

GENDER, RETIREMENT & MOBILITY: A Case study of the Lobster Enterprise

Retirement Program in Newfoundland

By

© Madeline Bury

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ABSTRACT

This thesis explores issues of retirement, restructuring, gender and mobility through an analysis of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP) as it impacted lobster harvesters on the South Coast of Newfoundland (LFA 11). Employing the tools of Institutional Ethnography (Smith, 2005), this analysis begins in the work and daily lives of harvesters who retired through the LERP and explores the institutional networks and chains of action which transform their lived experience into institutionally manageable outcomes. I conclude, based on interview data from harvesters and key informants as well as an analysis of program documents, that the LERP perpetuates historical advantage and disadvantage within the fishery. I explore the specific mechanisms of the program which simultaneously acknowledge and then make invisible the work of women and crew, in effect precluding their access to benefits of the program. I explore the implications of this structured inequality in terms of unpaid labour, negotiations of a retirement decision within couples, life in retirement, and the ability to find land-based work in rural Newfoundland subsequent to leaving the fishery. This project is supervised by Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Charles Mather and is funded by the On The Move Partnership.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

Sitting at Anne's kitchen table on a snowy afternoon in December, I moved my tea to the side so she could set down a calendar between us. She opened it to the first page. It was a calendar she made for her family – each of her children had a copy, pre-loaded with important dates and occasions. This was last year's calendar and was already full of a year's worth of commentary, written neatly into the little squares. As she flipped through the pages of the calendar, she explained to me the photos she'd chosen; her and Carl's small boat, the one they fished lobster from, the little island that they cleared to build a cottage, the cottage itself. On the last page was Carl, no more than 30 years old, smiling from the deck of his longliner in overalls that could've fit him three times over. Anne giggled about the picture. I followed suit.

Carl and Anne fished together from their home on the South Coast of Newfoundland for 25 years. Lobster is fished from small boats, close to shore, and typically only requires a team of two, which makes it possible and convenient for many women to participate alongside their husbands. Like Anne, many women harvesters were frustrated with other local employment options and fished as a means of engaging in paid work that could easily accommodate care obligations. Like

Carl, many men encouraged their wives to come fishing as a way to expand their existing enterprises and consolidate fishing revenue within the home. Their arrangement of capital is no less typical. Carl began fishing as a young man and has been accumulating resources like boats,



Figure 1&2: Artifacts of fishing communities

licenses, and credentials since. Anne has only ever fished with Carl and has only ever fished under his licenses, on a boat registered in his name.

While it is now not such an unusual arrangement for women to fish lobster with their husbands and other species to varying degrees, their time spent in the boat is a poor indication of their actual fisheries involvement. Many women, historically and currently, subsidize their husbands fishing activities through shore-based fisheries work like baiting gear, processing catches either in the capacity of plant work or salting and transporting, and maintaining financial records, as well as activities related to social reproduction which made it possible for men to put all their effort into fishing, including household maintenance and child-rearing (Neis, 1993). A growing body of research has demonstrated that this work, be it paid or unpaid, goes largely unrecognized in political and industrial restructuring efforts in Newfoundland, and uncredited for the resilience it endows to the small scale fishery. Power (2005) points out that restructuring efforts, like changes to professionalization criteria, may compound existing inequalities while simultaneously relying on them; “The criteria developed for professionalization assume a male fisher embedded in a fishing enterprise unencumbered by family responsibilities, which further strengthens male control of the fishery” (Power, 2005a; p.104). The labour typically conducted by women is therefore not only necessary to the functioning and resilience of the small-scale fishery in Newfoundland, it is, in a way, an impediment to full participation in terms of ownership of fishing resources and earnings.

Power’s (2005) concerns that women are stalled in terms of accumulating fisheries wealth and resources by their interrupted and shorter work histories, and lack of license ownership are still valid in later years. According to data from the Professional Fish Harvesters

Certification Board, in 2010, women made up only 3.7% of license holders across the province, and while 67% of women harvesters in 2011 fished at the apprentice level, only 22% of men were operating as apprentices (PFHCB in Neis et al. 2013). According to Neis et al. (2013),

This suggests that, as in the 1980s and 1990s, female fish harvesters are still fishing primarily as crew members, with their access to fishing income linked to marital and kinship ties to men. Their ability to take over enterprises in the future remains limited... women are largely excluded from direct ownership of licenses and quotas, although they may indirectly access the wealth from these through fishing or through membership in fishing households (n.p.)

Access to fisheries wealth and capital, therefore, is inextricably linked to historical gender relations and the current gender regime of small-scale fishing communities.

Between 2009 and 2013, the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), the Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture (DFA) and the Food, Fish and Allied Workers Union (FFAW) developed a program called the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP), which retired 263 lobster licenses across the South and West Coasts of Newfoundland. Operating toward the broad goal of “rationalization”, that is, removing lower productivity vessels in an effort to increase the viability of remaining enterprises, the program invited license holders exclusively to participate in a reverse-auction style buy-back to retire their fishing enterprises. LERP targeted individual license owners, ignoring crew and unpaid familial labour that supported the fishery. Scholars who have examined other forms of rationalizing interventions aimed at individual fish harvesters have argued that the consequences include reproducing historical gender inequalities. Power (2005) writes, “when the right to access fisheries resources depends on ownership of

fisheries capital, the patriarchal dividend is upheld or created where that capital tends to be the property of men and there are no formal mechanisms whereby women can exercise a say in how the property or right are used” (p.164).

Although it is a relatively common form of restructuring from a historical perspective, scholars have spent little time examining the mechanism of retirement specifically. The problem is that access to fishing capital and the official and social value assigned to harvesting work, which is highly gendered, not only determine harvesters’ compensation for their retirement (in other words, the retirement options available to them), but their experiences of retirement from fishing and their ability to take up other work upon leaving the fishery. By using the tools of Institutional Ethnography, I explore the implications of these differences in retirement options, experiences, and subsequent processes of finding other work, as they are felt and lived by harvesters and their families in Newfoundland, and as they are structured by stakeholders and the LERP itself.

The Research Problem

The Government of Canada announced the commencement of the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures program (ALSM) in the fall of 2009. This program was developed in response to what the DFO, DFA and FFAW described as a crisis in the lobster fishery: slow and steady decline in lobster prices over the last 50 years was interrupted by sudden and drastic declines in shore prices and revenues across the island consequential to the 2008 recession and a bottoming-out of the American lobster market. For the DFO, this was an opportunity to re-evaluate the organization of the lobster fishery altogether and curb two problems they perceived as detrimental to the future viability of lobster fishing in the province: an over-dependence on

lobster revenue and over-capacity of lobster fishing resources. DFO had a singular approach to how rationalization needed to take place across the province and offered ALSM funds to any provincial or fisheries organization that was able to cost-share a program to remove licenses and capacity from lobster fleets across Atlantic Canada.

In response to DFO's call, the FFAW developed a Conservation and Sustainability Plan (hereafter the Plan) for Newfoundland which secured substantial federal funding from the ALSM, leveraged funds from the provincial DFA, and established a cost-share mechanism which took the remainder of the Plan's funding from harvesters themselves. The cornerstone of this Plan was the LERP, a reverse auction license buyback. LERP was designed to remove the lowest earnings lobster vessels from the fleet, encouraging them to take as little as they were willing to accept for their enterprises. The program ran from November 2011 to March 2014 and led to the retirement of 263 lobster licenses and 461 other species licenses (DFA, 2015). The FFAW heralds the program as a model for industry-government cooperation, as well as industry restructuring in future initiatives. The DFO and DFA are similarly enthusiastic about the success of the program and its potential duplication in future restructuring projects.

The LERP is among the most recent in a long line of rationalization and downsizing efforts in Newfoundland, and like previous programs, it was based on the claim that there are too many harvesters chasing too few fish (Power, 2005). Retirement is not a new mechanism of rationalization. Indeed, it was an important strategy for reducing the harvester population during the cod moratorium. Early retirement appeared as a central facet of three of the four major restructuring programs implemented in "support" of the industry by the DFO (DFO, 2001). Despite the frequent use of license retirement as a strategy to reduce fishing capacity and to

“rationalize” fisheries, scholars have spent little time on understanding the mechanism of retirement. The result is that there has been little attention paid to how retirement programs are designed, and to what extent they include or ignore the complex arrangements associated with fishing enterprises including intra-household cooperation. By ignoring these arrangements, existing retirement systems reproduce gendered property regimes and inequalities in the lives of those it seeks to retire, as well as those it retires by extension.

Carl & Anne, the harvesters you met at the beginning of this chapter, are not exceptional, but represent a now fairly common arrangement: women have worked on boats more frequently in the last 30 years as a mechanism of concentrating fisheries wealth within households (Grzetic, 2004; Neis et al., 2013) and now make up approximately 21.5% of Newfoundland’s fish harvesters (Neis et al., 2013). Of these, nearly 70% are apprentice level, meaning their access to ownership of boats and licenses is somewhat restricted; they can only work as crew on the boats of spouses, family members or other harvesters (Neis et al., 2013). Previous literature, discussed in greater detail below, has commonly found that individually targeted restructuring programs which ignore the gendered and unequal histories and working arrangements of harvesters and fishing families will produce and reproduce inequality, rather than correct it (Bavington et al., 2004; Power, 2005). The LERP is one such individually targeted restructuring program.

The present study uses the tools of Institutional Ethnography, developed by Canadian sociologist Dorothy Smith, to understand how lives and gendered realities are produced, reproduced and manipulated through institutional processes. This theory and methodology allows me to investigate the specific textual mechanisms which allow programs like the LERP to value and de-value particular kinds of fisheries work through official representations of that

work. These textual mechanisms are subsequently informed by and informative of the negotiations of a retirement decision, in validation of a lifetime's work, in mobility and work-related travel after retirement, and in subjective and cultural understandings of what constitutes a harvester. The success of the LERP in the eyes of fisheries stakeholders makes this project both timely and pressing.

A Case for Analysis

The ALSM, and more specifically the LERP, is the latest in a long string of adjustment programs implemented in Newfoundland to reduce the number of small boat harvesters on the water. Stakeholders refer to this logic as rationalization – reducing the number of harvesters and gear on the water to improve the prospects and incomes of those who remain. The process, implications and objectives of rationalization have certainly not escaped critical attention across a number of disciplines. Indeed, there is a strong foundation of scholarship which supports such continued critical, much of it feminist, analysis and makes a strong case for the study at hand. This literature is reviewed briefly here to establish a place for this research in fisheries scholarship.

Power (2005) and others (Neis, Grzetic & Pidgeon, 2001; Grzetic, 2004; Skinner, 2005; Sabau & DeJong, 2015) have questioned the assumptions underpinning such rationalization efforts as the LERP, as well as their gendered implications for fisheries households and communities. Perhaps most importantly for this project is the over-arching assumption of neutrality in policy on behalf of those who develop and implement it – what is referred to by many authors as a policy or organization's gender-blindness. This is the assumption that the ability of men and women to perform and accumulate wealth through the fishery is unhindered

by professionalization, official recognition, management regimes and restructuring efforts, or by divisions of household labor, social and familial gender regimes, care obligations and historical disadvantage. Yet the policy initiatives, which do not recognize inequalities or the place of restructuring in compounding those inequalities, are far from gender neutral and indeed produce highly gendered effects.

Scholars have often seen familial, and specifically female labour, as a shock absorber in tumultuous economic times both outside the fishery (Ederveen et al., 2007) and within (Macdonald et al., 2006; Coulthard, 2012; Coulthard & Britton, 2015; Teh et al., 2017). Indeed, many sociologists understand female labour as an important source of resilience for fishing economies (Neis et al., 2013; White, 2015). Women have, for centuries, adapted their work on-shore or gotten in the boat to provide the unpaid labour necessary for viable fishing and have ultimately contributed greatly to the maintenance and viability of both fishing enterprises in which they are involved and, by extension, the sustainability of their own communities (Macdonald et al., 2006; Neis et al., 2013; Coulthard & Britton, 2015; White, 2015).

This labour goes largely unacknowledged by restructuring initiatives and is therefore neither credited nor compensated by these initiatives. Gerrard (2008) explains in the Norwegian case that asymmetrical access and exposure to restructuring policies may result from the organization of daily life around fishing activities. Neis, Gerrard & Power (2013) show that the oft-forgotten land-based work (described in more detail above, including book-keeping, processing catches, and baiting catches) as well as the household maintenance and support which allows men to concentrate their efforts on fishing, make up much of the “organization of daily life” to which Gerrard (2008) refers. They argue that exclusion of intergenerational and gendered

household fishery dynamics in policy has not only resulted in “limiting the employment options for women and young people within fisheries and remote fishing communities, [it has] also, in the process, potentially limited the resilience of small-scale fisheries and the regions that depend on them” (p.64).

Marginalization of women in fishing communities and their ongoing lack of recognition in official records of fisheries work make up a great deal of the historical and cultural inequalities on which gender-blind restructuring initiatives build. Household management, book-keeping, child-rearing, shore work and personal support, while unpaid, are necessary to the generation of fisheries wealth, but are not captured effectively in any official record of fisheries work. Much of this kind of work performed by women is not acknowledged in records of catch, ownership and enterprise histories as it is unpaid, and women are scarcely involved in the actual catching of fish. It is no surprise, then, that this work went unaddressed or credited by moratorium era restructuring. In the post-moratorium fishery, in which 21% of Newfoundland’s harvesters are women, little has changed in terms of patrilineal systems of ownership, illustrated by the fact that the majority of those women remain at the apprentice level. We know a great deal about the relationship between paid and unpaid work and gender-blind policy initiatives, but we know little about how the specific tool of retirement designs and necessitates these effects.

There is a strong foundation of research outlining gendered experiences of retirement in secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. This research emphasizes the differences in men’s and women’s work histories, access to social capital, options for retirement and resources in retirement. Yet experiences related to retiring from the fishery are likely to be specific to this sector. Choice, and the ability to exert agency over one’s retirement, is highlighted as a key

factor in a successful transition out of paid work by retirement scholars researching in the context of industrial and service sectors (Isaksson & Johansson, 2000; Calvo, Haverstick & Sass, 2009; Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2015). Not only does this demonstrate the centrality of these sectors in existing retirement literature, but it preferences a psychological understanding of the retirement process as self-motivated. Power (2005) illustrates that harvesters who took advantage of post-moratorium buybacks lamented the lack of real choice they had in their retirement – they had little choice but to retire and were obliged to take advantage of the limited available options. Government sponsored retirement programs, according to Power (2005) stand in stark contrast to traditional ways of exiting the fishery, which are highly determined by personal preference and the availability of certain social criteria (like someone to pass an enterprise on to, and the desire to see that enterprise pursued).

In addition to problematizing the concept of “choice”, retirement from the fishery differs from retirement in other sectors on another important point: many “retirees” go on to other work after they have left the fishery, which makes the work of authors like Johnsen & Vik (2013) particularly relevant. In an examination of fisheries exit in Norway, these authors found that fisheries policy and the state of the resource do not offer a complete picture of individuals’ decisions to exit the industry: we must also consider the broader societal context and the pull from other industries, as well as personal factors. Indeed, factors related to family, safety, and working hours underpinned a great number of decisions to leave the Norwegian fishery. Teh et al. (2017), in an examination of a buy-back program which took place in British Columbia, conclude that after a buy-back, license holders and crew are left with vastly different options for future employment. The opportunities for reskilling and the favourable financial position of license holders made it substantially easier to find local work after retirement, while crew were

left without the bridge money acquired from the buyback, no opportunities for reskilling, and fewer employment connections. According to Teh et al. (2017), many of these crew were resigned to travelling the coastline in pursuit of temporary and scattered employment.

Teh et al. (2017) necessarily bring up inequalities in how and why individuals may have to move around for work. The prevalence and, perhaps, necessity of moving on to other work after retirement from fishing can not be examined without considering the highly gendered local economies often found in rural Newfoundland and the growing imperative to find work outside one's own community. Including employment-related geographical mobility (E-RGM) in this analysis is necessitated by the presence of harvesters who moved on to other work after exiting the fishery. In light of the many harvesters who will go on to other employment after their licenses are retired, it is important to investigate how the ability to find work locally (or not) has not only impacted their retirement decisions and the retirement of their spouses and partners, but has in turn created inequalities in the prioritization of certain work and mobility over that of others. Researchers have pointed to factors that shape employment outside the fishery, including highly gendered local economies, and the ability of some individuals to take up mobile work and long-distance commuting, or stepping outside these local economies to access liveable wages (Haan, Walsh & Neis, 2014; Vodden & Hall, 2016; Power, 2017). This project brings together literature on restructuring, retirement and mobility to investigate the LERP in a way which makes clear both the gendering of restructuring benefits themselves through program documents and the gendering of daily life and work both before and after retirement.

The Current Study

Research Objectives

This study sets out to critically investigate how the LERP shaped experiences of exiting the fishery and retirement among men and women engaged in lobster harvesting and the gendered and intergenerational effects of retirement, work and mobility decisions. To do this, I have three research questions:

1. How did men and women engaged in lobster harvesting experience exiting the fishery through the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program in a gendered way?
2. What is the relationship between retirement decisions of lobster harvesters and their employment-related mobility, as well as that of their spouses' and children? In what ways might local work options, or work-away options, have been a factor in the retirement decisions of harvesters?
3. What kinds of gendered assumptions and understandings about fishing, fishing practices and rural spaces are embedded in the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program? How did these shape different exit experiences for women and men engaged in lobster fishing?

This project relies conceptually on Institutional Ethnography to answer these questions in a way which prioritizes the everyday experiences and standpoint of men and women harvesters. Smith's feminist approach to research centralizes the experiences of individuals as they interact with institutions – not broadly, through social consequences, but in tangible documents which pass between the two. This is perhaps the greatest strength of this approach in considering restructuring initiatives. A focus on institutional documents and text-reader conversations (a process which takes place between individuals and institutions through the passage of

documents) associated with the LERP allowed me to identify and analyze the policy mechanisms which produce gendered inequalities, compressions of life and lived experiences, and exclusions of certain types of work and workers.

For Smith (2005), inquiry begins in the daily lives and experiences of individuals. She is concerned with the way their work, lives, and subjectivities are shaped through institutional interactions. To establish some institutional context and gain a cursory understanding of the processes I aimed to investigate, I read several institutional documents pertaining to the LERP for content. I then conducted several field trips to the south coast of Newfoundland (LFA 11) to collect field notes and conduct interviews with harvesters and harvesting couples about their working lives, their experiences of retirement from fishing and their lives as retired fish harvesters, whether they retire fully or move on to other employment. I follow Smith's (2005) protocol by conducting a critical textual analysis of documents from all stages of the program's planning and implementation, including the documents which passed back and forth between harvesters and institutions during the retirement process. I supplement these documents with key informant testimony, which clarifies the intentions of institutional documents and processes and their place in institutional chains of action: how institutions effectively compress the work and experience of harvesting into data that can be managed and manipulated.

Outline

The aim of this thesis is to generate knowledge about the mechanism of retirement, its strategic deployment in rationalization initiatives and the gendered implications for harvesters' work and mobility, as well as that of their families and communities. The following chapters address these questions by considering the work knowledge and expertise of harvesters themselves. Following this introduction, I review existing literature relevant to this project in

Chapter 2: Review of Existing Literature. This chapter is organized into literature on restructuring, retirement and mobility. Gender, as both an organizing facet of society and interpersonal interactions, as well as a defining characteristic of institutional interactions, runs throughout this literature and is taken up variably. I begin by investigating how previous scholarship takes up the concept of restructuring: how it is defined, what forms it may take, and the motivations and objectives which permeate restructuring processes in Newfoundland. I then consider adaptive strategies and what is known about the impacts of restructuring: how it has been deployed and to what end in the daily lives of harvesters across the province. Despite the common use of retirement as a rationalization strategy, it is largely absent from this literature as a central facet of restructuring which itself is gendered and delivers gendered outcomes: this is the first and primary gap I intend to address with this thesis by exploring the implications of individually-targeted restructuring policies on lived experiences of retirement for harvesters.

I then take up literature on retirement and gender broadly, and retirement in coastal spaces and primary industry specifically. While very little literature exists on retiring from the fishery, this section highlights literature on retiring from other primary industries, like farming, and clarifies the importance of including mobility in discussions of retirement. These authors point out that dismantling an enterprise, living in a coastal space or living in close proximity to one's work complicates the mobile response to retirement for individuals in a highly gendered way. While farming in particular provides a useful point of comparison, there is no literature that considers the complicated mobility choices which need to be made by individuals leaving the fishery who wish to remain in their home communities. This leads me to a discussion on existing literature on mobility structures and meanings, as they differ for men and women, and as they inform the meanings and choices of others, like spouses and children. I conclude this

chapter with literature which specifically investigates changing patterns of E-RGM in Newfoundland and how these changes are discursively constructed and informative of mobility decisions. This literature largely focuses on young people and considers factors relevant to them, like maximizing income and negotiating childcare. This is the final gap which I intend to fill with this thesis by considering the alternate strategies and priorities of individuals who retire from the fishery in making decisions about work and mobility, as well as their disparate positions in the tumultuous local labour markets of rural Newfoundland.

In *Chapter 3: Methods*, I establish theoretical and methodological justifications for the tools I used to answer these questions. I begin with a discussion of the project's origin and design, and then provide an explanation of the case itself, reviewing the specifics of both LFA 11 and the LERP. As my predominant methodological guide, I make a strong case for the use of Institutional Ethnography in answering the questions I have posed about restructuring, retirement, gender and mobility. I explore Smith's (2005) sociology as it applies specifically to the case of the LERP and this thesis. Finally, I provide a detailed map of the project's implementation and discuss the processes of recruitment, interviews with harvesters, textual analysis and key informant interviews. This chapter clarifies both why these methods were chosen, and how they were employed in an effort to highlight harvesters' expert knowledge about their own lives and experiences while examining how this knowledge is compressed and utilized for institutional means.

Two chapters based on the empirical research follow. The first, *Chapter 4: The Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program* critically investigates the institutional materials I collected from the program and the key informant testimony which supplements and explains these documents.

I discuss institutional understandings of the problem at hand as they serve to justify restructuring initiatives, and then discuss the ways these understandings became implicated in the program itself by highlighting the broad objectives of the program, the development of the program's components and the institution of "fairness" as a guiding principle throughout. I then take up the operation of the program itself and examine the institutional process of retirement as it is constructed by the program's documents and how the program objectifies, compresses and manages licenses and harvesters. Finally, I review measurements of success discussed by institutions in terms of their validity and relevance to both the broad objectives discussed in the early stages of the program's development and the explicit objectives which guided the program throughout its operation.

The second empirical chapter, *Chapter 5: The Harvester Experience*, takes an alternative view by analyzing the experiences of harvesters both throughout their working lives and in their retirement decisions. I begin with a central theme of the previous chapter: harvesters' experiences of leaving the fishery. This section analyzes the negotiations which took place between fishing partnerships in order to reach a retirement decision, as well as a detailed account of how the retirement process was taken up and negotiated by harvester pairings. This section makes it painfully clear that the compressions and exclusions noted in the previous chapter have very real implications for the gendering of retirement in the lives of harvesters. These inequalities are not simply produced by the program, but compound and capitalize on existing inequalities which have kept women from equal participation in the fishery in terms of ownership. In light of this fact, I consider early experiences of harvesting and the day-to-day practices of work both inside and outside the boat to understand the gendered organization and arrangement of this work. Finally, I consider the mobility patterns taken up by retired harvesters

including the process of finding future work, occupational mobility as an act of identity building and community engagement, and the ability to stay in the province in retirement.

The concluding chapter of this thesis outlines the broad findings of the project by combining elements of both analysis chapters and constructing a way forward for future research. I return to the research questions presented in this introduction and use the findings of the empirical chapters to answer them, and evaluate the mechanisms employed in this project in terms of their effectiveness in answering these questions. I then discuss the place of this thesis both in current research on fishing, retirement and mobility, and highlight the contributions this project has made as well as the potential for future research. I now turn to a review of the existing literature in the areas of restructuring, retirement and mobility to situate this project in its academic context and highlight the necessity and contribution of this thesis.

Chapter 2: Review of Existing Literature

The aim of this chapter is, first, to establish a theoretical frame and an academic context with which to answer the research questions I posed in the introduction of this thesis. These questions inquire to what degree the experience of lobster harvesters retiring through the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP) was gendered, how these gendered experiences were necessitated by the objectives and execution of the program itself, and how mobility may have produced or been an outcome of their retirement. Second, I intend to establish a place for this thesis in the academic literature to which it contributes. Located within and between literature on retirement, restructuring, gender and mobility, this thesis brings these bodies of research together with a new case, through the innovative methods of Institutional Ethnography, to understand the specific, strategic mechanisms of restructuring as well as the individual and contextual gendered outcomes of these mechanisms.

These research questions, indeed, invoke many questions of existing scholarship: How do scholars understand restructuring in fisheries? Does exiting/retirement from fishing differ from retirement in other sectors? How does the geographical and economic context of Newfoundland impact retirement decisions and subsequent mobility? How is mobility understood and written about as a response to restructuring? How is gender taken up across and through these literatures as a structural condition and a social regime? In response to these questions and others, the review which is taken up in this chapter focuses on three major bodies of literature; restructuring, retirement and mobility.

I begin by examining existing literature on restructuring, rural life, and gender, highlighting authors like Bavington et al. (2004), Grzetic (2004), Power (2005) and Neis &

Maneschy (2005) and Neis, Power & Grzetic (2013). I investigate how restructuring as an ongoing ecological, political and industrial process in the fishery is understood by these authors as directed and intentional, and how employed methods of restructuring contribute to larger narratives of fishing. I then turn to literature which investigates adaptive strategies and outcomes of restructuring initiatives in fisheries, like the work of Grzetic (2004), Macdonald (2006), Coulthart (2012) and Coulthart & Britton (2015) which necessitate the inclusion of family and community dimensions to this project. While many scholars consider early and subsidized retirement to be an important tool for fisheries management organizations in the process of restructuring, few investigate how processes of retirement are actually employed by harvesters.

Some of this gap can be filled by existing sociological literature on retirement. Scholars like Buse (2009), and Nicolaisen et al. (2012) provide strong evidence for gender difference in the retirement options available, citing different work histories and concentration in various sectors as well as interactions between paid work, unpaid work and leisure. While they begin the work of understanding how men and women negotiate retirement decisions within marital pairings and according to varied constraints, goals and obligations, these authors focus almost entirely on retirement from secondary and service sector work. Keating & Marshall (1980) and Keating & Little (1994) point out, in the context of farming, that retirement from these industries differs substantially on one point in particular: farmers and harvesters likely finish their careers with a substantial build-up of capital which must be passed on, sold off, or dismantled in some way. Teh et al. (2017) and Tam et al. (2018) confirm that retirement in a coastal environment, and indeed in a resource extraction environment, may be more complex than retirement in other industries. They demonstrate that change in the economic and policy environment may have altered traditional means of retiring from farming and fishing as a result of out-migration of

traditional successors, and therefore necessitates a new type of retirement which relies on programs and intervention.

Continuing to build a case for examining this structured retirement option, Neis et al. (2013) argue that these traditional means of inheritance have helped to maintain rural communities by keeping down debt loads and entry costs for young harvesters. Outmigration in particular is an important part of this literature: the availability of successors may be an important consideration for retiring harvesters. Vodden & Hall (2016), Power (2017) and Power, Foley & Neis (2013, 2017) have begun the task of mapping the impacts of fisheries restructuring and indeed, industry and labor force restructuring in the province more broadly, on work-related mobility in Newfoundland. Shifting fisheries management strategies, which concentrate fisheries wealth and work in fewer hands with greater supplies of fishing resources have resulted in shifts away from local work in many rural communities and created both a social and economic imperative to find work outside one's home community. Governments and industries alike have encouraged young people to modify their education and mobility patterns to adjust to this new economy, and young people are not taking up fishing in the same numbers (Haan, 2018, Power, 2018). By considering structures, networks, motivations for and patterns of mobility in analysis of the LERP itself and the outcomes of my participants, I am able to begin the work of understanding how restructuring, local employment options and patterns of outmigration are implicated in retirement decisions and processes themselves.

As a fishery which commonly places husbands and wives in the same workplace for great spans of their working lives, the lobster fishery is an ideal place to investigate the way harvesters negotiate retirement and subsequent work and mobility in a gendered way, and how

these negotiations consider and are informed by rationalization initiatives like the LERP. A focus on gender as simultaneously lived, operationalized by institutions and negotiated in everyday spaces, movements and practices, allows this thesis to join a growing and necessary body of literature which seeks to undermine and break apart globalized and neoliberal methods of producing and reproducing gendered inequalities in fisheries and fishing communities.

Restructuring

Defining Restructuring

Power (2005) describes restructuring simply as a term for recent developments within a sector – it describes a rearranging of resources, capital and landscapes. Restructuring as an ongoing process within the fishery has been led largely by the federal government through the DFO and sets out to address inefficiencies, redundancies, and problems of unviability within various fisheries. Since the cod collapse of the early 90s, the industry has undergone a collection of downsizing initiatives, including license buy-outs and retirements, retraining programs, resource restructuring initiatives like the introduction of Individual Quotas and Individual Transferrable Quotas (IQs and ITQs) and licensed entry. The last 30 years of fisheries restructuring has relied heavily on the premise that there are too many harvesters chasing too few fish (Power 2005), particularly in the inshore sector. Grzetic (2004) writes, “the very existence of small-boat inshore harvesters – both men and women – offends government ideals of fisheries development” (p.91). Neis, Grzetic & Pidgeon (2001) describe the diversity of forms this process has and continues to take in fisheries around the world;

Overharvesting, reduced biodiversity and pollution are examples of environmental restructuring. Industrial restructuring processes include work reorganization (deskilling and reskilling), downsizing, outsourcing, and capital flight. Political restructuring processes include trade liberalization, privatization, deregulation, changes to public

services and social programs. Social restructuring refers to such processes as urbanization, demographic change, and changing community dynamics. (p.8).

Processes of restructuring, Neis & Maneschy (2005) argue, are hardly gender-neutral, despite their frequent appearance. They argue for a strong focus on gender in analysis of fisheries and restructuring, for two reasons. First, these apparently gender-neutral processes, which ignore existing operations of gender on social and institutional levels, serve to reinforce and re-establish the patriarchal dividend, or the historical and compounding material advantage given to men, however unevenly. Second, fisheries are not just fish and licenses, but communities, policies and individuals, all of which operate in the production of gender.

Neis et al. (2005), in *Changing Tides*, explore how fisheries around the world are being restructured, and the integral but enormously diverse place of women within these shifting political, social and ecological contexts. The book provides a diverse array of examples. In Tanzania, the founding and enormous successes of women's fishing groups allowed women to secure stable and independent incomes for themselves and their families, and professional status socially and within their own home (Medard, 2005). This account does not describe managed or political restructuring or fishing efforts, but rather the restructuring of fisheries resources and revenues by women, for their own benefit.

Alternately, Mildred Skinner's essay, entitled, *We, Women, Are Out There Fishing*, provides a first-hand account of the process by which many women in Newfoundland adopted fishing roles in response to economic downturn and the necessity of keeping fishing revenues within the household. Her account is rife with conflicting subjectivities related to the place of women in a tumultuous social and economic environment, from their reputations as workers, social monitoring of their work habits and employment benefits, access to fishing capital, and

their understandings of themselves as women who fish. Skinner (2005) highlights a number of managed restructuring processes, on which this thesis largely focuses. Despite women's unique standpoint on matters of restructuring, and the complexity of their adaptations and responses to restructuring, they have been largely shut out of the processes which determine how fisheries will be managed. Despite consistently high numbers of women harvesters across the province (Neis et al. estimate 20%, 2013), it is still rare that women own enterprises, meaning that many restructuring initiatives, like buybacks and quota re-adjustments, simply are not addressed to them.

In Newfoundland, and in other North Atlantic Fishing regions, retirement is a popular method of downsizing harvesting fleets. Some scholars criticize the effectiveness of restructuring initiatives which rely on buying back licenses as a means of removing capacity in the first place (Clark et al., 2005; Clark et al., 2010; Sonvisen, 2013; Sumaila et al., 2016). Buyback programs, Clark et al. (2005) argue, are ineffective in their initiatives to downsize and remove capacity (specifically in small-boat fisheries) for three reasons. First, they tend to remove less effective or inactive licenses; second, upgrading of the remaining fleet often results in effort seeping back into the fishery; and third, as buybacks become more regular, harvesters may anticipate them and invest in riskier fisheries and gear, relying on the buyback as a safety net or exit strategy. It is true that the majority of global fisheries spending is still going into enhancing capacity (Sumaila et al., 2016), and effort creep is certainly a well-documented phenomenon for those harvesters who have retired through buybacks (Grafton et al., 2006; Grafton, 2007; Teh et al., 2017). While there is no other scholarship which suggests that harvesters may start to anticipate buybacks, several highlight the importance of questioning harvester's motivations when developing suitable

buyback programs (Skaptadottir & Proppe, 2005; Grafton et al., 2006; Clark et al., 2010; Soliman, 2014).

Other scholars, specifically in Newfoundland, refute the premise that downsizing of the inshore fishery specifically is required at all, or productive. Pinkerton & Davis (2015) highlight global contradictions in neoliberal fisheries management strategies and their outcomes, and the similarly dissonant environmental impacts of repurposing coastal space through ocean-grabbing into space for “oil and gas exploration and development, wind and tidal energy development, marine recreation and tourism, aquaculture, shipping and marine transportation, bioprospecting, seabed mining, military operations, and scientific and technical research” (Pinkerton & Davis, 2015; p. 307). Sabau & DeJong (2015) highlight the flaws in the economic systems on which the post-moratorium adjustment measures rely. They conclude that a lack of appreciation for capacity differences across the fleet as well as the economic, cultural and social value of small-scale fishing has ultimately deteriorated the “backbone” of the Newfoundland fishery and increased instability in fishing communities, while simultaneously increasing government reliance. These findings echo those of Song, Bodwitch & Scholtens (2018) who observed a feedback system between governance, marginality, inequality, and governability in the New Zealand fishery. Knott & Neis (2017) argue that in the case of the New Brunswick herring fishery, the 1.5 billion dollar increase in production value actually has very little to do with what comes out of the water. They write, “increases in the value of the company have less to do with expanded production or improved productivity and more to do with speculation, rebundling (merging) and debundling (asset stripping)” (Knott & Neis, 2017; p.14). Certainly, these authors provide solid ground on which to question the necessity and the effectiveness of downsizing in the inshore fleet in particular.

Transitioning to “self-rationalization” fisheries is another popular initiative for fisheries management organizations across the world and at home, through the DFO, which are, in part, intended to reduce the need for buybacks in the future. Rather than governments buying back licenses, other harvesters, or, indeed, harvesting corporations, can purchase quotas from individuals who wish to leave the fishery without any gap in exploitation of the available biomass. Soliman (2014) and others (Clark et al., 2010) suggests that Individual Transferrable Quota systems may capitalize on motivations to enhance stewardship over fisheries resources by individual harvesters and increase the ecological viability of fisheries by reducing exploitation, although they pay little attention to the community factors which other scholars highlight as the key to successful and well-received restructuring policies (Bavington et al., 2004; Wroblewski et al., 2006; Sonvisen, 2013). At the same time, Neis et al. (2013) argue that these shifting management regimes disrupt intergenerational transfers of knowledge, which in turn lower the incentive to steward the resource, suggesting that they will have the opposite effect. Further, Song, Bodwitch & Scholtens (2018) argue in the case of the New Zealand Maori that transferrable quota regimes almost necessarily concentrate fishing resources in fewer, wealthier hands by forcing small-scale harvesters to either exit the industry altogether or continue fishing for quota holders in a “sharecropper” arrangement (Song et al., 2018; p.289).

Beyond inclusion in decision making about restructuring, scholars like Power (2005) and Gerrard (2008) argue that restructuring policies and processes are gender biased. Power (2005) counters the argument of a masculinity crisis by exploring how the nature and organization of work is indeed becoming feminized through increasing precarity and instability while simultaneously benefiting male workers who are assumed to have his domestic needs met by existing family structures. In other words, the domestic labour which is necessary for the

economic and social reproduction of the household, which allows men to fish and work in accordance with new management requirements, is taken for granted. These management strategies do this by ignoring local, historical contexts in which men and women actually live, which mediate their access and relation to fisheries resources, official recognition in rationalization and restructuring programs, and subsequently the benefits of those programs. Gerrard (2008), more tangibly, describes the gendered implications of transitioning to a quota system in a Norwegian fishery. She acknowledges the imperative of capital accumulation which transferrable quota systems encourage, and how this changes the official, practical and cultural nature of women's fisheries participation. Their formal exclusion from many of the restructuring initiatives I have described above does not mean that women are not severely impacted by programs like the LERP, indeed they are simply not considered as receptors of these initiatives at all. The following section examines these impacts: strategies of adaptation, resilience and resistance which men and women both take up in response to ongoing restructuring.

Impact & Adapting to Restructuring

Much of the existing scholarship on adaptations to restructuring focus on ecological restructuring, like the disappearance of Northern cod stocks, or restructuring of property and management regimes, like the introduction of quotas, transferrable or not. The shifting and flexible relationship between work and gender in fishing communities is an important topic of analysis for many scholars who take up the job of analyzing restructuring methods and policies (Bavington et al., 2004; Power, 2005; Skaptadottir & Proppe, 2005; Coulthard, 2012; Coulthard & Britton, 2015). Bavington et al. (2004) observes neoliberal restructuring policies including quota systems and subsidies provided to more "efficient" fishing have served to further marginalize the women in fishing communities and families, through the dismissal of their work,

their scientific understandings of the fishery, and the de-capitalization of small-boat fishing altogether. The processes of fishing down (fishing species lower on the food chain once top predators have been fully exploited), which can be considered ecological restructuring, combine with these policy initiatives to reduce the economic sway of harvesters. Gerrard (2008) describes the changes made to ownership and gender regimes in a Norwegian fishing community after the introduction of just such a neoliberal restructuring policy; an Individual Transferrable Quota system. She details the strategies in which women engaged to improve the viability of the family enterprise, or simply the family, including seeking work outside the household, signing their name to vessels which they were unable to fish, and taking on increasing amounts of shore work. These authors recognize that existing inequalities in harvesting communities and families are, in part, the result of historical practices which marginalized certain work, namely women's work in fishing communities and households, and in another part the result of the everyday structures of harvesting life, including patterns of paid and unpaid work, social structures and community organization (Gerrard, 2008).

Without considering historical and cultural differences in accessing property and other resources (like licenses and fishing capital), Power (2005) argues that restructuring policy will only reinforce existing inequalities in harvesting communities by compounding and reinforcing divisions of labour and systems of ownership. Authors writing on fisheries outside of Newfoundland, like Skaptadottir & Proppe (2005) among others (Macdonald et al., 2006; Gerrard, 2008; Coulthard, 2012; Coulthard & Britton, 2015) have highlighted the ways that history, family and community inform exposure and responses to restructuring policies and confirm the incompatibility of individually-targeted restructuring initiatives to the actual communities and coastal spaces they are restructuring. Skaptadottir & Proppe (2005), in Iceland,

investigated responses to newly enforced quota systems within small scale fishing communities, and found that women were more likely to employ coping strategies that stress “community and working together, whereas men respond more on individual and political levels” (p.159).

Despite the tendency of ITQ systems to concentrate wealth in fewer, almost necessarily male hands, the apparent neutrality of the system left most women explaining their alienation from fishing capital with personal circumstances – they did not connect their experienced inequalities to broader narratives of policy. They write, “Access is based on pre-existing gender divisions within local communities, which are more or less taken for granted and not questioned” (p.166). This finding hints that men and women, based on their varied social and economic positions, may respond quite differently to some of these processes.

Just as exposure to restructuring is informed by social and interpersonal inequalities as well as greater economic processes, so too is the ability of individuals, families and communities to respond to these changes (Macdonald et al., 2006; Coulthard, 2012; Coulthard & Britton, 2015; Teh et al., 2017). Coulthard & Britton (2015) find in a Northern Ireland fishery that women adapt their behavior to new economic conditions substantially more than their male counterparts generally, and particularly those to whom they are married. These authors found that women adapt both endogenously, taking on varied and disproportionate child and home care tasks, and exogenously, diversifying their paid labour outside the fishery, or increasing their tasks as “shore-skippers” who “keep the boat afloat” from land (Coulthard & Britton, 2015; p.284). Grzetic (2004), discussed in more detail below, offers that women in Newfoundland were entering fishing boats with their husbands in increasing numbers to pursue a similar end; concentrating fisheries revenue within the home. Macdonald et al. (2006) confirms Grzetic’s (2004) findings that this poses a serious risk for fishing families and communities, as

unpredictable weather and dangerous working conditions would potentially put the lives of both mothers and fathers at risk. These authors cement the importance of looking to household and family dynamics, rather than individuals, to understand responses to fisheries policies. They provide justification for the group interviews utilized in this project.

Grzetic (2004), central to this project, sought to investigate the shifting roles of women who participate in the fishery in Newfoundland, and how their adaptations to recent changes and ongoing downsizing relates to their health and safety. Perhaps most importantly, her book recognizes systemic elements of fisheries restructuring policies, namely professionalization, which informally exclude women. The institutional structures through which training is offered put training largely out of reach for harvesters in rural places: “This is especially true for fisherwomen because they often have less priority within households for training, and if there are young children present, women often cannot leave their homes for extended periods of time” (Grzetic, 2004; p.68). These varied opportunities, she argues, produces inequalities in professional status: as women are unable to complete the training necessary to become Level I or Level II harvesters, they are unable to own licenses or obtain an enterprise and must continue to fish with their spouse or partner as an apprentice, or “helper”. It is in the details of daily work – in learning to start and steer the boat, in divisions of labour and arrangements of shore work – which were most impactful of the way women understood not only their safety, but themselves as fish harvesters. Grzetic (2004) focuses on these arrangements and details to build an understanding of fisherwomen’s subjectivities and their experiences of fisheries reorganization.

There is little available scholarship on how these arrangements of work and capital, as they impact and are impacted by ecological and political restructuring, transition out of the

fishery. Despite the common employment of retirement programs as a method of restructuring and rationalization few scholars investigate these processes. While Power (2005) explores retirement as an alternative to retraining for harvesters with family obligations (predominantly women) or who felt they were too old to retrain, there is little agency allotted to those who take advantage of government programs. Johnsen & Vik (2013), too, investigate factors which may influence harvesters to leave the fishery but they do so without great concern for gender. This is one of the ways in which this thesis is innovative. By applying what is known about fisheries restructuring and gender broadly to the specific life-event of retiring, I am able to understand how this particular rationalization mechanism maps and directs gendered experiences of retirement and mobility after exiting the fishery. Just as retirement is deserving of more thorough attention within the existing fisheries and restructuring literature, so too are fisheries deserving of greater attention within the retirement literature, discussed below.

Retirement

Retirement & Gender

In contrast to much of the literature on gender and restructuring, which considers gender as both institutionally operationalized and socially constructed through interactions and work arrangements, a major theme in this literature considers men and women as separate groups. They are motivated to retire by varying factors, have diverse career histories and unequal options for retirement. They are scarcely discussed as groups which interact and inform each other's motivations and available options. Much of the literature concerning gender and retirement investigates differences in available trajectories, processes, motivations, and indications of success in retirement between men and women. The tendency of this literature to discuss retirement choices in a social vacuum continues throughout these discussions; many scholars

discuss the diverse “motivations” of men and women without considering the externality of these motivations, or the structures which provide and prioritize these motivations. This literature is nonetheless valuable when social context is read in and considered in light of literature which considers men’s and women’s varied work histories. This literature provides, collectively, an interesting picture of gendered experiences of work and retirement.

While scholars generally agree that in some cases the type of retirement undertaken does impact later-life success, the most important factor in a successful retirement is the ability to choose when and how a person stops working (Isaksson & Johansson, 2000; Calvo, Haverstick & Sass, 2009; Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2015, Ni Leime, 2017). Loretto & Vickerstaff (2015) identify an important difference in the retirement options available to men and women. In a British cohort, they found that while a variety of retirement options now exist including flexible and part-time work, these options are available mostly for men with “advantaged” work- and life-histories. Ni Leime (2017) found that these inequalities exist between women, too: those with sustained and lengthy work histories, notable upward mobility throughout their career and sturdy pensions had much wider options and tended to look at retirement as an opportunity to live more fully, where their less advantaged (and numerically, much greater) colleagues looked upon their impending retirement as a loss of livelihood, and a point of anxiety. This inequality may be the result of feminized labour and inequalities in pay and promotion. It may reflect the “mobile careers”, like nursing, which women may take up to support their husband’s mobility, noted by Green (2004). It may, according to Loretto & Vickerstaff (2015), reflect that women have far more frequent interruptions to their work history and may not return to the same jobs after breaks in work, which has implications for seniority and subsequent retirement options.

Indeed, this is a topic of considerable interest to sociology of work scholars. Ni Leime (2017) suggests that “previous work-life history shaped by national legislation, employment regulations, the socioeconomic environment, and gendered caring norms along with individual agency are important in shaping the choices available to women in retirement” (p.400). Inequalities experienced both in the social sphere and the workplace during working life therefore are central to the ability to control one’s own retirement decisions. The foundational scholarship of Joan Acker (1990; 2004; 2012) offers insight into the organization and workplace processes which result, ultimately, in unequal control over the retirement process. She writes that even in 2012, “the most common inequalities are the wage gap between women and men and the sex segregation of jobs, occupations and hierarchical positions” (p.215).

Unequal treatment which results in these inequalities, Acker argues, are built into the organizational structures of the workplace: “the gendered substructure is created in the organizing processes in which inequalities are built into job design, wage determination, *distribution of decision making* and supervisory power” (2012; p.215, emphasis added). In 1990, Acker identifies five major factors which perpetuate gender segregation in organizations, which include cultural representations of workers, divisions of labor, workplace interactions (either laterally or vertically), individual identities and the organizational structure. Of particular interest to this project’s theoretical perspective, organizational structure encompasses the definitions, processes and hierarchies which make up a work place and enforce it’s particular relations. Acker offers an example of this pervasive “gender neutrality” here; “the gender-neutral status of ‘a job’ and of the organizational theories of which it is a part depend upon the assumption that the worker is abstract, disembodied, although in actuality both the concept of ‘a job’ and real workers are deeply gendered and ‘bodied’” (1990; p.150). By abstracting jobs from those who

occupy them (in terms of sexuality, family obligations, gender and race), an appearance of neutrality is achieved while an unencumbered male worker is still prioritized within the organization structure. Indeed, parallels can be drawn to the gender neutrality of license-holder status previously mentioned and central to the LERP mechanisms, but the LERP as a program and the FFAW are not typical “organizations” as Acker envisioned them.

Williams et al. (2012) offer a new case for Acker’s well-known theoretical lens by investigating geoscientists in the oil and gas industry, whom they argue are at the front of the “new economy”. These new organizations are typified less by long, consistent careers and corporate ladders than by precarity and a downloading of economic risk from organizations onto individual workers. Certainly, the previous section of this literature review reflects similar processes taking place in many fisheries around the world. Where workers can no longer bank on consistent employment for a lifetime, networking is now a central pathway to new employment after lay-offs as well as promotion, which Williams et. al (2012) argue is a highly gendered process. Team structures, which Williams et al. (2012) pay particular attention to, are also a central feature of fisheries work, although husband and wife teams necessarily operate very different from teams of 5 to 30 geoscientists who may disband or reform every few years. They argue that “by the very nature of teamwork, the individual’s contribution to the final product is obscured” (Williams et al., 2012; p.557). Recorded and recognized contributions are left to the discretion of team supervisors which typically leaves women undervalued and reliant on self-promotion to have their work recognized. It is not hard to imagine how processes of self-promotion may be vastly different for fishing women than for women geoscientists, but the dynamics of teamwork are certainly relevant, and explanatory of some inequalities both within and outside the fishery.

Acker (1990; 2012) and Williams et. al (2012) make the important point that the ability to maximize one's career in either traditional organizations or the so-called new economy depends on flexibility, cultural acceptance as an ideal worker (both within and outside the workplace) and most importantly, being unencumbered by familial and care obligations. Ne Leime (2017) points out that social location throughout working life is highly informative of retirement choices by way of care obligations, with lower finishing salaries and low professional positioning for women who started working later in life or returned to working after a period off. Buse (2009), in an investigation of occupational activities in retirement, finds that women are less clear on their actual point of retirement because much of their work remains the same in later life, which echoes the findings of previous scholarship (Cliff 1993). This, too, likely has a great deal to do with the social location of women in relation to caring and unpaid work. This scholarship finds its counterpart in Nicolaisen et al. (2012), who found that men have more concrete ideas about retirement in their later working years, prior to actually triggering the process. In a qualitative Norwegian study, they investigate what it means for men to be "thinking about retirement" in relation to the presence of certain "masculine" leisure activities, like hunting and fishing (p.239). In contrast to the seemingly active choices Nicolaisen et al. (2012) observe, Pienta (2003) and Buse (2009) find that many women retire by leaving a job for another reason and they simply never return to paid work, or to the same paid work.

Buse (2009) finds that for women in particular, the lines between work and leisure are blurred – while many activities in retirement are chosen, and therefore enacted like leisure, they may still constitute work. Howie et al. (2004) highlight the importance of occupational or work-like activities in later life for adjusting to a life not organized by paid work, but as Buse (2009) points out, the category of "occupational activity" is broad, and enacted somewhat unevenly.

Pienta (2003) attributes a great deal of a woman's motivation to retire on other factors including family proximity and care requirements, economic resilience and spousal support. These motivations stand in stark contrast to Nicolaisen et al.'s (2012) masculine leisure activities, which motivated men to retire earlier. The language of motivation, although commonly used throughout the retirement literature, perhaps obscures how these factors may be external to the retiring individual, particularly in the case of women.

Discussed in greater detail above, retirement is a common tool used by governments and managers in efforts to downsize, rationalize and streamline a variety of sectors. Quadano et al. (2003) investigate restructuring in the auto and banking industries and find that while the policies and positions of workers differed a great deal, the restructuring measures converged at "a more general lack of concern with older workers" (p.649). Early retirement packages and lay offs directly target older workers to pare down industrial capacity, while labour market security measures and policy, as well as the industries themselves, have made it more challenging for individuals to access pension benefits. They blame this detachment from older workers on their costliness, which may not be a shared motivation for fisheries restructuring, as harvesters are self-employed rather than salaried, and insure themselves privately or through the government, rather than their employer (Quadano et al., 2003). The lack of concern for older workers, however, may still be salient across sectors.

Much of the literature above addresses retirement with little consideration for sector or considers it only as it pertains to gendered differences in labour market participation. A key characteristic of fishing in Newfoundland in recent years has been an increasing financial burden on individually owned and managed enterprises, which makes self-employment a central

difference between much of the work discussed above, but one to be taken very seriously. In 2001, one in six Canadians were self employed (Hughes, 2003), while in 2011, 44.1% of working men over the age of 65 and 28.1% for women were self-employed (StatsCan, 2011). As older adults increasingly find themselves in self-employment situations, substantially complicating their retirement choices, literature from other sectors with similar arrangements becomes central.

Keating & Marshall, in 1980, interviewed 50 farm and self-employed non-farm retired couples in rural Alberta, to begin the work of understanding retirement outside the bounds of an employer. For farm couples, finances were paramount in their decision making about retirement and the first financial concern was their investment in their home and enterprise. Planning for the sale and dismantling of their farm was the first task in thinking about retirement as it relieved the greatest deal of stress. They found that farm couples talked about retirement earlier than non-farm couples, which might indicate the more complicated retirement process for the farmers, but it may also indicate that women's more active role in the business results in greater involvement in retirement decisions.

Keating & Little (1994) extend this question to farm wives in New Zealand. Wives that were heavily involved in farming were more involved in their own and their husband's retirement decisions but at the most, they made these decisions alongside their husbands. Wives that performed a greater proportion of the home labour had little to no say in the retirement of their husbands, and were retired almost by extension, sometimes to great personal anxiety. The women who performed exclusively home labour worked no less hours than the farming women in most cases, as the farm women mostly re-assigned (to children) or dropped household tasks to

accommodate farm work. Interestingly, Keating & Little (1994) found that some of the wives strategically planned their farm involvement in order to run the business if they had to, and a few took over when their husbands were unable to run the farms, which was a point of pride. The farming women, who described feeling somewhat listless and bored in retirement, found that their farm work connected them to their community and opened doors for social exchange throughout their life, even after combatting stigma in the early years.

Planning for retirement from primary industry/self-employment is vastly different than planning for retirement in an employment situation with structured options, and the mechanisms through which self-employed workers retire differ as well. Uchiyama et al. (2008), in an international study which considers England, the United States, Canada and Japan, focus on the intergenerational transfer of knowledge and managerial skills after a successor for a farm has been identified. They establish a difference between corporate transfer of knowledge, such as the training of a successor for an employed management position from the transfer of knowledge on the farm by a greater generational gap and more varied resources to be transferred. Farm resources and the economic dynamics of self-employment require a much longer and more complex transfer period. Conway et al. (2017) investigate the reluctance of some farmers to transfer their farms to successors. Fears of fading into the background and being replaced contradict the understanding that they themselves may have inherited the farm and are responsible to pass it on. They found that building a succession plan might be quite challenging for farmers as the plan may be based on shifting factors like the plans of their children, their health and the involvement of their spouse. A gradual transfer, in which the farmer remains in-situ, might be more common according to Conway et al. (2017), although these authors pay little

attention to the retirement practices of farming spouses, and aside from Keating & Little (1994), none of these authors investigate the retirement motivations or mechanisms of farming women.

In the fishery context, Neis et al. (2013) highlight similar succession challenges. They write that not only are youth seemingly disinterested in taking up fishing work, their parents are encouraging them to find more consistent and lucrative work outside the fishery, which often means mobility for education at the least and permanent relocation for work at the most. These social factors are compounded by high entry costs and gendered patterns of employment and have interrupted traditional patterns of knowledge and capital transfer in the fishery (Neis et al., 2013). Spatial constraints and the dismantling of an enterprise create obvious parallels for farmers and harvesters; both enterprise-owners have a great deal of succession planning to do prior to retirement. Beyond this obligation, harvesters who retire from fishing through a buy-back like the LERP may have to consider alternative work, the availability of work for their spouse, children and grand-children who may have left to seek work elsewhere, and the viability of remaining in-situ. The following section addresses retirement for coastal individuals in particular, and the specific challenges they face in negotiating later-life mobility.

Coastal retirement & inheritance

Some scholars, like Wall et al. (2013) and Stockdale (2005) highlighting the importance of beliefs and long-held preferences in choices of residence for older adults who live in coastal areas. These motivators stand in contrast to labour trends and the availability of employment and housing, which, these authors argue, are substantial factors for young people. In a Portuguese cohort, Wall et al. (2013) found that coastal dwellers of all ages are unlikely and unwilling to undergo intense periods of mobility, although older cohorts may be more insistent on staying

than younger cohorts, who often compromise by migrating to larger coastal cities. While this is valuable insight into the logics of big moves in retirement, Wall et al. (2013) identify older coastal individuals as largely immobile and in doing so, negate smaller, daily mobility.

According to Schmidt et al. (2012), who studied the mobility patterns of older adults in rural Saskatchewan, these smaller patterns of mobility are a barometer for quality of life in late adulthood. Older adults in this qualitative study used mobility as a measure of their health, well-being and social engagement; the ability to drive, live on one's own, or visit children and friends at one's own leisure was a source of empowerment and resilience. These authors highlight the interdependence of mobility and fulfillment in rural and coastal space but pay little attention to the political and economic factors which may enable or enforce certain types of retirement, and therefore, mobility.

Scholars dealing specifically with rural and coastal retirement have largely focused on the push and pull factors for those thinking about retirement (Wiseman & Whiteford, 2009; Gerrard, 2008;2013; Johnsen & Vik, 2013, Tam et al., 2018), as well as mobility and work choices after they have retired (Stockdale, 2005; Wall et al., 2013; Teh et al., 2013). A disruption of intergenerational schemes of training and inheritance, according to Gerrard (2008;2013) and White (2015) may keep male harvesters fishing longer and may increase unofficial spousal participation in the fishery in later life in order to make up the labour which would likely have been taken on by a younger man who eventually inherited the enterprise. Wiseman & Whiteford (2009), similarly, find the outmigration of young people from rural (non-coastal) areas to be a salient factor for Australian farmers who continued to work much later than they had planned.

White (2015) highlights increased professionalization, social change and the destabilizing of traditional work arrangements (shrinking crews) as important factors in the interrupted succession of fisheries knowledge and resources through generations. Family labour, White (2015) acknowledges, is an important strategy for resilience against a changing fishery in a UK study, echoing Ederveen's (2007) findings in the EU, although he is careful not to conflate family participation in the fishery and the actual accessing of fishery resources. The interrupted scheme of inheritance has implications for harvesters who wish to retire as well as young people who might wish to carry on fishing. As the requirements for entry are continually increased (this author argues that legal requirements, existing social connections to the fishery, availability of fishery work, and capital to buy and maintain an enterprise are all becoming more substantial hurdles), traditional inhabitants may seek offshore work, which is easier to access and has more regular schedules and wages (White, 2015) or take up a mobile attitude to finding fisheries work, settling for shorter and more varied jobs (Teh et al., 2017).

In addition to somewhat limited rural economies, older workers face a particularly challenging job market (Quadano et al., 2003; Teh et al., 2017). Quadano et al. (2003) write, "The problem is that older workers take longer than younger workers to find new jobs, are more likely to take a salary reduction when they do become re-employed, and may be forced to spend down their life savings while job-seeking (p.650)." Teh et al. (2017) found, conversely, that when enterprises were retired, younger crew members were the hardest hit by job losses in the fishery, as enterprise owners were able to brace against their loss of employment with a buyback settlement. As older workers, they were often able to find work in trades locally, according to Teh et al. (2017), although this contradiction to Quadano et al. (2003)'s findings may reflect the disparity in rural and urban job markets.

The choices surrounding retirement for these men are somewhat limited, as the traditional method of retirement is increasingly unavailable to rural, primary industry workers, particularly those who are self-employed. Restructuring, noted above, may alter the social and economic practice of fishing (by increasing mobility, decreased community attachment, and diversifying the workforce) such that harvesters are more inclined to leave the fishery altogether and thereby disrupt intergenerational schemes of inheritance (Johnsen & Vik, 2013). Harvesters in a common-ownership fishery in Chile made specific efforts not to recruit young people into the fishery because of poor working conditions and onerous work practices (Tam et al., 2018). Coastal development and an increased focus on tourism bolstered the belief that there were better options for young people than fishing, although these typically required leaving their homes.

While the relationship between fisheries exit and intergenerational schemes of inheritance has been examined in Norwegian, Chilean and British contexts, the only existing Canadian scholarship comes from British Columbia (Teh et al., 2017), and does not consider family, community and gendered dynamics of retirement in a substantial way. Further, while the family and community context of fishing practices is addressed by this literature, there is no scholarship which addresses family and community as making up the fishing arrangements themselves, which is undoubtedly the context of the Newfoundland lobster fishery. Scholarship on fisheries exit is somewhat rare, but should be encouraged given that independence, self-employment, dramatic economic flux, resource and ecological management, community dynamics and the familial context of fishing set it apart from literature that analyses retirement from other primary industry and typical dynamics of retiring from an employment situation. Particularly when retirement was brought on by restructuring initiatives, individuals may be faced with decisions about future work in their retirement, or the viability of remaining in rural places after their

families and children have gone. Mobility is a central question for these individuals as they retire and re-organize their lives around new occupational priorities, marking mobility as an important arena for investigation.

Mobility

Mobility & Meaning

Mobility, as an enabler, consequence and fact of work, in the lives of LERP retirees is complex: it is economically and social contextual, gendered and intergenerational. Robin Law (1999) asks that we “construct more grounded social and cultural geographies of mobility” rich with context and subjectivity (p.573). She writes that “gender shapes access to resources, notably time, money, skills and technology. Access to each of these resources will influence travel behavior... as well as the experience and social meaning of mobility” (Law, 1999; p.578). Newfoundland has a somewhat peculiar relationship to employment-related geographical mobility (E-RGM) which sets a unique scene for those who retired through the LERP. For those who went on to other work after exiting the fishery, the availability of local work, the quality of that work, highly gendered local economies, the social meaning of working away and their individual ability to access work away may not only have shaped their mobility decisions in retirement but may have actually informed their retirement decisions. The following section highlights scholarship which identifies differences in meanings, priorities and patterns of work related travel for men and women, both together and apart. I then discuss literature which investigates shifting patterns of mobile fishing in Newfoundland. This final section addresses the context of mobile work from which LERP retirees are exiting, and finally, literature which considers existing patterns of E-RGM in Newfoundland which provides a context into which many retirees entered.

A frequently addressed topic in the mobility scholarship is patterns of movement within couples for work, and the structuring of work and family around mobility (Green, 2004; Dupuis et al., 2008, Van Der Klis & Mulder, 2008). Like the local work and mobility practices that Goddard (2007) and Crane (2007) investigate below, international mobility and the ability to access work across the globe is highly gendered. Dupuis et al. (2008) find that family obligations and the presence of children are an important staying factor for individuals offered an international assignment, although they do not address gender differences within these obligations. Other scholarship strongly supports the idea that these obligations are more substantial for women than for men (LaChance-Grzela & Bouchard, 2010; Yeung et al., 2001; Raley et al., 2012; Roeters et al., 2016). These differences in attitude and willingness to work abroad, or move abroad with a spouse, are statistically significant according to Green (2004) who finds in an American study that women move more frequently with men than men move with women. Women, correspondingly, may curate their skills and employment toward easily moveable careers like nursing, so as to better support a mobile spouse.

In some ways, these large moves for work mirror differing mobile priorities on a more local scale. Olabarria et al. (2017) find that men's mobility is increasingly motivated by work-related tasks on a daily basis, while women's level of mobility is motivated more frequently by home-related tasks, and women are substantially less mobile for work. Crane (2007) found that the daily commutes women undertake, while they are increasing substantially faster than men's commutes, are almost always shorter than those of their partners and men as a whole. In contrast to these authors, Sanchez et al. (2014) found that women's commutes were, in many cases, the same temporal length as men's despite their geographical differences, which would reflect differences in the modes of transportation used. Because this research was conducted at a

household level, Sanchez et al. (2014) argues that it reflects a priority on the work-related mobility of men, who typically utilize the family vehicle to get to work, and the flexibility of women's labour according to the needs of other family members. These scholars point not only to a separate set of obligations and motivations for women's mobility, but perhaps a difference in the meaning of mobility for women altogether.

Hanson (2010) sees mobility for women as intensely empowering, providing examples of women outsourcing domestic labour and dramatically altering household incomes through mobility and entrepreneurship. Modesta Medard's (2005) work with the Tweyambe Fishing Enterprise in Northwest Tanzania, published in *Changing Tides* is an excellent example of this empowerment: women, many tied to their homes in support of their husband's fishing careers, were forced to accept low prices for fish they were able to procure on local beaches, as a lack of mobility resources prohibited the selling of fish in better established markets. Through the selling of home-grown and handicraft items, women joining together under the title of the Tweyambe Fishing Enterprise were able to purchase a mini-bus and access better prices for fish in farther-away markets. "Tweyambe Group Members have adopted a strategy of income diversification to protect their households from hunger" by bolstering fish sales with the trading of goods and service on distant beaches (Medard, 2005; p.88). "These independent activities, the women argue, have helped their husbands and children understand that the Tweyambe Fishing Group is not an extension of their household which can be exploited, but a separate entity" (Medard, 2005; p.88), thus illustrating Hanson's (2010) point – mobility and empowerment are tightly intertwined, and the ability to be mobile, to "have somewhere to go" (Hanson, 2010; p.10) alters gender relations both ideologically and in terms of material opportunities and outcomes.

E-RGM & Fishing

How do these findings, which highlight not only varied patterns and meanings of mobility for men and women but also varied access to mobility resources and opportunities, translate into a context in which local work is highly gendered and may be hard to access, while work away is substantially available in the fields of construction and resource extraction and requires a worker unencumbered by familial and local responsibilities? Haan, Walsh & Neis (2014) use Canadian census data to investigate shifting patterns of employment-related geographical mobility (E-RGM) for Canadian workers, finding that many individuals in Newfoundland, men in particular, are undertaking long commutes as a result of constrained agency. As resource extraction continues to lose workers across the province, Newfoundlanders are relying more and more on large construction projects and oil, which generally necessitate long shifts and longer commutes.

Power (2017), who has turned her attention in recent years to mobility and youth in outport communities, interrogates government programs and initiatives which seek to manipulate the mobility of young people through education to produce a particular labour force. This labour force is flexible, highly skilled, and able to work in remote, rural communities on massive projects for limited periods of time. This employment is intended to curb outmigration in rural areas and attract young people who have already left the province to return home. At the same time, the discursive framing of rural places may describe young people who remain in rural communities without travelling to other rural places to work on these big projects as unproductive, and unable to better and stabilize their own locality. This stigma falls particularly heavy on young women. She points out that there is a contradiction in our expectations of young people; those, predominantly men, who are able to pursue skilled trades work and education, are

able to work turn-arounds on large resource extraction projects across the province as a result of their lack of temporal and local responsibilities to families and children, which necessarily concentrates the responsibilities of social reproduction on those who remain at home.

Many of these workers are willing to undertake these commutes out of a lack of local employment, but are conversely willing to commute as a way of staying in their home communities. Vodden & Hall (2016) write that, “Perhaps the most important implication of LDC (Long Distance Commuting) for source communities is that it provides residents with options for employment and income that may not be available in their home communities, thus allowing them to continue to live in and maintain their connections to their permanent place of residence” (p.579). The lack of local work options combined with opportunities away from home in distant resource production regions explains why men are willing to take on these work-away arrangements. Vodden & Hall (2016) mention that this increasingly popular arrangement creates a situation in which women are left at home to maintain the home and children, but this is discussed as an outcome of work-away arrangement, rather than an enabler of them, as Power (2017) understands it. In a qualitative Norwegian study, Bjarnason & Thorlindsson (2005), similarly, found that occupational opportunities almost entirely accounted for gendered patterns of out-migration, but they concentrate on the availability of primary industry work in local spaces, and find that parental support, and history with the community are important factors for those who choose or are able to stay. The transition of rural economies away from family and community-based industry toward work-away arrangements and occupationally specialized workforces changes the mobility imperative and constraints of rural life in substantial ways. Power’s (2017) findings about the discursive framing of individuals who stay home would indicate that women who remain in rural places have little employment options, little discursive

and political sway based on their employment status, and now, hugely disproportionate familial obligations.

Other scholars are concerned with the implications of mobility on social and community networks on the level of actual work, rather than getting to work (Temple-Newhook et al., 2011; Schmidt et al., 2012; Power et al., 2013; 2017). Power, Foley & Neis (2013) investigate “buddying up”, or the practice of fishing multiple licenses from a single vessel, as a response to restructuring policies which have made it more challenging to fish with a single quota, as harvesters have done in the past. In further research presented in 2017, Power et al. highlight the ways that increased mobility in fishing practices may result in a failure of the intergenerational recruitment system which has sustained small-scale fishing in Newfoundland and elsewhere for many generations. Youth are leaving rural spaces in great numbers while there are less fishing resources to be passed on as a result of restructuring and changing fishing practices (recall the challenges of growing start-up costs and the lack of social encouragement to engage in fishing noted by Neis et al. in 2013). Where Bjarnason & Thorlindsson (2005) highlight access to primary industry as a key factor for stayers in rural communities, for men in particular, the mobility imperative which has served to push young women out of rural communities to find work (Neis et al., 2013) may now push men out with a similar logic. Their economic and mobile responses, however, are markedly different from those choices made by out-migrating women in response to their work options (Haan et al., 2014) and social supports. Temple-Newhook et al. (2011) conclude, after reviewing existing literature on mobility, community and personal health in Canada, that the implications of personal and employment-related mobility on community health, class, and gender, is under-investigated and is deserving of greater attention in light of

shifting economic and social practices, like those presented by Power, Foley & Neis (2013, 2017).

Rural places, and mobility from and to them, differ from urban mobility in substantial ways related to physical space and geography. For many individuals, interacting with this geography determines their eligibility for local resource extraction work. Norman, Power & Dupre (2011) investigated the role of territorial mobility in the leisure activities of young people in rural Newfoundland, finding similarly to Pocius (1991) that territory is defined and accessed in gendered ways. They write, “thus, discourses of rurality and masculinity have a mutually constitutive relationship, whereby each gains its intelligibility in and through its representational proximity to the other” (Norman et al., 2011; p.8). Girls who engaged with natural space in the same way as boys are seen as exceptions to the natural order, and the use of mobility resources like ski-dooes and ATVs were clearly divided along gender lines, implying unequal access to these resources in the first place, and different meanings attached to mobility for boys and girls in the second. Norman & Power (2015) broaden this analysis to young women (16-24) in rural spaces in Western Newfoundland, focusing on the way that mobility is both informed by larger narratives of crisis and restructuring, and informative of feminine subjectivities. A highly gendered labour force (in which older women fill the vast majority of service sector positions and men are engaged in resource extraction and skilled labor) results in an intensified mobility imperative for young women; upward mobility almost necessarily means outward mobility (Norman & Power, 2015). The inability of young women to find meaningful or “good” jobs in their preferred location, their home, is viewed by them as a failure of the self, mostly relieving the gendered labour force and policy of its culpability in this outcome.

The relationship between mobility, restructuring and gender is certainly an important point of investigation for fisheries scholars as harvesting work itself becomes more mobile (Power et al., 2013;2017) and the social conditions of fishing communities necessitate increased mobility from those who live there (Temple-Newhook et al., 2011; Neis et al., 2013; Haan et al., 2014). While some work has been done on mobile fishing practices and mobility in response to shifting and restructured out-port economies, there is little research on the way fisheries exit informs, shifts and advances these mobility patterns. This is the final gap filled by this thesis. This case-study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program begins the work of carrying what we know about mobility and fish harvesting beyond the time individuals spend actually harvesting, and investigates a different worker than that previously investigated. By investigating the structured and preferred E-RGM for harvesters that have left the fishery, and the mobile responses of those around them, we can advance our understanding of mobility networks in rural and coastal spaces, as well as our understanding of the relationship between restructuring and mobility for people in out-port communities. Investigating the progression of mobility through retirement allows a clearer picture of the relationship between policy, mobility, and the practices of daily life.

Building a Theoretical Approach

There is evidently a tradition of contextual, feminist fisheries research in Newfoundland and elsewhere which provides a sturdy foundation for analyzing fisheries exit. Grzetic (2004), Power (2005) and Neis et al. (2005) make it clear that efforts to restructure and rationalise fisheries in Newfoundland are far from neutral; based on neoliberal policies and focused on concentrating fisheries wealth in fewer, more capitalized hands has led not only to fisheries policies which systematically exclude the work which women have historically conducted in the

fishery, but precludes them from obtaining official and social accreditation as harvesters. Power (2005) argues that until restructuring initiatives take historical and ongoing inequalities into consideration, they will never produce equality, or fair and equal opportunities for female harvesters. Importantly for this project, these scholars highlight the importance of investigating divisions of labour on household, communal and societal levels, not only to understand how certain work is credited as necessary and worthy of compensation, but also to understand how inequalities in ownership, professional status and household resources are compounded by restructuring initiatives. Exposure to restructuring policy, according to these authors, is neither a guarantee or an accident, but rather the result of gender-blind policies applied to highly gendered systems of work. Divisions of labour, and how these are taken up in policy, are central to understanding this mechanism.

Despite acknowledgement that retirement is a popular and oft-employed method of restructuring, it is scarcely taken up by fisheries scholars as a process with distinctly gendered consequences. Issues of choice and agency central to scholars who examine retirement from secondary and service industries are problematized by scholars like Power (2005), Keating & Marshall (1980) and Keating & Little (1994). These scholars establish an imperative to include familial context in discussions of retirement and necessitate the inclusion of such topics as inheritance, ownership, divisions of labour, personal mobility and the mobility of children within questions of retirement decisions. Teh et al. (2017) and Johnsen & Vik (2013) provide a place to begin understanding the economic, personal and political factors which may pull harvesters from the shore or the rationalization policies and increasing mobility of the profession that may push them out. They, too, acknowledge that these decisions cannot be separated from their social and familial contexts. Johnsen & Vik (2013) in particular provide an integral link to mobilities

scholarship. Because many individuals who retire from the fishery may go on to other work, mobility is an essential element in considering whether retirement is a viable option, whether harvesters can stay in their home communities after retirement, and how these options will be negotiated within a spousal pairing and understood in their communities. While Johnsen & Vik (2013) and Teh et al. (2017) begin to examine how professional status, ownership and geographical location may determine work options after they exit the fishery, this topic is clarified substantially by mobility scholars.

Vodden & Hall (2016), Power, Foley & Neis (2013, 2017) and Power (2017) provide the final cornerstone of this project's theoretical frame by investigating how ongoing restructuring initiatives and processes, some directed, some not, have changed mobility narratives and networks in Newfoundland to prioritize particular kinds of work and corresponding mobility arrangements which can sustain that work. They also stress the social implications of work-away arrangements for young families, and women left at home. While this is an important consideration, retired individuals are faced with different abilities, family obligations and priorities in decisions about their future work and must be considered separately from these younger workers which are largely the subject of these analyses. Despite different experiences of these factors for older workers, these scholars provide insight into the ways that local and distant employment options, the social value attached to those options, and the supports necessary to access those options indeed will shape employment choices. Their employment decisions are certainly not free choices but are constructed by local narratives of work and working away, employment networks and arrangements of unpaid and household labour.

These scholars provide a strong theoretical frame through which to think about gender as informative of retirement experiences. While the retirement literature predominantly looks at differences between men's and women's retirement processes, literature on fisheries restructuring encourages scholars to look at institutional processes which benefit particular types of work and workers and in turn produce gendered outcomes and reinforce gender norms and behaviors. Further, it encourages scholars to consider how existing dynamics of work and ownership may be taken up in restructuring policies in deliberate ways to produce and reproduce inequalities. These inequalities are likely tied to existing patterns of E-RGM and the ability and necessity of finding work in local places after exiting the fishery. While most existing scholarship on mobility in Newfoundland focuses on youth, retirees are in a vastly different position financially, educationally and socially, although many of the factors considered by this scholarship (local employment networks, narratives and social value attached to work, dynamics of unpaid work) are still highly relevant. In a similar way to how these scholars examine the push and pull of rural space in relation to training, family and gender, I have investigated how mobility is both a factor in retirement and other employment choices, as well as an outcome. This chapter and the scholarship explored within it provide a theoretical frame through which to explore the LERP in a critical way. In the following chapter, I describe how this theoretical frame has been operationalized in the design and implementation of this project.

Chapter 3: Methods

In the introduction to this thesis, I established three research questions which guide my inquiry into the LERP. The first sought to understand how the process of retirement through the LERP was gendered, and the gendered organizations of daily life which contributed to inequalities experienced in retirement. The second question investigates how these gendered experiences are codified in the program itself. Finally, I ask how mobility was a factor or an outcome to retirement decisions, and how mobility was negotiated within spousal pairings, families and communities. To this end, I conducted interviews with 11 harvesters, in person and over the phone, about their work, retirement and mobility. Several of these were group interviews with a spousal pairings or other fishing arrangements. I performed a textual analysis of documents from all stages of the program and supplemented and interpreted what I learned from these documents with key informant testimony. This chapter seeks to accomplish two tasks; first, I aim to provide a detailed history of how this study was conducted in terms of methods used and the data I obtained through them. Second, I aim to justify these methods through Smith's (2005) work on Institutional Ethnography, supplemented with other writings on methodology, and through the theoretical frame established in the previous chapter.

In the following pages, I explain how this project came to be: the central literature which helped me establish the research gap I intend to fill, how I came to a case study as a method of investigating larger trends, and how I determined to conduct my research in LFA 11. I then describe the case itself by providing a brief description of the LERP and the LFA in which I conducted my research. The following section provides an overview of Institutional Ethnography as a sociology and as a methodological framework and explores why it is particularly helpful for this project. From here, I explain the actual methods I used to conduct the research, the

methodological justification for them and their execution during the research process. I conclude the chapter with a brief exploration of the struggles I encountered with the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR) and how this impacted my sample and research overall.

Developing the Project

In the early days of my Masters degree, I had ideas about studying fisheries restructuring and family dynamics in outport communities that were grounded in academic research. My supervisor team gave me a reading list; Dr. Nicole Power's (2005) *What Do They Call a Fishermen?* and *Changing Tides*, a collection edited by Neis et al. (2005), were first. These books introduced me to the way fisheries scholars think about gender in relation to work and everyday life, and the sociological concepts and avenues they use to explore these relations. Throughout my first year of graduate school, I became engaged with the work of other feminist scholarship on fisheries like restructuring like that of Siri Gerrard, Dean Bavington and Brenda Grzetic. Discussed in more detail in the previous chapter, these authors approach restructuring, both as an ongoing ecological process and a highly directed institutional objective, with a critical lens. It quickly became clear that fisheries rationalization as a general process, and the re-organization of fishing licenses and resources as specific policy directives, were and are far from neutral.

Still unclear on how I wished to engage with restructuring in my own research, I spoke to another graduate student at MUN engaged in fisheries work, Sharmane Allen. In addition to giving me a clearer idea of the institutions I was hoping to study, she suggested I focus my research on a specific piece of policy. I would be able to engage with participants in a more in-

depth way and analyze the specific, textual mechanisms utilized in the program to necessitate particular outcomes and inequalities in the lives of harvesters. She assured me that these inequalities very much existed. As the most recently implemented buyback, and one that has not yet been subject to detailed academic analysis, I settled on the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program as my case.

I searched the DFO, DFA and FFAW websites for mentions of the LERP. In this initial search, I was able to obtain a provincial evaluation of the program, a few species assessments produced by the DFO, an article in the Union Forum magazine in which details of the program's conclusions were recounted, and two sets of minutes from the Special Committee on Lobster meetings in which the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures (ALSM) program was developed. I read these items mostly for content, making notes on what was required of harvesters, how harvesters were imagined in these documents, and the central indicators of both crisis and rationalization for the lobster fishery in Newfoundland. While the meeting minutes stress the urgency of a solution to the crash in lobster prices in the mid-2000s, the assessments unanimously touted a successful program. Timely, under budget, and well-received by harvesters, the LERP is imagined quite favourably in all reports, and is highlighted as a model for potential future programs.

From this first reading, I was able to secure the practical details of the program. I was able to piece together a brief history of the program as a vestige of the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Act (ALSM) which had been developed and implemented by the FFAW. The program had been cost-shared with the province as well, which confirmed the institutional players I would need to address in this thesis: the DFO, the DFA and the FFAW. I

has a basic idea of the program's objectives and reported outcomes, and it was clear that institutional stakeholders had been pleased with the program's outcomes. Evaluations of the program unanimously claimed higher-than-anticipated participation among harvesters, more licenses and gear removed than projected, and the completion of the program under budget, and within the allotted time frame. It appeared to me, and was later confirmed by FFAW informants, that this project was a model for future cooperation between institutional stakeholders, and would likely be implemented in other fisheries should the conditions be right to do so. These readings confirmed to me that this was a restructuring initiative worth investigating, and over several rounds of proposal writing, the concept and methodology of this project came together.

The Case: LFA 11 & The LERP

In the documents mentioned in the previous section, I found information on species and incomes, how many harvesters retired, where they were located, and the structures of value and compensation which were implemented. Making use of this information, I chose LFA 11, first, because more licenses were retired in this LFA than in any other in which the program operated. The Burin Peninsula, which is home to Grand Bank and Fortune Bay and many surrounding ports in which lobster has been fished for hundreds of years, would likely make an excellent starting point. I had also secured a contact on the South Coast through my supervisory team who was willing to help with recruitment in the area. I was able to drive to this LFA from my home in St. John's, which meant that I could take several short trips to the region rather than one long trip, and spend the times in between building contacts and reviewing existing data for themes to be investigated on subsequent trips. The case for LFA 11 was certainly strong, and I committed to engaging in my field work here.

In this part of the province, as in many others, lobster is caught from small, open boats which make it easier to navigate shallow waters. Because lobster is typically found close to shore (meaning that harvesters for the most part are able to sleep in their own beds each night through the season) fishing with a spouse or a



Figure 3: Traps stacked for winter

child is particularly common. Many husbands and wives fish lobster together and include their children in varying capacities throughout their careers. Harvesters may also fish occasionally with other family members, like cousins, uncles, parents and grandparents, and even neighbors. The south and west coasts of the island are rich waters for lobster, with an abundance of rocky shorelines for them to settle in during the spring months before their molt – the time at which they are caught. On the south coast of the island, the historical and ongoing investment in lobster fishing is part of the geography: lobster traps stand neatly stacked against the sides of houses and sheds, small boats wait on quiet slipways, cracks in the brightly coloured paint of boat houses, standing up out of the water on stilts, reveal decades of use.

Newfoundlanders have developed lobster fishing practices and arrangements tightly tethered to local economies and geographies, and gendered understandings of work, space and mobility. A key informant reported that, “you can see it as plain as if you were in a fishing community that had a plant, most of the ladies were in the plant and not in the boat. But if there wasn’t a plant in that area, then the ladies were in the boat”. Arrangements of paid work were dependent on and reflective of arrangements of unpaid work, and the boundaries between the two were blurred by the familiar relationships which still make up these arrangements.

Lobster fishing efforts were unregulated until the 1970s, with the exception of a few legislated conservation measures, when a limited-entry licensing system was established. This is the management regime under which the fishery still operates (DFO, 2014). The DFO regulates who can and cannot fish lobster for distribution by regulating the sale (and to some degree, trade) of licenses, which entitle individual license holders to fish a certain number of traps for the length of the pre-determined season. The shortness of the lobster season and its lack of overlap with most other seasons, as well as the convenience of fishing a species close to home made lobster an extremely popular fishery across the south and west coast of the island.

In person, I was able to gain a visual appreciation of the daily life that harvesters described, both through my own observations and the collection of field notes and through engagements with participants. George, for example, took me out to the small launch behind his home and showed me the boat he kept in his retirement. He produced a lobster trap and explained its workings to me in great

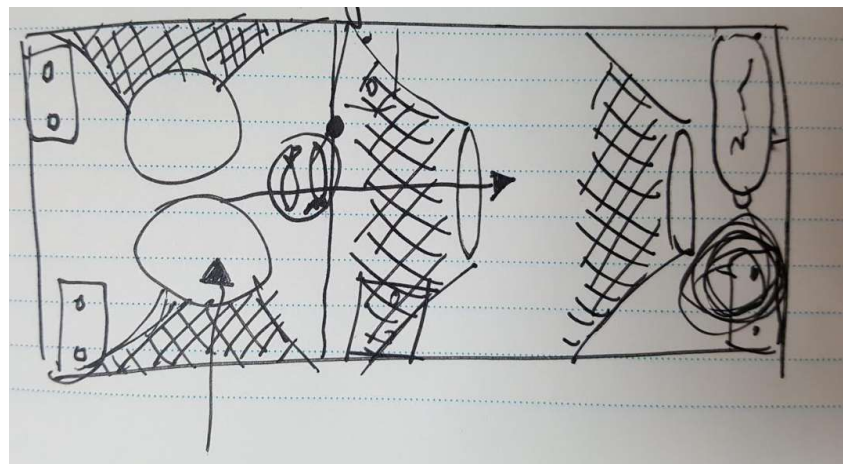


Figure 4: Diagram of a lobster trap (excerpt from field notes)

detail. Anne spent nearly an hour showing me her latest knit products, including a pair of baby booties she intended to donate to her community. Mary fielded a phone call from her daughter during our interview, which occurs daily. She proudly gave me a tour of her home to look at photos of her daughter and her grandchildren for whom she provides a great deal of support. The intricacy of the work knowledge I was able to collect during my interviews guided my

investigation into the LERP, and ultimately guided my understandings of the coordination of work which occurs between harvesters and governing bodies.

Developed by the Fish, Food, and Allied Workers (FFAW Unicor), the LERP was implemented as part of the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Programme (an ongoing DFO initiative) between 2009 and May 2014. It was developed to reduce the number of lobster dependent enterprises across Atlantic Canada and therefore increase fishing revenues for remaining harvesters throughout the province (DFA, 2015). The program was made up of two components. The first was a Voluntary Trap Reduction. Each LFA was consulted, and agreed to reduce their trap limit equally across the LFA by a particular number. In LFA 11, the trap limit was lowered from 200 to 185. Through what key informants have referred to as “creative accounting”, these traps were compensated by the provincial government, and in each LFA, the trap revenues were matched with ALSM funding to produce a retirement fund. Upon the completion of the VTR, the retirement program was implemented.

The LERP allowed harvesters to exit the industry through a reverse auction, wherein they suggested a price for their enterprise (including their mandatory groundfish licenses, their lobster license and all other licenses registered to the enterprise) through a mailed-in bid to the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB – an arm’s length institution established by the FFAW). The NLSB would then determine how many of the lowest bids could be accepted in each bidding round, and individuals were given the choice to accept the offer made by the Board and retire their enterprise. Should they change their mind and not accept the offer, they lost their eligibility to bid in subsequent rounds although according to key informants, there were several exceptions to this rule. Between 7 and 10 bidding rounds were held in each LFA depending on

the uptake from harvesters: when the FFAW had determined that harvesters were no longer interested in bidding, they closed the program in these areas.

In subsequent years, lobster prices boomed to unprecedented levels as the economy recovered, and remaining harvesters saw a substantial increase in revenues from lobster resources. Stakeholders in the program claim this jump in lobster revenues has a great deal to do with redistribution of the resource through the LERP. The program is noted in all available reports as a success in the acquisition of a significant number of fishing licenses (263 lobster, nearly 500 other species licenses) and a reduction in effort. The FFAW in particular was pleased with the cooperation between “industry” (a way of referring to the FFAW) and different levels of government.

Institutional Ethnography

Institutional Ethnography, as a framework and a methodology, became part of this project in the later stages of my proposal. It had become clear that I would need to investigate LERP documents alongside harvester testimony in some way, and Dr. Nicole Power suggested to me that I was using this framework without identifying it as such. She introduced me to Dorothy Smith, a well-known and well-published Canadian sociologist, famous for the methodology I rely heavily on in this project. Smith (2005) developed this “sociology” in opposition to the sociology she had been trained in – one which impressed theory on individuals and phenomena in order to understand them. Institutional Ethnography does exactly the opposite: it begins from the standpoint of individual actors in their everyday lives and explores interactions with institutions to discover the institutional processes of which we are all a part but are typically not aware. She argues the institutional texts are the key juncture between individual actors and

institutional processes: they are tools which institutions use to synthesize human reality into a manageable object.

The Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP) is an example of what Smith (2005) would call an institutional intervention. The intervention is a window – an opportunity to observe the explicit interactions between individuals and institutions and understand these interactions in their more implicit forms through the daily work and life of fish harvesters. By first understanding their lived realities and the complexity of their work, I can track the compression and textualization of that work into institutionally manageable information. This is an incredibly useful approach. Harvesters who submitted a bid under the LERP have an important standpoint: they see the complexities of their work and work arrangements, and are responsible for using institutional texts to trigger their own process of retirement. They themselves are only able to see part of this process – the bid application. By tracking this application through the institution, I am able to observe and indeed, analyze, the institutional chain of events which eventually re-integrates with harvester's realities when their bid is either accepted or denied. Smith (2005) argues that I am able to “make visible what is ordinarily taken for granted, that the very organization of the everyday is permeated with connections that extend beyond it” (Smith, 2005; p.40). Through the window of the LERP, the processual and purposeful workings of the institution become clear; institutional understandings and management of harvesters' realities are transformed back into their reality, and as Smith notes, beyond it. This seemingly localized interaction that harvesters have with the NLSB not only provides a window through which institutional processes can be observed, but so too can we observe institutional understandings of harvesters, harvesting practices, fisheries management and the future of fishing in outport communities as they intend it to unfold.

Conducting the Research

Recruitment

Through my supervisory team, I was able to get in contact with a female harvester living on the South Coast, who helped me understand the industry and area I intended to research, and provided me with practical information about accessing research participants and getting around the region. Her advice largely motivated my first trip to the Burin Peninsula to gain some contacts in the area when she suggested that the best way to access these individuals was simply to approach them and ask. She offered me a few phone numbers and, like my contact at the FFAW, was confident that participants would be happy to help if they knew it was for school. Pending ethics approval, I tucked these phone numbers into my back pocket and prepared my application for the Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research (ICEHR).

Recruitment began in late October, 2017. Reaching this specific population of harvesters who had retired through the LERP was an unexpected challenge. I proposed to contact harvesters directly by way of snowball sampling to propose my project and discuss their potential involvement. Unfortunately, I was unable to obtain ethics clearance to contact participants directly (this is discussed in greater detail at the end of this chapter) and was obliged to have participants contact me, either on the advice of someone they knew, or in response to my recruitment materials. To that end, I recruited passively using a poster, which I stuck on mailboxes and bulletin boards across LFA 11 and distributed widely in local Buy & Sell and Yardsale groups. Unfortunately, this method did not yield any participation.

I took three trips to LFA 11 in total, the first of which was almost entirely meant to recruit and make connections in the community. On warmer days, I would walk long stretches of harbour to find someone to talk to, and on the commonly much colder days, I would drive to

an area where I could see a person and approach them on foot. I usually began with a comment about their work, the day, or the environment, which was typically received well, if with a little suspicion. The informants I spoke to in the planning stages of my thesis were correct; there was a visible calm that came over people when they learned I was a student and the suspicion almost always turned to curiosity. I never encountered an individual that did not help me to their best ability, although the help these individuals could provide was ultimately limited. They would frequently identify two or three community members that would be potential respondents and would often rattle off addresses, directions, and phone numbers, none of which I was ethically allowed to accept. I would give them my name and phone number, and ask them to pass along my contact information, but no responses came from these interactions either.

My strongest recruiting tool, and the one that led to my sample of harvesters, was a social contact. A fellow graduate student at another University got in touch with a friend whose father was well known in LFA 11. He felt that folks were unlikely to reach out to me without any sort of incentive and were unlikely to trust me without someone to vouch for me in the community. In a particular group of communities in LFA 11, he vouched for me. Within a day I had received three phone calls from harvesters and had scheduled three interviews for my second trip to LFA 11.

These three interviews, six participants total, led me to three other participants, who led me to my final two participants, interviewed across and between the following two trips. As planned, in my initial conversation with each participant, I asked who they fished with, and if their fishing partner would be willing to join us for the interview. Although there was no foreseeable way around this, the result was that I commonly recruited women through the men

that contacted me, rather than independently. Although I do believe this to be fairly representative of the population, I was only able to speak to women who were still married to or in close contact with their fishing partner, which presents a limitation to my sample. I also acknowledge as a limitation that the individuals I spoke to were well-known in their communities and were well connected. As much of my analysis focuses on the relationship harvesters have to their communities, it is important to consider the implications of such a

tightly snowball-ed sample.

As I was aware that many lobster harvesters fished with family, I hoped to interview harvesting teams together as much as possible which would likely (and ultimately did) mean interviewing in the presence of family, specifically spouses. This was intentional; Marjorie DeVault (2003) suggests that interviewing in the presence of

Name	Age	Gender	Years fishing (Ind.)	Years fishing (Comm.)	Fished with
Carl*	+65	M	~50	25	Brother, friend, wife
Anne*	+65	F	25		husband
Albert*	+70	M	49	~25	Brother, friend, wife
Mary*	~60	F	~25		husband
George*	67	M	54	27	Brother, daughter,
Christine*	~45	F	27		father
Tim	49	M	~30	20	Mark, wife
Nancy	47	F	20		Mark, husband
Mark	+65	M	51	N/A	Son-in-law, crewmen
Chris	61	M	29	N/A	Father-in-law, wife, children
Isaac	62	M	25	N/A	Friend, buddied-up

Table 1: Participant Overview

*Interviewed in presence of fishing partner

family members changes the nature of the analysis – gender is indeed a “matter of group life” (p.1303). I anticipated and am happy to report that my sample is reflective of this variation. Not only was I able to interview several partnerships together (marked in the Participant Overview

chart with a star) and understand the complexity of daily life as a spousal and economic pairing, I was able to interview harvesters who fished with hired crewmen as well as family, and in several cases, spouses. The chart to the right illustrates this variety of fishing arrangements I was able to investigate.

Field Notes

Despite the lack of interviews conducted on my first trip to LFA 11, I spent a great deal of time collecting field notes and taking photographs. As I spent most of this trip speaking to active harvesters on wharfs and in communities, these notes in particular are rich with local context. I kept a notebook in which I wrote about my interactions with community members and harvesters on each trip and kept contact information, tips about where to find potential participants, and local history that was shared with me. I made notes on landscapes, created environments, and acts I had witnessed, like the stacking of lobster traps in neat rows, and watching a teenage girl and her dad gutting fish in a small boat house, sipping undoubtedly cold (it was mid-November) beers. I was diligent about completing my field notes as quickly as possible as to retain as much detail as I could: I often wrote these notes against the steering wheel after a conversation with a local and patched them up upon returning to my hotel room in the evening.

During each interview, I kept this notebook close at hand and wrote notes on points I wished to look into further, institutional terms and phrases, and processes which harvesters references. After each interview, I wrote thorough notes on the environment in which the interview had taken place, who had been present, their demeanors and attitude toward me, my research, fisheries institutions, their own careers, their current activities, etc. As very little of this can be captured in audio recordings, I tried to capture emotional moments of interviews and the

time before and after as best I could. These notes were analyzed minimally, and mostly supplemented the data I gathered in interviews. While they do not provide strong data, per say, they provide indispensable context and have been used to colour participants' observations with emotion and gesture which would otherwise have been left out.

Harvester Interviews

In total, I conducted eleven interviews with harvesters which ranged between 35 minutes and nearly two hours. Some interviews were conducted over the phone, which provided a certain advantage for participants: several of my phone interviews are notably more honest and more emotional, likely due to the privacy and relative anonymity of a telephone conversation. The rest were conducted in person. These interviews, and the time before and after the interview, made up a substantial portion of my field notes. As these interviews took place in the homes of participants, they often opened and closed with personal anecdotes, show-and-tells of fishing equipment, family photos, the areas surrounding participants' homes, and in one case, a concert.

Smith (2005) understands the process of interviewing as a collaboration between researcher and participant to create what she calls work knowledge. She argues that this work knowledge breaks down into two useable categories of data; "one is a person's experience of and in their own work, what they do, how they do it, including what they think and feel; a second is the implicit or explicit coordination of his or her work with the work of others" (Smith, 2005; p.151). I crafted my original interview guide specifically to obtain this kind of information; how harvesters have experienced and still experience their work and retirement and how their work was coordinated by others in the fishery, like buyers, collection boat operators, the FFAW, and of course their fishing partners. I sought to map the co-ordinations of work among harvesters as well as between harvesters and institutions and designed two charts to further that end; the first

recorded professional information like sources of work outside of the fishery, license types and their acquisition, etc. The second recorded fishing partners throughout a person's career, the location and duration of the contact, and the nature of the relationship outside the boat. I intended to fill these charts in throughout the interview, as the information surfaced organically, and patch them up at the end of the interview. The rest of the guide broke down into long-form questions about work, the process of retirement and life in retirement. The questions alone totalled about two pages, divided into four categories; intro & history, harvesting, LERP, and retirement. I wrote these questions as I would have asked them and tried to frame most questions in a "tell me about..." format. In more complicated sentences than were necessary, I asked harvesters to explain how they conducted work on the boat, who did what and how that arrangements had been reached, how they began fishing, with whom and why, what they remember about their first times on the water, how they had heard about the program, how they had reached a retirement decision, who they had consulted on the topic, what their life is like in retirement, and what takes up their time at this stage of their life, to name a few.

My first interview with Christine and George was certainly eye-opening; not only was my interview guide unnecessarily restrictive in its specificity and incredibly difficult to navigate in a conversational setting, I had not considered that harvesters already had an idea of what was central to their work and retirement stories. Even for those that didn't have an explicit idea they wanted to get across, some harvesters highlighted experiences and processes as central, where others swept over these processes as irrelevant and uninteresting. I learned quickly that rather than the exclusive work of the researcher, guiding the interview would have to be a joint effort, and the tools I was using to guide the conversation were cumbersome and inefficient.

I rewrote the interview guide and trimmed it down to just over a page worth of bullet points. This second interview guide became more of a check-list to ensure that I had allowed participants a chance to explain different topics like, starting to fish, hearing about the LERP, life in retirement. I was able to listen more carefully with a smaller, more easily navigable interview guide, and I was able to connect participants' comments to points on my interview guide and ask targeted follow up questions to get the information I was looking for in a less chronological way. For the most part, my job as the interviewer consisted of asking participants to break apart concepts or activities they mentioned into more detail. "Going out", for example, breaks down into the shared responsibilities but mostly independent actions of filling up the boat with gas, preparing fresh bait bags, steering the boat, hauling the traps, refilling the traps, tagging the lobsters, rebaiting the traps, counting and cataloguing the lobsters, etc. "Getting supper on" breaks down into similarly minute, but important, tasks which were particularly insightful for couples that harvested together. Gabb & Fink (2015) argue for a "moments approach" to the study of long-term couples in which "couple relationships are constituted, experienced and afforded meaning through the everyday" (p.972). This approach synthesizes easily with scholarship that understands inequality in the home as produced by and in production of everyday work (Hochschild, 1989; Brandth et al., 1998; Lippe et al., 2010; McLaughlin et al., 2013; Borge et al., 2015; Roeters et al., 2016).

I transcribed and coded all of the interviews in Microsoft Word, using comments to broadly code by theme and then code again more in-depth. I coded inductively, free-coding by theme, and then adding codes to the list as they became relevant in the in-depth code, resulting in a large code book of just over 100 codes. As I collected the codes together in a separate document, I combined codes that were duplicates or that logically became a single code,

resulting in the analysis of about 80 codes overall. The codes break down into a few categories: family, LERP interaction, daily work, finance, ocean & community health, fishing-profession, fishing-personal and retirement process. From this point I began the analysis of codes by combining them in various ways, and lining up the experiences of harvesters who retired through the LERP with the program documents I had acquired, discussed in greater detail below. In accordance with Institutional Ethnography, I pieced together harvesters' experiences of the program with program documents themselves, which was enormously insightful.

This approach to coding revealed institutional chains of action of which harvesters were apart, and allowed me to locate specific junctures in institutional texts where certain work, and the individuals who conducted that work, were either excluded or called to action. The calls to action could be connected to harvester processes, for example, how and by whom the bid form was filled out, and then rejoined the textual processes which I had coded for in the institutional documents. Indeed, the goals of my document analysis and the topics addressed with key informants were generated largely by these details – the documents, processes, and institutional interactions which were central to harvesters' accounts of their work and retirement were the starting point for entering the institutional process.

Textual Analysis

Institutional ethnographers rely on textual analysis as a primary method of tracking the everyday experiences of individuals through an institutional process. Indeed, texts are typically the go-between for institutions and the individuals who wish to or are obligated to interact with them. Smith (2005) writes, “texts perform at that key juncture between the local settings of people's everyday worlds and the ruling relations” (p.101). Hesse-Biber (2010) and Torrence (2012) stress the multiplicity of reality created by texts, and provide some insight into what

Smith (2005) refers to as “performance”. There is the reality of life outside of the text, and then there is the condensed and carefully framed reality which the text then interpolates to its reader and synthesizer, the institution. The moment at which one reality is transformed into another, for Smith (2005) is the moment of textualization. There is a conversation had between the writer of the text and the reader of the text, during which the writer frames the text to produce particular answers, the reader produces answers according to what it imagines the writer of the text is looking for, and the text is passed back through the institution to be interpreted according to the writer’s objectives and acted upon. The act of reading a text “inserts the text’s message into the local setting and the sequence of action into which it is read” (Smith, 2005; p.105), meaning that texts themselves have a transformative effect on the reality which is being textualized. Texts are the link between the local and the extra-local; where the daily workings of a family enterprise meet the greater economic and political structures which both constrain and enable its existence, operation and retirement.

In this case, the texts which become part of this reader-writer conversation, meaning the texts directly passed between harvesters and the proprietors of the LERP, are the bid submission package and the bid acceptance package, which I obtained from a key informant during our interview. Both key informants recommended I obtain the DFA report produced in 2015 entitled *The Evaluation of the Conservation and Sustainability Plan for the Newfoundland Lobster Fishery*, which was central to my analysis. Other documents, like the *Union Forum* and DFO reports on the lobster stocks, were obtained through systematic searches of DFO, DFA and FFAW online resources for a number of search terms including the program names (Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program, Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Program) and the species name. Any document which referenced Newfoundland’s participation in the program

was included. Meeting minutes, obtained from the Parliament of Canada website, were obtained later on the suggestion of Dr. Nicole Power, but through a similar search strategy. I used the documents I had initially read for content, in addition to some new material, to trace the compressions and textualizations I observed in the bid submission and acceptance packages through the large institutional framework of planning, implementing and assessing the buyback program.

Between acquiring the documents and performing this analysis were many hours of coding. As the documents were acquired from various sources and were kept in varying formats, I coded some with Microsoft word, some using comments in Adobe and others by hand, in hard copy. This codebook, also inductive, was much smaller; codes fit under the large headings of LERP details, FFAW details, ALSM details, Industry and Document. The category of Document made up most of what Smith (2005) would call the textual process; exchange, purpose, creation, description, process and audience for each document when possible. The textual setting of the documents are presented in **Table 2**.

Table 2: Overview of Document Context & Institutional Process

Document & Type		Publication Date	Creation	Description	Process
Stock Assessments	Assessment of American Lobster in Newfoundland in 2012	2015	Canadian Science Advisory Secretariat for Fisheries and Oceans Canada	"progress reports" (p.ii) on the state of population and fishery	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Various fishery-dependent data sources from across province - Synthesized into reports by DFO-affiliated researchers - Used to track population & industry changes

	Assessment of American Lobster in Newfoundland	2013	" "	"progress reports" (Coughlan et al., 2015, p.ii) on the state of population and fishery	" "
	Assessment of American Lobster in Newfoundland	2016	" "	" "	" "
Program Evaluations	The Evaluation of the Conservation and Sustainability Plan for the Newfoundland Lobster Fishery	Sept. 2015	Conducted by MQO Research for the Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture	Internal assessment of the Conservation and Sustainability Plan for the Newfoundland Lobster Fishery, through which all ALSM programming ran in NL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Commissioned by the Department of Fisheries and Aquaculture after the conclusion of all ALSM programming in Newfoundland - Third-party research group analyzed program documents received from DFA, DFO & FFAW, and conducted with 10 key informants - Synthesized into report for provincial government, published online for public access
	The Union Forum	Spring 2014	Produced by Editorial Board of the FFAW, various contributors	Union magazine, published online & in hard copy seasonally, which contains overview of LERP just before program closure	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Author unclear - Intended to update harvesters on objectives set and met by the LERP
Meeting Minutes	Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans Evidence from Thursday, June 18 th , 2009	June 18 th , 2009	Minutes for meeting chaired by Mr. Rodney Weston	Meeting at which need for ALSM is discussed, potential benefits in receiving provinces, some broad design discussions	- Standing committee meeting featuring Mr. Greg Roach (Assistant Deputy Minister, DFA, Nova Scotia)

					- Recorded and published online, publicly accessible
	Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans Evidence from Thursday, May 23 rd , 2013	May 23 rd , 2013	Minutes for meeting chaired by Mr. Rodney Weston	Meeting at which the role of the Lobster Council of Canada is discussed in terms of past, future restructuring & ongoing price instability	- Standing committee meeting featuring Geoff Irvine (Executive Director, Lobster Council of Canada) - Recorded and published online, publicly accessible
Program Documents	LERP – Bid Submission Package Cover Letter (Round 1)	December 9 th , 2011	Produced & distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Overview of ALSM origin, LERP objectives and operations, and instructions on submitting a bid	-First piece of documentation harvesters received about the program from NLSB -Mailed to harvesters at front of bid submissions package -No information necessary, not returned to NLSB
	LERP – Information Brochure (Round 1)	December 2011	Produced & distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Complete description of all program workings, instructions to harvesters, conditions of program eligibility and acceptance.	-Mailed to harvesters with bid submission package -Intended to describe all details of LERP and all processes to harvesters before they submit a bid -No information necessary, not returned to NLSB
	LERP – Offer to Sell Application (Round 1)	December 2011	Produced & Distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Top of page: basic information about harvester & enterprise Middle of page: declaration of	-Mailed to harvesters with bid submission package -To be read, filled out and re-submitted to NLSB

				<p>program requirements</p> <p>Bottom of page: amount of offer to sell, signature</p>	<p>for consideration of bid</p> <p>-When received by NLSB, identifying information attached, LFA, enterprise value and offer become useable information discussed by board</p>
	LERP – Information Circular (Round 10)	December 2013	Produced & distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Overview of program, results of previous round, eligibility & conditions of acceptance, and bid assessment process	<p>- Produced by the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board</p> <p>- Mailed to harvesters in bid acceptance package</p> <p>- Not returned to the NLSB, informational</p>
	LERP – Approval Letter (Round 10)	December 2013	Produced & distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Contains details of bid acceptance and instructions for accepting the offer of retirement	<p>- Produced by the NLSB</p> <p>- Mailed to harvesters in bid acceptance package</p> <p>- Provides harvesters instructions on accepting offer of retirement</p> <p>- Not returned to the NLSB, information</p>
	LERP – license Waiver (Round 10)	December 2013	Produced & distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Enterprise retirement waiver to protect stakeholders from legal action related to retirement through the LERP	<p>- Produced by the NLSB</p> <p>- Mailed to harvesters in bid acceptance package</p> <p>- Some basic information to be filled out and signed by harvester</p> <p>- Returned to NLSB to release stakeholders from claims, suits, actions</p>

					or demands related to retirement through LERP
	LERP – Enterprise Retirement Agreement (Round 10)	December 2013	Produced & distributed by Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board	Agreement to retire enterprise in exchange for the offered sum	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Produced by the NLSB - Mailed to harvesters in bid acceptance package - Requires written declaration of retirement from harvester and signed - Returned to the NLSB

The rest of the categories intended to code less for context and more for content. FFAW and ALSM details largely contained codes related to interactions with harvesters, program structures, objectives, challenges and indications of success. Industry included a number of codes related to the representation of harvesters in the documents, and included codes like lobster dependency, harvester finances (communal and individual), fishing practices and harvester response.

Key Informants

When I had completed my harvester interviews and began to think about analyzing documents, I returned to the individuals who guided the design of my project from an institutional standpoint. The first key informant had been introduced to me by my supervisory team, and had provided substantial background information for my project in its early stages. The second key informant contacted me on the advice of the first key informant. Both were employed by the FFAW during the design and implementation of the LERP, and while one was highly involved in its planning and development, the other had been highly involved in its implementation and had conducted a number of meetings with harvesters over the course of the

program. These key informants were able to fill in the gaps which were left by institutional documents; the time between the ALSM's announcement and the LERP's announcement had been intensive for the FFAW, and this time was minimally accounted for by any document. Details about Union meetings, the actual process of assessing bids in terms of roles and institutional processes, and the existence of the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB) which technically conducted all business related to the LERP were only a few of the elements of the program clarified by these key informants.

Our interviews were long, an hour and an hour and a half, and ranged in topics from their personal experiences with harvesters during the program, other programs the FFAW or they personally have been involved with, general and specific objectives of restructuring policy, changes to licensing policy throughout the last century and the future of the fishery. Perhaps the most important result of these interviews was the opportunity to establish an institutional lens; a picture of the fishery from the institutional standpoint, rather than the harvester standpoint. These interviews helped me to learn how institutions understand and refer to harvesters, regions and programs, and the assumptions they make about harvesting and those who carry it out.

They served another central purpose in the analysis of text. The switch between reality and the institutionally managed codification of that reality, or the moment of textualization, is both purposeful and productive, according to Smith (2005). Key informants provide insight into the larger chain of production in which textualization takes place. They can bring into focus the conceptual intention of a policy or program, and the managing of various intentions, of which policy is the result. Lauren Eastwood (2014) writes that "text-reader interactions take place as policymakers debate and negotiate policy, strategically deploying the conceptual currency

relevant to the organization and leveraging points of contention between governments in order to influence policy documents” (p.65). In this regard, my first key informant, whose role in the LERP was largely strategic and political in nature, provided great insight. His intense familiarity with the various stakeholders, their financial and political involvement, objectives and institutional facility both within and beyond the LERP provided a thorough understanding of the program’s genesis and design.

Devault (2008) justifies speaking to stakeholder-involved individuals to grasp an understanding of textualization as a product as well; “The moment of textualization, for each actor, is one moment in an extended course of action; people anticipate textualization, and, when it is completed, they expect to use its product elsewhere” (p.67). The second key informant with whom I spoke was central to the implementation of the LERP. He was intimately familiar with the documents which went back and forth between the board which facilitated the bid process, and harvesters. He provided me with those documents. This respondent had particularly important insights into the process of textualization; during our interview, we went through the bid submission document together, and he explained the intended product of each blank to be filled in by harvesters, its motivation, as well as its use in bid assessment and acceptance. He was able to explain the system of valuing bids, both economically in terms of which bids were accepted and why, but also in terms of administrative infrastructure and the physical process of analyzing and accepting bids during any given round. This key informant was integral to understanding the chain of production which made up the actual workings of the LERP.

Navigating Ethics

The first application I had submitted to the ICEHR was not accepted due to the recruiting methods I had suggested. The Board felt that contacting participants directly would

result in undue pressure on harvester to participate and would approve only passive methods of recruiting. Rather than explaining my project to harvesters along with conditions of participation, the ICEHR preferred that harvesters view my recruiting materials online or in person, or hear of my project from friends and family, and contact me of their own volition. Interestingly, they did not enforce this stipulation on the contact I had with key informants at the DFO and FFAW: I was free to contact these individuals online, on the phone or in person. While it was never made explicit or justified, the ICEHR, in enforcing this stipulation selectively, created a hierarchy of credibility in which fisheries stakeholders were believed to be more capable of making decisions about their own involvement than were fish harvesters.

Aside from the ethical questions this posed, I was now faced with two challenges; first, many of the individuals I was hoping to talk to were unlikely to take the initiative in contacting a researcher, given the historically extractive nature of research conducted in rural Newfoundland. According to informants and community members, LERP retirees were diverse: many may be working in another province or on resource extraction projects in other communities and many were elderly and were unlikely to spend time on Facebook. It was hard to expect any of these individuals to contact me at the behest of a lengthy recruitment poster in their local café or Post Office, if they saw it at all. Second, and more methodologically challenging, was recruiting non-license holders (many are women) as well as license holders (most are men). Developing recruiting materials that targeted non-license holders equally and made it clear that their participation was as welcome and necessary as that of their partners', was certainly not easy, and I was never truly able to circumvent either of these problems. I faced serious challenges in recruiting, and had no uptake on any recruitment materials I had distributed. Snowball sampling was exclusively successful, and my male community contact had contacted only license holders

about the project, which means that all of the women to whom I spoke were recruited through their spouse or fishing partner. Despite my eventual success in recruiting, these stipulations certainly complicated the process.

Conclusion

Smith (2005) writes that, “the ethnographer’s results aim at extending the knowledge of those she or he works with as well as the knowledge of others similarly situated in institutional regimes” (p.42). This project began in the daily working lives of harvesters, both individually and within partnerships. The harvesters I spoke to fished across LFA 11 represented an array of working and living situations, but all shared the common experience of retiring or being retired through the LERP. I spoke to these harvesters about their experiences of work and retirement, focusing on the spaces where family, community, mobility and gender run through those experiences. I then began the work of extending these experiences through the textual interactions that harvesters had during their retirement through the LERP, either officially or unofficially, by investigating both program documents themselves as well as documents pertaining to the planning and assessment of the program.

Finally, I spoke to individuals at the FFAW who were involved in the design, creation and implementation of the LERP. These informants provided insight into the objectives and negotiations of various stakeholders in the design of the LERP, but also the textualizations which characterize the interactions that took place between harvesters and stakeholders through the LERP and the intended use of these textualizations. These informants provided a picture of the Newfoundland lobster fishery which is vastly different from the picture harvesters described. Between these understandings of the same industry stand the institutional processes which

transform the lived reality of individual harvesters into manageable data. An analysis of the LERP, the “key juncture between the local settings of people’s everyday worlds and the ruling relations” (Smith, 2005, p.101), and the institutional framework which produced and facilitated the program, is taken up in the next chapter.

Chapter 4: The Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program

The following two chapters report the major findings of this thesis. The first chapter focuses on the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP) itself – the program’s inception, design and implementation, and the institutional framework surrounding it. I critically assess understandings of the fishery, the organizing principles of the program, its construction and its implementation for underlying assumptions about the industry and objectives in altering it. This chapter largely relies on the institutional data I described in the previous chapter, which includes key informant interviews, program documents and assessments of the program. The second chapter relies on the data procured from harvesters themselves. Their narratives of retirement are placed in the context of rural life, paid and unpaid work, and family arrangements. I investigate the actual process of their retirement or exit from fishery, from negotiating a retirement decision to accepting an offer of sale and transitioning out of the fishery, as it is constructed and informed by policy and interpreted and enacted by harvesters. These chapters together intend, first, to clarify inconsistencies between institutional and harvester understandings of living and working in fishing communities on the South Coast and the corresponding erasures and compressions of actual life which these understandings necessitate, and second, to understand the gendered operations and outcomes of these inconsistencies as they are expressed and negotiated by harvesters.

The Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP) came into being when the Food, Fish & Allied Workers Union (FFAW) took up the opportunity to apply to the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Program (ALSM) which offered funds on a cost-shared basis to rationalize lobster fishing efforts across Atlantic Canada. The ALSM, and subsequently the LERP, were implemented in response to what government and union stakeholders have referred

to as a crisis in the Atlantic lobster fishery. The difficult economic conditions in which harvesters found themselves, with little to fish and dwindling returns on what they were able to fish, became a central justification for stakeholders to restructure and rationalize the distribution of resources among small-boat harvesters in the six targeted Lobster Fishing Areas (LFAs). For the Department of Fisheries and Oceans (DFO), the obvious solution was the removal of capacity and licenses across Atlantic Canada, and in Newfoundland through the mechanism of the LERP.

This chapter provides a critical, chronological account of the LERP's conception, formation and implementation, and subsequent evaluation. I begin with examining the justifications for intervention. The price crash of 2009, which resulted from an abrupt downturn in the American market on which Atlantic Canadians are highly reliant, was particularly impactful according to the DFO because of an over-dependence on lobster resources and existing problems of over-capacity. In examining this problem, the DFO prioritized downsizing and license removal as the primary and most effective method of rationalization. In the next section, I examine the way the LERP was developed with this priority, among others, in mind. I describe the program itself as it relates to the broad objectives of stakeholders and examine fairness as a guiding principle for the program's operation. I then investigate the operation of the program itself. Beginning with the process of retirement, I investigate the documents exchanged between the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB) and harvesters for the work it legitimizes and rewards, as well as the work which it erases through the content and structure of these documents themselves. I then investigate how licenses themselves are used in the program to compress and objectify dynamic enterprises with shifting and subjective value and the individuals who work them. Finally, I explore evaluations of the program in relation to the

objectives and motivations of stakeholders respectively and clarify the objectives which became most important for various funding bodies.

In this chapter, I use what Smith (2005) calls institutional texts to establish the institutional lens through which fisheries themselves are understood, and the operationalization of this lens throughout the program's implementation. Smith (2005) writes, "Institutional texts are designed... Interlocking; setting their categories, concepts, and frames is highly politicized, not only in those settings ordinarily thought of as political" (p.118). By combining texts from the origin, implementation and aftermath of the LERP, as well as key informant testimony, this chapter seeks to identify the institutional lens which operated in the creation and development of the program – to uncover the categories, concepts and frames used by stakeholders in the management of fisheries. Starting in the origins of the program and the critical events which precipitated it, I will now discuss institutional understandings of the financial operations of the Newfoundland lobster fishery, the 2009 price crash, and of harvesting practices and harvesters themselves as complicit in these broader financial networks.

Justification for Restructuring – The Problem at Hand

In this section, I investigate the justifications for the ALSM & LERP and how stakeholders understood the state of the lobster fishery and its executors as well as their roles in altering this state through restructuring programs. I lean heavily on two meetings of the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans, taking place on June 18th, 2009 and May 28th, 2013. These are the only two meetings for which evidence is made publicly available in which the LERP is discussed. While there are several meetings throughout 2009 and 2010 in which the ALSM is discussed with each Atlantic province, including Newfoundland, these meetings occurred in

camera and no evidence is available. The 2009 meeting, at which ministers from across Atlantic Canada were present, holds a great deal of discussion related to the apparent crisis in the lobster fishery, the nature of the problems which faced the industry, regional variations and potential solutions. The 2013 meeting concerns the place of the Lobster Council of Canada in the future of the lobster fishery and is used as something of a supplement and follow-up to the 2009 meeting.

I begin with an examination of the “crisis” paradigm which, for DFO, became a call to action. The crisis justified the correction of two dynamics of the lobster fishery which these parties viewed as particularly problematic, and which were exposed through the 2009 crash: an over-capacity of lobster fishing resources, and an over-dependence on lobster revenues. The LERP held true to the ideologies of the DFO which have informed rationalization projects in Newfoundland for decades. In the 2009 meeting of the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans, Rick Doucet, a minister from New Brunswick, made this ideology clear: “It has been said many times before about the fishery that there are too many boats chasing too few fish” (Rick Doucet, DFO, 2009; p.7).

Most DFO, DFA and FFAW accounts identify 2009 as the point in which the growing problems they perceived in the lobster fishery truly became a crisis (key informant). Between the 2008 and 2009 lobster seasons, the global economy experienced a substantial downturn. The recession that began in the US and spread throughout much of the world, according to one key informant, impacted Newfoundland lobster harvesters severely. According to a report produced by the Canadian Centre for Fisheries Innovation (CCFI) in 2007, approximately 80% of Atlantic Canada’s lobster was being exported to the United States, meaning Canadian lobster harvesters

were highly reliant on the American market, as well as the exchange rate between Canadian and American dollar. The same report claimed that between 2002 and 2007, the strength of the Canadian dollar was responsible for a near 40% drop in the value of the Canadian lobster market, proving the significance of this export dynamic. Indeed, for these reasons, the CCFI recommended in 2007 that the lobster industry diversify its export market beyond the US in order to stabilize its value externally. It is worth noting that Geoff Irvine, the executive director of the Lobster Council of Canada, suggested an almost identical strategy again in 2013 at a different meeting of the Standing Committee on Fisheries and Oceans. It is clear that this advice was not heeded prior to 2009, and according to a key informant, the American market for high-priced luxury food items nearly vanished in response to the 2008 recession, which also caused the exchange rate to plummet. He admitted that he was beginning to wonder if consumers had turned away from the product completely, as easily as they had turned to it as a luxury food item in the first place.

Geoff Irvine points out that these downturns fall somewhat unevenly on the individuals who actually harvest the resource (DFO, 2013). Indeed, Tom Hedderson, the minister of Fisheries and Aquaculture for Newfoundland and Labrador, directly correlated drops in landed value to harvester incomes in Newfoundland in 2009;

On income, the harvesters who are dependent on lobster in the province have the lowest income of harvesters in the entire region. Of course, when we look at the numbers there as well, just skipping down through, last year we talked about landed value at something like \$32 million in 2008. This year, because of not only the lower price but also a decline in the resource in some areas, this combination means that you're looking at about \$16.5 million this year, which is income cut basically in half. (p.4)

He goes on to describe, “When you're talking about these harvesters, you're talking about

LFA		2009 Avg. Earnings
LFA 11	All Species	\$31,640
	Lobster	\$22,780
LFA 12	All Species	\$47,281
	Lobster	\$20,995
LFA 13A	All Species	\$26,708
	Lobster	\$18,850
LFA 13B	All Species	\$20,625
	Lobster	\$14,532
LFA 14A	All Species	\$18,833
	Lobster	\$8,869
LFA 14B	All Species	\$12,444
	Lobster	\$6,155

Figure 5: Lobster Earnings in 2009 (DFA, 2015)

harvesters who made, at tops, probably \$8,000 in gross income last year, and this year you're talking about \$4,000” (DFO, 2009; p.4). The table to the left provides evidence that while incomes were indeed low across all LFAs for harvesters, lobster was scarcely the only species fished. There is great disparity in not only how much was earned from lobster in

various LFAs but in the proportion of total earnings which was made up by lobster. The numbers announced by Tom Hedderson did not accurately capture the financial relationship between harvesters, the lobster fishery and other species fisheries.

Efforts to rationalize and improve the viability of lobster fishing in this case appear specifically motivated by the tough personal financial straits of harvesters in lieu of the crash. Greg Roach, a minister from Nova Scotia, points out that their current financial state would only compound itself without intervention, “From an income and financing perspective, our skippers and crews have a lot of concerns about income reductions that are going to cause them personal grief. These lower incomes will impact their EI eligibility and benefits into the future” (DFO, 2009; p.3). He pointed out that harvesters were reaching the point where operating costs were no longer matched by revenues; “We've had some issues recently with credit and finance. Below market prices and higher operating costs make it very difficult for some harvesters to pay their boat loans and basically pay the bills on their enterprises” (Greg Roach, DFO, 2009; p.3). For the DFO, low shore prices and ever-increasing operating costs resulted in an even more troubling phenomenon than unpaid loans: it was resulting in uncaught fish.

In 2009, nearly 30% of the lobster licenses in Newfoundland had become latent, or were not being fished regularly, which the DFO sees as necessarily resulting in unexploited bio-mass (DFO, 2009). Tom Hedderson explains, “The lobster fishery is different from the crab, from the cod, and from others, because you have quotas there. Harvesters can self-rationalize, because they can sell those and get out of the business and someone can purchase them and make good on them” (DFO, 2009; p.10). The efficiency of a quota system in filling latency gaps was compared to a license system by Geoff Irvine, “Generally, when the prices get too low they stop fishing because they simply can't afford to fish. There's no coordinated effort to slow down” (DFO, 2013; p.12). Latent licenses certainly can result in more lobster left in the water, although in arguably the same manner as license retirements would redistribute this bio-mass across the remaining harvesters, latent licenses do not necessarily leave catchable lobster uncaught. In other words, if harvesters stopped fishing on their own in response to rising operating costs and lower landed values, this would have a similar redistributive effect to removing those licenses through a buyback program, with slightly less geographical organization. It was never discussed by stakeholders that the uncoordinated removal of licenses, or license latency, should reasonably have yielded similar redistribution results (in terms of exploitable bio-mass and earnings for those who continue to fish) to a coordinated removal of licenses. If this is the case, redistribution was likely occurring throughout the crash without any prompting at all.

Rick Doucet, among others, believed that uncoordinated efforts to slow down are simply not enough to redistribute bio-mass and improve viability; “It has been said many times before about the fishery that there are too many boats chasing too few fish. We're not structured to get the best value from the limited resources that we have. We have to change many things we do, including what we fish, when we fish, how we fish, what we process, and how we get it to

market” (Rick Doucet, DFO, 2009; p.7). The assumption that there are too many boats chasing too few fish – which according to Power (2005) underlies a substantial amount of the fisheries management strategies and restructuring policies in Newfoundland in the past 30 years – has been contested by scholars on the basis that this logic does not account for community health or differences in capacity (Power, 2005; Sabau & De Jong, 2015; Pinkerton & Davis, 2015). This comment also reflects much of the same discourse that Pinkerton & Davis (2015) argue characterized early fisheries policy which focused on enclosing common pool resources. They found that these fears were largely speculative and based on prospective mismanagement of common resources, rather than their actual mismanagement.

The DFO, DFA and FFAW believed that this downturn would not have been so personally impactful for lobster harvesters if they had not been so singularly reliant on lobster. The six areas, covering the south and west coast of the island have relied on lobster revenues, in some cases, since the 1870s (DFO, 2013). According to a key informant, the federal and provincial governments were able to remove a substantial amount of capacity from the north and east coasts of the island, where cod was the bread-and-butter of most fishing families, in the wake of the cod collapse of the mid-90s. Relatively steady lobster prices and a prolific lobster stock largely shielded these six LFAs from the capacity-reduction efforts of the mid-90s and early 2000s, as many of the harvesters in this area were still able to fish and sell lobster profitably. This is not to say that these harvesters were not intensely impacted by the loss of the cod fishery, and subsequently the lump fishery, but the consistency of lobster fishing brought many harvesters through these bottom-outs with their enterprises well-enough intact to avoid buy-out or retirement. A DFA report explains, “The decline in 2009 lobster prices had a dramatic impact on the income levels of fish harvesters and the economic viability of small boat (under

40') fishing enterprises in LFA 11 to LFA 14B - where lobster accounted for 65% of annual enterprise revenues over the 2006 to 2008 period" (DFA, 2015). The dependence of so many individuals on a seemingly fragile resource was a central motivation for the DFO to retire licenses; "They're highly dependent on the fishery, and basically there's nothing else for them. We need a long-term restructuring plan in this sector that improves the viability of it" (Tom Hedderson, DFO, 2009). The 2008 financial crisis exposed to the DFO, DFA and FFAW some of the "inefficiencies" of the lobster fishery, and in turn provided the justification for restructuring.

The DFO deems the Newfoundland lobster fishery unviable, in large part, due to what they referred to as a capacity problem, for which small-boat fishing is apparently to blame. In the same meeting, according to Greg Roach, assistant deputy minister of Fisheries and Aquaculture in Nova Scotia, "In some areas, like the Northumberland Strait, the fishery simply can't support the number of enterprises that are there. In other very strong areas, the overcapitalized large vessels are struggling because they need high returns to pay their enterprise costs" (Greg Roach, DFO, 2009). Here, the ever-present logic of "too many fishermen chasing too few fish" becomes a practical mandate; for larger, more efficient vessels to survive, smaller, less-efficient vessels will need to be removed. Efficient and therefore viable fishing is defined here as catching as much as possible for the lowest possible operating costs. Tom Hedderson seconds this notion.

The difficulty we have in Newfoundland and Labrador is that we have small lobster enterprises—small boats—and there are only licences. There are no IQs. So here we have, as I pointed out, 5% of the value and 30% of the licences, and it is really narrowing down so that harvesters are getting something, as I mentioned, like \$4,000 a year. We have to find a way to take out that capacity (DFO, 2009)

Hedderson located the most primary goals of the LERP and ALSM in this quote; a fishery in which less harvesters made better returns from larger vessels. This statement certainly confirmed

a preference for privatizing the common resource, particularly through the establishment of Individual Quotas. Despite the fact that harvesters only maintain an approximate third of the value of what they fish (Geoff Irvine, DFO, 2013), small-boat harvesting was identified by the DFO as inefficient, non-self-rationalizing, and complicit in the crash of their industry and their own personal financial struggles.

The economic challenges of the Newfoundland lobster fishery had serious implications, according to the DFO, beyond harvester incomes. With no official retirement plan in place for harvesters, and few opportunities to save for retirement, it occurred to the DFO that aging harvesters may have been reluctant to retire their enterprises or pass them on to new entrants. While a key informant claims that a secondary goal of the program was to offer these aging harvesters a bridge to their pension years, Neil LeClair points out that the upheaval of gear that would result from a buy-back would offer an opportunity for younger harvesters to take their place. He says, “If a young fellow wants to get into the fishery, that's a viable gear he can buy, then, if he wants, with the ones that are left. That's fine. That's not an issue. He can take it from an older fisherman. It makes it worthwhile for that young fellow to want to get in, because there's less stress on the fishery there” (Neil LeClair, DFO, 2009). The cost of buying a license after the buy-back is complete, as well as the cost of buying an enterprise, were notably absent from this discussion.

The ministers created a division between the current fleet of harvesters, who are aging and are saddled with the inefficiencies of the fishery, and younger harvesters who are unable to scale the hurdles of entry and enjoy the spoils of a viable, capitalized lobster fishery. Greg Roach carried the trope of the aging fishermen into conversations about mobility; “like many other

industries, we have to look at some succession planning. Our fishermen are aging. Today, young people are leaving our coastal communities. We have to make it in their interests to stay and continue to work in this viable industry, whether it's in the processing sector or the harvesting sector” (DFO, 2009). His concerns were echoed in a more economical frame by Richard Gallant, the deputy minister of Fisheries, Aquaculture and Rural Development from Prince Edward Island, who said, “for too many fishermen now their market is the buyer at the end of the dock, and they don't understand the value chain” (DFO, 2009). Not only do these assertions paint older harvesters as a homogenous group, incapable of understanding their place within the lobster industry, it massively oversimplifies shifting mobility patterns in outport communities. Harvesters are positioned explicitly as older men, neither invested in succession or the social sustainability of the communities in which they lived. The mobility imperative to leave rural communities for work, correspondingly, was saddled in part to these harvesters who did not make their enterprises easily taken over by younger harvesters. The assumption was that young people leave because older harvesters would not step aside, which is indeed a bundle of other assumptions: that young people were leaving, that the harvesting fleet was reluctant to pass on their enterprises, that they were indeed of retirement age at all.

The very nature of the small-boat fishery, for the DFO and FFAW, contributed massively to the capacity and dependency problem in the Newfoundland lobster fishery in 2009.

Stakeholders and developers of the ALSM & LERP understood harvesters to be a homogenous group of aging men who did not understand their role in the future of the fishery, nor their role in the supply chain of which they maintained only a small portion of the value. While market volatility and instability in shore prices were certainly acknowledged as threats to the health of the lobster fishery, these concerns did not translate into any of the objectives of the LERP.

Assumptions about the existing individual and collective financial status of lobster harvesters, as well as assumptions about harvesters themselves and the practices of lobster harvesting, on the other hand, were made particularly clear in the origins of the ALSM & LERP. Indeed, the LERP was inspired by the financial concerns of Newfoundland lobster harvesters as they were understood by stakeholders, and as they are seen to contribute to inefficiency and unviability by virtue of their existence and work arrangements. The actual methods by which the ALSM & LERP sought to rationalize the lobster fishery rely heavily on these understandings of the fishery, its workers, and its work. The implication of these assumptions on the design and implementation of the program are discussed in the following section.

Implementing the Institutional Lens

The following section outlines the development of the LERP. I begin by investigating the objectives which were carried over from the DFO's understanding of the events of 2009 and the state of the lobster industry – namely, the ultimate goal of capacity reduction as a method of rationalization. These understandings, and the corresponding solutions they necessitate, informed the FFAW's role in designing the LERP, decisions regarding the workings of the program itself, and the principles which guided its operation. It is clear throughout that for stakeholders, rationalization, increased viability and capacity reduction are indeed synonymous, and harvesters are necessarily to be restructured as a homogenous group. Following this section, I investigate the narrowing of program benefits even further to predominantly male, license-holding harvesters through the program's operation.

The Broad Objective of Capacity Reduction

At its most basic, the program was intended to “aid the Canadian lobster fishery to restructure in order to respond to new global market preferences, as well as implement strong

conservation measures to maintain and enhance lobster stocks, address ecosystem impacts and to improve catch monitoring and fishing effort reporting” (DFO, 2013). Despite these seemingly diverse objectives, the vast majority of the \$50 million budget was spent on buying out licenses across the Atlantic region according to Geoff Irvine (DFO, 2013). The DFO published in the program’s announcement that,

Under the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures (ALSM) program, sustainability plans may include actions to reduce the harvesting effort in a given Lobster Fishing Area, including through self-rationalization. Federal funding under this program may therefore be used to support lobster harvesters within an LFA that choose to seek additional funding (i.e. other federal programs, provinces, private lending institutions) to retire a portion of their licences (self-rationalization). (June 2009)

The reduction of lobster fishing capacity, then, is the singular method for the rationalization of lobster fishing – there is no program document in which rationalization and the removal of capacity are not treated as synonymous. Although the program’s goals are broad, the ALSM is ultimately a program to facilitate capacity reduction. While the reduction of effort is always phrased as a method by which the objective of rationalization can be achieved, it is the singular method recognized by the DFO as potentially effective in relieving the pressure on the Newfoundland lobster fishery. Indeed, the ALSM makes it clear that rationalization which does not follow this model will not be considered eligible for program funds.

The FFAW took up the initiative to remove licenses and gear as a method of rationalization in their organization of the LERP. Key informants and program documents alike all declare rationalization to be a primary goals of the program, or as this representative states, to benefit the remaining fleet. The eliminated portion of the fleet is of far less concern. A key informant explains the over-arching objectives which informed this proposal for the FFAW;

Our primary objective was to improve the incomes of the people staying in the industry. That's who we work for, that's who's going to pay our salaries for the next 10 years or 20 years or whatever, not that that becomes a driving force, but I'm just trying to use that to make a point, right? That's the people you work for. The people who wanna get out, they're done with the industry, and you wanna have something there that gives them something to bridge 'em to the next part of their lives whether that's retirement or whether that's off to some other industry or whatever. But our main objective was to make it better, and we think that, we think we did that and we've been told that by a number of people who are still living in and working in those areas and operating enterprises, right? So that was the objective we went into it from.

The increased economic viability of lobster enterprises, for the ALSM and FFAW, necessarily meant a redistribution of lobster and lobster revenue among harvesters themselves. Further, it sits with those harvesters most vulnerable to the economic tumult – the “lowest earning and most lobster dependent” enterprises are the pronounced target of the license retirement program. The transition from the ALSM to the LERP was essentially a way to focus or channel the benefits and responsibilities of capacity reduction.

It is clear that for stakeholders, while the problem may be multi-faceted, the solution lies with the harvesters themselves and their harvesting practices. The federal push for buy-back style restructuring assumes that it is the nature of license-operating, small-boat fisheries themselves which result in unsustainable fishing; if this were not the case, the program likely would have set objectives related to market stability, expanding and decentralizing the export market, and wealth distribution across the supply chain. Instead, they have sought to further privatize the resource. This understanding of fishing communities is eerily similar to that noted by Pinkerton & Davis (2015) in their analysis of enclosing spaces: fears about a lack of stewardship and capability to maintain stocks as well as industrial relations persist. The institutional aversion to personal difference and individual circumstance is certainly visible in the development of the LERP itself, described in the following section. Insistence on principles of

individualism and capacity reduction become clear both in the development of the program and the institution of “fairness” as a guiding principle of operation.

Developing the LERP

The ALSM, proposed by MP Gail Shae of PEI who was the federal Minister of Fisheries at the time, was essentially an industry buy-out with an eye to rationalization and sustainability (key informant). The FFAW consulted with the DFO and DFA to develop a program which they could use to apply to the DFO’s newly announced pot of money. According to a key informant, the requirements of a cost-sharing mechanism in which ALSM money can only be accessed in conjunction with other funding, necessitated the FFAW’s involvement. He explains,

Well, no one would’ve put it in place. No one else could’ve. No one would’ve gone out there and done 120 meetings up front, and uh, you know and no one else would’ve took that on to do it. They would’ve just said you know, you’ve got a program here, if you want it, come and get it and it wouldn’t have worked because you had to, you had to find a way, under the, under the way they were funding it, you had to find a creative way to find money (Key informant, 2018)

Indeed, harvesters were largely unaware of the ALSM’s announcement, and other fishery organizations serving harvesters within their communities or regions did not apply to the program. Here, a key informant implies that the conditions of the ALSM were such that an applying organization must be capable of a certain amount of negotiation with the federal government and financial creativity (“creative accounting”, as one key informant referred to it). While the ALSM did not require that an application cover the geographical expanse that the LERP did, this key informant notes that the FFAW was the only party in the province with the resources and credibility to run a large-scale buyback within the conditions of the program.

The FFAW internally developed a plan in which harvesters would collectively reduce the number of traps they fished, which were “purchased” (but never collected) by the DFA to fund

the retirement of licenses before harvesters were consulted. Their proposal to the ALSM, what ultimately became the LERP, was made up of distinct conservation and sustainability strategies (DFA, 2015). The Conservation Strategy aimed to universalize and enforce existing conservation practices like the maintaining of log books and V-notching efforts (a practice of marking egg-bearing females to prevent their harvesting in the future) and set provincial standards for these initiatives. Harvesters and key-informants alike admit that a majority of harvesters were engaged in these conservation and record-keeping efforts on their own accord – the difference being that their log books would now be available to the DFO for population measurement and prediction. The Sustainability Strategy had two key initiatives;

Reduction of Fishing Effort: To leave fewer participants in the fishery and effectively reduce the overall fishing effort in participating LFAs through a voluntary trap reduction program and an enterprise retirement program.

Increased Economic Viability: To increase the economic viability of lobster enterprises by allowing the lowest earning and more lobster-dependent enterprises to retire from the fishery. (DFA, 2015)

Both parts of the sustainability plan, what has become officially known as the Voluntary Trap Reduction and the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program, were intended to work together to fulfill the goal of capacity reduction across the six LFAs to which the program was offered (LFAs 11-14, the South and West Coast, pictured to the right).

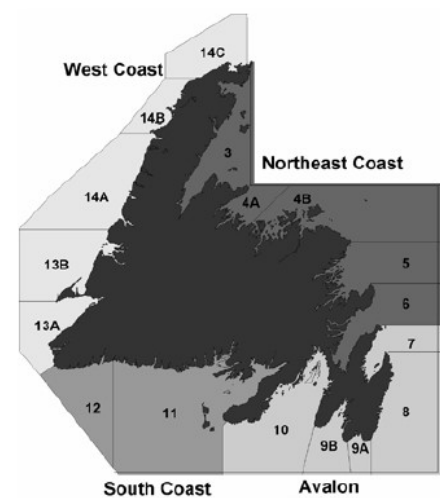


Figure 6: LFAs in Newfoundland (DFO, 2013)

Once the Union had wrestled the challenge of a cost-share mechanism and developed the trap reduction program which satisfied this requirement, they brought the idea to Union members across the six LFAs most dependent on lobster. This planning, in which the trap reduction was developed and the “creative accounting” required to turn retired traps into revenue which could fund license retirements was agreed upon, occurred in meetings between the FFAW, the DFO and the DFA – they did this development prior to any consultation with harvesters. It seemed fair to the organizers of the program that those who would accrue the greatest benefits of the capacity reduction (those who continued fishing) should fund, in part, the capacity reduction itself. A key informant explains; “If you wanna get out, well I gotta do something to help. We expect governments to do things to help, but the other harvesters that are staying in, they had to do their part as well. And their part was giving up on some of the traps that they were using”. The trap reduction was to produce a pot of revenue which would be coupled with federal and provincial funding and used to purchase enterprises from harvesters who submitted a bid.

Each LFA retired a different number of traps, decided on in Union meetings across the LFA, and enforced variably across the lobster fleet. The trap reduction was proportional to the existing trap limit and the effort produced by each trap in a given LFA, resulting in diverse reductions; in LFA 11, the trap limit was reduced from 200 to 185 whereas in LFA 14B, the 350-trap limit was reduced to 250. The FFAW hosted several meetings in each LFA which were eventually followed with a formal vote to decide the number of traps which harvesters would retire (Key informant, DFA, 2015). According to key informants, a first round of consultation sought approval on the plan itself, while a second sought approval on the number of traps to be reduced. The FFAW was doubtful that harvesters deep in their own financial struggles would see the delayed benefits of the trap reduction and expected a certain degree of push-back. It was

the fear of this push-back which justified the FFAW's decision to withhold the presentation of their initiative before it was fully developed.

Harvester input was narrowed into two critical questions: should the program operate, and to what degree will each LFA buy in to the program? Richard Gallant's assumption that harvesters are ignorant of the financial systems of which they are a part beyond "the buyer at the end of the dock" (DFO, 2009; p.13) is echoed in the FFAW's organization of consultations. They have little faith in harvesters' abilities to see beyond their immediate financial hardships toward a bigger, collective picture of financial betterment. A key informant explains how the FFAW expected harvesters to respond to the program;

I mean, the harvesters, they were broke, they were bankrupt, that's why we were doing it! So how could you go out and say, well by you know, you gotta put up, if you want us to take out so many licenses, you gonna have to put up your 40%. Uh, they'll say bys, it's a nice idea, but you know, sorry by. I can't, you know, I can't put groceries on my table, I can't, you know.. So we'd be telling people you know you gotta pay 4 or 5000 dollars into this program to, you know for what they would see, no short term gain that was, you know, people refer to that as pie in the sky, yeah you're telling em that if I do this I'll be better off some.. (2018)

To the surprise of the FFAW, the plan was well received, and key informants report that harvesters were happy to negotiate a substantial reduction in traps to fund the retirement of more licenses. The agreed upon trap reduction was higher, in several areas, than the FFAW had anticipated.

The development of the program, it seems, was taken on entirely by the "industry", which is how the FFAW refer to themselves throughout this process. In establishing the cost-share mechanism, the ALSM ensures that the work of valuing and compensating licenses and gear is dependent on the availability of additional funds and the ability of applying organizations (like the FFAW) to engage in what one key informant called creative accounting. The LERP,

according to the FFAW, is an “industry-borne” solution (Key informants; DFA, 2015). Again, the FFAW notes their organization to be true representatives of the “industry”, meaning the harvesters. After these two rounds of consultation, FFAW meetings were held to help harvesters understand the operation of the program.

The revenue from the trap reduction, which was different in each LFA and kept separate for the retirement of licenses in that LFA specifically, was then re-directed to license retirements. The details of this process, to the chagrin of several of the harvesters I spoke to, were not brought before union members for consultation. The reverse auction method, according to a key informant, had been used in previous capacity reduction projects, and was a favourite for the DFO for the exact reason it tended to displease harvesters. A DFA report quotes a key informant describing the benefits of this approach: “By using a reverse auction you get the biggest bang for the buck. Harvesters had to take the least amount they were willing to take to leave the fishery. If we had offered a set-rate we would have paid out more in many cases and would not have gotten some of the higher bidders to participate” (DFA, 2015). This sort of auction, according to stakeholders, is a tried and true method of maximizing limited funds and ensuring “fairness” by balancing offers of retirement against one other and the average value of a license in a particular LFA. This process is explained in greater detail below, in the section titled *Instituting Fairness*.

The development of this program operationalizes some key values and objectives both of stakeholders and of the program itself. The insistence on methods of capacity reduction as the singular way to rationalize the lobster fishery is perhaps the most obvious, enforced by the DFO and taken up by the FFAW, who express that it was their exclusive role as the “industry” to access and distribute ALSM funding. There is continuity, too, in the DFO’s understandings of

harvesters as aging men, ignorant of their position in the greater supply chain and their responsibilities in processes of succession, in the FFAW's approach to consultation. Indeed, there is no shortage of carry-over from stakeholders' understandings of the 2009 crash and its interacting causes and the structuring of the LERP. In the following sections, I investigate how "fairness" became embedded in the program's design as a guiding principle of the LERP, and how institutional understandings of this concept resulted in geographical and temporal compressions.

Instituting "Fairness" as a Guiding Value

The FFAW, in designing the LERP, was determined to develop a program which methodologically instituted some degree of "fairness and neutrality" in the distribution of program funds (key informants). The institution of market value principles and the establishment of market value based on geographical location were the mechanisms employed by the FFAW and the LERP to achieve this end. Central to the idea of fairness in designing the LERP, and evident in the more detailed operation of the LERP was the notion of geographical division by LFA. Because licenses apply only within a specific LFA, regulations and privileges associated with the license are also specific to the LFA. In order to reduce capacity proportionally across the province, each LFA voluntarily reduced their trap allowance by a different number, which corresponded to varying original trap allowances – some LFAs reduced their traps by only 15 or 20 where some reduced their traps by as much as 100 (DFA, 2015). An FFAW informant explained that this variation ensured that harvesters were investing in themselves when they voluntarily reduced their traps. The income generated from the traps removed from each area funded retirements in that area specifically, the intention being that the harvesters who voluntarily reduced their traps by a greater number felt a greater reduction in

capacity on a regional scale. The table below, taken from a DFA assessment entitled The Evaluation of the Conservation and Sustainability Plan for the Newfoundland Lobster Fishery, demonstrates that this approach was successful in terms of the outlined objective; indeed, in almost all cases, LFAs who reduced a greater percent of their traps saw a greater reduction in total capacity.

An FFAW informant explained that licenses were retired based on the market value of the LFA in which the license was registered, rather than the province as a whole, or the value of the license independently. He explains the process of valuing traps;

Every area, the average landings in the area you could tell what a trap was worth to a.. Right? And as such, if a trap was worth you know, 100\$, in some cases they were worth 400\$ depending on the value, right? Then, I think it was a factor of 3 or 4 or something like that so if you could make 100\$ a year with that trap, in a three year period you would make 300\$, well if you gave up 20 traps, you just gave up 6000\$ worth of income, that was the value we put on that, right? (key informant)

Enterprises, although also valued in pursuit of a fair market price, were measured against each other in each bidding round to establish their worth, rather than through a homogenized value of an LFA's landings. The DFA evaluation explains:

The reverse auction approach helped to establish a "fair market value" for enterprises being retired. Fish harvesters in the participating LFAs with lobster licences, who were interested in retiring their enterprises, were given an opportunity to submit an offer of sale to the selected board indicating the price at which they would be prepared to sell their enterprise. Following the reception of offers of sale, it was determined how many

LFA		Pre-Program	Post-Program	% Change
LFA 11	Trap Limit	200	185	-7.5%
	Enterprises	320	263	-17.8%
	Total Capacity	64,000	48,655	-24.0%
LFA 12	Trap Limit	150	135	-10.0%
	Enterprises	44	38	-13.6%
	Total Capacity	6,600	5,130	-22.3%
LFA 13A	Trap Limit	200	180	-10.0%
	Enterprises	148	109	-26.4%
	Total Capacity	29,600	19,620	-33.7%
LFA 13B	Trap Limit	250	220	-12.0%
	Enterprises	171	127	-25.7%
	Total Capacity	42,750	27,940	-34.6%
LFA 14A	Trap Limit	300	250	-16.7%
	Enterprises	203	154	-24.1%
	Total Capacity	60,900	38,500	-36.8%
LFA 14B	Trap Limit	350	250	-28.6%
	Enterprises	235	167	-28.9%
	Total Capacity	82,250	41,750	-49.2%
Total LFAs	Total Capacity	286,100	181,595	-36.5%

Figure 7: Capacity Reduction by LFA (DFA 2013)

enterprises could be purchased at each round with the funds available and according to its purchase criteria (2015)

A key informant explained that when bids arrived, they were assigned a relativity factor which explained their degree of deviation from the estimated value of a license in an area. The DFA also explains the outstanding case of LFA 14B, in which the average license value was raised by over 15000\$ in the fourth round of bidding. “There was interest in the program but harvesters were not willing to retire their licence for the top price offered” (DFA, 2015). This case represents the only overt mismatch between the value harvesters assigned to their enterprises throughout the program and the value assigned by stakeholders. Due to the reception of “higher bids than allotted for” (DFA, 2015), license retirement targets were also lowered in the area.

Central to both these systems of value is the unanimity of experience across a given LFA. It assumes, first, that LFAs are united not only in geography, but in their fishing success. Licenses which can move throughout an LFA represent a privilege to the same portion of a resource as any other license holder within the region – license holders can fish the same number of traps in Grand Bank as they can in Harbour Breton or Burgeo, despite the varying presence of competitors or indeed, lobsters. It assumes that harvesters experience similar challenges and successes across an entire LFA, and their ability to access lobster across the LFA is commensurate. While no stakeholder, government or union, would likely argue this as a point of truth, in fact the FFAW overtly acknowledge the contrary, it assumes that harvesters will mitigate these smaller regional variations in catch and shore price independently through personal adaptive strategies. Likely, it assumes mobility; harvesters themselves are assumed to be responsible for altering their fishing grounds, launch locations and buyers to smooth the geographical differences that may be found in an LFA as large as LFA 11, and equalize their

success with that of their fellow harvesters. Essentially, the decision to value traps and enterprises based on the market value of the LFA and ignore personal catch history and more fine-grained regional differences flattens population changes both on shore and in the water, as well as small-scale economic variations, like differences in shore prices, and local fishing practices. It removes fishing practices from consideration at all – the value of an enterprise is intentionally separated from who receives that value and how.

The ALSM & LERP are designed to redistribute the lobster resource at the harvester level, and do not take up any cause related to the other problems stakeholders observed in the lobster fishery, including the disproportionate risk of market tumult undertaken by harvesters, singular and inconsistent export markets, and the disappearance of other fisheries which have bolstered harvester incomes for many decades through occupational pluralism. The insistence of the DFO, DFA and FFAW that small-boat, licensed fisheries are inherently inefficient and non-self-rationalizing translates into an overt push for trap and license retirement as a nearly singular method of rationalization. Even the conservation measures which were codified by the program were predominantly harvester-led and harvester-implemented measures including the keeping of both mandatory and voluntary log books, at-sea sampling and V-notching. So, too, does the responsibility for managing regional and circumstantial variation among harvesters rest entirely with the harvesters themselves. The valuing of traps and enterprises according to LFA averages, and the measuring of bids against one another for their proximity to this average, implies that the experience, success and fishing practices of harvesters across a given LFA are uniform. In both the structure of the ALSM and the LERP, it is evident that stakeholders would prefer to address

harvesters as a relatively homogenous group of individuals. Actual variations in the harvester population, as well as variations in geography, personal history, fishing arrangements, success, challenges and career attributes, are swallowed up by the larger categories of “license holder” and “LFA”. The program’s operation, which institutes many of the objectives, understandings and values described here, is analyzed in the following section.

Operating the LERP & Channeling the Effects of Restructuring

This section explores the actual interactions which took place between stakeholders, channeled through the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB), an arm’s length organization of the FFAW, and the harvesters. For clarity, stakeholder involvement has been organized in **Table 3**. Throughout the program’s operation, the NLSB was responsible for all

Program:	Designed by:	Funded by:	Implemented by:
Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Program (ALSM)	Department of Fisheries & Oceans (DFO)	Department of Fisheries & Oceans (DFO)	Department of Fisheries & Oceans (DFO)
Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP)	Food, Fish & Allied Workers Union (FFAW)	Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Program (ALSM)	Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB) *arms length institution of FFAW
	Department of Fisheries & Oceans (DFO)	Harvesters via voluntary trap reduction (VTRP)	
	Department of Fisheries & Aquaculture (DFA)	Department of Fisheries & Aquaculture (DFA)	

official correspondence which passed between harvesters and the LERP; this body administered

bid packages, information brochures and acceptance documents, determined recipients of buyback funds and valued enterprises. Throughout these activities, processes of objectification, compression and precision, which are essentially methods of manipulating and compressing daily life into manageable data, ensured that buyback benefits were distributed to certain harvesters (license holders, predominantly male) and not

Table 3: Stakeholder Involvement in Various Programs

others (the women with whom they fished). I will begin

this analysis with a detailed investigation of the actual materials exchanged by the NLSB and

license holders, and will analyze the crafting of these documents, and the institutional processes they may trigger, or be a part of. Following Smith (2005), I was able to walk through the bid submission package with a key informant, who provided insight on the intended product and management of exchanged documents – what Smith (2005) refers to as the institutional progress which these documents trigger. These documents and others will then be analyzed to understand the codifying of particular professional relationships and systems of ownership within the documents, and how this codification may enforce or necessitate certain understandings of work and ownership for harvesters themselves.

The Process of Retirement in Documentation

The first round of bidding opened on the 9th of December, 2011. The NLSB mailed three documents to every person holding a lobster license within the six LFAs affected by the program. In this section, I analyze this package for the underlying assumptions it makes about the work that these documents require (what Smith (2005) refers to as the text-reader conservation) as well as the work to which they pertain (the work of harvesting). I find that, despite acknowledgement of and consideration for the nature of fishing work as indelibly linked to community relations and, subsequently, retirement decisions, documents intentionally filter out the work of non-license holders and establish an exclusive professional relationship between the NLSB and license holders. The bid package, as it was commonly known by harvesters and program coordinators, began with a cover letter. Addressed to a sir or madam, it establishes some background to the program including its conception, its funding strategy, and its basic objectives. “The LERP is intended to reduce the number of lobster dependent fishing enterprises in the area between Point Crewe in Fortune Bay and Big Brook on the Northern Peninsula. Reduction in the size of the lobster fleets in these areas will improve the economic viability of the remaining

enterprises and increase the fishing incomes of lobster harvesters” (NLSB, 2011). The letter goes on to introduce the other two documents in the package; an *LERP Information Brochure* and an *Offer to Sell Application*.

The *LERP Information Brochure* was also the script for local information sessions delivered by the FFAW to harvesters. It served, for the FFAW as well, as the final manual for the program’s operation. One key informant referred to the document as the gospel to be preached across the island. The brochure was intended to answer any questions harvesters may have about their role throughout the retirement process. It includes general information, like a more detailed background to the program itself and program objectives, and information on the reverse auction process, bid assessment criteria and the process of bid assessment. It also includes instructions to harvesters on preparing an application, how to submit and withdraw an offer, and how special circumstances, like vessel and gear debt or latent licenses may affect an application. This document was replaced in subsequent bid packages with an *Information Circular*, which provided an update on the previous round and details of the current round, along with a compressed version of the rules and conditions outlined in the *Information Brochure*.

Finally, the package contains an *Offer to Sell Application*. It is the only interactive document mailed to harvesters in the bid package – the only opportunity for the reader to interact with the institution which produced the text. These documents, according to Smith (2005) require that the reader provide both parts of a conversation which takes place between themselves and the institution by filtering institutional instructions through their own paradigms, interpreting what those instructions require, and then fulfilling them according to their own interpretations. There is a bank of personal information at the top of the page which requires the

name, address, contact information, Harvester Identification Number and LFA of the license holder. This is followed by a declaration, which ensures that license holders understand which privileges they are offering to sell and what their absence may entail, as well as various privacy and information sharing details. At the bottom of the page, a second bank of information requires an offer amount in dollars, a signature and a date. According to key informants, it is the intention of the FFAW that this form is filled out simply and correctly by the license holder to whom it was mailed and is mailed back to the NLSB as a complete document, also by this individual.

Upon acceptance of their bid, a harvester received a second package, which included a cover letter, an *Enterprise Retirement Agreement*, and an *Enterprise Retirement Waiver*. The cover letter confirms the acceptance of an individual's bid and instructs harvesters on the steps that need to be taken to complete the retirement of their enterprise. It instructs harvesters to make contact with the DFO and attain and sign a relinquishment of their fishing privileges. It instructs them to include this document, along with the agreement and waiver included in the package to the NLSB by the date listed. Unlike the cover letter in the bid package, this cover letter is addressed to the individual who submitted the offer to sell.

The *License Retirement Waiver* and *License Retirement Agreement* are similar in content. Each requires that license holders include their Harvester Identification Number (FIN) in a declaration at the top of the document. In the agreement, this declaration confirms the acceptance of the dollar value offered by the LERP. In the waiver, conversely, harvesters must also include their enterprise number at the top of the document and relinquish all rights associated with their enterprise and licenses. What follows in both documents is a declaration of

understanding regarding the necessary relinquishment of all licenses, IQs, vessel registrations and vessel status, and a second declaration regarding what may be retained by the license holder after their enterprise is retired. The waiver includes a small yet important stipulation releasing the DFA, DFO and FFAW from all suits and claims associated with the program's operations and compensation received from the program. Both documents must be signed, dated and sent back to the NLSB by the license holder themselves, according to the *Information Brochure*.

The NLSB produced two types of documents which passed between their organization and harvesters. These first document requires a response from the harvester, while the second is meant to be retained by the harvester. Smith (2005) describes a text-reader conversation often triggered by institutional documents wherein the reader holds up their half of the conversation, but also fills in and interprets the other, institutional, side of the conversation. This happens in both the interactive and non-interactive documents detailed above, and they work together and apart, according to Smith (2005), to create subjectivities, or understandings of the self within the institutional context. Aside from the cover letter sent to license holders with an accepted bid, the non-interactive documents are unaddressed, or addressed neutrally. The interactive documents have a target; they require that individuals address themselves by name within the document. These targeted documents are the ones which must be returned to the institution, as they signal an institutional process.

In the case of an *Offer to Sell Application*, the reception of a correctly filled out form starts the process of bid evaluation for the NLSB. This begins with assigning an anonymous bid number to an application and the removal of personal details from the enterprise's evaluation.

The bid number, enterprise value, and offer amount is eventually listed in a report alongside competing bids. Each bid is assigned a relativity factor, which

estimates the distance between an individual's offer and the average value of an enterprise within an LFA. On the official bid application form, pictured to the left, licenses themselves are

Figure 9: Offer to Sell Application (NLSB, 2009)

removed from the vernacular

altogether and harvesters are identified by their Harvester Identification Number, which signal to the bid opening committee which licenses are held and being retired and the status of a harvester (Core versus Non-Core). The NLSB assessment committee received a list of bids ranked from highest to lowest, with their relativity factor, and essentially drew a line in the list which established their maximum pay-out for a round. Accepted bids, identified by their bid number, are then reconnected with the personal information provided in their *Offer to Sell Application* and are sent a bid acceptance package.

Another way of thinking about this process is to consider interactive documents as filters for participation in the LERP. The correct completion of an *Offer to Sell* requires that it is completed by an individual who holds a lobster license. The completion and submission of this document triggers the process of bid assessment. The document itself is then separated from the offer listed in the document, and the nature of the enterprise identified by the FIN number. The

completion of the document's process requires that individuals understand their enterprise's value through the same mechanisms as the NLSB intend to evaluate it. This requires that they've correctly interpreted the bid valuing scheme laid out in the *Information Package*. In order to complete the institutional process, the reader must first process the informational documents as well as the interactive ones to fill in the institutional or textual side of the text-reader conversation; they must first figure out what is being asked of them, and second, they must do it.

It is this dynamic which makes it so noteworthy that the informational documents, which are not intended to be returned to the NLSB, are not addressed to any individual specifically, but are without a target: they may be read by whoever picks them up. They were presented openly in FFAW meetings across the 6 LFAs to any person registered with the FFAW (not exclusively license holders). These documents do not have a target. While the interactive documents must be filled out and signed by a holder of a lobster license in order to trigger the corresponding institutional process, the informational documents leave room for others who may evaluate the document for the purposes of structuring a bid application, namely, non-license holders.

During the program's operational span, the key informants to whom I spoke were commonly used as sources of information by harvesters, license holders, crew members and family of license holders alike. Most LERP documents include a directive to contact the administrative branch of the FFAW for program assistance. One key informant describes his experience fielding these calls;

Well on tax issues, lots of times the spouses (laughs). Yeah, yeah, we'd get an application from the license holder but most of the calls, lotta times I'd return calls and looking for such a person and I'd identify myself, who I am, and they'd say well you probably wanna talk to me anyway, it was me that really called, I called for my husband but you probably need to talk to me anyway, right? So there was no doubt that the other member of the

family was much more in tune to the whole issues of the books and that sort of stuff, that, that was clear.

The key informants I spoke to are intimately familiar with the nature, practices and people of the Newfoundland fishery and these calls came as no surprise to them. They are happy to acknowledge that these decisions were made within a household, rather than individually, and women were an essential part of the process; their phone calls ironed out pension and tax issues, timelines, procedures and other details of their spouse's retirement. The exclusive relationship enforced by the NLSB in official documentation is an active erasure of any work done on consideration and interpretation of the text-reader conversation. In other words, there is an inconsistency: the NLSB and FFAW understand that the requirement for license holders to exclusively complete these documents is neither true to the text-reader conversation which the documents trigger, or the actual arrangements which make up an enterprise. Program documents exchanged between the NLSB and harvesters are structured in such a way as to facilitate the existing work dynamics of many harvesters, in that unaddressed documents contain the vast majority of the actual information about the program. When documents become essential to the institution, in the interactive documents, there is no room for sharing; these documents require a license holder. Then again, paying respect to these work and life dynamics was not an explicit objective of either institution.

Objectification & Processual Compression

According to the bid package disseminated in December, 2011;

Any fish harvester may submit an *Offer to Sell Application* (i.e. a bid) to retire their lobster license and fishing enterprise under the LERP provided that:

- They held a lobster license as of November 18, 2011.

- The lobster licence entitles them to fish for lobster in one of the following Lobster Fishing Areas (LFAs):
 - LFA 11 – Pointe Crewe to Cinq Cerf
 - LFA 12 – Cinq Cerf to Cape Ray
 - LFA 13A – Cape Ray to Cape St. George
 - LFA 13B – Cape St. George to Cape St. Gregory
 - LFA 14A – Cape St. Gregory to Point Riche
 - LFA 14B – Point Riche to Big Brook

A license, issued by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, “grants authorization to do something which, without such permission, would be prohibited. As such, a licence confers no property or other rights which can be legally sold, bartered or bequeathed. Essentially, it is a privilege to do something, subject to the terms and conditions of the licence” (dfo-mpg.gc.ca; Fisheries Licensing Policy Newfoundland and Labrador Region). While the DFO defines a license as a privilege, the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board, and indeed other DFO documentation, DFA assessments and much of the LERP documentation discusses licenses in terms of an object which may be “held” (NLSB, 2011).

One of the privileges of holding a lobster license, according to the bid package quoted above, is an entitlement to retire that license, and the accompanying enterprise (defined as “A fishing unit composed of a registered fish harvester (head of enterprise), his/her registered vessels, and his/her commercial licences”) through the LERP. Licensing policy itself, as well as LERP documentation, set up an exclusive relationship between the license holder, the person with the exclusive privilege of retiring an enterprise consisting of any number of vessels and licenses, and the NLSB. The NLSB makes clear that they are unconcerned with the actual fishing arrangements of harvesters in lieu of a license holder who may be addressed directly. In the *Information Brochure*, they write; “All payments under the LERP will be made in the name

of the registered license holder on file with DFO. Requests from partnership enterprises for “split payments” cannot be accommodated. The distribution of LERP payments in partnership enterprises is a private matter that should be resolved between each of the partners” (NLSB, 2011). Despite the DFO’s insistence that licenses are not commodities to be bought and sold, they are the responsibility of a single license holder, who is charged with the making of decisions regarding the license’s future and are the sole recipient of its monetary value, should they choose to retire it through the program.

Stakeholders in the LERP made an active choice to ignore catch history and the individual circumstances of an enterprise in decisions regarding that enterprise’s retirement, according to an FFAW informant. Neutrality and consistency with existing market patterns were the priority in developing the criteria for bid assessment. Thus complex enterprises are more easily measured against one another when separated from the variations that result from the human execution of the privileges assigned to an enterprise. In other words, it is easier to compare enterprises for their

value if the qualities which would alter their value are made irrelevant. The only exception to the consideration of historical landings exists in the unique

case of latent or inactive fishing licenses, which are enterprises reporting no landings in the year 2011 (*Information Circular*, 2012). The NLSB describes a “limited budget” for these enterprises. The *Information Brochure* provides no explanation for this choice, although a key

14. Historical Landings

The NLSB will not consider the level of an applicant’s historical lobster landings when assessing an *Offer to Sell Application*.

15. Inactive Fishing Enterprises

The LERP has a limited budget for the purchase of inactive fishing enterprises. Therefore, the NLSB may only be able to accept a limited number of *Offer to Sell Applications* from inactive fishing enterprises.

Figure 10: Policy on un-fished licenses

informant highlighted that the retirement of these licenses would result in a lesser impact in the total lobster fishing efforts of an LFA. This is somewhat contradictory; while personal catch histories are not considered explicitly, they must meet the threshold of “active license” in order to be considered for bid acceptance within the pool of regular applicants, with access to the full budget of buy-back funds. Variations in catch history are not necessarily erased but rather compressed into those who fished in 2011 and those who did not. An active lobster license, in this way, is assigned a subjective value based on its execution, despite political insistence on the objectivity of licenses.

The likely array of crew that may have worked an enterprise are compressed into the consent of a single license holder, and indeed a dynamic, personalized, and perhaps shared license and vessel portfolio is compressed into the retirement of a single license: the dynamics of a complex enterprise become the manageable objects of license and license holder. Methods of obtaining a license and working a license, similarly, are only addressed within the categories of active or inactive, Core or non-Core. In interviews with key informants in the FFAW, license and enterprise are almost interchangeable terms. An informant closely tied to the project explained that lobster licenses were chosen as the catalyst for the retirement program because it was the most substantial generator of income in the LFAs in which the program ran. Explored in more detail in the following chapter, harvesters confirm this; “we fished from October right around to July and then you had a couple summer months off... and then that uh, kind of deteriorated so there wasn’t anything expect the lobster fishery. Cod wasn’t feasible to catch, it wasn’t plentiful, so...” (Chris). It was a common denominator for most harvesters across this part of the province, making the capacity problems of the lobster fishery the most pressing, and marking it as the most logical avenue for capacity relief. The name of the program itself, which

directly references the retirement of lobster licenses, contributes to the centralizing of the license as an object with a universal set of characteristics and a methodological system of value. Thus, enterprises consisting of at least a groundfish license and a lobster license, and in many cases a number of other licenses, likely two vessels and their accompanying registrations, and any number of crew, formal or informal, are addressed by stakeholders both within and outside the LERP only as they relate to the codified categories of lobster license and license holder. These categories, too, played an important role in retrospective evaluations of the program, which provide the concluding evidence in this chapter.

Measuring Success

The LERP was touted as a major success by all parties involved. It removed more capacity than it set out to remove and concluded the program 7% under budget (DFA, 2015). The harvester response was generally positive according to key informants and the governance and funding model, in which industry and two levels of government came together to fund and orchestrate the initiative, was praised by all stakeholders. In this section, I will explore these measurements of success critically in terms of stakeholder motivations and the program's broad and explicit objectives. Key informants were clear that the LERP was motivated by a desire to improve the lot of harvesters who wished to continue harvesting, first and foremost. This motivation is certainly present in their assessments as well as the DFA's. The DFO has a notable lack of assessment for either the LERP or the ALSM, but their broad objectives, to remove capacity from the small boat fishery, prove to be less connected to the beneficiary population.

The most detailed assessment of the LERP was conducted by an independent research group and commissioned by the provincial government. The report is called *The Evaluation for*

the Conservation and Sustainability Plan for the Newfoundland Lobster Fishery. This report evaluates the program on four points: 1) the adequacy of the projects under the Plan (the Conservation and Sustainability Plan proposed by the FFAW) to meet strategic objectives, 2) the cost effective-ness of the program, 3) the performance of the LERP specifically, and 4) the unplanned costs and benefits of the Plan. In the report's discussion of the LERP in terms of its adequacy to address strategic objectives set out by the FFAW, a key informant stated:

“This was a complex process and people understate the importance of the VTRP to the whole program. At first we [the FFAW] were not confident that the LFAs would come on board and cut their traps to support LERP. But they did and fairly quickly. This program was needed to decrease effort and capacity. It was a huge accomplishment.” (DFA, 2015)

My own key informants confirm the importance of industry buy-in as a point of success;

You know now, we look back at it, and we've actually did a bit of a look at one of the areas, I think it was 13A, uh, where we looked at a year or two later, you know, what the incomes were and you know, how much that could be attributed to what we did, right? And it was phenomenal, right? How much that 25%, because you, that 25% that you took out, well that's 25% of the resource left in, and that's, so for each harvester that's there, they're landing their x number, and their costs are covered. So that extra 25% is worth a lot more than 25% to them, because, you know, cause that's, cause your costs are covered. So that's worth 40% to you because you got no cost to it, because you're just adding extra value to your enterprise, so it was really, you know, when you look at it.. But, but you go in and try to explain that to somebody at a time when they're down and out anyway, and you know, well I'd be okay if you'd go! Well that's basically the concept, right? If we could get, if we're in a room and there's 4 of us here, well if we could take one of you out... but how we gonna do that? How we gonna pay you out? We haven't got the money to pay you out, right? So, you know, how do you do that, right?

LFA		Pre-Program	Post-Program	% Change
LFA 11	Total Capacity	64,000	48,655	-24.0%
	Average Productivity	33.7	45.6	35.3%
LFA 12	Total Capacity	6,800	5,130	-22.3%
	Average Productivity	36.8	56.4	53.3%
LFA 13A	Total Capacity	29,600	19,620	-33.7%
	Average Productivity	27.7	29.6	6.9%
LFA 13B	Total Capacity	42,750	27,940	-34.6%
	Average Productivity	19.5	21.4	9.7%
LFA 14A	Total Capacity	60,900	38,500	-36.8%
	Average Productivity	10.2	11.1	8.8%
LFA 14B	Total Capacity	82,250	41,750	-49.2%
	Average Productivity	6.3	8.2	30.2%
All LFAs	Total Capacity	288,100	181,595	-36.5%
	Average Productivity	18.1	24.5	35.2%

This key informant raises another important indicator of the program’s success for the FFAW and DFA. Each round of bidding left less harvesters on the water, and resulted in increased trap productivity. Harvesters were able to catch a greater number of lobsters with the same number of traps and increase their incomes without a substantial increase in effort, which was ultimately the intention. For LFA 11, average trap productivity went up 35% (DFA, 2015). The charts to the right, taken from the same DFA report, illustrate this relationship.

Figure 11: Trap Productivity Pre- and Post-LERP (DFA, 2013)

LFA		2009 Avg. Earnings	2013 Avg. Earnings	Avg. Earnings Change
LFA 11	All Species	\$31,640	\$40,587	28.3%
	Lobster	\$22,780	\$29,375	29.0%
LFA 12	All Species	\$47,281	\$37,479	-20.7%
	Lobster	\$20,995	\$26,075	24.2%
LFA 13A	All Species	\$26,708	\$30,029	12.4%
	Lobster	\$18,850	\$18,939	0.5%
LFA 13B	All Species	\$20,625	\$30,685	48.8%
	Lobster	\$14,532	\$17,417	19.9%
LFA 14A	All Species	\$18,833	\$24,855	32.0%
	Lobster	\$8,869	\$9,243	4.2%
LFA 14B	All Species	\$12,444	\$16,671	34.0%
	Lobster	\$6,155	\$6,866	11.6%

Figure 12: Average Lobster Earnings (DFA, 2013)

The retirement of other species licenses, like whelk, groundfish and snow crab, likely contributed to increased economic viability of other fisheries as well, according to key informants, although this is yet unmeasured. Overall, the DFA and FFAW believe the program genuinely benefitted those who remained in the fishery and believe the fleets are happy with the outcomes of the program. A key informant tells me, “you know I think most of them out there, you’re probably never gonna get everybody to say it, but I mean most people out there, fair-minded people will say that yeah that was a good program, that worked, right?”. These indicators certainly reflect the motivations of the FFAW to directly improve the individual situations of the harvesters remaining in the industry. Recall one key informant’s declaration, “I mean, the harvesters, they were broke, they were bankrupt, that’s why we were doing it!”

The FFAW had never undertaken such a large and far-reaching program, and the fact of the program’s existence was indeed an indicator of success for the union. One key informant explained that the FFAW did not have near the administrative infrastructure necessary to run the

program at its inception, but another key informant explains that there was no alternative but for the FFAW to rise to the challenge. He says,

Well, no one would've put it in place. No one else could've. No one would've gone out there and done 120 meetings up front, and uh, you know and no one else would've took that on to do it. They would've just said you know, you've got a program here, if you want it, come and get it and it wouldn't have worked because you had to, you had to find a way, under the, under the way they were funding it, you had to find a creative way to find money. (Key informant)

Overcoming the challenge of the cost-share mechanism with the general support of the fleets was an enormous win for the FFAW. The implementation of the NLSB advanced their administrative capacity such that they intend to run future restructuring programs through this body. With six individual budgets and as many as ten rounds, the FFAW has become intimately familiar with the operation of a reverse auction buy-back as well, which key informants recalled as successful in former restructuring project and an excellent model for license and enterprise buy-backs in the future. The benefits of this increased capacity for industry management will stretch beyond the lobster fishery and are indeed at work currently in the implementation of a new cod strategy.

The FFAW and DFA, similarly, were excited by the potential for industry-government cooperation on restructuring projects in the future, based on the success of the LERP structure. “The primary unplanned benefit reported by key informants was how the implementation of the Plan demonstrated the success of government and industry working jointly on fleet rationalization. Key informants indicated that the success of this model will inform future fleet rationalization programs” (2015), and although there are no sources indicating that this was a point of success for the DFO, the opportunity for industry-led rationalization was an important argument for the cost-share mechanism implemented by the ALSM.

The DFO's indicators of success are less explicit. According to the DFO's information library, there is yet no assessment of the ALSM or the LERP at the federal level. From meetings on lobster fishing after the conclusion of the program, and assessments on the state of the species, there are few indicators of success. One such report produced by the DFO reads, "The greatest increase occurred in LFA 11, the LFA with the highest reported landings in all years. Nominal effort has decreased by 23% since 2008 due to license retirements, fewer active harvesters, shorter seasons and trap limit reductions" (2014). Geoff Irvine too confirms that an increase in landings is indicative of the health of the lobster fishery in Newfoundland (2013). In available retrospective accounts of the program, the DFO relies heavily on the number of licenses removed from the Gulf Region during the entirety of the ALSM.

In addition there was a 25% reduction in lobster licenses in Newfoundland. Reductions in trap limits, season lengths and licenses issued were put in places deemed necessary by fishery management. In recent years, a Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP) and the Atlantic Lobster Sustainability Measures Program (ALSM) were implemented. Together, these programs have left to license and trap limit reductions in the Newfoundland lobster fishery, particularly in the South and West Coast regions. (DFO, 2012)

Unlike the FFAW and DFA, the DFO's indicators of success focus on the major objectives of removing capacity across the island. It is clear from DFA and FFAW assessments, as well as from the testimony of key informants, that capacity reduction is tethered to a desire to better the individual situations of lobster harvesters and improve the viability of the lobster fleet overall. Throughout assessments from all three stakeholders, there is no mention of how these individual benefits may impact communities more broadly. One key informant, however, recognizes that as local fishing arrangements begin to shift in light of larger economic forces, the viability of small-boat fishing may be an important factor for keeping families in rural communities. He says,

So that's, so that's, so like I said the next generation you might not see as much of that but you know, you may see it because if they can see if they can make a living for the two, and there's some of those areas now where people are doing very, very good thank you very much, on lobster, bit of halibut, bit of cod, bit of crab if they got it, and the two partners are able to make it in 3 or 4, 4 or 5 months, and uh, you know they can live in rural newfoundland and have the lifestyle, you know they're gonna do it. So I think you'll still see, you'll still see some of that, you know, family enterprise, right? (Key informant)

It is clear that the FFAW is dedicated to serving the industry, but maintains a similar ideological position to that of the DFO, which holds that there are too many harvesters chasing too few fish. Their operation of the LERP was successful in raising lobster revenues across the six LFAs impacted. They removed substantial capacity through trap reductions and the reverse-auction license buy-back and left the DFA and DFO satisfied with their use of a limited budget. The program empowered the union to take on more industry-focused restructuring tasks, some of which are already being presented to harvesters around the province. Although the DFO was less interested in tethering capacity reduction to the actual improvement of harvesters' and fleet's personal standings and future viability, the FFAW and DFA draw a direct connection between reduced capacity and lobster earnings, although these benefits are still conceptualized exclusively as they effect license holders.

Conclusion

In evaluating the problems that led up to the 2009 crash and the ALSM's conception, stakeholders unanimously believe that the 2008 recession brought existing problems of over-capacity and over-dependence that they perceived in the fishery to a point of crisis. For the DFO in particular, small boat fisheries managed by licensing systems rather than quotas are, at their essence, inefficient and unsustainable in a global market as tumultuous as lobster. Individually fielding operating costs were not only driving harvesters to change their fishing patterns, it was

leaving viable bio-mass uncaught. The institution of the LERP, first and foremost, confirms what other scholars have acknowledged about rationalization measures governed and instituted by the DFO; the intention is to concentrate fisheries wealth in fewer, more capitalized enterprises staffed by professionalized fish harvesters. I have demonstrated that despite concern on behalf of the DFO and FFAW about singular and unstable markets, and unruly supply chains, the solution to the problems of the lobster fishery lie exclusively with those who pull lobster from the water, implying that it is again with them that the problem lies also.

This chapter confirms much of what we already know about fisheries rationalization projects which include buybacks: they prioritize those with historical advantage, meaning those with the opportunity to grow their license and enterprise portfolio, and they encourage capital accumulation. It expands this knowledge to clarify the mechanisms which are used to produce these ends: delicate crafting of institutional documents to legitimize some work and not others, the compression of human difference through LFA-wide value schemes and ignorance of historical factors, and the objectification of licenses. Unique to this thesis is the focus on institutional documents which pass between harvesters and managing institutions. These documents provide precise insights into the mechanisms through which many women are formally excluded from the benefits and compensations of restructuring.

In the following chapter, the implications of this exclusion are contextualized and explored. An alternative perspective is taken; that of the harvesters. Conversations with license holders and crew alike, in various work and family relations, provide a great deal of insight into the implications of individually targeted restructuring policies. Here, we can begin to understand the historical and familial context which is compressed by the design and documentation of this

program, as well as the contradictions which are fundamental to the FFAW's system of valuing traps and licenses. The insights of harvesters are crucial to developing a lived context to the DFO and FFAW's rationalization initiatives and will provide insight into the adaptive strategies and varying schemes of mobility and value assignment which harvesters undertake in response to (and in spite of) restructuring initiatives.

Chapter 5: The Harvester Experience

Lobster Fishing Area (LFA) 11, which stretches from the west side of the Burin Peninsula to Burgeo, covers the most shoreline of any LFA impacted by the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (LERP). In this chapter, I explore details of working and living in the fishing communities of LFA 11 as described by the men and women who live there, and their experiences retiring through the LERP. This chapter, unlike the previous chapter, is grounded in what Smith (2005) refers to as the

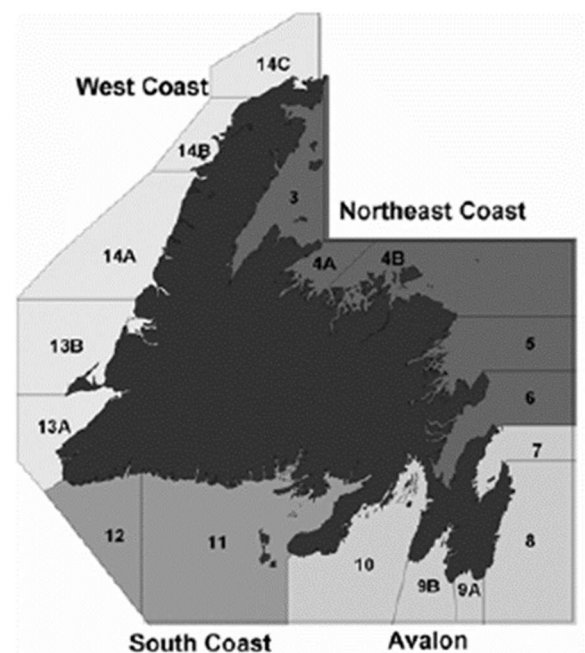


Figure 12: LFAs in Newfoundland (DFO, 2013)

actualities of daily life and the work knowledge of harvester, almost exclusively. The intention of this chapter is, first, to clarify and identify discrepancies between official understandings of harvesters and fishing and the actual fishing arrangements which interact with these official understandings. I do this through investigating the lived experience of retirement in comparison with the assumed and processed experience of the institution (Smith 2005). Second, this chapter seeks to understand how these discrepancies are reflective of and implicated in the ongoing

inequalities and gendered experiences of retirement that these former harvesters experienced outside of their experiences of retirement, that is, in their working lives as harvesters and their life after retirement.

This chapter begins by outlining the most substantial inequalities which emerged from this data in the section, *Leaving the Fishery*; the erasure of women's work and interests both in official conversations and internal negotiations of license retirement decisions. The prioritization of license-holder-status throughout the program had serious implications for the negotiation of a retirement decision. First, I investigate how harvesters were introduced to the LERP as a retirement option and follow with an investigation into how a retirement decision was reached. I explore individual and partnered experiences of the retirement process itself as prescribed by the LERP. The unequal status of women in conversations about the future of enterprises, and the reduced priority on their potential for paid work in the future, is reflective of their unequal capital ownership and recorded financial participation in their enterprise, which is compounded by social and political factors throughout their lives and fishing careers.

The differences in status and capital which appear so informative in the retirement decisions are at least in part the result of unequal opportunities to acquire fishing knowledge and capital throughout their careers. The processes by which men and women enter the boat and begin their careers as in-shore fish harvesters is therefore discussed in the next section, titled "*Growing Up*" to *It*. The men and women I spoke to learned to fish in vastly different ways, reflective of gendered understandings of, and networks associated with, both paid and unpaid labour. I explore variables which informed the early career decisions of harvesters to fish

inshore and establish a more-or-less permanent fishing arrangement, which include care and childcare obligations, mobility priorities, work histories, local economies, and tradition.

Despite the fact of these women's usual status as crew, some of whom were specifically recruited for the expansion of their partners' enterprise, differences in the material and social beginnings of harvesting careers are largely forgotten in the actual work of harvesting, and the harvesters I spoke to described a relative equality within the daily work itself. The next section, entitled *The Day-to-Day*, highlights how inaccurately the benefits structure of the LERP accounts for the actual daily work of harvesting. Here, I investigate how harvesters make decisions about the intrinsic mobilities of harvesting, which clarifies contradictions between the valuation schemes of the LERP and the divisions of labour which inform the actual accumulation of value to a license for harvesters. There is a rich context of work knowledge explored in this section which is made invisible by both individual licensing systems generally, and the conducting of harvester retirement programs through the paradigm of license ownership. The intense harvesting work that men and women engage in together, and divisions of shore and care work, make clear the fact of a value structure which does not accurately consider the work or working arrangements which it intends to address.

In the final section of this chapter, *Retired Life*, I investigate the exit of the men and women I spoke to for those who retired fully as well as those who went on to other work. I investigate the employment of occupational mobility as a strategy for smoothing the transition into retirement, to widely varying degrees, for men and women. Women's exclusion from equal status as retired harvesters results in an unequal attachment to the daily mobile practices of fishing which are highly important for men's successful transition out of the fishery. For men

and women that retired fully, this unequal and gendered investment in networks of fishery capital and knowledge acquisition, which is integral to the regeneration of fishery activities in rural Newfoundland, has obvious implications for fisheries recruitment and the unnecessary gendering thereof. For some men, the daily mobilities of harvesting were so paramount that they sought similarly mobile work after their harvesting careers had ended. This leads me to a discussion of the decisions of my participants to stay in their communities for the next phase of their life, be it retirement or other work. There is once again a disconnect between the expectations of the LERP and the actual mobilities and priorities of individuals who retired through the program. Similar to decision making about where and how to fish, social and spatial embeddedness play a more central role than does financial necessity.

In concluding this chapter, I draw upon the data presented here to develop a cogent set of findings which interact with existing sociological literature on retirement, fisheries and mobility. Drawing on such scholarship as Buse (2009) and Nicolaisen et al. (2012), I am able to conclude that fisheries retirement differs substantially from retirement in other sectors on variables of official retirement options, the communal nature of retirement, and the unique privilege of one partner to retire another without any official consultation. Although literature on the mobile responses of harvesters to increasing financial pressure and a fishery undergoing substantial restructuring is somewhat limited, Power, Foley & Neis (2013, 2017) have made space to consider how the mobile responses to changing fisheries and fishing practices may have implications far beyond the boat. Fishing arrangements, systems of intergenerational transfer, the mobility of future generations, the mobile expectations of the job, and the official and unofficial place of women in fishing communities may indeed be informed by these seemingly small changes to fishing practice. To fisheries literature broadly, I offer an investigation of

fishing women beyond an adaptive strategy to financial trouble, and a much-needed examination of the retirement process for fishing people. If restructuring initiatives like the LERP become more readily accepted and more likely called upon in tumultuous times, sponsored exit strategies like the LERP may increasingly replace traditional means of retirement for many harvesters in many fisheries. As I intend to do here, we must consider the inequalities that are created and entrenched by both the program broadly and the minute details of the program which inform the way it is experienced by actual harvesters. Logically, I begin by investigating these inequalities.

Leaving the Fishery

The following section recounts, chronologically, the transition into retirement that the men and women I spoke to described. It is no surprise, in light of their almost ubiquitous status as license holders and the exclusive recognition of license holders in LERP documents and processes (explored in more detail in the previous chapter), that men typically described directing the retirement process for themselves. The program undoubtedly encouraged a certain paradigm between license-holders and crew members who were commonly marital partners or family members; official information came exclusively to the license holder in the mail, only one signature was required for the retirement of a license, and only one name will be printed on the cheque, which totalled the benefits of the program for individuals who retired. It is no surprise then, that in addition to making the decision somewhat independently, license holding men typically prioritized their own motivations, concerns and inspirations in the retirement process, although verbalized and passive negotiations most certainly took place within partnerships both before and after a retirement decision had been reached.

The structure of the program outlined a delivery method in which license holders would be contacted directly to participate in the program, but so too did the program's implementation rely on community relationships for design and Union membership as the gateway for informational access. Unsurprisingly, men were typically the first to hear about the program and had access to exclusive information through masculinized social and political networks. For harvesters, the most accurate sources of information were Union meetings and trusted contacts in the FFAW. Albert and Carl initially heard of the program at Union meetings and began receiving information in the mail which they passed along to Anne & Mary, who were not active in the union. As a result of the program's lengthy and involved construction process, described in greater detail in the previous chapter, public opinions on the program had a chance to develop before the program was actually released.

While Tim did ultimately get his information from the Union as well, he highlights another important source of information about the program; "Uh, well yeah I did hear, like uh, what we would call wharf talk I guess, rumors type thing, you know, but before long information did start coming from the union." A few respondents heard about the program through "wharf talk" or private connections with the union or other fisheries organizations before they heard about it officially – involvement in various wharf organizations and governing bodies allowed Chris a first-hand look at the project as it was implemented. As Isaac describes, "They were talking about it for a few years before it actually happened, right?" George & Christine were the only two respondents to report hearing about the program from the news, although unlike George, Christine did not take serious interest in the program immediately. Tim and Nancy too learned the official workings of the program simultaneously, as they both attended Union meetings regularly, although Nancy did not report the same experiences with wharf talk that Tim

did. For the women in this sample who did not regularly attend union meetings, they did not have access to such information so readily.

Retiring through the LERP differs greatly from most retirement schemes inasmuch as it is not, at its core, a retirement scheme for people, but for enterprises. The LERP does not take into account the history of an enterprise, or how that history is negotiated by individuals and partnerships before it reaches the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB). The negotiation of this decision, however, is critical to understanding claims about the “success” of the program, and how the program reproduces a devaluation of the work conducted by women and their ongoing stake in fisheries activities. The decision to retire, particularly for some of the men in this sample, appeared to come easily. Mary reports that Albert came home one day after the second round of LERP bidding was complete and said, “I think I’ll retire”. Despite Mary’s disagreement with his choice, she conceded, and reported that like every other decision they made throughout their marriage, they never argued about it.

Tim, similarly, had his mind made up; “I didn’t think about it not for a second, nope”. With one exception, men were the official license holders within harvesting pairs, and almost unanimously described making the choice to retire for themselves rather than for their partnership – they did not consider their partner’s preferences. In many cases, they did not report consulting with their partners at all. As George told me: “My mind was made up in just one day, like we never ever talked about it or nothing”. Although George did talk to Christine about his decision, he did not consult her. “No, it was me own self” (George). Despite what some of the men describe, the process was somewhat more complicated for some couples, and indeed, the decision may have been made as a partnership despite the apparent invisibility of this to official

process. Carl and Anne were prompted to retire as much by Anne's health as Carl's, and it was Anne's growing troubles with arthritis that pushed the two to participate in the buyback, although Carl certainly felt he made the decision for himself. Contrary to Tim's explanation, Nancy describes how Tim had initially turned down a job offer because of his and Nancy's existing career in the inshore fishery. She recalled a discussion of how this job may be the most reliable exit strategy available to them, and eventually reached the decision to retire together based on this offer.

The men in this sample offered their logics for retirement with confidence and seemed confident that the decision was made with their own interests in mind. Women offered a glimpse at how these processes and decisions may be more complex than their partners let on. The men I spoke to felt that they made a decision to retire their licenses for themselves after weighing the relevant factors and reported this decision to their spouses and partners but indeed their spouses were actively or passively part of this decision-making process in a number of ways. Whether these negotiations took place before a retirement decision was reached, as Nancy recalls, or had to be mitigated after a retirement decision was announced, as Christine will describe, partnerships had to reconcile competing interests associated with personal motivations, spousal motivations, economic conditions, family structure and dispersion and of course, the right timing.

Reaching a Retirement Decision

Harvesters were motivated to retire by some combination of deteriorating health, disillusionment with the industry and mounting financial stress, as well as the offer of alternative employment. Health and age were without a doubt the greatest motivators for full retirement, meaning a complete departure from paid work, which is not a surprise considering the intense

physical work of harvesting. “I ended up getting sick out in the boat and I came in and went to the doctor and he told me I had an enlarged heart, so we, he told me that I should give up fishing so I probably fished another year or so after that with some help, I had a young man that went with us too and helped out because the physical work was getting too much for me” (Chris). George described that he was beginning to “feel his age”, and Christine had concerns about his health. She says, “You’re a diabetic too, you’re taking insulin, like your, your arms and legs get to the point that you had to give up sooner or later” (Christine). Mark, who received an alarming diagnosis before he had any thought of stopping, was very reluctant to retire, particularly through the LERP. While he was ultimately glad he had retired, his choice was strongly motivated by the onset of health concerns. He says, “Whatever the committee offered you is what you had to take, and if I wasn’t, if my health wasn’t as bad I wouldn’t have taken it but I took it because I had health problems, and the enterprise wasn’t no good to me sitting on the wharf, just sitting there for a year” (Mark).

Age was an important consideration for Mary as well, who felt she was too young to retire – she was a handful of years younger than her husband, Albert. She was worried about missing her income, and she knew it would be a long time until her pension kicked in, but Albert was concerned about keeping his license in such an unproductive fishery. He felt that the enterprise was at risk, and he was worried about Mary getting stuck with a financial liability if his health were to get any worse. Their daughter agreed Mary was too young to retire and far from her pension, but she said dad was older and this was his choice, so Mary should let him make it. Ultimately, Mary was happy to stop – she had never liked it. She says they never argued about it. Mary thought, “not everyone lives to see retirement”, and if Albert wanted to see retirement, she wasn’t going to argue. She filled the bid out for Albert and waited until the

last round to send it in the hopes that he would change his mind, but he didn't. While she, too, is ultimately glad that she retired, she admits that she misses her income and could've gone on working if she had recognized an opportunity to.

Chris's wife, who was also too young to retire, recognized that her husband was no longer able to keep up with the physical tasks of harvesting; "She felt the same, I was sick at the time so it was kind of like health reasons, we were wondering what we were gonna do, so... So, she was okay with it, as long as I was okay was the main thing" (Chris). Although Chris had a job lined up when he sold his license, his wife was confident that she would find something in the area. In her work now, she travels for several days at a time to various parts of the island. Unlike Chris's wife, Mary returned to performing unpaid work similar to what she had done before she was harvesting; taking care of her aging parents and grandchildren, participating in her community, spending time with her husband.

For harvesters that went on to other work as well as harvesters that went into full retirement, inconsistent and unpredictable prices, resulting in dwindling incomes and increased reliance on employment insurance, were a huge motivator to leave the fishery. On this subject, partners did not report the need for much negotiation; the fishery was inconsistent at its best, and undoubtedly in the midst of a substantial downturn. Despite the discourse of "crisis" invoked by the DFO in planning the ALSM, harvesters were more likely to reference steady decreases in lobster prices, and the decay of other important fisheries like crab and lump. No harvester discussed a "price crash" at all, never mind with the startle and fervor of the DFO. Nancy explains,

Well, it seemed like every year, uh the weather was getting worse and worse, and the price of the lobsters were going down, and we never knew what we were gonna get for

our lobsters, and we didn't have a very big crab quota, and the, the prices of the crab was goin' down, and well like, it seemed like every year's getting worse and worse so, maybe, maybe we should pull out so that's what we did.

Harvesters reported fishing for a great number of things throughout their inshore careers from cod and lobster to skate, lump and sea cucumber. The markets for these products were fragile, as are their populations. Most harvesters in the area were reduced to fishing lobster, crab, and bait species by the time they retired. Isaac recalls, "that's all there was, was lobster. No more cod fishery, before I mean years ago we'd fish all winter long, we'd start in November and go until February or March, you know catching cod but there's no more cod fishery anymore, lobster only for 2 months of the year." Tim confirms, "there wasn't a whole lot left to it, eh?"

Harvesters and their partners agreed that it was increasingly tough to make a living in the last few years before the buyback. For married fishing partners, the expenses and returns of the enterprise directly translate to household incomes, supplemented by Employment Insurance and the occasional bout of work on draggers. In other words, with both partners in the boat, there was no second source of income which could be relied upon as more regular and predictable. Incomes, on a tangible, household level, were steadily dropping while the cost of running an enterprise was consistently high. Mary says, "our gas was expensive, our boat was expensive". All the money Albert & Mary made went back into their enterprise, into gear and licenses and the house. Mary says that when the season ended, they prayed they'd make it the 6 weeks before EI kicked in. Tim, similarly, was reaching the end of his patience with the inconsistent income, which increased his vulnerability to economic downturn or disaster. He describes this in comparison to his new job;

If we went out in the outboard motor way, which would probably be like 10 or 15 thousand dollars, the like, well yeah, then we had to have a motor eh? Like I was working this job, and all I needed would be, was a sandwich and an apple and a yogurt for dinner, that's all I, that's all I had to worry about, you know what I mean? (Tim)

Like Tim, the rest of the younger men in this sample were motivated to get out of the fishery by the offer of alternate employment. Tim had an opportunity to work with a local company through a relative's connection, which offered him year-round employment. Nancy says, "We certainly wouldn't have let it go without, without him having a job". Chris loved fishing, and despite his concerns with the economic insecurity and his deteriorating health, he had not really planned to give up his license. He had been offered alternative employment by a relative but was not interested in anything but fishing. Like Tim, moving to land-based work was hard to accept, but eventually the promise of year-round income and relief from the tumult and physical hardship of the fishery outweighed his commitment to it. He says, "I took the job but I didn't take the buyout that year, I kept my license and then I got into it and it was okay, so when the buyout came along I decided to let my fishing enterprise go" (Chris). Isaac similarly had an opportunity to gain year-round employment locally and decided to retire his license.

None of the partnerships I spoke to factored in women's employment after the enterprise was retired in any substantial way. Nancy felt the offer was a great opportunity for Tim and began applying for jobs once they had made up their minds to retire. For each of the men I spoke to who became re-employed, the reception of the right offer was important. For each, the work was stimulating, local, and year-round. This employment is hard to come by in many of Newfoundland's rural places, and it is no wonder that the opportunity for such work was prioritized in this way. Tim's employment prompted their exit from the fishery, while Nancy's employment resulted from exiting the fishery. She recalls discussing the idea with Tim;

So Tim went, and well they said well, there's a job here for you if you want it so, he was like well, not really, cause well like we're fishing, you know what I mean and that's we talked, the more we talked about it was like, yeah well this buyback is on the go, like well if you got a job there, yeah maybe we should consider getting rid of our licenses, and, and you continue on with the work and well, I'll put in, like say put in applications and hopefully get work somewhere else, so... So that's what we did, that's what we decided to do.

It didn't take her long to find a job close to home, and she enjoys her work now a great deal, but is still technically employed on a casual basis. Chris's wife had a similar experience entering the workforce. While Nancy was confident she would find something, Christine was more apprehensive;

when he decided to take the buyback well the first thing I thought was, well it was a good thing, cause he was getting up in age, but what was I gonna do then? ...I was jobless, hey? I wasn't rich, we don't got rich from the fishery, so you know, but then afterwards I found a job the same year, right? ...that's what I've been at ever since... there's not much here, I aint got an education, right?

The women I spoke to have somewhat limited employment experience before their harvesting careers, and their experiences before and after lobster are reflective of the larger employment trends in out port economies. **Figure 1**, sourced from Community Accounts, describes an intensely gendered labour markets in outport communities in which men perform

Occupation	Males (Employed)	Females (Employed)	Males (% of Total)	Females (% of Total)
Health	...	60	...	75.0%
Sales and service	30	80	27.3%	72.7%
Education, law and social, community and government services	35	70	33.3%	66.7%
Business, finance and administration	...	25	...	45.5%
Manufacturing and utilities	55	45	55.0%	45.0%
Natural resources, agriculture and production	110	15	88.0%	12.0%
Trades, transport and equipment operators	100	...	90.9%	...
Natural and applied sciences	15	...	75.0%	...
Management	50	...	83.3%	...

Figure 13: Labour Market Distribution (Community Accounts)

resource extraction, primary industry and trades work, while women staff the services and perform the necessities of daily life which enable this work (Norman & Power, 2015). This data is certainly consistent with the employment histories and trajectories of the individuals I spoke to. Further, the manner by which these respondents found their work after lobster (for men,

mostly taking advantage of an opportunity, and for women, the traditional route of applications) reflects an economy in which men's employment is prioritized and assigned a higher status both socially and within their families. This may, in part, reflect their historically higher earnings or their potential for higher earnings outside the fishery in future employment.

Ultimately, for many of the people I spoke to, their decision to participate in the buyback had a lot to do with the right timing – their options for succession were dwindling and other options for selling their license were unattractive. Tim says, “Now in the meantime I knew that we could've sold our license, but to sell our license to this fellow or that fellow and then you gotta be trying to get the money, and blah blah blah, and I said no, this is the right chance. And I was already working, I had a job, so it was, yeah. This was, this was the time.” Some of the older harvesters I spoke to had retirement on their minds before the buyback came along, and like Tim, they felt this was the right opportunity.

Anne and Carl had no children close by to whom they could pass on the license, and although Mark tried to pass it on to a nephew, fishing with him and allowing him to take the enterprise for a year, ultimately the nephew was not interested. He recalls, “I would've kept my license till I was 80 if I could've went sometimes but I mean I had cancer, and then I had to come ashore, so I had no other choice, I had nobody to take over my license so I had to stay ashore, right?”(Mark). Chris encouraged his son to pursue a University degree despite his love of fishing, and apparent talent for it. He explains, “When you finish high school you go off to university, try to better yourself, you know? Fishing is good at some times but then the fishing start taking decline, and wasn't good as when we started, and you get quotas and limitations, so...” (Chris).

The pressure to leave outport communities for young people is substantial – local employment opportunities are typically limited and the desire for upward mobility often results in outward mobility, but this is an incomplete picture of why young people appear to be leaving. Norman & Power (2015) found contradictory narratives impressed on young people in outport communities. While a social and economic mobility imperative was certainly recognized, and is sighted here in Chris’s hopes for his son’s future, there is a hopeful imaginary present in the authors’ discussions with rural youth that links youth to their home. His son’s interest in fishing now translates to recreational fishing trips with his father when he returns home during the summer, which confirms this link. Power (2017) demonstrates that these mobility imperatives are, in many ways, structured by industrial and government policy to produce particular narratives of mobility in the province: that returning to rural places is more valuable than remaining in rural places, and that to live in a wealthy province, young people are responsible for leaving, training and finding employment in the correct vein at the correct time. In contrast to DFO concerns that older harvesters are blocking entry for younger harvesters to the inshore fishery, several of the individuals I spoke to had little opportunity to pass on their license even if they had wished. In Chris’s case, the tumult and inconsistency of the fishery itself encouraged him to block his son’s entry to the industry. Indeed, the mobile arrangements of work and training that have precluded the “passing on” of licenses to this eager younger generation of harvesters are far more complicated than the DFO’s assessment that older harvesters provide a roadblock. It’s possible, according to Power (2017) that industrial and employment restructuring throughout the province which has produced discourses of skilled trades, rural crisis and mobility imperatives are themselves part of the roadblock.

Becoming Retired

A number of the harvesters I spoke to withheld from bidding, or bidding seriously, until the later rounds. For Albert, Mary, and George, this was a strategy. Mary filled out Albert's bid form for him but didn't send it until she absolutely had to, in case Albert changed his mind. Meanwhile, George and Albert were waiting to hear what other people received from the program before submitting their bids. Several of the other harvesters intentionally bid high in several rounds in pursuit of the same goal. As Carl recalled, he realized that the FFAW had a number in mind, and they were waiting for you to guess it. Tim understood this from the outset; "That's how come when I started bidding, I just bid, I bid high, you know just kind of to feel it out, I was pretty sure they wasn't gonna accept my bid when I first bid, but, I just, you know, was just playing along, and seeing what I could find out type thing, right?" (Tim). The structure of the reverse auction allowed a certain amount of room for strategizing. As Tim described, he was able to "just play along" for a few rounds before deciding whether it was worthwhile to retire for the sum that was available.

By establishing the value of an enterprise based on the "market value" within an LFA, it is indeed true that the FFAW had a number in mind, but this number changed with each round. For some participants, this was frustrating – they reported neighbors and relatives losing out on thousands of dollars because they bid too early or had undervalued their enterprise. Isaac recalls, "Actually the first bid we put in was turned down because I think it was a bit high at the time... Yep, even though they went higher after". Although the bid package outlined the process by which a bid will be valued and accepted, harvesters had no real idea what their enterprise was worth to the FFAW in dollars. For participants like Mark, who retired in response to the onset of some serious health problems, it may have been easy to under-value an enterprise in the earlier

rounds. Mark took less for his enterprise than he felt it was worth, and he was frustrated by the lack of back-and-forth that was characteristic of other relationships in the fishery. He explains;

Last one! I was the last one. I tried a couple of times but, you know, I guess it's probably foolish I figured that if I, I didn't kinda like the way it was done. I was with the union for well 30 years and then I was out of it for a few years, and you know there was no negotiation, you couldn't sit down and negotiate. Whatever the committee offered you is what you had to take, and if I wasn't, if my health wasn't as bad I wouldn't have taken it but I took it because I had health problems. (Mark)

The cavalier attitudes with which these men placed their first few bids came to an abrupt halt when a bid was finally accepted. Once the Newfoundland Lobster Sustainability Board (NLSB) accepted a bid of sale, harvesters had only 14 days to accept the offer and relinquish their license back to the DFO. To reject the offer would disqualify them from the following rounds, and to accept meant that they would retire their enterprise. This choice presented a greater challenge for some than for others. George recalls, "Some hard to make your mind up though, like someone took something from you". Strictly speaking and consistent with DFO policy, the LERP did not take any property from harvesters, it merely retired their privilege to fish a particular amount of lobster. But George was not alone in feeling this sense of loss. Mark describes his experience;

I mean you put in your bid right? I put in two before that and like I said.. You look at the history of your life, you know, sometimes and its no good, right? Sometimes you says okay, you had an enterprise, you know for, passed down through, it's worth something. But when it comes to a committee there's only, you took it that day, the way that I see it, you took it that day and sold it the next day. There's no negotiations, you know there's nobody knew the background, only just send in your bid and committee just goes in a room and says you got it or you did not.

The license holders make it clear that they assign value to their licenses in a manner vastly different from the quantitative valuation scheme of the LERP. They do not consider "market value" so much as the physical, psychological and social benefits attributed to their license; a

sense of history, a connection to family and friends and a livelihood. Mark makes this clear; “You know, you’re looking at about 6 or 700 dollars a year for your whole career, right?” While harvesters assigned value to their licenses in only partially quantitative ways, the LERP assigned them value in exclusively this way – it is no surprise that the dollar value assigned to an individual’s life work falls short of their own appraisals.

For some participants, the abruptness with which their careers ended was quite a heartbreak. Chris explains;

I remember the day I got my buyout check in the mail I sat to the kitchen table and cried, you know? I felt really sad... kinda like the end of the era thing, I suppose I loved fishing you know, and I was involved in everything with it you know? I fished harder than most, and I did the sentinel survey, I fished cod, I fished everything and then it’s just like... For 20 odd years, even the boys I mean they fished with me, and my son used to come home from university and fish, you know, and then helped pay his way through and stuff, you know? So it’s kinda like a... A big deal... It took me a couple of years. My neighbor next door he fishes lobster and I remember the first lobster fishing morning and I heard him start his ATV at 2 30 in the morning and I was just lying in bed thinking and I knew he was going fishing and I felt like hell...m I hear him up in the morning when he starts his ATV to go down to the dock, I know where he’s going, so..

Christine, Carl & Anne, too, had a hard time adjusting to life without the daily practices of fishing, although they grew to enjoy sleeping in past 4 o’clock in the morning. While they described feeling sad and somewhat lost in the next years after their harvesting careers ended, they did not describe the feelings of physical loss that their male counterparts did. Chris describes mourning the physical cheque, while George held on to his bid acceptance and worried over the form for as long as he could. Women didn’t have the opportunity to connect to these items in the same way that the men did – there was no codification of their life’s work to mourn over, as indeed, they had no bid acceptance to consider. Mary, who was nervous to retire for the loss of her income, makes this inequality painfully clear. She filled out Albert’s bid form for him, despite her trepidation, and kept it by the front door until the last possible day she could

mail it in. Mary's concerns about losing her income and her nerves about retiring too young were silenced by the singular name required on the bid form – it was not her license to retire, whether or not she retired with it.

“Growing up” to It

Unequal experience and opportunity throughout the life-course and fishing careers of women, which come to be through their existing household and family arrangements and gendered local economies, may have a great deal to do with the material inequalities that made so many women ineligible for benefits through the LERP. In other words, if men and women access fishing knowledge and capital through different social networks, at different stages in their lives, and for different purposes, it is no surprise that they have not accumulated the same capital and ownership status by the time they are considering retirement. This suggests, more than anything else, that the work women conduct cannot be captured by data related to licenses and boat ownership.

The men and women I spoke to did not experience the same introduction to fishing. Their entrance into the boat, motivation to get in the boat, and training in the fishery reflect an unequal position in the regeneration of the fishery. This means men have the support, resources and opportunities to make a life of inshore fishing more readily than do women. While men are immersed in their fishery education from a young age and are given space to learn from a variety of teachers, women are typically conscripted, however gently, to the fishery by necessity and the obligations of outport and family life. They're taught to fish largely by their fishing partners, and their fishing arrangements remained consistent throughout their careers compared to their male counterparts. In this section I explore these differences in experience, and the social

conditions which led to these parallel trajectories. These trajectories are considered in turn below. I also explore points of convergence, the moment when partners join each other in the boat. The motivations and conditions of these arrangements are also addressed here.

Isaac, a harvester from a more rural part of LFA 11, provides a unique starting point for understanding the process of learning to fish for the men I spoke to, as he was taught to fish in part by his older sister. His dad worked long spells at sea in the offshore fishery, and Isaac took advantage of these uninterrupted spans of boat access. Isaac was not only one of the few people who learned some of his fishing skills from a woman, he was also the only male harvester in the sample that described specific memories of learning to fish: “Yeah I used to go out with, my sister and me actually, she used to help me.. We used to roll out and jig cod and I would split it and salt it, I’d then sell it... She only just went out just to help me... Probably mom told her just to go with me, keep an eye on me, I don’t know. She was older than me, so.” Isaac goes on to say, “Well this is a fishing, that’s all there was here was just is completely, that’s the only thing here was fishing, so. We grew up to it, so...” (Isaac). In this second phrase, his memories of fishing with his sister become part of a larger picture of Isaac’s education in the fishery; rather than the result of a specific relationship or even set of relationships, he was immersed in fishing knowledge through the social and spatial networks present in fishing communities. His sister, similarly embedded in these networks and evidently capable of fishing herself, is notably still categorized as a helper, despite her supervisory responsibilities in this particular tale.

Unlike the specific memory Isaac provides, this kind of immersion appears to be the preferential form of learning to fish for the men of LFA 11. “Everyone who grew up in those communities fished when they were boys. That was your weekend thing, out in the boat with

your dad and stuff... Yeah it just comes natural I think to out-port boys you know, we grew up fishing, so..." (Chris). Even men like Tim, who learned to fish in their teenage years, described somewhat indiscernible arrangements during their first years in the fishery; "Yeah, I don't know, I don't know to tell you the truth. Like I just got at it, and.. learned it. Like I don't know if I learned from anybody in particular, you know, like yeah. I was, I was here, there and everywhere and well you know I just learned from this one and that one" (Tim). Power's (2005) book offers insights into how these processes are operationalized by harvesters as well as governments to draw categories regarding who has the right to participate in and benefit from fishing in the province.

Some men were able to identify a more tangible relationship that introduced them to the fishery. George learned to fish mostly from his father, while Mark credits his grandfather, but not exclusively. He described working his father's enterprise, sometimes with his brothers. He lived through a terrible storm that took out a number of draggers in his close proximity, and in describing the impact of this storm he highlights the tangled relationships that made up his family, community and fishing education. He describes;

I had an uncle on the [ship] and I had cousins on the [ship], so, there's a family affair, you know girl. It takes a lot out of a young person because I was, when he went down I was only 17, I wasn't 18 years old and me uncle went down under our feet, right? And that's who showed me how to tie knots and splice rope, you know, it took a lot out of you (Mark).

Mark's time on the dragger highlights an important commonality. Albert, Carl, Tim and George also began their professional (for pay) fishing careers on draggers in their teen years, which is a common trajectory according to both respondents themselves and community members. Carl and Albert left their homes with either a brother or a friend and found work on draggers in other parts of the province. Tim was able to dock closer to home, where Mark travelled all the way to

St. John's to find work. For Tim and Mark, their work on the draggers continued through their inshore fishing careers as well. Mark describes, "Inshore, offshore, whatever, right? You had to get a home... I missed her [daughter], yeah, because you know, only child but... Didn't bother me from dragging you know, I had to". Tim occasionally took up work on draggers during the winter, both for the economic benefit and to pass the time between fishing seasons. He recalls, "That was just something I'd do like yeah, well not for pass time, but, of course I done it for money, but, you know what I mean? That was just something to take up some of them winter months and, yeah" (Tim). Regardless of motivation, work on the draggers was challenging, and the men found it hard to be away from home for long stretches.

For Mark in particular, it was the long stretches at sea, as well as the opportunity to take up a license, that drove him inshore. He described, "On a dragger you had to stay there. If you was gone for 20 days you had to stay for 20 days. I didn't like that life, that wasn't the life I wanted to live. I wanted to live, you know, a social life too right?" (Mark). Isaac and Chris moved all the way to Ontario to find trades work, although Isaac didn't stay as long, and found work on a lake boat until he came inshore. For Isaac, like Mark, the long stretches on the lake boat pushed him toward inshore fishing;

Uh, well, it was a family thing, like I said I got married... I was away for sometimes 6 months and uh, we had, uh, my first son was born in that year... so I didn't wanna be away from home so much. Like I used to be gone for 6 months at a time and it just wasn't... Wasn't any good for a family... Yeah, so I quit the job on the boats and went fishing.

For Albert & Carl both, getting married was the signal to leave the draggers behind and take up inshore fishing with their respective brothers. Family was an important draw for Chris to fish inshore as well. He was working in Ontario where he lived with his wife and two sons and came

home for Christmas during a long lay-off. His father-in-law was an inshore fish harvester and offered Chris a place on his boat for the upcoming season. Chris describes,

he said, you know Chris you should stay home and go fishing with me, I've got no one to help me this year, so... It went from having two small boys who came home here to their grandparents, thought they were in a different world, you know? But it was wonderful with all the attention and love they had so we decided to stay, so I fished that year, and then we built our own home here. (Chris)

Like Chris, many harvesters fished someone else's inshore vessel before they acquired their own, typically with a brother, a father or in-law, or another family member. Mark describes how he acquired his father's enterprise; "My dad he, my grandfather had an enterprise and then he got old, he retired, and then my dad he fished until he retired and I came home summer time and went fishing with him, right? And then, 64 I took me own enterprise". He was able to acquire his father's license and worked it with his brother for a number of years, until his brother got his own license. He fished with his son-in-law for several years after that before turning to hired crew when the son-in-law took up his own enterprise. Carl was able to fish his brother's license as a crewman until he acquired his own license and began fishing independently. Some of the older men, Isaac, George, Albert and Carl, noted that it wasn't nearly as hard to get a license and start an enterprise as it is today. Isaac describes, "Yeah, so I quit the job on the boats and went fishing. Which was no problem then to get a license, anyone could get a license then". Isaac fished as a crew on a friend's boat and then acquired his own license and continued to fish with the same friend – a practice known as "buddying up".

In this manner, the men enjoyed a relatively smooth transition into the inshore fishery. Their education in the fishery was immersive – a number of these men have been fishing since they were children with family and community members, and even those who took longer to climb into the boat were nursed to professional status by a similar network of harvesters. Men

like George and Mark, who uniquely highlighted individuals central to their learning, acknowledged other family and community members as contributors. Their common experiences on the draggers of exhausting, dangerous work and tremendously long stretches away from home drove them to the inshore fishery, while new wives, children and the idea of coming home drew them to a more locally-bound life simultaneously. Those who did not spend time on the draggers meet their contemporaries here. Family, the institution which brought these men up in the fishery and supported their development as harvesters, plays a key role in attracting men to the inshore fishery. Family provides a logic to move inshore and further, a support system through which men are able to build an inshore enterprise on which they can survive and raise their families.

Women did not describe this kind of fisheries education that their male counterparts experienced. In fact, none of them described fishing in their youth at all. They described familiarity with fishing, and many of them came from families where both or one of their parents fished. They commonly mentioned siblings who made a career of the fishery. Despite proximity, and perhaps a basic knowledge of fishing provided by siblings and parents, the women I spoke to did not fish as teenagers or children and did not pursue fishing as a career until later in life. Their first memories of fishing are typically with their fishing partner (be it their spouse, father, etc.), with whom they fished throughout the entirety of their career. Nancy, the exception to that trend, had a more diverse roster of fishing partners throughout her career, but still fished predominantly with her husband. Unlike many of the men I spoke to, the women in my sample worked outside the fishery first, meaning that they made an active choice to enter the boat, as structured as that choice may have been. Beginning with their work before the fishery, I'll now turn to explore the unique trajectories of women harvesters.

Reflective of a highly gendered local labour market in which women tend to be employed in the service and processing sectors (Norman & Power, 2015), the women I spoke to have very different work histories from their fishing partners. Christine worked in food service for a few years, and then spent some time working at the fish plant in a neighboring community. Anne ran a small takeout restaurant in her town but closed it in response to some local competition. “There’s just only room for one”, Anne told me. Mary babysat for a woman in the next town for a few years when she first married Albert, while he fished with his brother. When she got pregnant, she stopped her paid work for a few years altogether and concentrated on raising her daughter. Nancy worked in an administrative/service position locally for a number of years until she took maternity leave with her first and only daughter, Amanda.

Like Anne and Mary, Nancy’s decision to leave her previous job behind and go fishing had a great deal to do with her family obligations and preferences for childcare. When the time came for Nancy to return to work, another harvester suggested she try inshore fishing with her husband for the flexibility and seasonal nature of the work. Nancy describes her decision to get in the boat:

I just wanted to stay home with Amanda. I just wanted to be home with her. Like I didn’t wanna work and someone else have to look after her and Mark was like, well why don’t you go inshore fishing like it’s only seasonal, and you can be home half the year with her, and.. as opposed to working all year and having well probably 2 weeks vacation, you know what I mean? ...work all year, Monday to Friday, and.. have 2 weeks vacation, and he was like well why don’t you go fishing, like you know and its only seasonal, and you’re home all, home all winter with her, like half the year, work half the year and half the year home, so.. That’s what I decided to do. (Nancy)

Fishing fit Nancy’s life. She went fishing in the morning and around noon her husband dropped her off at shore. She picked up her daughter from her grandparents’ house, just down the road, and spent her afternoons parenting. She could take the day off if Amanda wasn’t feeling well or

had a doctor's appointment, and in the winter months Nancy and her husband took up leisure activities, hunted, and spent time together as a family. Her decision to get in the boat allowed her to prioritize her daughter and schedule her work around her care. While it was certainly not an easy life, working a full shift at sea and then a full shift at home, Nancy found the time she was looking for with her daughter and the flexibility she wasn't able to get from her former employer.

Christine, similarly, found something she loved in fishing. She says, "I worked in the fish plant... I worked in the dairy bar... I worked in a store over there, and then I went fishing, eh? You know I never left" (Christine). Christine fished with her father for nearly 30 years. While it was hard work, she enjoyed it, and at least while she was living at home, it made a good living. When she married, she moved to the next town over and commuted a few kilometres each morning to fish with her father. Although fishing was less convenient for Christine in these years, she stuck to it. Christine was invested in her work and it was obvious that she enjoyed the partnership just as much as the work itself. In my interview with George and Christine, the two moved in and out of sentences, stories, recollections and the kitchen itself with a synchronized ease. They are close, and it was immediately clear that they had made a comfortable and efficient team, which they themselves confirmed. When Anne closed her restaurant, she and Carl saw an opportunity to fish more intensely. Carl was fishing with his brother on his brother's license but began fishing with Anne once he acquired his own. Mary described her experience differently. Albert, who had been fishing with his brother, acquired a license and needed Mary's help to fish it, so she helped. She hated fishing from the start, and never got used to it, but they were able to make a living fishing together, and the schedule suited them. For these women, the

decision to get in the boat was not only made by their preferences for work, but their preferences and responsibilities for unpaid work and their obligations to the success of the family enterprise.

The women I spoke to recalled their first experiences in the boat in grittier detail than their partners. Christine describes; “Getting started, getting used to it was hard, we used to haul all the nets by hand... We used to haul the nets by hand, right? ...Lobster traps by hand. Right? And it’s a lot of cold days, I’ll tell ya, sure my hands is... Oh, a lot of wind, I said a lot of prayers (laughs)...”. Mary, similarly, did not enjoy her first years in the boat, and actually didn’t express much fulfillment from fishing throughout her career. She hated it from the start – the hours were long, the work was exhausting, and it was cold and dangerous. While Nancy took to the water easily and found a great deal of joy in fishing throughout her career, she couldn’t believe, retrospectively, that she’d put up with its challenges as long as she had. She says, “it’s cold and early mornings, and windy weather, and getting sick, and out there with water splashing up when you’re steaming along and water splashing up the side of your face, it’s like oh my god like how did I ever do that? (both laugh)” (Nancy).

The women I spoke to, then, describe a different entry point into fishing work. Raised by fishing families in fishing communities, surrounded, in the same manner as the men, by the landscape and icons of a fishing economy, they were not immersed in the work the way the men described. Whether they were not invited or chose a different path for themselves is unclear, but in their adult lives, they chose fishing for a number of reasons. Limited access to other work was an important factor for Christine and Anne, while childcare and flexible scheduling was an enormous draw for Nancy. Anne, Nancy and Mary however, facilitated the growth of their husbands’ enterprises in a substantial way by taking up fishing. Carl & Albert were able to break

away from their family fishing partnerships and fish their own licenses independently. Nancy, while her work under his license didn't add substantial value to the license, eventually acquired her own license as well, which Tim recalls was in part so he was able to fish two. The decision to go fishing, wrapped up in care obligations, household security and local economies, was arguably more complex than the decisions of their partners, who were raised into the fishery and supported economically and practically by other harvesters as they built their careers.

The pairs I spoke to spent longer fishing with each other than with anyone else – Albert & Mary, Carl & Anne, George & Christine and Nancy & Tim fished together for roughly half of the men's careers, but almost all of the women's careers. With the exception of Nancy, all of the women fished under their partner's license and retired from fishing when their partners' license was retired. Mark fished for a good stretch with his son-in-law until he acquired his own enterprise, at which time Mark fished with crewmen until he retired. Aside from Isaac, who buddied up with a friend for the majority of his fishing career, the men in this sample worked with and learned from a broad array of friends and family. They fished with friends, siblings and neighbors, made permanent connections on draggers while they were young, and tethered themselves to a vast community of male harvesters by returning to the inshore fishery. As I discuss in greater detail below, this is the community through which men are able to fish in retirement and maintain occupational patterns of mobility beyond their careers. As a result of their different fisheries education, different motivations for entering the boat and the differences in opportunity, support and encouragement to foster a career in the fishery, women were not able to cement these ties throughout their work.

The Day-To-Day

Divisions of Labour

Differences in the start of their careers, mechanisms and relationships through which the practices of harvesting were learned, motivations for entering the boat and the all-important ownership status which determined eligibility for the reception of LERP benefits, interestingly, had little to no bearing on the actual structure of work for harvesting teams on a day-to-day basis. Indeed, by crediting only the license holder with the work of an enterprise and assigning him the exclusive right to make decisions about that license, the same work may be recognized very differently by the LERP according to who conducts it. This is a dangerous misinterpretation on behalf of the program; the program's forced segregation of license holders and non-license holders, categories which closely align with gender, means that the work itself is only considered relevant to the program when conducted by a license holder, and typically, a man. While the work is devalued by the program generally, it becomes explicitly irrelevant to the program only when it is conducted by a non-license holder, many of whom are woman. Unlike in the case of many women who conduct shore-based fisheries work for their family's enterprise, it is not the nature of the work which makes these women invisible to the LERP, but their status as crew and indeed, as women.

Anne and Carl switched jobs inside the boat frequently, but most often, Anne pulled the traps up from the water and Carl replaced the bait bags and tagged and weighed the lobsters. Christine and George worked in the opposite way. Christine describes, "He hauled most, all the pots. I used to band the lobster and get the bait ready, and make sure the lines don't snare up, or, then we got finished for the day we had to steam to [another community] in the boat and sell them". "Everything we do's we do's together", said Mary. They raised their daughter together,

fished together, berry-picked together, travelled together. Albert typically hauled the gear and Mary changed and emptied the pots, but they too changed roles often. Nancy, who fished with her husband and a family member, describes their arrangement;

For the most part Tim would steer the boat, and he would go, like he would use the boat going from pot to pot, and [family member] would be on the end of the boat, on the end of the boat and he would haul the pots, well the hauler, like he would pick up the buoy and the hauler would haul in the pot, and then he would take the lobsters out of the pot and I would measure them and put the bands on them.”

The work inside the boat was mostly assigned by preference and ability, rather than gender, resulting in an array of shifting arrangements. Moreover, participants described how particular divisions of labour are swallowed up in the larger goal of getting the work done. In other words, any work could be conducted by any person in pursuit of finishing the job. Every harvesting team, and indeed the harvesters that worked with crewmen too, placed substantial value on hard work and pulling together. Nancy and Tim both took pride in the speed of their team. As Nancy describes: “we were really fast, we had a good set up, I must say. And a lot of people, it’s like no way they didn’t, there’s no way they could haul 200 pots in that length of time, but yeah we used to be pretty much the first one back in all the time (laughs)”. Christine says of the work that needs to be done between seasons, “it was all our job, right? You don’t stop”. The only exception to this team-centric attitude was Carl, who described Anne as “a great help, b’y”.

When the harvesting work was done for the day, there was certainly no shortage of work at home. Mary disliked the long days on the water and described coming home at 10pm to make dinner while Albert gassed up the boat for the next morning. Nancy’s 3-person harvesting team, along with the support of her parents and grandparents, allowed her to come home around noon most days and take care of her new baby. She describes;

When I came home when she was younger... sometimes I'd just pick her up and bring her home for the day like, and then I, then I'd have my housework to do, laundry and get supper and well, whatever, just a regular ordinary day... it was tiring though because well uh, we would, I would go to bed, well when she went to bed, like we would go to bed. We would be in bed at like 8, 8 30 at night, we were getting up 4 30 and 5, so yep. It was still a long day for me, right? And, not all the times I had the patience with her as, well, as what I should've had either because well it's tiring, right?

Nancy found the double-day exhausting, but the arrangement kept her schedule open enough to respond to her daughter's daily needs and allowed her and Tim to live a more leisurely life in the winter months, which they enjoyed. Tim found the arrangement just as beneficial;

But she looked after the house, eh? I didn't have to fool with none of that. Like when you know, she used to get home, she's off at 11 o'clock or even say noon time, and I'd be gone till 4 or 5 o'clock, but when I come home she'd have supper and she'd have wash done, and she'd have, you know she done the house thing too, so.. I guess it was all part of it, right?

Nancy and Tim were certainly not the only pair to rely on grandparents for childcare during their harvesting days. Mary and Albert lived with Albert's parents in the early years of their joint career and relied on family support to get their child off to school every day during the fishing season. Chris and his wife relied on grandparents as well while their kids were young. He described the following arrangement: "Usually if we're going fishing we'd have the grandparents drop by to get the kids up, or if it was close to the weekend the kids would sleep at their house which was great" (Chris). For harvesters that fished alone, or with another family member or crewman, and indeed before couples began fishing together, the parenting fell almost entirely on the women. In the case of Mark's wife, this role was almost taken up by default; "Madeline: So when you were harvesting did she work as well?, Mark: No. No, she looked after my daughter, right?". This support, which enabled the working partnership of existing marital partners, is spatially dependent. For Nancy, the proximity to her parents allowed for a greater degree of flexibility in her day; when Amanda was young, Nancy's parents stayed at her house

some nights to look after her, and as she grew up, Nancy's parent sometimes sent her back home for a nap before she took her daughter home for the afternoon.

Many of my respondents have now reproduced this tradition with their own grandchildren and are making intentional choices about their movement with regard for their grandchildren's needs and whereabouts. Mark finds a great deal of fulfillment in his grandchildren as he ages, and their proximity was a justification for Mark to stay put in his retirement. He explains, "I wanted me own house and you know, I had everything I wanted so I said no, this is perfect, me family's there and the boys is in hockey and I'm in hockey because I just chase them everywhere they goes, so... I love it!" Mary & Albert's daughter, although she moved away for a short period, returned to her home town specifically because of her parents' support. Mary explained that she had a challenging first pregnancy and moved home when she found out she was pregnant again. Her oldest son experiences severe developmental challenges and is unable to communicate verbally, but Mary and Albert are just around the corner to help when she needs it, and Mary talks to her daughter on the phone everyday. For Mary, the proximity of her daughter, and her wish to care for her own aging father, were motivations for staying put in her retirement years.

As these childcare arrangements weren't typically taken up until mothers were needed in the boat, and the men commonly fished before their wives, it follows that the division of labour on the boat was facilitated by relieving women of some of the physical demands of childcare. Having someone to get the kids off to school in the morning allowed the second parent to join the first in the boat and leveled the day-to-day harvesting responsibilities between partners. It leveled their leisure time as well; harvesting couples described taking their kids out in the boat

with them on weekends and spending long swathes of time in the off-season in cabins as a family. Chris describes, “Weekends the kids went with us... they loved it. My youngest son Mike, he’s a teacher, he probably could’ve stayed fishing if we didn’t push him to go off to school”. Carl and Anne, too, fished with their daughters on the weekends and spent long summers together in their cabin. Equalizing paid work responsibilities served to equalize some of the leisure time harvesters spent with their children. It is not clear if this pattern also leveled home- and childcare responsibilities, but the heavy reliance on informal family support and similar findings in other industries (Keating & Little, 1994) would indicate that this took place to some degree.

Harvesting Location

Discussed in greater detail in the previous chapter, the LERP assigns a baseline value to enterprises based on the LFA in which that license is active. A license active in LFA 11, therefore, is worth the same in Garnish as it is in Burgeo, despite differences in species populations, local economies, the availability of local buyers, or community arrangements. It is assumed by the program, then, that harvesters will engage in both micro- and macro-mobilities in order to equalize their success with their fellow harvesters. These mobilities, while not explicitly encouraged or enforced, may include altering fishing arrangements in the case of buddying-up, moving fishing grounds, or moving communities altogether in more extreme population changes. This system of valuing licenses assumes that harvesters will move to maximize the value of their license – that profitability is a central factor in the mobility decisions of harvesters. Not only is this an inaccurate representation of fishing related mobilities, it actively compresses regional variations which harvesters use to assign qualitative value to their own licenses. Below, I

investigate the active choices harvesters make regarding employment-related geographical mobility, both in order to access their fishing work and as part of the work itself.

Of the entire sample, only Anne & Carl reported making a deliberate change to their fishing grounds. In the later years of their career, they were able to fish from their cottage, located on a small island off the South Coast, instead of from their home. While the slipway near their house meant that the land-based commute was the same, this change cut down on the time it took the pair to steam to their fishing grounds. As Anne describes, it saved them a long, cold boat ride in the early morning. They were able to fish the waters directly adjacent to their cottage as well as some of their traditional grounds, and they abandoned some fishing grounds altogether. While the lobster population across the region has held steady in the last few decades quantitatively, the lobster do not always stay in the same place. George explains,

Like, when we start fishing first like years ago, we always use 8 fathoms of water. S'all our traps along the shore. But now, you can go out to 70 and 80 fathoms of water. That's where all the lobsters to. Thousands. We never ever fish off there... They moved off. Whatever happened. I don't know if it's true cause warm water, cause the water got warmer and that, something done it. We fish like 10 or 12 just in 8 fathoms of water, just to try, nothing. Not even the undersized. But you go from 25, it might be 100, still get plenty lobsters, thousands, they holds up for about... Oh, for I say two months.

Even then, throughout the time he fished with Christine, their grounds did not change – they simply fished deeper parts of the same area. George, however, fished a number of grounds throughout his life; he described different grounds before he began fishing with Christine, and other grounds before those. He attributed these changes largely to population movement. Mary noticed these population changes throughout her time on the water, but Albert insisted on using their traditional grounds. He would drop the pots with his brother in the days before the season opened while him and Mary spent the season changing and emptying them. She often suggested

moving the pots around, which Albert did in small ways to “keep the lobster guessing”, but when Mary suggested large moves, Albert said no.

Chris, who also insisted on using his traditional fishing grounds, explains why Albert may have felt this way; “Not because we couldn’t go anywhere, but it was just, you kind of inherit the same fishing ground that the father-in-law used, you know you, people have respect for each other’s territory you didn’t infringe on someone else’s fishing ground, we went to certain points in the bay and uh, you know, to another certain point in the bay so we fished that area” (Chris). Albert and Chris are from a similar part of the LFA which is hard to access from the more populated regions of the island. Mark and Tim, who fished from slightly more populated ports, didn’t describe these arrangements, and yet they maintained relatively similar fishing grounds throughout their careers as well. Although it was seemingly an appropriate response to population migration under the water, tumultuous shore prices inspired changes in target species which then resulted in changed fishing grounds, rather than changes to lobster fishing grounds directly. Participants recalled steaming as far as St. Pierre and Miquelon to fish other species, but their lobster grounds remained largely the same throughout their careers.

Similarly, the travel they undertook to sell their fish remained largely the same throughout their careers. Particularly for more rural people, opportunities were limited – there may only be one or two lobster buyers in a given area, and narrow options for collection. As a result, most harvesters sold their fish to the same person in the same place for the majority of their careers. For some harvesters, this meant a collection boat which toured the area and collected fish from harvesters, although there were fees associated with this method of collection. For most of the harvesters that operated out of rural areas, like George & Christine,

they had to steam short distances to central collection areas which were sometimes quite crowded. Mary & Albert highlighted that before GPS, they may have spent a few hours searching for their gear before they were able to make any actual collection, which put them far back in the line when they went to deposit their catch. A long day on the water became an even longer day. George & Christine also recall waiting for hours on occasion when the monitor was late, or they were late getting back in from the day. Whether harvesters sold to buyers on their own wharf, were able to sell to a collection boat, or travelled to a central collection centre is less important than the continuity of these journeys. Regardless of how they sold their fish, most harvesters reported selling fish in the same manner they caught them; they went where they have always gone.

Harvesting lobster is far from easy. All of the harvesters I spoke to, and indeed community members, current harvesters, and key informants are all in agreement of that fact. The physical demands resulted in reports of aches and pains, joint troubles and health problems. While Carl's comment on Anne's health helps makes an argument to the contrary, the day-to-day tasks of harvesting were shared somewhat evenly between partners, and while this necessitated some informal family support in the way of childcare, this family support facilitated women's entry into the boat and had an equalizing effect on time spent outside the boat as well. The "pull together" attitude that kept harvesting teams successful throughout their careers, however, may not have made its way into decisions about where to fish. Respondents made it clear that their choices of fishing grounds were dependent on population dynamics as well as personal and traditional obligations, which the women did not feel bound by in the same way as their male counterparts. There is clearly a difference between equal participation in the day-to-day tasks of harvesting and the actual running of an enterprise, and the role women play in each realm is

different. These inequalities become even more apparent in the retirement decisions of harvesters.

Retired Life

Occupational Mobility & Fishing in Retirement

On my first night of field research in LFA 11, I asked the server in an empty takeout for some help locating the retired harvesters I was hoping to speak to. She thought it a strange request – “they usually die before they retire”, she told me. In some ways, she was wrong. Many lobster harvesters make the decision to get rid of their enterprise and end their full-time, professional fish harvesting career, although only a small proportion sold their licenses back through a retirement program such as the LERP. And yet, her reading of the Newfoundland lobster fleet was undoubtedly accurate – for many of those former license holders, retirement and working life are virtually indistinguishable. The actual process of leaving paid work was less of a visible milestone for on-lookers. George, the harvester in this sample who fished the most in his retirement, describes; “I goes out lobster fishing Thursday. April, May, June, July, but last July I fished four months straight. Every day... I just goes out to pass my time.” (George). Although few continue to fish as hard as George, almost every male harvester in this sample ventures back onto the water for pleasure on a regular basis within a fairly stable network of younger harvesters with whom they can fish casually.

For Chris and Isaac, the daily mobility of “getting on the water” was so important that they sought it out in their work after lobster. Chris began this work before he officially gave up harvesting, and for him the daily work involved in aquaculture, the privilege of getting on the water daily, was enough to convince him to give up his license. Isaac gave up his license before he obtained employment, but the daily mobility was no less important for him. Chris describes,

Yea and this keeps us busy, we're still on the water everyday, we've still got a boat to go around in, so.. I'm still up in the morning, this morning I was up at 4 o'clock, so I'm still down to the dock and we're out in the boat ... Just a regular day. Tomorrow it'll be something else. Tomorrow we got harvesting so I'll go down and watch the boats harvesting tomorrow, make sure everything's done right, so... you're on the water every day.

Isaac confirms; "I grew up on the water, I've been on the water all my life and I still get out in the boat every day, so I'm happy with that... I still feel the freedom of like I did when I was fishing, right?"

The fully retired harvester in this sample sighted a network of local men they could fish with at their leisure which included brothers, sons, in-laws, nephews, neighbors and friends. Mark reported, "Well I goes out with my nephew probably once or twice a year, and I'd love to be at it, but you know, I had cancer too and that's what.. I would've kept my license till I was 80 if I could've went sometimes" (Mark). Albert was able to get back on the water with his wife, Mary's, brother a few times a month during the season, just for a lobster at the end of the day. Carl sought out similar compensation from his own brother's enterprise. Carl and Anne are the only couple in my sample who occasionally go out together, making Anne the only woman in this sample who re-engages in fishing efforts for pleasure with any sort of regularity. When asked if they ever venture out on the water in their retirement years, two of the women I interviewed laughed. The lingering memories of their fishing careers were more closely aligned with Nancy's recollections – "how did I ever do that?" than those of their fishing partners. As George recalls, "So I misses everything bout the boat, I loved the boat. I would take the boat now over everything."

The men and women I spoke to engaged in fishing in retirement to varying degrees, but they had encountered this tradition in their own careers, long before their own retirements. Many

of them told stories of fishing with their own retired fathers, uncles and neighbors. A comical story about Nancy's father-in-law demonstrates the benefits of these arrangements for the retired harvester;

When we started fishing Tim's father sometimes, Tim's father was older but he still used to get, like he was a draggerman all his life, he went on the trawlers offshore, and then when he retired, like say when we got our lobster license, he used to go out the scattered day with us, and we would go out, the first time we went that he went with us, it was so foggy we couldn't see a thing, and he was like, 'we're never gonna find our buoy this morning', like, Tim was like, oh yes, he said, I'll punch it in here [to the GPS] now and he was so amazed that we went down there and like, went right down and got right down on our lobster buoy, right?... We went right down and right where we stopped was right where the buoy was to, and he was like well, like he couldn't believe it, right? Like he was like in his early 70s and he was like oh my god! I can't believe it! And then like, he talked about that for days, right?

Re-engaging with fishing efforts in later life may allow retired harvesters to stay up to date on fishing technology, as in the case of Nancy's father-in-law, and engage in current, relevant discussions of fishery topics between community members. Their interest in returning to the boat may be equally concerned with the daily tasks of harvesting, and the familiarity and expertise with which they are able to perform these tasks. Mark confirms; "it's just piddle around, you know, couple hours a day doing a bit of rope or, if anybody got a bit of, next door there they got some trawls to do, you know, put some hooks on some... I just go and do it just for fun, just to pass around an hour in the wharf" (Mark).

Mark's desire "just to pass around an hour in the wharf" highlights an important benefit of casual re-engagement with fishing that no participants discuss overtly; the opportunity to get out of the house, revisit occupational spaces, and engage in the mobility which was central to harvesters' working lives by getting back on the water. This regular re-engagement with occupational spaces and mobility after a license is retired is perhaps one of the greatest benefits for men who are able to rejoin this scheme of intergenerational training. Schmidt et al. (2012)

found, in a population of older adults in Saskatchewan, that the micro-mobility of daily life are something of a barometer for older adults. The ability to move as one pleases is an indication of self-reliance. Mark confirms this: “You know, you’ve got now since I got the operation I can get around, I can go in the truck, go on the quad if I want to. So I’m a bit lucky, because now in March it’ll be 8 years, so, you know, I can say I’m fortunate”. Mark regularly helps neighbors, family and friends on shore, but his health doesn’t allow him to spend as much time in the boat as he would prefer; “Well I goes out with my nephew probably once or twice a year, and I’d love to be at it, but you know, I had cancer too” (Mark).

While women and men enter the boat in different ways and experience variation in their careers prior to inshore fishing, the bulk of their inshore careers were remarkably similar. Husbands and wives frequently describe their shifting divisions of labour inside the boat, as well as outside the boat. As Mary described her life with Albert, “everything we does, we does together” including the actual acts of lobster harvesting. And yet, in retirement, women do not engage in this occupational mobility hardly at all. Only Anne fishes occasionally with her husbands as part of leisure trips to their cottage in the summer time. The three other women with whom I spoke had not been back in the boat once, and two laughed at the notion of a return to fishing.

The women undoubtedly have not reported the same attachment to fishing as a vocation that the men have – they do not feel a longing for the sea, or a desire to connect with their occupational self, and they certainly did not feel the need to pass around an hour in the wharf, be that from the lack of desire or the lack of an hour. They are not re-absorbed into the network of harvesters that launched and supported the early careers of their spouses. This rejection of

women as equivalent harvesters to men (not in skill but in prestige and tradition) is found in their exclusion from the intergenerational nexus of learning, their exclusion from official documentation regarding the future and wealth of enterprises and in women themselves – the idea of fishing in retirement because it is a source of pleasure and occupational satisfaction is, in some cases, laughable. The rejection of women's fishing work as equally vocational to that of men, most importantly, results in varied engagement with occupational mobility in later life. Coupled with their formal exclusion from ownership in most cases, women are not given casual access to occupational mobility in later life through going out with others, as many of their male counterparts, or by going out in their own boat as they please.

The decision to keep a boat in retirement, certainly, was a male one. For Isaac and Tim, the ability to go back on the water was more important than the actual act of going back on the water. Tim retired in the confident knowledge that he would have access to his brother's boat when he wished to go bird hunting and fishing, although Nancy and Tim both admitted that he hasn't been out more than a handful of times in the years since they retired their licenses. He was reluctant to sell his boat, although Nancy sold hers, in case he ever felt the need to use it. Isaac has chosen work which puts him on the water every day, for which he is incredibly grateful. He says, "I still feel the freedom of like I did when I was fishing, right?" (Isaac). Isaac kept his boat after he retired his license, mainly in response to the daily mobility requirements of a boat-in community. He relies on his access to the community of harvesters in his area to fish if he chose to; "I can if I wants to, that's good enough in my head. If I wants to go out with someone else I can" (Isaac). It is unclear whether the women I spoke to were not concerned with keeping a boat because they have no interest in using it, or, as was the case with fishing licenses, the choice is ultimately not theirs to make.

Staying in Newfoundland

Throughout the data collection period, I often heard talk of harvesters who had retired their license and were now working away in Alberta, or on a construction project within the province. Community members could recall nephews, neighbors and cousins that had sold their license and used the revenue to pursue a trade or were now on an offshore rotation. A family member with whom Mark fished regularly did just that. Although Tim now works on a shifting rotation within the province, the pursuit of far-away work was not a popular choice for this sample. Indeed, they expressed a deeply-held preference for staying put (recall Mary's description of her husband; "he was born here, he'll die here"). While the decision not to leave their communities in retirement may appear simple and perhaps the easiest choice, they are in fact the results of economic and social embeddedness, as well as a physical attachment to the landscape and leisure of coastal life.

The men in this sample describe their long careers on the ocean with pride, the ocean itself and the associated landscape its own source of joy. George is a good example; "I can go wherever I want, been living life beside salt water. It feels better". Mark recalls, "I never ever worked a day ashore in my life from.. 52, 1952 until 2012... Every year I was on the ocean, yes." This love of the ocean and familiarity with it may be a source of occupational identity in later life; what Howie (2004) refers to as an anchor to the self. This anchor provides an opportunity to carry occupation beyond retirement, and, as Howie (2004) emphasizes, is an important source of new social connections in later life, and a way to maintain existing social connections throughout the tumult of retirement. Coastal spaces – spaces in which fisheries work is done – themselves, which may include boats, wharfs, union halls and kitchen tables, and the ability to use these spaces occupationally, may be an anchor to the self that applied variably for men and women.

Leisure and the enjoyment of coastal space, on the other hand, was universally described. Mary & Albert recalled that they spent most of their summers on the cold ocean at the crack of dawn, working as hard as they would work all year. Now, their summers are spent up the road at their trailer – a place they love, where they pick berries, enjoy their grandchildren and each other and finally enjoy the summers they missed. “Does what we wants to do”, says Anne, who similarly spends most of her summers in retirement at the cabin with Carl, free from the daily work of fishing from the cottage. While the retired women I spoke with found a great deal of fulfillment from these leisurely seasonal moves, Mark points out that there are gender differences in the smaller mobilities taken up in retirement. He explains, “Well we spend some time, I spend time down in the country with the boys, you know, I spend, lots of things, play darts and whatever you know, whatever your health will allow you to do, right? Get a quad, you know, go off for a little ride, pick a few berries, do the things you wanna do in life...” (Mark). In Mary’s case, Albert was the partner with the license – she was reliant on him for access to any vehicle, including ATVs and quads. This, too, was the case for Chris’s wife. Although women are of course welcomed to participate in some of these activities, they do not enjoy the freedom of mobility that Mark and other men describe. Activities like berry picking, journeying to the cottage, or in Anne’s case, fishing for leisure, were pursued only with their spouse.

For retired couples and indeed single harvesters, economic embeddedness in their community was an important factor in their decision to stay. For George and Mark, owning a home and a vehicle justified their decision to stay: “I wanted me own house and you know, I had everything I wanted so I said no, this is perfect” (Mark). Carl & Anne are attached to the history of their home – they live in a beautiful and historic home in which they’ve lived for almost 50 years. They raised their daughters here. Chris, too, built his home on a patch of land with great

personal meaning to his family, and wouldn't think to leave, although Chris is one of the harvesters who still works full-time in another industry. This full-time work, enjoyed also by Christine, Tim & Nancy and Isaac, adds a new layer to the economic entanglements of individuals within their home communities. For Tim and Chris, the opportunity to stay and work was enough justification to retire. Nancy and Christine both acknowledged how lucky they were to find local work after their harvesting careers ended.

So too were individuals compelled to stay as a result of social embeddedness in their communities. Proximity of children, grandchildren, parents and friends were important reasons for harvesters to remain in their communities. Mark describes; "Me family's there and the boys is in hockey and I'm in hockey because I just chase them everywhere they goes, so... I love it!". Mary sees her father almost daily to provide basic care, and joins Albert, who drives him to his appointments during the week. Mary's daughter lives close by as well, and Mary provides a great deal of unpaid labour in the way of babysitting and housework to support her daughter. For Carl and Anne, community involvement is integral to their retired life. They described community efforts to shovel driveways, serving dinner at community events, volunteering to drive friends and neighbors to appointments and other more casual ways to stay in touch with their friends and neighbors. They also now have the free time to visit their daughter, who lives an hour away, at least once a month.

George, too, values the social connections available in his local community, although for George in particular, these connections enable of another kind of mobility altogether, namely, fishing in retirement. For all of these harvesters, their current work as much as their past work has contributed to their local commitment. Economic and social connections played an

important role in decisions to stay in Newfoundland for men and women alike, and women certainly reported leisure pursuits and connections to the physical land that encouraged them to stay. At the same time, the men are offered an opportunity to participate in a mobile pursuit in retirement which serves to reinforce their occupational identities as harvesters, and in the same breath, erase from social memory the commitments that women, too, have made to fishing.

Conclusion

The men I spoke to were supported in developing their inshore careers, launching their enterprises and broadening their catch through a community-based network of other harvesters who passed actual fishing capital along as readily as they did occupational knowledge. Several of the men I spoke to could not recall their first experiences in the boat – they simply “grew up to it” (Isaac). It is no surprise that women, who predominantly entered the boat later in life and learned to fish from the person they continued to fish with, owned substantially less in the way of licenses and gear by the ends of their careers. While community members noted that a handful of women had acquired a license in order to buddy-up with their husbands or had taken over the license of their deceased or incapacitated husbands, these cases were still rare. Unequal beginnings unconscionably informed unequal ends, and the LERP is structured such that these inequalities will determine whether or not a harvester is eligible for official and compensated retirement from the fishery. What’s more, the work which actually took place was described by almost all participants as communal, shifting and irregular. No one was done until everyone was done. Unlike restructuring programs which exclude women on the basis of their *different* work, like shore work and book keeping, the LERP excludes these women on the grounds of their status as crew. This is the historical dividend which so many fisheries scholars have pled with restructuring bodies to consider.

The place of these findings in the retirement literature is clear. Where Buse (2009) finds that women may have a less distinct end-point to their careers, I have found that this ambiguity is institutionally produced by the LERP both in the program's design and in its minutia.

Retirement scholars have frequently acknowledged that the process and style of retirement is less important than the control one is able to exert during the process (Isaksson & Johansson, 2000; Calvo, Haverstick & Sass, 2009; Loretto & Vickerstaff, 2015). Mary reminds us of the limited agency most of the women I spoke to evoked during their own retirement processes by refraining from mailing her husband's bid until the last possible moment. Using license-holder status as the minimum threshold for accessing buy-back funds precludes any official control that non-license-holding women could've imagined over their own retirement process. Certainly, the negotiation of a retirement decision was not typically so preclusive, but the men in this sample certainly had the last word. Indeed, aside from one female license holder, the women in this sample were retired by extension.

For scholars who consider success and resiliency in retirement, like Howie et al. (2004), Reichstadt et al. (2010) and Phillips et al. (2016), once again, the minutia of the program and the documentation explored here is highly insightful. One participant's description of crying over his buy-back cheque and other accounts of intensively considering retirement documents points to the conclusion that the gruffness with which these men's careers were dismantled made the transition into retirement more painful than it needed to be. There is a clash/disjuncture between the "market value" assigned to enterprises by the FFAW throughout the LERP and the actual value harvesters attach to their license. In Mark's case, the history of his license increased its personal value – it was not only what he had worked for all his life, in his words, but also what his father and grandfather had worked for. For many other participants, the income they earned

from the enterprise throughout their lives made the small sum offered through the buyback feel dismissive, and undercutting.

Assigning “market value” across the LFA, too, has proved inconsistent with the mobility priorities of harvesters. Despite lobster movement under the water, harvesters made choices about where to live and where to fish based on personal history, community arrangement and personal preference. Rather than changing their fishing grounds or fish buyer to mitigate local discrepancies in population and shore price, they fished other species in the same area. Local factors including buyers, shore prices and spatial arrangements dictated the relationship between harvesters and the larger global markets to which their product travelled. Harvesters maintained community relationships which are essential to life in outport communities as well as their personal preferences for residence, scheduling and work arrangements by prioritizing these local factors. These considerations, which informed both the success of an enterprise as well as the fishing arrangements associated with that enterprise, are swallowed up by the very definition of an LFA-wide “market value”.

While stakeholders in the LERP may argue that harvesters are detached from the global dynamics of harvesting, it seems more evident that the global dynamics of harvesting are detached from the localities of the people who actually catch the fish, or even the fish itself. Indeed, an analysis of the Newfoundland fishery performed by Dr. Noel Roy at Memorial University claims that between 1989 and 1995, without increasing the total share of the catch made up by lobster, its value increased nearly 25% (Roy, 1997; n.p.). The FFAW reports that at the opening of the 2018 season, the minimum shore price was more than three dollars lower than the average market value, meaning that almost a third of the market value cost is diverted from

the individuals who catch the fish (FFAW, 2018). In a province with relatively little lobster processing capability compared to provinces like Prince Edward Island, the dividend between market value and shore price is an indication of the size and priority of the supply chain these harvesters are a part of.

Until policy considers the local arrangements, cultural and structural conditions under which harvesters learn their trade, and the working and retirement priorities of harvesters themselves, policy will not effectively address economic or social problems in the fishery and will widen existing inequalities, rather than correcting them. Women will continue to be silenced in official records of fishery labour, will continue to be underacknowledged both in terms of buyback revenue and social credibility, and will not be recruited to the fishery in any more substantial numbers than they have been historically. Acknowledging the role of women is crucial to the survival of not only the Newfoundland lobster fishery but also to the actualization and accurate representation and compensation of the men and women of rural Newfoundland who rely on the fishery.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This thesis set out to investigate the implications of the LERP, an individually-targeted restructuring program, on the daily lives, retirement decisions and mobility of lobster harvesters on the South Coast of Newfoundland. It set out to understand the relationship between existing inequalities and rationalization initiatives which result in retirement outcomes that in turn reproduce inequalities. To answer these questions, I relied on Institutional Ethnography as a conceptual and methodological tool. I listened to the experiences of lobster harvesters and harvesting couples in terms of their daily work, both paid and unpaid, the ways they structure this work both for themselves and for others, and the process of retirement through the LERP. I traced their experiences through program documents passed back and forth between harvesters and the NLSB and investigated their products and frames through documents related to the program's design and evaluation. I used key informant testimony to provide context and explain the purpose and process of individual documents. By combining these three sources of data, I was able to uncover compressions, productions and exclusions that both inform and reflect the experiences of harvesters and the motivations of the LERP and its developers.

In this concluding chapter, I bring this thesis to a pragmatic and digestible close. I begin by revisiting the research questions I posed in the introductory chapter of this thesis and synthesize my key finding through them. I then situate this study in literature on retirement, restructuring and mobility more generally, and review the broader contributions I have made to fisheries scholarship. Finally, I conclude with an investigation into the next steps for research in the arena of retirement and restructuring by highlighting key questions demanded by my findings and the implications of these findings for managerial institutions. Overall, I believe this thesis represents an important next step in critical research on fisheries restructuring by investigating

the oft-employed tool of retirement with an emphasis on the gendered and mobility impacts of early retirement programs for fish harvesters in Newfoundland.

Revisiting Guiding Questions

The research questions I identified in the introduction to this thesis provide a useful framework for synthesizing the findings presented in the previous two chapters, into more substantial and productive knowledge. Below, I investigate each research question in relation to these findings. The first question I posed is:

1. How was the experience of lobster harvesters exiting the fishery through the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program gendered, and in what ways did gender impact dynamics of work, ownership and retirement for harvesting families?

Gender was an important variable in shaping the harvesting experience of the men and women I spoke to. Early acceptance into a network of harvesters and fishing knowledge provided an immersive education and experience for the men in my sample. This network, largely made up of men, supported the male harvesters I spoke to both personally and professionally in the early days as well as throughout their harvesting careers. For the women I spoke to, their induction into fishing was more contingent: local economies, familial obligations and existing arrangements of unpaid work influenced their choice to get in the boat. For several women, their fishing careers began when they were needed in the boat and as such, their education and experience in fishing was delivered almost entirely by their fishing partner. Differences in their original investments in these enterprises, resulting in differences and inequalities in ownership throughout their fishing careers (in that so few women owned boats, had been able to advance their status as profession harvesters, or had accumulated fishing capital) may explain why most women do not go on to own licenses themselves. Brenda Grzetic

(2004) found similar motivations for women who entered the boat, although in her sample, many women got in the boat in response to existing or anticipated financial hardship. For most of the individuals I spoke to, the choice to go fishing was more cooperative, and related to a desire to expand the existing enterprise rather than consolidate the income from that enterprise.

The women I spoke to understood themselves as contributors to the decisions their husbands made about retirement, rather than decision makers, and their husbands understood their roles similarly. This attitude is taken up both in the structure and implementation of the LERP: information documents, meetings and resources (like FFAW contacts) were equally accessible to license holders and non-license holders, and indeed, key informants recalled that women were largely the ones who called the FFAW to work out the logistics of their retirement. They are, however, never called upon, mentioned, acknowledged or required in any official documentation related to the retirement of an enterprise on which they worked. Their participation is acknowledged and welcomed, but the LERP is clear that it will not be credited. It is particularly clear in the negotiations that took place between partners about retirement decisions, in which women expressed personal and logistical concerns, but deferred to their partners' right to determine the future of their license.

Without a license, there was no official retirement for the women I spoke to. This is an important contribution this thesis makes to the retirement literature: without formalized retirement options for non-license holders as well as license holders, there is simply no retirement option for many fishing women. Unlike the retirement literature that focuses on women in secondary and service industry occupations, in which their employment is systematically recorded and retirement options are available accordingly, the careers of women harvesters who do not hold licenses is not recorded in any official capacity and therefore cannot

be addressed by restructuring which is commensurate of employment through license. Without official accreditation of their work, there can be no accreditation of their retirement. License holders, largely men, are offered physical tokens or artefacts of their retirement, and official documentation over which they can mourn, celebrate, or reflect on their transition into retirement or their next phase of work. The men I spoke to are offered a physical token of their retirement, both in terms of the relevant documentation, and the sum of money they received from the program in exchange for their enterprise. Here, my findings meet those from the retirement literature, in that several of these men were disappointed with the compensation provided and felt that a cheque in the mail could not possibly acknowledge a lifetime of work, accumulation and partnership. For some men, the lack of control in negotiating a fair price for their enterprise was nothing short of traumatic.

The second question posed is:

2. Are these gendered differences a result of the gendered assumptions in the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program that may be seen in LEPR materials? (brochures, assessments, advertisements, etc.). How might these materials define the kinds of work arrangements described by harvesters?

Through texts related and necessary to the LERP, categorical assumptions and understandings of what kind of work contributed to the wealth of the fishery, who was conducting this work and what work does not deserve acknowledgement or compensation are apparent. Particularly in DFO discussions preceding the ALSM, the 2009 crash is framed as disproportionately impactful for harvesters, and small-boat fishing practices are understood as contributory to this crash. The DFO understands the current management regime as bulky and requiring constant intervention. In other words, the DFO understood the nature of the small boat lobster fishery, and its apparent inability to self-rationalize, as an important contributor to the 2009 crisis and the problems of

over-capacity and over-dependence on lobster resources. Harvesters' inability to self-regulate under this management regime illustrates, for the DFO, their detachment from the larger market forces that determine their incomes and the enormous supply chains of which they are a part. In design and implementation, the LERP takes up this DFO narrative and explicitly sets out to remove gear and licenses in order to improve the lot of remaining license holders. Enormous and multi-faceted problems are consolidated through the institution of the ALSM, to the harvesters themselves. The LERP, in turn, following the vernacular of DFO licensing policy, simplifies the category of harvesters down to the even smaller category of license holders. By doing so, women are almost entirely excluded from the benefits of this restructuring program by virtue of their lack of license possession. In a similar pattern to the one described by Power (2005), differences in access to social and physical fishing capital are codified by insistence on, first, exclusively restructuring the process of resource extraction itself and second, an insistence on speaking directly and exclusively with license holders.

The LERP is explicit that the decision to retire a license lies exclusively with the person whose name is on the license, regardless of who they may have shared it with, how it was fished or who received the benefits of the license. It is no surprise that this official marginalization of crew makes its way into the negotiations which took place between partners on retirement decisions. How could license holders be expected to consult their crew, or consider the consequences of their decision on crew, distinct from the consequences to themselves, when their work, input and livelihood are made explicitly irrelevant by program documents? There is an official acceptance of the contributions women make to the fishery as necessary and unavoidable. The FFAW confirms that women are central to the smooth operation of the program both on the NLSB side and the harvester side – they are the go-between in many cases,

the one who reads the information brochure, calls for help, and puts her husband's bid in the mail. Perhaps worse than the work of many fishing women going unnoticed is the explicit acknowledgement that their work is seen and is necessary, but not important enough to allot them any kind of benefit from restructuring programs. While academic literature on restructuring often acknowledges retirement as an integral tool used by managing bodies to rationalize fisheries, and there is acknowledgement that these strategies have disproportionate effects on men and women harvesters based on existing inequalities, this thesis identifies the mechanisms contained within institutional processes and documents which exclude the work often conducted by women. Institutional Ethnography proves particularly useful here: the compressions and exclusions I note of both men's and women's work can be observed in the text-reader conversation which takes place in retirement documents.

Perhaps this institutional dismissal of women's contributions to the fishery explains some of the variation harvesters described in regard to re-engaging with fishing efforts in their retirement. By virtue of material inequalities in license acquisition, non-license-holding women go largely unacknowledged as harvesters worthy of official retirement by institutions and may not receive the same level of community and social accreditation in their retirement as their license-holding partners. By extension, women's expert knowledge continues to be excluded from intergenerational network of harvesters that fostered their partners' fishing education and will continue to foster the next generation of harvesters. Official dismissals may result in cultural and social dismissals of their work and expert knowledge, and women will continue to be excluded from these informal networks which contribute so greatly to one's ability to acquire intellectual and material fishing capital.

The third question I posed is:

3. In what ways did the retirement decisions of lobster harvesters impact their own mobility, as well as that of their spouses' and children? In what ways might mobility have been a factor in the retirement decisions of harvesters?

Similar to the schemes they use to assign value to their traps and licenses, harvesters make choices about their own mobility based on a shifting and complex network of personal, professional, familial and economic factors. Yet by flattening local variations in lobster stocks, shore prices, collection options, and fishing arrangements across an LFA, the FFAW imposes a mobility imperative for harvesters. In order to equalize the value of their license with the values of licenses across the LFA, which is the paradigm through which they must value their own licenses before the FFAW will buy them back, harvesters must control local variations through an escape of the local. They must offer a price on their license which is not based around the success of their enterprise, but the success of their LFA as a whole. This means one of two things: either local variations must be corrected by harvesters themselves through mobility, by altering where they fish and to whom they sell, or they must accept a value which is likely inaccurate to the actual value produced by and encapsulated within their enterprise. In the case of geographical compression, rather than impacted their mobility directly, the LERP has prescribed a mobility scheme in which harvesters must make up regional differences in catch, returns and fishing arrangements through mobility if they wish to align the value they assign to their licenses with the value assigned by the LERP. Harvesters who remain after the buyback, in light of this, may be encouraged to fish to the average, rather than to their own capability.

Harvesters made choices about their work-related mobility, including the grounds they fished, where and to whom they sold their catch, and who they fished with, both separately and

in pairings, based on tradition, personal obligations and proximity, rather than maximizing revenue. Albert's stubbornness in response to Mary's suggestion to change fishing grounds makes a great deal of sense in light of the arrangements of traditional grounds described by other respondents in this area. Grounds that serve as a reminder of the intergenerational arrangements which have so greatly benefitted existing license holders are not easily surrendered, nor are good fishing partners. When Christine married and moved to a community further from her father, she took the increase in operating costs to commute to her father's launch each morning in stride, and not once considered fishing with other harvesters. Nancy's decision to get in the boat in the first place was centred around her desire for flexible work that was close to home. The ease with which she could move between her home, her parents' and grandparents' home, and her work was an important draw. Proximity to grandparents was a common consideration for other harvesters as well, including Chris, who moved from several provinces away to live and work from the same piece of land on which he was born. Proximity to childcare, as much as the obligations of childcare, were important determinants of the mobility intrinsic to fishing.

For several of the men in this sample, mobility was indeed an important pull away from the fishery as well. For men that continued working in another sector after their retirement, the ability to find work locally motivated their decision to retire. One harvester even waited until he was sure he could be happy with his new job before he gave up his license. These men found work in a manner of speaking, but for two of the three, work found them: male friends and relatives served as important cogs in networks of local employment which made these options available to them. This is a vastly different trend than those noted by Temple-Newhook et al. (2011), Vodden & Hall (2015) and Power (2017). These individuals did not travel or train to find work, and they did not even necessarily seek out other work in light of the insecurity of the

fishery. As older workers, their established position in the community and their place in local employment networks presented them with an option which seemed more viable than remaining in the fishery and jump-started their retirement plans.

For several of the harvesters I spoke to, the daily mobilities of fish harvesting were so central to the pleasure they took from their work and daily lives that they sought this same mobility in the next chapter of their life, be it retirement or other work. Many men use occupational patterns of mobility in their retirement, including fishing or spending time on the wharf, as a means of engaging with their community and family. Women, in their retirement, rejected this form of occupational mobility for the most part and find patterns of daily mobilities perhaps more explicitly related to family and community networks. Accompanying friends and family to doctor's appointments, organizing trips to visit children and grandchildren, and daily mobilities like walking to friends and family close by become more important in their daily lives. Regardless of gender differences, the intense temporal and mobile demands of lobster fishing (and indeed, other fishing) make way in retirement for a different system of movement. Locations like cottages, previously used as launches and work locations, become newly pleasurable in retirement. They are able to provide substantial childcare for their own children and are able to travel, in some cases, inter-provincially to spend time with family. While harvesters did not necessarily highlight this as a pull factor toward retirement, they unanimously found these kinds of mobility fulfilling in retirement.

Advancing the Literature

In the introduction of this thesis, and in the literature review, I promised to bring together sociological literature on restructuring, retirement and mobility in a new way, and contribute to

each of these bodies of literature respectively. In the restructuring literature, this case-study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program begins the work of carrying out what we know about mobility and fish harvesting beyond the time individuals spend actually harvesting. Despite frequent acknowledgement of retirement programs as a tool of rationalization, there is only very limited sociological literature which investigates this process as gendered itself, and one that has distinct gendered outcomes. Institutional Ethnography, although certainly in line with much of the feminist research this project relies on, is a new way of understanding restructuring for fisheries scholars in Newfoundland. In terms of understanding the actual, specific mechanisms employed by rationalization programs to manipulate lived experience into institutionally accessible data, the protocol of textual analysis proposed by Institutional Ethnography was invaluable. Specifically, the mechanisms of text-reader conversation interpolation provides insight into how women's work is understood and processed through institutional chains of action. Here, Acker's (1990; 2012) concept of organizational logic is particularly helpful in understanding how apparently gender-neutral categories like "license holder" can produce programs in which men are the almost exclusive recipient of program benefits.

The retirement gap in the fisheries literature, interestingly, mirrors a fisheries gap in the retirement literature. While some literature exists on exiting farming or other types of self-employment, there is almost no literature on the peculiarities of retiring from fish harvestings, and even less in a fishery so tightly bound to family. This thesis reveals that the patterns that emerge in the process of retirement for non-fishing people are indeed magnified in fishing couples in many ways. Buse (2009), for example, finds that women have less clear notions about when they actually retired – their unpaid work, and extensive crossover between their paid and unpaid work, complicates this transition substantially. This magnification is not only true of

retirement processes but of work organization more generally. Williams et. al (2012) offers a particularly insightful analysis of how team work, now frequently employed as a logic of organization in the new economy, obscures individual contributions and increases the burden on women to advocate for themselves. Acker's (1974) early work makes clear that the conflation of control mechanisms on the boat and off the boat may reinforce women's subordinate positions in their own workplaces, which may have implications for their ability to fight for recognition of their work. By obscuring the contributions women make to the fishery, they not only become less clear on their point of retirement, they are culturally and interpersonally discredited as "retired fishers".

Both Acker (1990; 2012) and Williams et. al (2012) recognize cultural representation as a central barrier to the full acceptance of women in many workplaces, where they may become "tokens" of diversity or discredited through occupational segregation into lesser acknowledged categories of work. Occupational mobility of harvesters in later life offers an excellent example of this phenomenon. In all cases, the women I spoke to are spending their retirement with their most consequential and longest-standing co-worker, engaging in the same unpaid work activities that oriented and were oriented by their paid work. License-oriented buyback programs like the LERP amplify the effects of interrupted and inconsistent work histories, which are substantial factors in ascertaining control over one's retirement for women in most fields, by refusing to acknowledge the value of the work performed by non-license holders at all. By retiring enterprises without consideration for crew and employees, the existing erasure of women's work in licensing policy as well as property and capital differences is compounded, such that women who do not hold licenses are unable to obtain any official record of their retirement, or any sort of compensation which might fund their transition.

Authors like Skaptadottir & Proppe (2005) among others (Power, 2005; Macdonald et al., 2006; Gerrard, 2008; Coulthard, 2012; Coulthard & Britton, 2015) have highlighted the ways that history, family and community inform exposure to restructuring policies through work arrangements and historical inequalities. Women, conversely, are not acknowledged in the role they played in the fishery, and are not considered in terms of retirement compensation. The institution of fairness as a guiding principle for the LERP, which ultimately serves to erase human interaction with licenses, does not erase the work of men in the same way: while their careers and enterprises are certainly accounted for in problematic ways, they are indelibly tied to the license as its holder. This historical inequality is undoubtedly capitalized upon in the LERP; the program's design and the documentation which delivered the program to harvesters simultaneously acknowledged and dismissed the intellectual and informational work women are known to conduct in fisheries households. The insistence on the part of the FFAW to communicate with license holders in official documentation largely precludes female participation in the program. By excluding women from capacity reduction strategies by virtue of their license-holder status, excludes them from the category of capacity: their retirement is not necessary, because their work is not acknowledged. This identification of particular mechanisms of exclusion, I believe, is extremely valuable to the academic conversation regarding fisheries restructuring.

The problem of geographical compression is an equally important issue that emerges in this research and represents an important contribution to the restructuring literature. This compression and commiseration is commonly acknowledged in other restructuring and management initiatives by the DFO. The LERP, in developing a system of value which collapses regional difference and universalizes the institutional understandings of enterprises by removing

variations caused by human execution, acknowledges and simultaneously enforces changes to mobility patterns which harvesters undertake to conduct their work. At the minimum, it asks that harvesters will take up newly mobile strategies to equalize the value of their catch and enterprise in light of shifting population dynamics and differing shore prices. In their 2017 work, Power, Foley & Neis acknowledge that these mobile strategies, which drives the actual work of fishing further from the localities of those who do it, has serious implications for traditional schemes of fisheries recruitment and intergenerational inheritance. To this discussion, I add findings on the ways the LERP flattens geographical difference and homogenizes harvesters and harvesting practices through their valuation system. If Clark et al. (2005) are correct in predicting that harvesters begin to anticipate buybacks as a central method of retirement, this is not simply a homogenization but a mobility imperative. This mechanism, as I have demonstrated, not only may influence the decisions made by harvesters about how and with whom they fish, but how they value their own licenses and consider their work as embedded in place, or not.

Finally, occupational mobility and the differing networks of local work which facilitated new careers for *fishermen* and motivated their retirement in several cases are the most substantial offerings this thesis makes to literature on mobility. The prospect of alternate employment was an important motivation for several individuals to retire, but unlike in other sectors, the rural setting complicates the availability and viability of this employment. The seemingly gender-neutral findings of Teh et al. (2017) and Johnsen & Vik (2013) hold largely true in my own analysis but are riddled with inequalities in the availability and sourcing of alternative employment. For many of the male license holders in this sample, local work was an important element in their decision making around retirement and was accessed almost exclusively through existing social networks. Women, who retired unofficially alongside their partners, found less

consistent, geographically diverse, largely unskilled work. This is perhaps the most substantial contribution this thesis makes to existing literature: women's employment, and subsequent E-RGM, is secondary to their husband's employment prospects in light of existing financial arrangements and the availability of local work.

Where their spouses are capable of triggering a retirement process in response to the availability of local work, itself available only through privileged networks, women must simply cope and find work after the fact. Mary provides a painful reminder that should local work not exist, women have little choice but to carry on, unemployed. This stands in contrast to the works of Vodden & Hall (2016) and Power (2017), who study the alternatives to local employment which are increasingly the only choice for young workers in rural places. It does, however, fall within the spectrum of E-RGM according to Temple-Newhook et al. (2011), which includes local mobility and immobility as key to understanding movement related to work. Where Power (2017) describes the networks which keep younger workers from accessing large project employment in other parts of the province, older men in this case are the beneficiaries of these networks on a privileged local scale. Despite differing outcomes, employment is obtained locally and regionally, it seems, through personal and social networks.

Implications for Future Research

These findings highlight and confirm the importance of thinking about fisheries management in a way that understands policy, individual and group life as constantly in production of gender. Power (2005a) writes that,

Gender-segregated work histories, patrilineal transfer of know-how and property and women's subordinate position as new entrants mean that women, for example, do not have access to boats to engage in resistance practices like poaching and that women cannot claim those experiences and ideas that make a "real harvester" or make fishing "in the blood" as constructed by the local culture. (p.105)

As a model for future restructuring policies, this thesis makes a substantial contribution towards understanding how individually targeted buyback programs directly enforce and re-enforce these material and social inequalities as they manifest in the actual work and retirement of harvesters. Indeed, material inequality and unequal exposure to restructuring policy are reinforcing one another – a lack of access to licenses results in a lack of institutional acknowledgement of women as harvesters. Cultural notions of women as subordinate harvesters are reinforced by policy, and their exclusion from intergenerational transfers of knowledge further exclude young women from gaining access to licenses and capital. Indeed, if stakeholders are interested in a diverse and resilient fishery which benefits fishing communities, they must invest in understanding the structural inequalities that women face. What exactly this entails, be it professionalization courses closer to their homes or available in varying schedules and delivery methods or investing in the practice of buddying up (fishing two licenses from a single vessel with a spouse, is beyond the scope of this thesis, but is nonetheless worth pursuing.

The data produced from this study provides a rich and detailed portrait of eleven harvesters as they are impacted by fisheries restructuring and throughout their transition to retirement in some cases, and their transition out of professional fish harvesting in all cases. The findings of this thesis are particular to a time, a location, and a set of individuals; they are neither representative, nor generalizable, and nor should they be. This thesis explicitly contravenes the ongoing practices of homogenization in which managing bodies invest. While this data certainly

does not highlight individual concerns of harvesters in an exhaustive way, it may allow us to interpret future restructuring initiatives for their usefulness, consequences, and consideration of the factors deemed important by many of the harvesters I spoke to.

This thesis directly calls on the DFO, DFA & FFAW, as well as other managing bodies in other fisheries and indeed other industries to consider factors related to economic viability of enterprises that go beyond the enterprises themselves. Geoff Irvine notes, four years after the conception of the LERP that the lobster fishery is still relying on singular, core markets and has not invested in expanding the export base and securing a global market for Canadian lobster products (DFO, 2013). Despite full acknowledgement that a crash in the US market was a large trigger for the 2009 “crisis”, no part of the response to this crisis included widening the market or seeking out new markets. The LERP did not, in any way, address the over-dependence on lobster which is likely to be a problem into the future: it is a short season and cannot, regardless of the height of the boom, be trusted to produce an entire year’s worth of revenue. By this I mean that we must investigate ways to bolster the multi-species fisheries on which these harvesters have relied in the past and seek out in the present. Neither of these goals can be achieved through a buyback, and so, to managing organizations, I issue a challenge to think more creatively, that is, beyond harvesters themselves, to improve the viability of this and all fisheries.

This thesis contributes to sociological understandings by highlighting the importance of looking past institutionally relevant types of work to the actual work that harvesters engage in. The value of including mobility in conversations about retirement and restructuring is proof that we must constantly readjust our lens to see people and problems as completely as we can, and as completely as they live and work. This is as true of restructuring policy as it is sociological

analysis generally. We must engage in conversations about effective restructuring beyond the vocabulary of licensing policies to address long-term problems in the fishery like recruitment and instability, and we must continue to consider the advice of Neis & Manesch (2005) to look beyond fish stocks at the individuals and institutions living in production and reproduction of gender.

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Appendix

Recruitment Letter

My name is Madeline Bury. I'm a graduate student in the Department of Sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. You are being asked to participate in the data collection phase of my thesis project, which I will describe for you here. This is a case study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program which asks, first, how policy may be written in a gendered way. Second, I ask how policy translates into the lives of those who use it, and how gender may have been communicated through this policy.

You are being asked to participate in an interview, estimated between 45 minutes and an hour conducted by myself. This interview will ideally take place in your home, although I am happy to find an alternative location for any reason. You are encouraged to invite your spouse to join us for the interview, which will cover topics like your day-to-day activities in working and retired life, how you came to a decision about retirement, and the process of retiring.

(ALTERNATIVE KEY INFORMANT: You are being asked to participate in an interview, estimated between a half hour and 46 minutes, conducted by myself either in person or over the phone. This interview will cover your experiences in the formation and implementation of the LERP, and motivations or considerations made during the drafting of the program.)

Participation in this project is not a government, workplace, community, DFO, or FFAW requirement, and participation will not be reported to officials at any level of government or organization. You are welcome to stop the interview at any time, for any reason, and are welcome to recall your interview up to December 31st, 2017. Your participation is completely voluntary, and dependent on your informed consent. Once again, I appreciate your interest in my project.

If you have any questions about my research, or would like to participate, please contact me directly at 519 755 0704, or by email at mmbury@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 your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr.chair@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Did you own or work on an enterprise retired through the LOBSTER ENTERPRISE RETIREMENT PROGRAM?

Would you be willing to participate in an interview (it will take about an hour, depending on what you have to say) in a location of your choosing, either alone or with others from your enterprise? Topics will include your work history, family and retirement.



Hi! My name is Madeline Bury. I'm a graduate student in sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. I am conducting a research project called An Examination of the relationship between gender, retirement and mobilities: A case study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program in Newfoundland and Labrador, for my master's degree under the supervisions of Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Charles Mather. The purpose of this study is to investigate dynamics of paid and unpaid work, mobility, and ownership in the Newfoundland lobster fishery.

If you are interested in participating in this study, or you have any questions, **please contact me by email at mmbury@mun.ca or by phone at 519-755-0704.**

Participation is not a government, workplace, community, DFO, FFAW, or community requirement and your decision to participate will not be reported to officials at any level of these organizations. Please contact me with any questions or concerns you may have, or if you wish to participate.

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 your rights as a participant, you may contact the Chairperson of the ICEHR at icehr.chair@mun.ca or by telephone at 709-864-2861.

Informed Consent Form

Title: An Examination of the relationship between gender, retirement and mobilities: A Case study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program in Newfoundland and Labrador

Researcher(s): Madeline Bury, Memorial University of Newfoundland (email: mmbury@mun.ca, phone: 519-755-0704)

Supervisor(s): Dr. Nicole Power, *Sociology*, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Dr. Charlie Mather, *Geography*, Memorial University of Newfoundland

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled “An Examination of the relationship between gender, retirement and mobilities: A Case study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program 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, Madeline Bury, 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:

My name is Madeline Bury. I’m a master’s student in the department of sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. As part of my Masters thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Charles Mather. This research is supported by the On The Move Partnership (onthemovepartnership.ca)

Purpose of Study:

In this study, I aim to uncover the social implications of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program for Newfoundland lobster harvesters, with a focus on gender and mobility. I have three major research questions:

1. How was your experience as lobster harvesters retiring through the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program gendered, and in what ways did gender impact how you worked, lived and retired?
2. How are these gendered differences visible in materials produced for the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (brochures, assessments, advertisements, etc.), and how might those materials have also defined the way you worked?
3. In what ways did your decision to retire impact your mobility, or the mobility of your family? In what ways was mobility a factor in your retirement decision?

What You Will Do in this Study:

You are being asked to participate in a face to face interview, conducted by myself. Questions will cover your work history, family history, your retirement experience, household dynamics, and patterns of movement for work, like commuting. You may refuse to answer any question at any time, and may withdraw from the interview at any time.

Length of Time:

Your interview will take between 45 minutes and 1 hour, but may continue longer at the discretion of the participant.

Withdrawal from the Study:

You can stop and/or end their participation during the interview at any time during the interview. Should you choose to end the interview, you can request to have any data removed that I have already collected, or request that data collected up to this point still be used.

You can request to have their data removed any time before December 31st, 2017. If you decide to withdraw from the study, your interview transcripts will be destroyed and your information will be removed from any writing or analysis already completed.

Possible Benefits:

There is little direct benefit to participation in this study, beyond the ability to talk through the life-event of retiring, and your experiences as a fish harvester. Your participation will greatly benefit the sociological community, particularly in Newfoundland, as we are carrying on a strong tradition of fisheries research, and advancing fisheries related topics through dispersion of findings.

Possible Risks:

While there is no physical risk to participation in this study, it is possible that questions in the interview may insight negative feelings or memories.

Confidentiality:

Your confidentiality will be protected. The ethical duty of confidentiality includes safeguarding participants' identities, personal information, and data from unauthorized access, use, or disclosure.

Anonymity:

Anonymity refers to protecting participants' identifying characteristics, such as name or description of physical appearance. As interviews may take place in the presence of others, as well as myself, anonymity cannot be guaranteed, although data will be anonymized. Before your data is published, all names and identifying features like addresses will be pseudonymized or removed for your confidentiality. You will be identified as living in the "Fortune Bay/Grand Bank region of Newfoundland", and may therefore be identified by other details you provide, including characteristics of your family, enterprise, or work history. While I will make a conscious effort not to include such details unless necessary, as non-identifying details, they present a limit to anonymity. Should you request to be identified, I will not anonymize your data. You will not be identified in publications without your explicit permission.

Recording of Data:

Upon your consent, this interview will be audio recorded. If you do not wish to be recorded, I will write notes during the interview instead. You may request to have the recorder turned off at any time, and request that any recording of you be erased until December 31, 2017.

Use, Access, Ownership, and Storage of Data:

Data will be stored electronically on my personal laptop in a password-protected file. My laptop, additionally, is password protected at all times. It may also be stored on a password protected external hard-drive. No data will be printed in hard copy before it is anonymized and pseudonymized. Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Charles Mather will have access to this data only through my personal computer as they will provide insight into analysis and presentation. At no point will raw data be transferred to these parties, or any other, electronically. Data will be kept for a minimum of five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research, after which point it may continue to be stored on a password-protected external hard drive, but will be removed from my personal computer.

Third-Party Data Collection and/or Storage:

Data will not be stored through any third-party software, and will remain on my password protected laptop, in a password protected file. Consent forms will be stored in a locked filing cabinet in the locked office of Dr. Nicole Power at Memorial University of Newfoundland

Reporting of Results:

The findings will be published in my thesis project, available through Memorial University of Newfoundland. It may also be published in journal articles, which may appear online, and may be presented at academic conferences.

Upon completion, my thesis will be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at: <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses>.

Data will be reported using direct and indirect quotations, and may include personal information provided by participants, although all identifying details will be removed or pseudonymized for your anonymity.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

Upon completion of this project, results will be published in the thesis of Madeline Bury, and may be used for various scholarly publications beyond the thesis. A report will be produced in regular language, geared to participants, which will be available for participants upon request.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Madeline Bury (mmbury@mun.ca), or Dr. Nicole Power (npower@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.

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 choose to end participation **during** data collection, any data collected from you up to that **point will be destroyed**.

- You understand that if you choose to withdraw **after** data collection has ended, your data can be removed from the study up to 3 months after completion of participation.

I agree to be audio-recorded

☐ Yes ☐

No

I agree to the use of direct quotations

☐ Yes ☐

No

I allow my name to be identified in any publications resulting from this study

☐ 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

Informed Consent Form

Title: An Examination of the relationship between gender, retirement and mobilities: A Case study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program in Newfoundland and Labrador

Researcher(s): Madeline Bury, Memorial University of Newfoundland (email: mmbury@mun.ca, phone: 519-755-0704)

Supervisor(s): Dr. Nicole Power, *Sociology*, Memorial University of Newfoundland
Dr. Charlie Mather, *Geography*, Memorial University of Newfoundland

You are invited to take part in a research project entitled “An Examination of the relationship between gender, retirement and mobilities: A Case study of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program 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, Madeline Bury, 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:

My name is Madeline Bury. I’m a master’s student in the department of sociology at Memorial University of Newfoundland. As part of my Masters thesis, I am conducting research under the supervision of Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Charles Mather. This research is supported by the On The Move Partnership (onthemovepartnership.ca)

Purpose of Study:

In this study, I aim to uncover the social implications of the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program for Newfoundland lobster harvesters, with a focus on gender and mobility. I have three major research questions:

4. How was your experience as lobster harvesters retiring through the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program gendered, and in what ways did gender impact how you worked, lived and retired?
5. How are these gendered differences visible in materials produced for the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program (brochures, assessments, advertisements, etc.), and how might those materials have also defined the way you worked?
6. In what ways did your decision to retire impact your mobility, or the mobility of your family? In what ways was mobility a factor in your retirement decision?

What You Will Do in this Study:

You are being asked to participate in a face to face interview, conducted by myself. Questions will address the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program, your role in the creation and implementation of the program, motivations of the program, and experience in the Newfoundland lobster harvesting community.

Length of Time:

Your interview will take between 30 minutes and 1 hour, but may continue longer at the discretion of the participant.

Withdrawal from the Study:

You can stop and/or end their participation during the interview at any time during the interview. Should you choose to end the interview, you can request to have any data removed that I have already collected, or request that data collected up to this point still be used.

You can request to have their data removed any time before December 31st, 2017. If you decide to withdraw from the study, your interview transcripts will be destroyed and your information will be removed from any writing or analysis already completed.

Possible Benefits:

There is little direct benefit to participation in this study. Your participation will greatly benefit the sociological community, particularly in Newfoundland, as we are carrying on a strong tradition of fisheries research, and advancing fisheries related topics through dispersion of findings.

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While there is no physical risk to participation in this study, it is possible that questions in the interview may insight negative feelings or memories.

Confidentiality:

Your confidentiality will be protected. The ethical duty of confidentiality includes safeguarding participants' identities, personal information, and data from unauthorized access, use, or disclosure.

Anonymity:

Anonymity refers to protecting participants' identifying characteristics, such as name or description of physical appearance. As interviews may take place in the presence of others, as well as myself, anonymity cannot be guaranteed, although data will be anonymized. Before your data is published, all names and identifying features like addresses will be pseudonymized or removed for your confidentiality. You will be identified as living in the "Fortune Bay/Grand Bank region of Newfoundland", and may therefore be identified by other details you provide, including characteristics of your family, enterprise, or work history. While I will make a conscious effort not to include such details unless necessary, as non-identifying details, they present a limit to anonymity. Should you request to be identified, I will not anonymize your data. You will not be identified in publications without your explicit permission.

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Data will be stored electronically on my personal laptop in a password-protected file. My laptop, additionally, is password protected at all times. It may also be stored on a password protected external hard-drive. No data will be printed in hard copy before it is anonymized and pseudonymized. Dr. Nicole Power and Dr. Charles Mather will have access to this data only through my personal computer as they will provide insight into analysis and presentation. At no point will raw data be transferred to these parties, or any other, electronically. Data will be kept for a minimum of five years, as required by Memorial University's policy on Integrity in Scholarly Research, after which point it may continue to be stored on a password-protected external hard drive, but will be removed from my personal computer.

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Reporting of Results:

The findings will be published in my thesis project, available through Memorial University of Newfoundland. It may also be published in journal articles, which may appear online, and may be presented at academic conferences.

Upon completion, my thesis will be available at Memorial University's Queen Elizabeth II library, and can be accessed online at: <http://collections.mun.ca/cdm/search/collection/theses>.

Data will be reported using direct and indirect quotations, and may include personal information provided by participants, although all identifying details will be removed or pseudonymized for your anonymity.

Sharing of Results with Participants:

Upon completion of this project, results will be published in the thesis of Madeline Bury, and may be used for various scholarly publications beyond the thesis. A report will be produced in regular language, geared to participants, which will be available for participants upon request.

Questions:

You are welcome to ask questions before, during, or after your participation in this research. If you would like more information about this study, please contact: Madeline Bury (mmbury@mun.ca), or Dr. Nicole Power (npower@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.

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 choose to end participation **during** data collection, any data collected from you up to that **point will be destroyed**.
- You understand that if you choose to withdraw **after** data collection has ended, your data can be removed from the study up to 3 months after completion of participation.

I agree to be audio-recorded

☐ Yes ☐

No

I agree to the use of direct quotations

☐ Yes ☐

No

I allow my name to be identified in any publications resulting from this study

☐ 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

Cover sheet

Professional affiliations _____

Location of interview _____

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal blue or grey ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are no margins, text, or other markings on the paper.

License type & holder	
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Acquisition of enterprise		
Sources of work:	Details	Location & time commitment
Sources of work at time of interview:		

Crew & Cohabitants:

	Nature of time shared	Name & duration of contact	Location during contact, current location
Respondent Birthplace:			
Spouse/Partner Birthplace:			
Children Birthplace:			
Parents			
Other family:			

Other crew, employers:			

Interview Questions for harvesters

Work history questions:

- So let's start with you. Tell me about yourselves, and your family, do you have children?
 - Are your children close to home?
 - Why don't you tell me how you started fishing? How old were you? Who did you learn from, who's boat were you in? What were you fishing? Where did you learn to fish?
 - And after that? When and where did you start fishing for yourself, or on your own? What was that transition like?
 - What licenses have you fished over the years? Vessels? Where?
 - Tell me how your enterprise has changed over the years
 - who fished with you?
 - Changes in gear, technology? Other changes that you saw?
 - Did you ever have to change where you fished from? Or where you were fishing? were there other changes over the years that affected the lobster fishery – regulations? Prices? Weather?
- Tell me about the ups and downs in the industry and how you handled that in your enterprise?
- Were there times when you worked outside of the fishery? What did you do? Where? How did you access that work? What drew you back to fishing?
 - Now take me through a typical day during the lobster season. Maybe we can go one at a time, if you'd like to start.

Retiring the licence:

- How did you find out about the Lobster Enterprise retirement program? Where did you first hear about it? Did you get all the information you needed there or did you have to dig a little bit to find out more?
- So tell me what the LERP actually required you to do? Tell me about the actual process of retiring, starting from when you decided you wanted to take advantage of the program.
- Tell me a little about how you made the decision to retire your licence – linked to larger retirement plan? Intergenerational transfer? Family decision? Were your children interested in fishing?
- What were people saying about the program, was there sort of a feeling in the community about it?
 - Where do you think that feeling came from? Like who exactly was talking about it?
 - Were you talking about it? Like to friends or family?

If retired license meant retiring out of the fishery ask these questions:

- So you chose to stay here in your retirement, in Newfoundland. Can you tell me about that choice?
- Or – maybe they live here only part time, or plan to move to be closer to children, grandchildren etc ... ask these questions (e.g., snow birds)
- What's retired life like for you? Take me through a typical day, one at a time.
- Is there anything you miss about your working life? Do you feel you're getting out of the house as much?
-

If retirement of license meant moving to another job, ask these questions:

- What work are you doing now? Why did you decide to move from fishing to X?
- How did you access this employment? Where? Local? Do you have to drive? Fly? To access work?
- Is your decision linked to larger retirement plan?

- If you don't mind, I'm just going to finish off with some demographic questions. I'll try to skip over what you've already told me if I can:
 - If you don't mind, how old are you?
 - Where were you born? When did you move here/have you always lived here?
 - How long have you been harvesting or did you harvest?
 - Are you married? How long have you been married?
 - Do you have children? How old are your children? What do they do? Have you ever fished with them?
 - Who else have you (either of you) fished with?

Harvester Interview Guide Revised

Cover sheet remains the same.

What's your family situation, are you married? Do you have children?

Tell me about your career. Start from your first memories of fishing.

- Who helped you out when you started?

Can you tell me about technological changes while you fished, improvements? Things that annoyed you?

Take me through a typical day of lobster harvesting

When did you hear about the Lobster Enterprise Retirement Program

Tell me about your decision to retire, and how you did it

What did you have to do to prepare for retirement?

Who did you talk to before you retired?

If they fully retired:

Tell me about life now that you're retired.

Do you fish in retirement or do fishing related work?

Take me through a typical day of retirement.

What do you miss about lobster?

If they still work:

What do you do now?

How did you get that job?

Job in relation to LERP – was it start up capital, fund travel, etc.

At the time you retired, what licenses did you hold?

When you started fishing on your own, where did the license come from that you fished under? What about the boat?

Did you ever do paid work outside of fishing?

Do you do any paid work now?

Is there anyone else you fished with?

Key Informant Interview Guide

Key Informant Interview

- Where did the LERP come from? Was it developed to combat a specific problem, or assist a specific population?
- Tell me about the LERP – how did it work, who was it for?
- The idea of a reverse auction is sort of innovative, and the cooperation between the union and the DFO is new also. Can you tell me about how that came to be? What was designing the project like?
 - What would you say the top priorities were in designing this program? What was built in to be non-negotiable?
- How did you get the word out about the program? How did you notify people?
- Was there some sort of consultation with the harvesters on how the program would work? Or was that mostly between the DFO and the Union?

- If you were to identify a target market for the LERP, who would you say that is? It was designed to be taken advantage of, obviously, who were you hoping would take advantage of it?
 - Would you say that's true to the demographic?
- Tell me about the lobster fishery in Newfoundland. Who are lobster harvesters, who makes up that enterprise?
- So a harvester hears about the LERP and decides this is something they want to get in on, what were the steps they had to take?
- Were they in contact with you during that time? Did you get phone calls from harvesters wondering how to take advantage of the program?

