*, as educator Paulo Freire encouraged, so that they could engage life in and with their community in ways they decided, not ways that were imposed upon them" (p.1). As Corbett (2007) argues, schools educate people to leave but he believes that people must have a choice as to "how and where to construct an identity and to discover where one belongs" (p. 273). Such an education would provide not only knowledge but an ability to reflect and gain an understanding of how to move forward. Edmondson (2003) suggests that stories of the past can be a teaching tool that enables us to rethink the present to find future

possibilities. However, Neis (2012) suggests the past had taught people very little regarding the impact the cod moratorium, twenty years after the fact. And, we might question has anything changed twenty-five years later? These issues will be addressed in the final chapter.

Education: A Way Out

Education has always been viewed as a way out of rural communities. Walter noted that going back to the time just before resettlement individuals were leaving outport communities in Newfoundland and Labrador when they completed their schooling. He stated, “They were getting their education and gone, movin’ on. Very few stayed there.” Many informants indicated that those who did not complete their schooling had to remain in the community. The belief is that success meant leaving the community and finding alternative employment. As Walter concluded, “Yeah, the fishin’, that’s just a job for the last resort. There was nothing else to go at, only fishin’.” Sam made a similar observation,

Well, I guess, he [his father] just assumed that I would become a fisherman because I left school. I didn’t finish school. I left in grade ten and they [his parents] were mad at the time. So, I guess, I suppose, I ended up fishin’.

Similarly, Tom said, “Yeah, well see, I was in the boat since I was about probably twelve years old. And, I never got no trade for anything else.” And Don stated, “Well I guess I left school too quick. I was on the water from the time I was six, or seven, or seven or eight, year old, with Dad, summertime, whenever there was an opportunity to go on the water.” Similarly, Mike suggested, “...there’s a lot of the fishermen, I don’t think a lot of the fishermen had that much education, you know.” Undoubtedly, people believe that formal education meant more opportunity and a chance to move on from work that was

less valued. But this points to the notion that school was all about getting a job and getting out.

According to informants, education would not be useful if you were staying in Cod Bight. As Don stated,

Education, here, would be no good to you, if you are staying in the community. If you are going to get an education, well, I suppose, you could get an education and go fishing. If that didn't work, then you could go on, and carry on your trade, your education, or whatever. Never inspired me to get an education. But I wish I did now. But, there was a lot of people that did.

Likewise, Sam, commented, "Well, if they go and gets education, or get a trade, or something, then, they got no other choice than to leave the community because there's nothing here." I asked Charlie if the education system encouraged or discouraged people to leave outport communities. He said, "discouraged probably". I asked, why and he responded,

Well, from an employment perspective, from a career perspective, the [education] system was more focused on (pause). What we have been talking about for a few decades, I guess, is seasonal employment. I think the [education] system was more focused on fifty-two weeks a year. If you were going to be successful that's what you needed to be doing. If you weren't doing that, then, you were going back to living in the community, working part-time. And, what was the old saying, 10-42 [work for ten weeks and receive employment insurance for the other forty-two], okay. And, I think the seasonal employment aspect has never been more frowned on than it is today.

And fishing is just that, a seasonal occupation with peak periods and downtimes; it is the nature of the work. Traditionally, however, it was only one part of a series of subsistence practices. During the spring and summer, the work was fishing. And, people also planted in the spring; they harvested in the fall, as well as, cut wood and mended nets. While technically unemployed, people had little downtime as work was continuous with

preparation for upcoming seasons. Furthermore, from my own observations, while doing research in this community, the industriousness of the people was quite evident; there is little idle time. Charlie's comment is indicative of the view perpetuated by governments and mainstream institutions. Such attitudes create a stereotypical image of the occupation and a negative attitude towards those who do this work. These attitudes do contribute to loss as it creates a sense of an inferior and undesirable lifestyle that is better, perhaps, abandoned.

Education and Community Sustainability

I asked informants if they believed education contributed to loss of cultural or community sustainability. George responded,

The only thing that comes to my mind...education wasn't centred around getting an education and going fishing and staying in rural Newfoundland. Education, and school, my recollection of it, was to get an education and move on to further urban centres. And move into universities and get much more higher qualifications, and move on into more sustainable, land-based work.

As well, Duncan agreed,

No, I would think, they[teachers] would encourage you to leave a rural community. I would definitely think that, because it was always, you should go and do this, and get here, and go there. It was always to an urban centre, or somewhere like that. You wouldn't want to stay in this place. You know, and sometimes, I guess the comments that are made to kids as you're growing up and going through that [education] system. You got to make sure you do this or, you know, you'll end up here the rest of your life. But, in saying that, that's casting negativity on it, and what's so bad about here in the first place? You know what I mean. But, I guess they're just trying to emphasize that you got to get an education and step out of yourself. But, at the end of the day, it is just putting a negative spin on those smaller communities. I can remember those type of things, you know.

Corbett (2007) found similarities in his research in rural Nova Scotia. As one of his informants stated, “You know, a lot of teachers felt like they was almost like a missionary coming to liberate you from this type of life. Those who don’t make it, well maybe you can go fishing” (pp. 128-129). I asked Duncan if he felt that by pursuing an education did it mean people would leave and he stated,

Well, yes. And nine chances out of ten when anybody said, well you’re going, and you’re going to go to university, or you’re going to go college, or you’re going to go and do these things, you’re, typically, not going to stay in this smaller outport community.

Joyce also commented, “So, I guess, young people started then to get more education and realized they couldn’t make it at this. They figured they had to go and get their education. And once they got that, they never come back, right.”

I asked Clarence what role education had in people staying or leaving and the impact on the community, generally. He said,

There is no question that education is going to be a factor, will be, and has been a factor, in getting people to other areas of thinking and out of the fishery. And, if the fishery is going to be something that they want to pursue, they will pursue it with that education, more so than they ever have. And, if they choose to go the other way, it gives them those other (pause). Again, education being premised on the fact that somebody is opening people’s eyes to a different way, in a positive sense, that can make them see what’s there.

Similarly, Kevin remarked,

I don’t think so, but it’s different ways of looking at that. Because, there was nothing in this community if you got an education. And, there’s nothing to keep you here; unless you stayed at your own business or something like that, you know. All that was here was the fishery. Still, it was an individual preference. Whatever, you can still live here and probably work, you know, drive back and forth.

The underlying assumption of informants' comments is that education is training, i.e. preparation for a job. The purpose of education is not intellectual development, developing greater autonomy and learning to live within a place. In this case, a place that had been impacted in significant ways by an ecological crisis that is forcing change, change to which people need to learn to adapt and adjust. It is, perhaps, indicative of one of the primary goals of schooling, and a curriculum that is, often, narrowly focused on skills. However, as Sterling suggests, "The key shift required is from a limited emphasis on 'education for jobs' towards the broader goal of building an ecologically sustainable economy and society." As Janet commented, "Well, if they get a trade they're not going to get work here." Although Janet indicated that they could live here and commute for work but there would be limited options, "Only thing to keep them here is if they were working like in Knight's Inlet or Whale Cove, or down that way. That's the only thing."

The belief of some informants is that education, generally, increases awareness of what exists outside the community and offers alternative perspectives. Such experiences might influence the decisions and choices individuals make and it may be one of the factors in their leaving. As Diane said,

I think education probably plays a role in getting them to leave. I am trying to think about why I think that. I think, maybe, when they are out and learning more, and learning more about different cultures, and different places, and different things, they are more inclined to want to leave this small community, where there is nothing.

Clarence said,

Obviously, the more people are exposed to what's outside that community, through education, whatever means of education you choose to do; so, I think it broadens the horizons and the outlook, and everything, of people.

Most informants believe that schooling, and education generally, was a contributing factor in people leaving small, outport communities. Bill had a different opinion as he did not feel he was directly influenced; but there was a taken for granted attitude that people would leave. As he stated,

I don't have any direct recollections of teachers having influenced me, in that regard. I think, basically, growing up here in Cod Bight, is that you went to school here and then you went to high school in New Cove. And, from there, you went to another learning facility to get a good job, or whatever. There was no thought ever given to staying here, in my opinion, from my perspective.

Nevertheless, this assumption that one would leave is, perhaps, indicative of the overall attitude towards life in this outport community. Many factors contribute to the thinking that one would automatically leave and go elsewhere. Parents instill this attitude, as well, for they have accepted the belief that leaving is for the best.

“Do Bigger and Better Things”: Leave the Community

Many informants suggested they encouraged their own children to get out of the fishery and leave the community. Martha commented,

Well, the younger ones, the ones that were in the fishing boats with their dads we'll say. Well, they were told you better get an education to better yourself. There won't be anything left in the fishery when you grow up. Well, a lot of them I suppose, took that advice and went out and got an education, and moved on.

It speaks to the prevalent ideology that has been instilled by educational and other mainstream institutions. There is a devaluing of the work, the lifestyle and the culture of outport life. As Duncan said, “He [his father] wanted us all [his children] to go on and do bigger and better things, I guess.” Similarly, Martha stated, “Yeah, Wilf, used to say to

[our son], this is not going to work. There's not going to be nothing here for you or your children." Sam also remarked,

I preached to them not to get in the fishery. I said to the boys, I said, I'll help you out, first year or so you're in school. And, then I said, go elsewhere and find work for yourself because there's nothing left in this. And, they went on their own merry way. And, that's what happened to these small communities. I mean these small communities, it is only for the fishery, right. So, they moved on. And, that's why the community is gone down so much as it is, I guess.

Sam's final comment speaks to the fact that the continual outmigration from many outport communities has resulted in the loss of younger generations who are vital to keeping communities alive. Tom and Janet indicated they encouraged their children to leave as well. Janet said, "We discouraged them [all five children from staying in the community], couldn't make a good living." Similarly, Tom added, "Yeah, that's what I'd say too. Because, well, there's nothing there for them anymore." Duncan replied when I asked if he was encouraged to stay and go fishing, "None whatsoever. None (Emphatically). There was absolutely no incentive for Dad. He didn't want any of his children to be involved in it [the fishery]." He elaborated, "Yes, both [parents] would have definitely discouraged me from ever getting into that industry at the time."

Bill, whose children are now in their late twenties, said he neither encouraged or discouraged them but figured they should go. In his words, "No I didn't encourage them to stay. There was no opportunity here to encourage them to stay. But, they went on their own; but with my blessing." Similarly, Ed suggested his parents left him to make up his own mind,

Nope, never [influenced one way or the other]. Ah, I think they kind of knew that I wouldn't anyhow. I think, if they felt that I was leaning towards just staying

there and mucking along, for lack of a better word, I think they would have pushed.

The comments by Bill and Ed reflect a somewhat negative view of life in the community.

When I asked if his parents influenced his decision to work in the fishery, Kevin said,

“No, not really. That is one thing I don’t think. They wanted me to stay in school but

whatever vocation I took up was entirely up to me. They never encouraged me to go

fishin’, no not a bit.” I asked George if it would have been considered a viable option to

stay and work in the fishery and he replied, “Nope, even back in the late eighties and

early nineties, even then, the fishery as I see it.”

Steve reflected on how decisions are made to stay or go and believes it is often an individual choice. He stated,

Yes, well, again now, when you are grade six or grade five their fathers say, well boy, I hope you don’t be a fisherman. But, when you get to grade ten or eleven you see for yourself that this is not a good occupation. You see for yourself, you don’t have to be encouraged. Sometimes you come to the realization that, I am going to move on.

The idea is continually perpetuated that fishing is not an occupation to choose. While parents may not have encouraged their children to leave, directly, one thing they insisted is that they get educated. As Joyce stated,

Yeah, well, you know they can better themselves. They can get better jobs than they can in the fishery. That’s the way I think they look at it. Like, when [our daughter] come out of school, she went to PEI [Prince Edward Island] and went to college over there. She didn’t come back here. We were happy when she left and went to PEI and went to Holland College. And, we were happy that she was doing something that she wanted to. We knew that she was going to get better than we had.

Henry, her husband, noted, “We pretty well left it to her right. We let her know we were on her side. We helped her out a lot.”

The moratorium and resulting loss of employment opportunities brought an even greater focus on getting an education, which also increased outmigration. A series of gradual changes and the interrelationship of many factors brought significant cultural change to Cod Bight. Young people obviously did not see fishing as a viable option. I asked how the cod moratorium affected young people entering this occupation. As Walter said, “The fishery was on a down turn, or decline, so...People would tell their youngsters go get an education.” He added, “Go to school, get a job, get an education. Even if you’re goin’ fishin’, get your education, just in case...something to fall back on.” Kevin, whose son was in elementary school when the moratorium occurred, said he may have encouraged his son to stay with the fishery if it had not happened. However, as Kevin remarked,

Right at the time that he was, you know, old enough to go into the fishery, the fish just wasn’t there, not like it was when I was startin’. And, plus, Cod Bight, like, to encourage him to stay here, you know, the community is getting so small, and I wouldn’t encourage him to stay here. To have a family, and to have kids here, no, I wouldn’t encourage him. No, I wouldn’t want him to raise his kids here. So, that was another factor.

Those who stayed in the community and continued to pursue work in the fishery are an older generation. According to informants, age and lack of formal education kept many fishers in the community, despite the downturn in the fishery. As was discussed in chapter six despite being extremely skilled, because they had no paper certification they felt limited in their options. As George indicated, “You know the people that was there fishing at the time was at an age in their life that they never had no education and they started out fishing. You have to do it differently.” Diane also concluded, “I think that’s probably a factor [age]. And, of course, the more and more that the fishery is declining,

they probably wish they had more education.” However, the next generation did not pursue this option and did not remain in the community. Education was the path to success outside the community and when people are educated to leave it does little to contribute to community and cultural sustainability.

Nevertheless, some informants felt that the closure of the cod fishery provided an opportunity for people to pursue educational initiatives which offered opportunities for growth and advancement. As Martha stated,

They got compensation from the government while it was closed. They offered some people to go out and go to work in other jobs. A lot of younger people went out, and did courses, to get a better education or better skills.

Also, Clarence suggested,

No, I don't think it's all negative. I think it's negative from the point of view of some of the older residents, and probably not so older...But, I mean, I think, you know, in the long run it wasn't all negative. I think there are positives, in the fact that the younger generation of people who were coming up became more educated about a lot of things, and, actually, got educated to do things outside of the fishery. I think those things, for the people who did it, probably panned out for the better.

Similarly, Ann suggested she saw a lot of positives in terms of education and training coming out of all of this,

That's the conflicting thing for me, and I don't know if it's the right perspective or the wrong perspective, but, I feel both [changes for both better or worse]. I do. We didn't lose our community. You know there wasn't droves of people that barred up the windows and shut the doors and left directly related to it. But, yet, I saw boats getting healthy, and stronger, and bigger. I saw fishermen getting more training and becoming more modern. I saw fish plant workers, and ladies, and some fishermen, gain some new skills and still survive.

Schooling and Education: Maintaining Diversity

Historically, schools have been sites of homogenization and standardization. And according to Donehower et al. (2007), “standardization” (p. 23) is a policy for eliminating diversity within language, culture, race, ethnicity, as well as class. Furthermore, Flinders and Thornton (2013) suggest there has been “significant and considerable disagreement ... attached to the connection of cultural pluralism and the school curriculum” (p. 8). Formal schooling often legitimizes one form of identity over another (Corbett, 2010a, 2010b; Davis et al., 2008; MacPherson, 2011; Rodriguez, 1982; Stillman and Sleeter, 2013; Walker, 1990; Wolfram & Reaser, 2014). Schools contribute to language loss for language-minority, indigenous and rural students (Corbett, 2010b, Corbett, 2010c; Crystal, 2010; Cummins, 2001; Davis, 2013; MacPherson, 2011; Skutnabb-Kangas, 2000; Skutnabb-Kangas & Harmon, 2018; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2010; Skutnabb-Kangas & Phillipson, 2003; Wilinsky, 1998). English-only policies have contributed to primary language loss for both minority and indigenous students and insistence on standardization of language has meant the loss of a vernacular for many rural students. The promotion of dominant ways of speaking and writing has been a primary focus for Canadian educators (Corbett, 2010b, 2010c; Cummins 2001; Walker, 1990; Willinsky, 1998) and the notion of superiority in language remains (Crystal, 2010). According to Wolfram and Reaser (2014), “In many ways, the public education system has the largest effect on perpetuating linguistic inequality. In schools, students are expected to accommodate to the social and linguistic norms of the institution, which mirror those of middle-class whites” (p. 282). Similarly, Clarke (2007) argues schools have not effectively taught people to value diversity and difference.

Therefore, rather than reinforce the importance of diversity and difference schooling has contributed to loss. Despite this historic role, Romaine (2007) contends that language is maintained through usage in specific areas, and schools are important sites for the protection of language. If language is not used within schools, it results in language shift or loss. As well, Crystal (2003) argues, there are four primary ways of “engaging with the general public in relation to” linguistic ecology (p. 8). These include the media, the arts, the Internet and the school curriculum. Crystal (2003) believes, while the media has taken it up to some degree, it falls short within other areas. He suggests there is very little introduced into the curriculum regarding the loss of languages. And, when it is introduced it is usually around the age of sixteen, which is far too late in his opinion.

Additionally, schools can also play a vital role in environmental sustainability and conservation (Davis et al., 2008; Gruenewald, 2003; Milich, 1999; Sobel, 2005; Theobald, 1997). Milich (1999) suggests the following as one of fourteen strategies to make change,

Raise the level of knowledge of ocean ecology, starting in grade schools. Environmental education will encourage youth to conserve resources and appreciate local history, and it will also lay the foundation for the professionalization of local decision-making processes. Concomitantly, it will raise the prestige of fishers, enhance the value of traditional ecological knowledge, and enable participation in co-management schemes (strategy 14) (pp. 636-637).

However, Steve, a former teacher, in Cod Bight also noted that when he was teaching, local issues and concerns were not topics introduced in early grades. He stated,

I don't think the primary or elementary program would focus on that. That would be more of an issue for a high school setting, where you talked about rural issues, you talked about world issues, you talked about your community and what the future is there. I don't think that would be part of the elementary [program].

Such beliefs can be a part of the problem for if such topics are introduced at an early age they can help build awareness in students who will grow up to become engaged citizens, an important aspect of place-based education. The growing interest in educators of such programs as Forest Kindergarten and land-based pedagogy throughout the school years indicate that Steve's point of view is now challenged. Still, ecological knowledge is often not part of the school curriculum at any level. The closure of the North Cod fishery was one of the most momentous events in the history of Newfoundland and Labrador but according to Barbara Neis, a sociologist at Memorial University, very few young people have any awareness or understanding of the impact on the province. She states, "What have we even learned from this? What are the lessons from this terrible tragedy? And when I meet student after student who doesn't know anything about this, I wonder, what have we learned? I'm not convinced what we've learned" (Neis, 2012, as cited in Mair). As Charlie indicated, "Unless people know exactly what the situation was, people who are not connected to that event have no idea of how big that impact was. We've done a poor job in five hundred years of documenting our history."

Is this partly the result of an education system that offers a mandated curriculum that ignores issues of local place? As was discussed previously, much of the focus or the purpose of schooling was job qualifications. A meaningful curriculum is one of which people are a part and one in which they see themselves reflected, thus reaffirming their sense of identity (Boldt, 2006; Corbett, 2010c; Delpit, 2006; Silan, 2003). This kind of curriculum offers a way of helping these students maintain links with their parents, homes and communities (Corbett 201b; 2010c; Cummins, 2001; Cummins, 2005). An education that is community focussed or place based might consider critical issues such as how to

“reimagine” life in the community. It would focus on ways of building a more sustainable fishery and protecting the resources to ensure that people have a way of making a living. It would be about community building. It would also focus on the importance of cultural preservation or recognizing the value of local culture. As well as being more “resilient” and “civic minded”. In the concluding chapter I will discuss how education might be reoriented to ways that create ecological, linguistic and cultural sustainability.

The acceptance of diversity and difference within formal schooling has a positive impact on many aspects of students’ educational experiences. As Kelly (2011) indicates, the “proactive validation of language diversity enhances the learning lives of all students” (Education 6108, Course notes). Furthermore, as Davis et al. (2008) argue, “...human knowing is enhanced when a diversity of languages and cultural sensibilities are allowed to find expression” (p. 183). Thus, diversity, is important, not only for individuals or groups of individuals but in education it is essential for continued growth, development and learning (Corbett, 2010b; Davis et al., 2008). There are many more “...possibilities that arise when personal and cultural diversity are brought into the conversation” (Davis et al., 2008, p.13) in the classroom. Corbett (2010a) makes a persuasive argument for the importance of diversity within formal education. He notes, “The point is that in the Canadian context, diversity may actually increase academic achievement. Diversity, large second language and minority populations have not diminished educational performance” (Corbett, 2010a, p. 8).

Although schools played very little role in raising awareness there were other arenas and spaces where people attempted to raise awareness of and to educate about the impact and implications of this ecological crisis. The Cod Bight Fishermen’s Committee

availed of many opportunities to increase awareness of their issues and concerns. These initiatives included writing numerous letters to local, provincial and federal politicians, contacting various media sources, as well as attending meetings and presenting community briefs in various venues. In many instances the fishermen's committee met with politicians and the local fishers' union, the Newfoundland and Labrador Fishermen, Food and Allied Workers. A letter from the Cod Bight Fishermen's Committee, in March of 1992 stated,

We, a concerned group of Inshore Fishermen from Cod Bight, understand the present state of the fishery, and the fact that there has to be drastic cuts. In order for the fishery to survive we think that our fellow Canadians' overfishing should have been cut to at least 50% and heavy surveillance placed on foreign overfishing. With figures released from last year the quota remains practically the same with only a 35% cut. Therefore, we don't think that it is going to do much to conserve our depleting stocks.

In 1994, a committee of the Fisheries Resource Conservation Council (FRCC) held meetings with various groups before making recommendations to the Minister of Fisheries and Oceans on conservation measures for Atlantic groundfish. In February of 1994, the community of Cod Bight presented a brief to this committee to put forward their views on "...the causes of [the] present crisis... [and their] opinions as to how to resolve [it]. One of the community's biggest concerns was to find a way to have "DFO, the scientific community, and the fishermen" collaborating. Furthermore, the local union also took initiatives to inform people of what was happening.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have explored the impact of schooling and education on language and culture in Cod Bight. Schools can be places that respect and value diversity in all

areas, including ecology, language and culture, but often they are not. The school curriculum is not based on local issues, but rather is one that is “placeless”. As was noted previously, the ecological crisis of the Northern cod was recognized worldwide for its impact. However, it was given little or no attention within the local curriculum in this province. Schooling is often equated with obtaining qualifications that enable people to move on. Such an approach does little to encourage reflective and critical thinking about how to live in a place, to respect diverse and local knowledges, to sustain community, and to think about living well within a place. In the next and concluding chapter, I will discuss some of the issues and concerns that have arisen from this research and offer recommendations in relation to them.

Chapter Eight

Conclusions and Recommendations

“When the ‘ambiguous form’ of the school is opened up to embrace not just community dialect, but also the difficult problems the community faces in an unstable globalizing economy, school then becomes both a mobilities-focused dream space and a site in which a community might do the hard, intellectual work around how it moves forward” (Corbett, 2010c, p.126).

Introduction

This research explored the lived experience of one Newfoundland and Labrador community in response to an ecological crisis and the resulting cod moratorium of 1992. The cod moratorium was one in a series of events that, over time, influenced change in various coastal communities in this province. In 1949, then Premier Joseph R. Smallwood, brought Newfoundland and Labrador into Confederation with Canada. Smallwood is well-known for his phrase, “burn your boats” (Webb, 2016, p. 22). He did not believe there was a future in the small boat, inshore fishery of outport Newfoundland and Labrador. As Rose (2007) states, “For the past 130 years, the governments of Newfoundland and Labrador attempted to turn away from the fisheries towards new industries” (p. 542). Indeed, according to Smallwood, the future of Newfoundland and Labrador was in industry, i.e. rubber and chocolate (Webb, 2016). During the Smallwood era of 1949 to 1971 the provincial government “aggressively promoted urbanization, industrialization and modernization” (Webb, 2016, p. 22). These trends have increased, which has contributed to the loss of diversity and homogenization of small communities in this province.

Numerous communities around Newfoundland and Labrador were resettled shortly after confederation with Canada. In 1957, Smallwood used the phrase, “no great future”, regarding the outlook for over 200 communities in the province (The Stacey

Collection, CNS, as cited in Maritime History Archive, Memorial University, 2003). Duncan, an informant in this research, remarked that in 1993, the year the cod fishery closed in Cod Bight, “It was a pretty bleak outlook for the future [of outport Newfoundland and Labrador].” And, in 2016, Terry Roberts, a local journalist for the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation(CBC) questioned whether rural sustainability is “hopeless” and “...just a path towards gradual decay [where] eventually a community won’t be a community anymore” (2:22). The year 2017 marked the twenty-fifth anniversary of the cod moratorium and, now, what is the outlook for outport Newfoundland and Labrador?

It is a deeply rooted belief that outport Newfoundland and Labrador had, or has, very little to offer. Therefore, it is not surprising that many people have internalized this view. It has come through in the voices of informants in this research. When dominant institutions, i.e. government, education and the media promote such beliefs, it is difficult to counter and for it to not become accepted and normalized. Harro (2018) suggests there is a *socialization process* that begins, initially, with family which continues as people move outside this initial frame of reference. Within broader society we receive “...oppressive messages that bombard us daily from various institutions and aspects of our culture...” (p. 49). These messages result in discrimination and bias towards individuals or groups of people and reinforce stereotypical attitudes. As Harro (2018) maintains, “...by learning more about each other, by unlearning old myths and stereotypes, by challenging the status quo-we make the difficult decision to interrupt the cycle of socialization” (p. 51). Through this process, change can occur, whereby people question what is taken for granted and reconsider their beliefs and begin a cycle of

“liberation” (Harro, 2018, p. 51). Education, in a broad sense, i.e. community-based groups and other institutions, as well as formal schooling, is essential to this process. Both informal and formal education can offer possibilities for how to address issues of sustainability at a time of rapid biological, linguistic and cultural loss. If we examine and accept the consequences that exploitive attitudes can have, we might build a different and better kind of future. But these lessons must be taught.

New kinds of lessons

A language is not lost overnight but is a gradual process of erosion. The reasons for change vary, including increased contact with others, movement outside, for example when children move to a school outside the community or families move to urban areas. Moreover, it can happen because people are told their language is wrong. Language changes when people want access to the higher socio-economic benefits that can be gained by learning the “correct” language. And some people go to great lengths to change, including taking elocution lessons to change their accents. As Ivan Duka, a recent immigrant to Canada noted, "I realized that in order to better integrate into society, in order to get better job, I have to work on my pronunciation" (Chiwetelu & Dineen, 2017, para. 9). Kasha De Verny, who immigrated to Britain from Poland twenty-seven years ago, recently began to feel people were hostile towards her and she wanted to be accepted, feel at home and fit in so she worked on changing her accent (as cited in Harte, 2017). Furthermore, an accent can make finding a home, a job, or getting an education more difficult. Thus, as Luu (2017) argues, “With such a linguistic minefield to navigate,

is it any wonder people consider making their accents over for an easier life” (If you can’t beat ‘em section, para. 5).

However, there are other kinds of lessons that can be learned about language that move beyond the age-old belief of validity or superiority. Language and dialect are important links to heritage. When people lose a dialect they lose an important part of their culture and students must learn to understand this connection so that they understand others and keep in touch with their own unique heritage and lifestyle (Wolfram, 2008). Curriculum materials that provide lessons in the history of language are key (Wolfram, 2014). Through education we can instill a sense of value of linguistic and cultural heritage, as well as the importance of place. A wealth of lessons can be learned about the cultural heritage and history of people and places through the study of language.

However, it is evident from my research that there was a limited focus on such aspects of language, culture and heritage in the school curriculum in this province. Nor, were issues of place an important consideration; it was by and large a placeless curriculum. According to Gruenewald (2003a), “Abstract curriculum that has been designed and written elsewhere is inadequate to the task of ‘learning to live well’ within the limits and possibilities of specific places, and of understanding the cultural and political processes that shape what happens there” (p. 9). In Newfoundland and Labrador, a major ecological crisis occurred that had world-wide repercussions (Rose, 2007). However, my research indicates very little attention was focused on such an important event in Newfoundland and Labrador history. According to informants, it was given only cursory attention within formal schooling.

The primary purpose of schooling has been mobility focussed. Education that focuses on preparation for work in a global economy with a focus on moving out does little to encourage a connection to, or a sense of importance of, small local communities. Furthermore, actively engaging people to be a part of the community and finding ways to make it sustainable were not considered.

Placed-based Education or Place-conscious Learning

The term “three leg” was described by Walter, an informant in this research, as an essential process in mending nets. To repair and keep the net secure, fishers had to start and end with a “three leg” knot. Interestingly, David Sobel, a pioneer in place-based education, uses a “three-legged stool” (2005, p. 36) metaphor to describe how a community remains vital. The three legs in this case are the interrelation between the school, the community and the environment (Sobel, 2005). Just as a third knot was essential to keep the net in good repair, so too the stool would topple without that third leg. English (2017) argues, people readily understand the connection between schools and communities, but environmental quality is easily ignored. As noted in chapter two Gruenewald (2003) suggests place-based education is an important concept for all educators to consider when thinking about the inclusion of place in the organization and design of curriculum. Similarly, Davis and Sumara (2008) state that curriculum, as defined by Pinar and Grumet (1976), should be focused, not on “...the impersonal goals of mandated curriculum documents [but] onto the emergent and collective processes of moving through the melée of present events” (p. 38). Furthermore, Gruenewald (2003) suggests, place-based education is about learning to live in a place that has been damaged

and unlearning most of what the dominant culture and schooling teaches us. Kelly (2012) insists that “Education in the context of loss must be committed to a learning that encounters the place of loss as a place from which to reimagine and to rebuild community” (p. 13). It is education that provides not only knowledge but an understanding of how to move forward in positive and meaningful way.

Gruenewald (2003a) insists,

To focus on the local places where students (and teachers) live and learn is at once a critical and a generative pedagogical act. It takes seriously the importance of experiential learning in nurturing an attitude of care and a deep connection with particular places, and of identifying cultural and ecological aspects of local places and environments where the damaging imprint of human activity might call for restorative action (p. 9).

As Corbett (2010b) argues, good pedagogy would offer an education for not only those who leave but those who might choose to remain in a community that is threatened by “...the encroachments of fast capitalism and the globalized (and increasingly depopulated) countryside” (p. 85).

Language Revitalization

Often diversity of any kind, except economic, is considered a problem. As Romaine (2007) suggests “few people see languages as a resource” (p. 118). Often linguistic diversity is believed to be a problem and a waste of money (Crystal, 2010; Romaine, 2007). Crystal (2000) insists that the most common argument against it is economic, it is a waste of money, mainly because of the need for translation and interpretation. However, there is a counter argument and there are areas where languages play a key role and add to economic success. One such example is tourism with its emphasis on diversity. Clarke and Hiscock (2012) suggest the Dialect Atlas of

Newfoundland and Labrador is a good marketing tool for tourism. As well, in Newfoundland and Labrador, contemporary representations that include a variety of items for tourists, such as clothing, mugs, etcetera, display words or sayings that are part of the local dialect, may or may not be a part of revitalization or maintenance. But this different kind of emphasis makes the language seem more fashionable in some way. Clarence spoke to this issue,

There's a difference, now, that's starting to happen because the old language, and the old phrases, because of the exposure they got to people outside that community, they are being reborn, they are sexy now. Like those Southern Shore Memes [Cape Shore Memes], now. It's not so much that people feel they are being made fun of anymore. Now, they are amusing, and that kind of thing. There here is a shift, almost, back to an appreciation of that.

The digital age is bringing radical changes to how people communicate and thus it may necessitate alternative ways of expressing. Its power can be used for language preservation. For example, like Finland, Newfoundland and Labrador might develop its own set of emojis³⁴ depicting words, customs and feelings representative of the culture of this province. Paul Anthony Jones has written a book entitled *The Cabinet of Linguistic Curiosities*, which includes 366 words that have been “forgotten”. He makes an interesting observation about bringing these old words together with new technology. He suggests,

On the one hand, I'm pulling these words out of obscurity and rescuing them from the murkier corners of the dictionary – then through Twitter, which is one of the most modern things going, at the opposite end of the dictionary from the 19th-Century scholars, people are using them. It seems to fill a niche (MacDonald, 2017).

³⁴ Finland is the first country to create and publish 56 “tongue-in-cheek” emojis that represent words, customs and difficult to describe Finnish emotions (Finland Emojis, 2017).

Conclusion

According to informants, there was no suggestion that education was focused on sustainability, that is, conservation of species and culture. Furthermore, it did not explore ways to maintain a vital community by examining potential employment options that might be possible within the community. It did not focus on ways of helping people adapt to change, helping them be more resilient. However, life will be different for each generation and each will bring change and build a different type of community. An important question is what should be the fate of communities around this province? Bill suggested that there is much change taking place in the province. His outlook was not positive for outport Newfoundland and he cannot see how it can be maintained as it is. However, he suggested that education might be the key. As he stated, “So, in terms of education, people need to be educated as to the reality of what basically is happening in the province”. Furthermore, as Simms and Ward (2016) insist, “Planning for this change and developing strategies to adjust and adapt to the change is paramount” (p. 4). Romaine (2007) suggests that “When we lose sight of people and the communities that sustain languages it becomes easy to argue, as have a number of critics, that there is no reason to preserve languages” (p. 130). But those who argue such would be wrong. The story of Cod Bight and the issues that arose from the stories of some of its residents point to why sustainability is important in all three interrelated domains, ecology, language and culture.

Issues for Further Study

This research explored the loss and sustainability of diversity within three interrelated areas – biology, language and culture. Since this is a relatively new and emerging field of research, more studies which explore theories of biolinguistics and biocultural diversity would be worthwhile. In general, and particularly within the local context of Newfoundland and Labrador, more studies of place are needed within this theoretical framework. Furthermore, this study explored the impact of an ecological crisis, the near decimation of the Northern cod stocks, on one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador. However, it might be worthwhile to examine the effect on other coastal communities within the province as each community is unique, and the impact may have been experienced differently. Indeed, geographical location might be a factor that may have resulted in differing experiences.

Furthermore, since this is the first research done in this province that has focused directly on theories of biolinguistics and biocultural diversity within an educational framework, additional studies within this area might be useful. Schools, as cultural institutions have a key role in addressing issues of maintenance and sustainability of biological, cultural and linguistic diversity. While I endeavoured to include the voices of educators in this study I was unable to secure a broad range of voices. Thus, a more detailed and deeper investigation into the response of schools to this ecological crisis might be valuable. This might include both educators as well as students.

Post Script(um)

Not an after-thought, but an important thought, “after the writing”.

During this PhD journey I lost both my mother and a brother. My mother’s death was not totally unexpected, I was aware of her age. However, her death was sudden and came out of no where. Two months before she died she appeared to be quite healthy; she was vibrant, lively and eighty-seven years young. My brother’s death, the result of an accident, was a shock. He was only sixty-seven years old, a relatively young man. They died within six months of each other.

My mother and brother lived together in Cod Bight; the “family home” was located there. While I lived in St. John’s in my own house with my family, the house and community of Cod Bight were “home” to me. Our family celebrations took place in Cod Bight. Family birthday, and Christmas, celebrations took place in that house. There were, annual summer and winter, family get togethers. The community of Cod Bight was always known as “home”, even when I was a child growing up elsewhere. During summer vacations my parents, my three brothers and I went “out home”.

The house in Cod Bight remained in our family for two years after my mother and brother passed away. During that period I completed my research in the community and continued to visit and stay in the house. It was a source of comfort as I grieved the loss of two dearly loved family members. I knew that eventually the house would be gone. It was a big house and would require a lot of upkeep and maintenance. So, my two brothers and I had little option but to sell it. However, the loss of that property was another source of grief. It was not the loss of a building but the loss of a connection. This sale of the

property made the loss more tangible as I had no personal space to return, in the community.

In some way, I was experiencing a loss, similar to that which I was writing about; the loss of connection to family, home and community. My loss was for a very different reason and I did have a home and a family elsewhere. However, it provided a glimpse into the reality for people who are uprooted, forced to relocate, perhaps made to change their language and culture, and who must adapt to a life elsewhere.

But, my family's loss is also a community's gain. A *young* couple now owns what was our family home. They will live their lives and create memories there, just as our family did. They will maintain the house and property, become a part of the community, and play a part in sustaining it. Perhaps, change is not all bad³⁵.

³⁵ The thought for this post script came as I was writing my thesis, as I felt my experience was similar to that about which I was writing. Near the conclusion of my writing, my supervisor, Dr. Ursula Kelly, directed my attention to the writing of Doreen Massey, specifically *Living in Wythenshawe*. Massey's retrospect, in this piece, helped me to solidify what it was I wanted to write.

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Appendix A

Informed Consent Form

Title: *Biological, linguistic and cultural change and education in one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador.*

Researcher(s): *Barbara L. Mulcahy, Faculty of Education, Memorial University of Newfoundland, bmulcahy@mun.ca, 738-2574(H) 864-8621(O), 699-6047(M)*

Supervisor(s): *Dr. Ursula Kelly, Faculty of Education, Memorial University, ukelly@mun.ca, 864-3409 (O)*

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled “*Biological, linguistic and cultural change and education in one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador*”

This form is part of the process of informed consent. It should give you the basic idea of what the research is about and what your participation will involve. It also describes your right to withdraw from the study. In order to decide whether you wish to participate in this research study, you should understand enough about its risks and benefits to be able to make an informed decision. This is the informed consent process. Take time to read this carefully and to understand the information given to you. Please contact the researcher, *Barbara L. Mulcahy*, if you have any questions about the study or would like more information before you consent.

It is entirely up to you to decide whether to take part in this research. If you choose not to take part in this research or if you decide to withdraw from the research once it has started, there will be no negative consequences for you, now or in the future.

Introduction:

I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Education, Memorial University. As part of my *Doctoral dissertation* I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Ursula Kelly.

Purpose of study:

The purpose of this research is to explore the impact of the collapse of the cod fishery as a result of a significant decrease in cod stocks and consequently the cod moratorium of

1992 on one community in Newfoundland and Labrador. This research will use a qualitative approach, adopting an ethnographic methodology to explore community change within three areas - biology, language, and culture. Furthermore, I will examine the place of education in biological, cultural and linguistic change, loss, adaptability and sustainability.

Some of the questions I would like to explore are:

What changes have been experienced by community residents since the cod moratorium of 1992?

What changes were or are experienced in relation to community expressiveness, e.g. language or other cultural practices?

What has been the impact on family and community relationships?

What were some of the responses to this ecological crisis?

How were these responses felt in terms of family, community, economy and education?

What is the role of education and society in contributing to building more sustainable communities?

The thesis question I intend to explore is: What is the lived experience of individuals, particularly in terms of culture and language, in a post-cod moratorium community, and how might educational institutions contribute to preservation, adaptability and sustainability in biological, cultural and linguistic diversity?

What you will do in this study:

Participants will be asked to take part in one-on-one, semi-structured interviews. Audio recording of interviews is optional. If interviews are audio-recorded the data will then be transcribed by the researcher and returned to participants to ensure the accuracy of the transcription. If the interview is not audio recorded the researcher will document the interview through note taking.

Length of time:

Interviews will be conducted over a period of an hour. Follow up interviews may also be required as the need arises. A follow up interview would take another hour. Another thirty minutes would be required to review the transcribed data if interviews are audio-recorded. Thus, the total time commitment may require up to two and a half hours.

Withdrawal from the study:

If a participant decides to withdraw from the study any data collected up to that point will be retained by the researcher, unless a participant indicates otherwise. If the participant does not want the data to be used it will be destroyed. There will be no consequences as a result of withdrawal. If a participant does not want the data to be retained by the researcher after withdrawal from the study, the length of time a participant is free to withdraw the data is three months after the participant signed the consent form. Data

cannot be withdrawn after this time as the researcher will be begin to use the data for research writing.

Possible benefits:

This research will contribute new knowledge of the impact of an ecological crisis on linguistic and cultural change in one community in Newfoundland and Labrador. There has been no research related to this on this particular community. Central to this study is understanding the role of education in contributing to ecological, linguistic and cultural adaptability and sustainability. Therefore, it will contribute new knowledge within an educational framework as few studies have been done with respect to the role of education. Members of the community may come to a deeper understanding of how their community has changed as a result of this ecological crisis and the interrelationship of some changes. It may provide them insight into how the community is functioning. In answering questions and follow up discussions they may gain a new insight into how the phenomenon of the moratorium has changed their community and individual lives. Any kind of talking about or discussion of issues has the potential for helping people develop a deeper understanding of themselves and their situation.

Possible risks:

The community where the research will take place is small and as a result it is possible that individuals may be identified. However, every possible effort will be made to ensure that anonymity and confidentiality are maintained. No individual will be identified unless prior permission has been given.

This research can potentially have emotional effects, so you may feel upset answering some questions during the interviews. The researcher will attempt to minimize this risk by only asking you to discuss what you are comfortable talking about. However, if you are caused any undue stress help can be obtained from the Provincial Mental Health Crisis Line at (888) 737-4668. Social risks may also exist because absolute anonymity cannot be guaranteed. Community members may recognize the information that you share for this research. However, in order to protect anonymity, the researcher will provide a fictitious name and safeguard any personally identifiable information.

Confidentiality:

The ethical duty of confidentiality includes safeguarding participants' identities, personal information, and data from unauthorized access, use, or disclosure.

Every reasonable effort will be made to ensure privacy and confidentiality by securely maintaining data. No individual will be quoted by name or identified in any way in the thesis unless permission is given to do so. All data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the researcher's home. All electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer.

Because the participants for this research project have been selected from a small group of people, all of whom are known to each other, it is possible that you may be identifiable to other people on the basis of what you have said.

Anonymity:

Anonymity refers to protecting participants' identifying characteristics, such as name or description of physical appearance

Every reasonable effort will be made to assure anonymity and no person will be identified in this thesis without explicit permission. In order to protect anonymity a fictitious name will be used. Participants will be interviewed individually and not in focus groups therefore anonymous participation can largely be achieved.

Recording of Data:

Audio recording of interviews is optional. If interviews are audio-recorded the data will then be transcribed.

Storage of Data:

Every reasonable effort will be made to ensure privacy and confidentiality by securely maintaining data. No individual will be quoted by name or identified in any way in the thesis unless permission is given to do so.

Data will be stored in a locked filing cabinet at the researcher's home. Consent forms will be stored in another locked filing cabinet – separate from the research data. All electronic data will be stored on a password protected computer. The data will be securely maintained for a minimum period of five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research. Only the researcher will have access to these materials. Audio recordings will be destroyed, and transcribed interviews will be shredded. Electronic data will be deleted.

Reporting of Results:

The data will be used as the basis of my Doctoral thesis. The data will be reported in summarized form and some direct quotations may be used but individuals making those statements will not be identified unless specific permission has been granted.

The thesis will be publicly available at the QEII library.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

I will present a summary of the findings at a community meeting or gathering upon completion of the research. Copies of the thesis will be available through the university library and this information will be provided to participants.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions at any time before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact:

Barbara Mulcahy

Faculty of Education, Memorial University, bmulcahy@mun.ca, 738-2574(H) 864-8621(O) or Dr. Ursula Kelly, Faculty of Education, Memorial University, ukelly@mun.ca, 864-3409(O).

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Consent:

Your signature on this form means that:

- You have read the information about the research.
- You have been able to ask questions about this study.
- You are satisfied with the answers to all your questions.
- You understand what the study is about and what you will be doing.
- You understand that you are free to withdraw participation in the study without having to give a reason, and that doing so will not affect you now or in the future.
- You understand that if you do not want data to be retained by the researcher after withdrawal from the study, the length of time you are free to withdraw the data is three months after you have signed the consent form.

I agree to be audio-recorded

Yes

No

I agree to the use of direct quotations

Yes

No

By signing this form, you do not give up your legal rights and do not release the researchers from their professional responsibilities.

Your signature confirms:

- I have read what this study is about and understood the risks and benefits. I have had adequate time to think about this and had the opportunity to ask questions and my questions have been answered.
- I agree to participate in the research project understanding the risks and contributions of my participation, that my participation is voluntary, and that I may end my participation.
- A copy of this Informed Consent Form has been given to me for my records.

Signature of participant

Date

Researcher's Signature:

I have explained this study to the best of my ability. I invited questions and gave answers. I believe that the participant fully understands what is involved in being in the study, any potential risks of the study and that he or she has freely chosen to be in the study.

Signature of Principal Investigator

Date

Appendix B

Recruitment Letter - Participants

Dear _____:

I am currently enrolled in the doctoral studies program of the Faculty of Education, Memorial University. As part of my program, I am working on a thesis entitled, *Biological, linguistic and cultural change and education in one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador*. I am interested in the impact of the cod moratorium on your community and want to explore the changes that have taken place in the community since 1992. The main focus of my thesis is to look at the changes experienced by the people of the community in terms of culture and language and to explore how educational institutions responded to these changes.

To complete the research, I am requesting permission to interview you about changes in the community since the cod moratorium of 1992. With your permission interviews would be audio recorded. Your involvement in this project would require approximately two to two and half hours of your time. An initial interview would take approximately one hour, a possible follow-up interview another hour, and another thirty minutes to review transcribed data. Every reasonable effort will be taken to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. Participation is voluntary; you may decline answering any questions and you have the right to withdraw from the study. Should you choose to withdraw no material gathered up to that point will be used without your permission. If you do not want the data to be retained by the researcher after withdrawal from the study, the length of time you are free to withdraw the data is three months after you have signed the consent form. Data cannot be withdrawn after this time as the researcher will begin to use the data for research writing. Data will be securely maintained for a minimum period of five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research.

If you have any questions or concerns please do not hesitate to contact me at 738-2574(H) or 864-8621(0), bmulcahy@mun.ca. You may also contact my supervisor, Dr. Ursula Kelly, 864-3409(0) or ukelly@mun.ca.

The proposal for this research has been reviewed by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research and found to be in compliance with Memorial University's ethics policy. If you have ethical concerns about the research, such as the way you have been treated or your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

ICEHR No.20162495-ED

Sincerely,
Barbara Mulcahy

Appendix C

Interview Protocol

Title: *Biological, linguistic and cultural change and education in one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador*

Researcher: Barbara Mulcahy, Doctoral Candidate, Faculty of Education, Memorial University.

The following interview questions will be asked (additional follow-up questions may be asked as well):

1. How long have you lived in this community? Why did you stay in the community?
2. How long has it been since you lived in this community? Why did you leave the community?
3. Can you tell me how you think the cod moratorium of 1992 affected this community?
4. Were you personally concerned about anything when the government announced the closure of the cod fishery?
5. How did the people of the community (overall) respond to the closure of the cod fishery? Were there differences in response? If so, what were these differences?
6. How were these responses felt in terms of family? Did families have to separate because of this (i.e. some members move elsewhere for employment?) Did entire families have to leave the community?
7. What changes have you experienced within this community since 1992?
8. Why do you think this change happened? Would change have occurred despite the cod moratorium?
9. How has the demographic of the community changed since the cod moratorium?
10. Have residence patterns changed in this community? If so, how?
11. What were educational responses to this event? How did teachers respond? How did students respond? Were there differences in response? If so, what were these differences?
12. What kinds of social changes have taken place? For example, has the composition of the community changed, is it an aging population, are there changes in economic status-rise in unemployment/welfare, fewer/more educated people, have the values of the community changed.

13. What kinds of economic changes have taken place? Have work patterns changed, If so how? Is the fishery still the mainstay of the economy or are there other sources of employment? Is the community more, or less, affluent? The same? Why? Why not?
14. What changes were or are experienced in relation to community expressiveness, e.g. language or other cultural practices?
15. How do you think community traditions have changed, if at all? Do you feel important traditions have been lost?
16. What has been the impact on family and community relationships? Have families been separated?
17. How did you see rural life represented within the school curriculum? Was it recognized at all?
18. Was it seen as a viable option to stay and work in a rural community? Were you encouraged to leave?
19. Do you think this has changed?
20. What is the role of education, and society, in contributing to make this community more sustainable?
21. Do you feel optimistic about life in the community? Why? Why not?

Appendix D



St. John's, NL Canada A1C5S7
Tel: 709 864-2561 icehr@mun.ca
www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humansocehr

ICEHR Number:	20162495-ED
Approval Period:	April 25, 2016- April 30, 2017
Funding Source:	N/A
Responsible Faculty	Dr. Ursula Kelly Faculty of Education
Title of Project:	<i>Biological, linguistic and cultural change and education in one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador</i>

April 25, 2016

Ms. Barbara Mulcahy
Faculty of Education
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Mulcahy:

Thank you for your response, received April 25, 2016, addressing the issues raised by the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) concerning the above-named research project.

The ICEHR has re-examined the proposal with the clarification and revisions submitted, and is satisfied that the concerns raised by the Committee have been adequately addressed. In accordance with the *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans (TCPS2)*, the project has been granted full ethics clearance to April 30, 2017. ICEHR approval applies to the ethical acceptability of the research, as per Article 6.3 of the *TCPS2*. Researchers are responsible for adherence to any other relevant University policies and/or funded or non-funded agreements that may be associated with the project.

If you need to make changes during the course of the project, which may raise ethical concerns, please submit an amendment request, with a description of these changes, via your Researcher Portal account for the Committee's consideration.

Additionally, the *TCPS2* requires that you submit an annual update to the ICEHR before April 30, 2017 to request renewal of your clearance, if you plan to continue the project, or closure when the project no longer requires contact with human participants, is completed and/or terminated.

Annual updates and amendment requests can be submitted from your Researcher Portal account by clicking the *Applications (Submitted — Post Review)* quick link on your Portal homepage.

We wish you success with your research.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Kelly Blidook', with a long horizontal flourish extending to the right.

Kelly Blidook, Ph.D.
Vice-Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee on
Ethics in Human Research

KB/lw

cc: Supervisor — Dr. Ursula Kelly, Faculty of Education
Associate Dean, Graduate Programs, Faculty of Education

Appendix E



ICEHR Approval #:	20162495-ED
Researcher Portal File #:	20162495
Project Title:	<i>Biological, linguistic and cultural change and education in one coastal community in Newfoundland and Labrador</i>
Associated Funding:	Not Funded
Supervisor:	Dr. Ursula Kelly
Clearance expiry date:	April 30, 2019

Dear Ms. Barbara Mulcahy:

Thank you for your response to our request for an annual update advising that your project will continue without any changes that would affect ethical relations with human participants.

On behalf of the Chair of ICEHR, I wish to advise that the ethics clearance for this project has been extended to **April 30, 2019**. The *Tri-Council Policy Statement on Ethical Conduct for Research Involving Humans* (TCPS2) requires that you submit another annual update to ICEHR on your project prior to this date.

We wish you well with the continuation of your research.

Sincerely,

DEBBY GULLIVER

Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR)
Memorial University of Newfoundland
St. John's, NL | A1C 5S7
Bruneau Centre for Research and Innovation | Room IIC 2010C
T: (709) 864-2561 |

www.mun.ca/research/ethics/humans/icehr | <https://resources.mun.ca/>

Glossary of Terms

This glossary provides definitions of terms that arose in the research and are related to the dialect of Newfoundland and Labrador. Furthermore, I have included definitions for terms that are relevant to my field of research, as well as this study itself.

Beaver — A tangle in the twine when mending nets.

Biocultural diversity — A word used to describe the interrelation of biological, linguistic and cultural diversity within an intricate socio-ecological adaptive system.

Biodiversity — Also, biological diversity. The total number of plants and animals that exist within an area or in the world generally. It describes the life on earth.

Biosphere — All the genetic information on the earth.

Biolinguistic diversity — This is the variety of all life on the Earth, including all the species of plants and animals, as well as human cultures and languages, that make up this Earth.

Braces — A British word that describes two straps that go over the shoulders and attach to the top of a pair of pants at the front and back to hold them up.

Bull birds — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a species of bird that belonged to the dovekie family.

Card — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, used for a thin four-sided piece of wood that is at least four inches long and varying in width which is used to as a guide for the size of the mesh required when knitting a fish net.

Cocks and Hens — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for soft-shell clams. These were often used for fishing bait.

Conner — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a species of fish known as blue perch. It is a bottom feeder that is often found near wharves and fish stages.

Cuffer — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a story or tale. It is also used to describe conversations that might take place around the wharf or on boats.

Culture — A way of life of a group of people in a community.

Dialect — A particular form of language that is shared by a group of speakers.

Dory — A small flat-bottomed boat with flaring sides and a sharp bow and stern that provides stability when in the water but also makes for easy storage as they are stackable on the deck of a boat.

Ecology — 1. An aspect of biology that explores the interrelation of organisms, with one another, and with their physical environment. 2. A political movement concerned with protecting the environment, especially from pollution.

Ethnosphere — All the information from human cultures and languages that exists within the world.

Fish Stage — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a raised platform on the shore with working tables, sheds, etcetera, where fish are landed and processed for salting and drying, and fishing gear and supplies are kept.

Fish Store — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a building used by fishers to store fishing gear and supplies. Also used as a place to keep salt and dried fish until ready to be sold.

Fit-out — A vernacular term to describe any entity or device, if the proper name is not known or too difficult to use.

Flat — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a small flat-bottomed boat, ten feet long and with a square stern and rowed with two oars. It was used by fishermen, mainly, to tend to fishing gear in a cove or harbour.

Galluses — A Scottish/North American word for braces for a person's trousers. A variant of gallows – meaning to suspend.

Hawk — The opening part of a lobster pot that leads the lobster, over the mesh, and into the area of the pot where it is trapped.

Head — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for the top portion of a (seal or fish) net.

Inshore Fishery — Historically, inshore fishers left the wharf in the morning and returned the same day (no overnight at sea). The fishing zone was very close to shore. Currently, the inshore fishery is comprised of vessels under sixty-four feet, eleven inches long. The fishing zone extends out 200 miles.

Killick — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, for an anchor that is made with a long stone that is enclosed with flexible sticks that are tied at the top fixed in two curved cross-pieces. It is used to moor nets and small boats.

Landwash — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, to describe the area of the sea-shore between high and low tide marks that is washed by the sea. Sometimes it refers to the shore or a pond or river, also known as the foreshore.

Logosphere — A global web that includes cultural and linguistic diversity; essential to the survival of humanity.

Outmigration — To leave a community or region to settle elsewhere, often a large-scale and continual movement of a population.

Outport — All the coastal communities in Newfoundland and Labrador outside the main port, St. John's, were called outports.

Punt — Flat-bottom shallow boat that was broad and square at either end; often a row boat.

Register — Workplace register, i.e. the language of the fishery

Rodney — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, to describe a small round-bottomed boat with square stern used to tend to fishing gear in a cove or harbour.

Sculpin — A species of fish that are scavengers also known as pig-fish and plug-fish.

Smarnin' — A local expression, in Newfoundland and Labrador, meaning, this morning.

Spell — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, meaning a period of time.

Stage Head — A vernacular term, in Newfoundland and Labrador, to describe the end of a fish stage that overhangs the water where fishers place their fish for landing.

Standard language — Standard language is one variety of a language that is used in public places, such as schools, government institutions, the media and in international communication.

Stick — A handmade wooden needle used to knit and repair fish nets.

Sunker — A vernacular term used, in Newfoundland and Labrador, to describe a rock that is dangerous to fishers as it has very little water on either side, even at high tide.

Suspenders — A North American word for braces.

Three Leg — A three leg is used to mend a fish net. The mesh is cut to form two legs (or pieces of twine) where the knot is not formed but the starting and ending points are on the three legs where the mesh is formed. A net repair always starts and ends with a three leg.

Tim Horton's — A Canadian based multinational fast food restaurant which is known primarily for coffee and donuts.

Tom Cod — A vernacular term, used in Newfoundland and Labrador, to describe a young or small immature codfish.

Turr — A vernacular term, used in Newfoundland and Labrador, for a sea bird also known as the Common Murre. It is hunted for food.

Yaffle — A vernacular term, used in Newfoundland and Labrador, to describe an armful or a handful of something. For example, an armful of wood or handful of fish.