STRANGERS/OUTSIDERS/INSIDERS: EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF DEGREES OF COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP ON THE ROLES AVAILABLE TO RURAL BUREAUCRATS

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WENDY RUTH HOLLAND-MacDONALD

STRANGERS / OUTSIDERS / INSIDERS: EXAMINING THE IMPACT OF DEGREES OF COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP ON THE ROLES AVAILABLE TO RURAL BUREAUCRATS

BY

© Wendy Ruth Holland-Macdonald, B.A.

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ABSTRACT

In the last decade or so there has been an increasing interest in the study of factors which influence the decision-making process of "street-level" bureaucrats, defined as those who deliver policies or services to a client population (examples of whom include teachers, social workers and police). The majority of this research has been confined to policy implementors working in either urban or colonial environments where a defining characteristic of the bureaucratic role is separation -- geographic, cultural or social -- from the client population which negates client input as a factor in the decision-making process. There have been few, if any, studies that have focused on the roles and decision-making processes available to bureaucrats working in rural environments where simultaneously they are seen in the role of bureaucrat and resident member of the client community.

In this thesis I review the literature on the decision-making processes and roles available to those bureaucrats who work in urban and colonial situations. I then explore the role alternatives available to bureaucrats who work and live in a contemporary rural community in Newfoundland. My interest in rural bureaucrats necessitated a re-examination of the stranger/outsider/insider concept which has been the traditional model used to classify rural populations in Newfoundland ethnographies. I discovered that the actions and reactions of rural bureaucrats are, in large measure, a function of their degree of community

membership and, regardless of how it occurs, once a degree of community membership has been established it will impinge on the decision-making processes and roles available to the rural bureaucrats.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF GRAPHS

LIST OF MAPS

CHAPTER I

THE IMPLEMENTORS OF PUBLIC POLICY: COMPARING URBAN, COLONIAL AND RURAL SETTINGS

1, INTRODUCTION

This thesis, like so many other research projects, was born from an interest in one set of concerns which grew and developed more fully into the exploration of an alternate, yet complementary, set of questions. The initial subject focused on factors affecting the implementation of social policies (policies which are designed to respond to specific social problems) and was the product of an interest in Blumer's (1971) theoretical paper "Social Problems as Collective Behavior". The final subject focuses on implementors of social policies but limits the discussion to those who work in the environmentally-specific region of rural Newfoundland. I have made extensive use of the implementation literature and show that it is deficient when considering the special circumstances of rural bureaucrats.

2. MICRO POLICY -- POLICY INTERPRETATION AND IMPLEMENTATION, THE URBAN SETTING

Policy implementation -- the translation within a formal organization from a set of ideas (policy) to what actually happens (implementation) -- as a topic for scholarly research, spans little more than the last decade and a half. Previously, formal organization or bureaucracy research tended toward a focus on the interrelationships between levels of bureaucratic hierarchy, parallel professional associations, or unique concerns internal to a specific organization. Comparative analysis, drawn from this broad data base, precipitated the recognition of certain behavioral patterns which proved to be predictably present within a specified segment of employees for the varied organizations included beneath the rubric of "public service bureaucracies". The result of this pattern identification was the axiomatic belief that "...policy-in-practice turns out to be very different from policy-in-theory" (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:412). An awakening interest in the specifics of policy implementation as separate from policy formation followed. The major issue became "...why authoritative decisions (policies, plans, laws, and the like) [did] not lead to expected results" (Berman 1978:160), and an acceptance that while "policy" unifies, "implementation" separates (Salvesen 1985:48).

Responsibility for the implementation of social policy is readily divided into two broad categories: first, the various public service organizations that are given a mandate from government to put into practice the policies which are formulated at the macro-level; and second, the lower-level employees of these mandated public service organizations who "...implicitly mediate aspects of the

constitutional relationship of citizens to the state. In short, [those who] hold the keys to a dimension of citizenship" (Lipsky 1980:4). The distinction, therefore, is between macro-implementation and micro-implementation. The importance of this distinction is a central tenet of implementation theory.

> Essential differences between the processes of micro-implementation and macro-implementation arise from their distinct institutional settings. Whereas the institutional setting for micro-implementation is a local delivery organization, the institutional setting for macro-implementation is an entire policy sector, spanning federal to local levels (Berman 1978:164).

Lipsky (1971;1980) introduced the term **street-level bureaucrat** to refer to the lower-level employees of public service bureaucracies (examples of whom are teachers, police officers, social workers and magistrates) through whom citizens as clients or consumers of public services encounter government.[1] Whereas "...delivery occurs at the local...level, although it is subject to Federal policy guidelines" (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:386), most implementation analysts find those at the base of the structure, the "street-level bureaucrats", hold the effective power (see for example Lipsky 1971;1980; Dolbeare and Hammand 1971; Berman 1978; and Salvesen 1985).[2] It is argued that, while ideally recognized as implementors of government policy, street-level bureaucrats are in fact makers of

[1] Lipsky's (1971;1980) innovative theory, and his subsequent introduction of the term "street-level bureaucrat", is the result of research conducted in multiple examples of public service bureaucracies in various U.S. urban settings. His work is supported in particular by Goodsell (1981) and Prottas (1979), some of whose own research was done in collaboration with Lipsky.

[2] Like Lipsky, Rosenthal and Levine (1980) conducted their research in a variety of operational settings which includes social, medical and legal service delivery bureaucracies in the U.S. Dolbeare and Hammand (1971) and Berman (1978) enter the debate on a theoretical level, synthesizing much of the available implementation literature, most of which has an urban American bias. Alternatively, Salvesen (1985) presents corroborating evidence from research conducted in Norway.

public policy by virtue of their structural position which demands

> relatively high degrees of discretion and relative autonomy from organizational authority... [allowing] ...street-level bureaucrats [to] make policy in two related respects. They exercise wide discretion in decisions about citizens with whom they interact. Then, when taken in concert, their individual actions add up to agency behavior (Lipsky 1980:13).

Mediation, according to Lipsky, is a product of the daily face-to-face interaction of the street-level bureaucrats with their clients. Citizens encounter the State through interactions with these grass-root workers. Government policy on education is delivered through teachers, and health and welfare policies through doctors, nurses and social workers, while the criminal code is dispensed through police officers and magistrates.

Street-level bureaucrats' discretion in decision-making is an aspect of their professional or quasi-professional standing: "Case workers must have some specialized knowledge and be capable of making judgements. They will usually be considered professionals" (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:384) and as such "...are expected to exercise discretionary judgement in their field" (Lipsky 1980:14). It is also, however, a necessary result of their position within the public service bureaucracy wherein considerable discretion is delegated "...to functionaries at the lowest hierarchical levels" (Diver 1980:260), examples of which include police (at the point of arrest -- as demonstrated by Davis 1975; and Wilson 1968) and public prosecutors (at the plea-bargaining stage -- as demonstrated by Heumann 1978; and Alschuler 1979).[3]

[3] Again, Diver (1980) who presents a theoretical discussion of enforcement policy, Davis (1975) and Wilson (1968) who researched the activities of the police, as well as Heumann (1978) and Alschuler (1979) who explored the plea bargaining stage of the judicial system, all utilized data rooted in an American urban context.

Lipsky (1980:15) holds that the complexity of the organizations, with their intricate structure of rules and regulations, compels selective application; decisions which affect clients' access to public services demand sensitivity in interpretation; situations which involve response to the human dimension cannot always be reduced to preprogrammed formats. Situations often arise which demand instant reaction (particulary in police work), thereby necessitating the exercise of discretion when time does not permit checking the rules and regulations (1980:30).

Autonomy from organizational authority, Lipsky continues, follows naturally from the element of discretion. Once again there is the instance of the professional as employee about which Lipsky states,

> Street-level bureaucrats have some claims to professional status, but they also have a bureaucratic status that requires compliance with superiors' directives. It does mean, however, that street-level bureaucrats will perceive their interests as separate from managers' interests, and they will seek to secure these interests (1980:19).

In order for organizational goals to be met it is necessary to secure the "...cooperation of players in the implementation game whom managers do not control, and who have different interests and agendas" (Chase 1979:386) (see also Diver 1980:267 and Luloff 1978:12).[4]

Because the delegation of authority and operational discretion creates "...a great 'organizational distance' from policy to implementation...there is a corresponding need for detailed monitoring and control of case processing activi-

[4] While Chase (1979) researched health and prison bureaucracies in New York, Luloff's (1978) contribution is not based upon data collected from an urban centre but rather from several small towns in Pennsylvania.

ties" (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:386) (see also Chase 1979; and Pesso 1978).[5] However, it is difficult to measure the success of an organization, or the work done by an individual employee, when service is the commodity in question. Usual market criteria, such as yearly profits, are simply not applicable (see for example Lipsky 1980:48; and Weimer 1980:107).[6] In addition, "The procedures used [by the micro-level implementors]...are highly informal and only partly recorded" (Diver 1980:48). When performance measures are introduced (arrest records, number of job placements, etc.) they tend to force a specific work focus which causes other aspects of the street-level bureaucrat's job to be down-played in order to satisfy the measurement criteria. There is a "...general rule that the behavior in organizations tends to drift toward compatibility with ways the organization is evaluated" (Lipsky 1980:51) (see also Chase 1979:396). As a result, the adoption of "...more readily calibrated performance standards as proxies for [the street-level bureaucrat's] ultimate objective...over time...tend[s] to displace the ultimate objective as the organizations' true goal" (Diver 1980:274) (see also Merton 1957:199).[7]

Goal displacements are prevalent in the service bureaucracies not only through discretionary decisions made by the street-level bureaucrats, but also "...because the technical validity of an implemented program is often a disput-

[5] Pesso (1978) explored welfare offices in select urban American settings.

[6] Weimer (1980) also based his conclusions upon research of U.S. federal bureaucracies.

[7] Merton (1957) predates the recognition of implementation theory as a legitimate offspring of formal organization theory. His contribution is one example of the insights which ultimately led to an increasingly fine focus of investigation into aspects of bureaucracy.

able and sometimes a moot issue, policy evaluations of projects typically serve political and bureaucratic ends" (Berman 1978:175) (see also Cohen 1970 and McLaughlin 1975).[8] It follows, therefore, that "...project adaptation during implementation frequently reflects not feedback from project outcomes, but rather bureaucratic and political adjustments to the process of implementation itself" (Berman 1978:175) (see also Weimer 1980:107).

Not only is service measurement of a policy difficult, and in some cases detrimental to the original intent of the policy, an additional implementation problem is recognized in that

> "...most federal legislation is administered by an existing bureaucracy or some combination of existing bureaucracies, perhaps reorganized for the purpose of administering a particular policy. But the bureaucracy marches to its own tune" (Berman 1978:168).

The discretionary aspect of the street-level bureaucrat's role is shown as a product of the conditions under which they must work. Pressman and Wildavsky (1973)[9] agree with Chase (1979:387) who holds that "while the view from the top is exhilarating, the policy formulators...have trouble imagining the sequence of events that will bring their ideas to fruition". Policy goals are usually vague and ambiguous (see for example Lipsky 1980:31; Rosenthal and Levine 1980:386) and stated in such "...opaque verbal formulas as 'public interest, convenience, and necessity' to conceal a multitude of possible objectives" (Diver 1980:269). Whereas

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[8] Both Cohen (1970) and McLaughlin (1975) join the majority of those already cited above whose conclusions are supported by research of U.S. federal bureaucracies.

[9] Pressman and Wildavsky (1973) explored employment and economic development policies of the U.S. federal government.

> ambiguity is reflected by multiple goals, often conflicting, and in a lack of specificity about means...It seems obvious that the more ambiguous the intent of the policy, the more latitude the administrating agency has in defining a government program (Berman 1978:168).

The importance of this point is further emphasized when taken in conjunction with the possibility of performance measures focused on only some aspects of the job, while resources tend to be finite and chronically inadequate at the same time that case loads are heavy and demand expands to meet and frequently to surpass supply (see for example Lipsky 1980:29; Rosenthal and Levine 1980:386). Lipsky states that "...the ability of the street-level bureaucrats to treat people as individuals is significantly compromised by the needs of the organization to process work quickly using the resources at its disposal" (1980:44). This conflict between policy goal and organizational resources has to be managed by the street-level bureaucrat through the exercise of discretion. They must therefore devise routines and classifications in their daily processing of clients and these become important determinants of policy (Lipsky 1980:83).

A street-level bureaucrat cannot completely fulfil his or her obligations to both policy and organizational goals. Lipsky states that

> Work-processing devices are part of the informal agency structure that may be necessary to maintain the organization, even though the procedures may be contrary to agency policy. This is a neat paradox. Lower-level participants develop coping mechanisms contrary to an agency's policy but actually basic to its survival (1980:19).

Following in this frame, Diver states that

> Rather than adhering to the impossible strictures of the 'synopic' model of decision making, policy-makers in fact adopt a strategy of 'disjointed incrementalism' characterized by a series of incremental, remedial choices among a narrow range of options, reconciling only a narrow range of interests (1980:278-279).

Compromises must be sought, the major one involving the conversion of citizens

into clients who will then be seen in terms of a set of bureaucratically-relevant attributes rather than as individuals (Lipsky 1980:76). This conversion of people into clients is a social process which allows the street-level bureaucrat control over resource allocation. While it may generally be believed that clients are being treated on an individual basis, to do so without the aid of predetermined categories would be too time-consuming. In this situation,

> The omnipresent condition of computational complexity explains the most common and most elementary simplifications; reducing the number of alternatives considered...The problem of value indeterminacy necessitates a second and more radical adjustment; displacement of an unmeasurable ultimate goal with a more easily measured proximate objective. Where the decision maker faces not one goal, but multiple conflicting goals, finally, the characteristic response is to attend sequentially and reactively to problems, rather than to make any genuine attempt to resolve the conflict (Diver 1980:272).

In order to process, or help, the greatest number of clients, coping mechanisms are developed. In short, "...people-processing bureaucracies have two tasks: to develop an appropriate set of categories in terms of which people will be processed, and to map clients in terms of their qualifying characteristics" (Lipsky 1980:105). This reduction of individuals into categories of client is, in part, justified by the street-level bureaucrats -- many of whom choose their work for altruistic reasons -- by accepting that "...fairness in a limited sense demands equal treatment" (Lipsky 1980:101). Rosenthal and Levine state that

> desire for equity and the complexity of program response, combine to create an especially difficult management challenge...similar cases should be treated in a similar fashion...And yet those who exercise discretion in case screening and handling should be expected to be consistent in the decision criteria they use and in how they apply the criteria in similar situations. Furthermore, different employees with the same case processing responsibilities should be expected to treat any particular case (or like cases) in the same manner (1980:386-387).

Equal treatment -- in this instance defined as access to limited resources -- must be routinized, which in turn lessens the clients' demands for individualized responses and thus legitimises inflexibility (Lipsky 1980:100). Thus, both "...the ambiguity of cases and the complexity of government services often work against this notion of equity" (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:387).

Rosenthal and Levine (1980:383-384) list five attributes of case processing activity: a case is handled singularly and its "path" through the processing system is not automatically determined at the beginning; for every case a succession of "choice points" exist, each embodying an aspect of policy; discretion determines the type and level of response to each case; the case workers are professionals; and, until a case is complete its outcome is unclear. Each case must be judged taking account of available resources in addition to case characteristics. Many factors must be weighed when deciding new or potential case eligibility: "The more precise the formal definition of case eligibility and program obligation, the more mechanical and consistent the screening process will be" (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:393) however "...when case screening criteria are not sufficiently refined, when staff training is inadequate, or when management is not effective at monitoring the intake activity, inconsistencies will result" (1980:396). Once a case has been accepted, it is the role of the "specialist" to determine the time and manner of processing. He or she judges the priority and scope of the case as well as collecting and interpreting the relevant data.

Rosenthal and Levine state that "...successful policy implementation requires a series of related actions: goals must be translated into designs, designs into

operations, operations into evaluations and controls, which in turn may lead to changes in goals, designs and operations" (1980:385). Alternatively, Diver holds that

> A top-down enforcement policy is a set of rules, increasingly specific as one descends the hierarchical ladder...These rules may take a variety of forms -- regulations, standards, bulletins, or instructions -- and concern a variety of subjects -- communication, processing of information, expenditure control, personnel administration, or public relations. They may be written, oral or customary, so long as they represent the 'official' policy, acknowledged at least tacitly as such by the organization's leaders (1980:261).

Lipsky (1980:87-132) finds there are many ways in which routines and other mechanisms for rationing resources may serve the organizations' need for fast processing while circumventing the intended policy goal. The use of leading questions enables clients to be fitted into already-existing case types. Because clients of one social service are often also clients of others, rubber-stamping a previously-determined status speeds processing, but at the risk of missing relevant information which may prejudice the interests of the client. Information can be withheld from some clients while others, thought more deserving, can be told how to "play the system" by requesting aid from programs not commonly used. Lost benefit costs are only one way a client may pay for service; time is another. Clients are expected to wait for service, in poorly set-up waiting rooms, in queues or on waiting lists, all to save the worker from wasting their valuable time on missed appointments, should they be allowed.

Most of the routines for processing clients serve an additional purpose, that of teaching the people receiving the service the client role, which is necessary for the smooth running of a bureaucracy. The clients' time-investment shows them

that their time is worth little while the bureaucrats' time is valuable. Crowded waiting rooms or queues promote control by social pressure -- others are waiting too -- and the "first come first served" message advertises finite resources. Clients suffer psychological costs as well: long waits show a lack of respect, as do the sometimes degrading questions which clients are expected to answer. Often interviews are held in open rooms which give the client no privacy. Clients are taught the degree of deference required, and are subtly taught the penalties for lack of deference. They are taught what level of treatment they may expect to receive, which will probably differ from the media presentation of government policies (Lipsky 1980:54-70).

It is a defining characteristic of street-level bureaucracies that their clients cannot usually choose their status. Because of the ascribed status of clients there is a basic difference between a customer and a client:

> Customers ... select the options they desire; the organization follows a prespecified set of activities to satisfy their demands. Little flexibility or discretion in the nature of the service delivered remains once the customer appears and specifies what he wants (Rosenthal and Levine 1980:383).

An additional aspect of the clients lack of control over their situation is that any complaints which they may have are "managed" through a variety of structural mechanisms (pressure specialists, emergency routines, appeals, etc.) and do not lead to policy change (see for example Lipsky 1980:133-139; and Salvesen 1985:49-51). The costs which a street-level bureaucrat can impose on a misbehaving client (verbal abuse, neglectful treatment or inconvenience) leave the wary client with few strategies (passivity, acquiescence or humility) and the

(showing anger or making demands) with few options (Lipsky 1980:59).

Lipsky takes the position that the non-voluntary nature of most client/bureaucratic interactions negates client input as a significant element of the street-level bureaucrat's role. In agreement with Sarbin and Allen (1968), Lipsky states that:

> Generally role theorists locate the origin of role expectations in three sources; in peers and others who occupy complementary role positions; in reference groups, in terms of which expectations are defined although they are not literally present; and in public expectations where consensus about role expectations can sometimes be found (Lipsky 1980:45).

In support of McNamara (1967), Lipsky also claims that the social background of incumbents is not an issue in role management. He states that the process of training and socialization counteracts the effects of differences in the class backgrounds of recruits.

The major premises of implementation theory can be summarized in the following manner. It is axiomatic that policy at the point of implementation is different from policy at the point of formulation. This difference is due to the pivotal role of the street-level bureaucrat whose function is to mediate between citizens and government and who does so from a structural position which demands both discretionary rights and relative autonomy.

The street-level bureaucrats are mediators because it is they who deliver policies or services to citizens in face-to-face interactions. Discretionary rights are assumed by the street-level bureaucrats for several reasons. Bureaucratic goals are frequently worded in vague or ambiguous terms which necessitate practical interpretation. Bureaucracies are complex organizations that must respond to

multiple and unique situations and cannot supply a full complement of preprogrammed formats. Also, the resources available to be dispensed by the bureaucracy are finite while the demand for these resources is not. The street-level bureaucrats are awarded a professional or quasi-professional standing and as a defining characteristic of this status, coupled with their structural position as mediators, they assume the discretionary right to make implementation decisions on behalf of their employing bureaucracy. The condition of autonomy is a natural by-product of the street-level bureaucrat's mediation and discretionary roles. To date no satisfactory measurement of performance has been devised when the product in question is some form of non-standardized service delivery.

The major strategy employed by the street-level bureaucrats in fulfilling their mandate is the conversion of citizens into clients. This conversion process is controlled by the street-level bureaucrat. The client, unlike the customer, has no power in the relationship; the relationship between the street-level bureaucrat and the client is not one of balanced reciprocity. Power is maintained by the street-level bureaucrats through their structural position and professional status which affords them discretionary rights over decisions affecting clients. Clients do not have input into these decisions. The relationships are single stranded which means the street-level bureaucrat and the client only interact on a professional basis, and a social and geographical distance is maintained outside of this professional relationship.

The persuasive thesis outlined above is, for the most part, rooted in an urban American setting; there is, however, research of a similar nature, studying

similar roles but in other settings.

3. POLICY IMPLEMENTORS -- CROSS-CULTURAL SETTING

When Lipsky first coined the term "street-level bureaucrat" he succinctly defined a status position found in the structure of urban bureaucracies. It is not surprising, therefore, that studies of analagous roles in other settings have resulted in different concepts --examples of which include **marginal man, agent, middleman, patron** and **broker.** While the structural position to which these concepts refer is similar to that of the street-level bureaucrat, the social conditions in which the incumbents operate, and to which they must adapt, are different.

Dunning (1959) writes of the *a priori* high-status position of whites in the Canadian Arctic *vis-a-vis* ethnic residents (using "ethnic" to refer to the northern Indian and Eskimo) based on the whites' role of cultural brokers representing powerful outside organizations: the Canadian government, the Hudson Bay Company and the Church. Using the concept of "marginal man", Dunning concludes that because the trader, missionary, teacher, nurse, policeman and government administrator are geographically separated

> from their social system of sanctions [while] living and working at the top of a social system with different values and goals, [they] are...structurally separate or removed from either system of sanctions (1959:122).

Dunning takes the position that while whites, as a group, "...held supreme

power...leadership in the communities [was] an unresolved conflict" (1959:117). Each white viewed him or herself as a "...representative of a specialized area of the external culture", vying to control all situations to enhance their position such that "...each person [tried] to maximize his communication with government, thereby validating his self-appointed position as leader of the community" (1959:119). Dunning held that northern communities were "...ethnic caste-type societies" (1959:118). Whereas background differences among whites was responsible for lack of leadership integration, "...their ethnic difference from and economic superiority to the non-literate ethnic population...reinforce[d] the concept of caste within the community" (1959:119).

Hugh Brody, who also worked in the Arctic, presents resident whites as "...agents of incorporating agencies" (1975:32). Brody holds that the majority of whites are transformers rather than adapters, living "...at the edge of Eskimo society, distanced from it by their purposes, by their life-style and by their central interest in transforming rather than adapting to the peoples they encountered" (1975:14). Brody states that the whites are united by their goal of transplanting southern culture into the Arctic without regard to Inuit wishes, and as a result "...Canadian interest in the eastern Arctic had a typically colonial aspect" (1975:18).

This point is supported elsewhere in the literature on the Canadian Arctic, a particulary good example being Paine (1977) who emphasized white tutelage as an aspect of internal colonialism deleterious to white and native alike. Brody supports Dunning's premise that the resident whites in the north form a distinct

class (caste) in their communities; "high pay combined with unfamiliarity with the north in general, and with the Eskimo community in particular, meant that the distance between them and the native community was likely to be great" (Brody 1975:43). The separation was so pronounced, according to Brody, that a system of sanctions existed within the white community which prohibited close interaction with Inuit while demanding tight group cohesion for the whites. The perjorative term "bushed" was used to describe behavior outside of this strict code which usually resulted in the offender being socially ostracized, often to the point of their actual removal from the community, if not from the Arctic.

There were official ramifications, in addition to the above-mentioned social repercussions, which resulted from this situation. As a consequence of this colonial ethos, Inuit were rarely given the opportunity to provide input towards decisions which affected them. Information about Inuit was sought from other whites rather than from the Inuit themselves. This allowed for the acquisition of biased or incorrect information upon which official decisions would be made. The situation was further compounded when Brody added his examination of autonomy and discretionary rights enjoyed by resident agents charged with interpreting and implementing government policies. As an example, Brody writes of the R.C.M.P.; "There was, of course, some difference between the Canadian legal code and its interpretation or application by the individual policeman who manned detachments in the high Arctic" (1975:28).

While Dunning and Brody emphasized the white/non-white dichotomy prevalent in the Arctic, Paine, and the various authors of the edited volume *Patrons*

and Brokers in the East Arctic (Paine 1971), focused on the choice and implementation of role alternatives available to the white population. The distinction made by this second group, then, is one of role alternatives open to the white population and not of the basic status difference between the whites and non-whites. Building upon Dunning's concept of marginal man, the essays explored how marginality affected social performance. The essayists'

> discussions of the structural position of the marginal man in the Arctic...centred, therefore, upon...two features: (a) he has vested interests that are separate from and yet dependent upon those groups to which he is intermediate; and (b) he is placed at, and functions as, the "locus" of articulation between non-resident whites and native persons. In these senses we have refered to him as middleman (Paine 1971:99).

Recognizing the increasing importance of the government in the role of patron -- defined as "...the ostensible source of decisions and favours" (Paine 1971:5) -- Paine states that there has been a concomitant increase in the number of middlemen -- defined as "...intermediair[ies] between the government agencies and the communities in the north" (1971:5). The middleman role is further differentiated into that of "go-between", "...where messages or instructions are handled faithfully", and "broker", "...where they [messages or instructions] are manipulated and processed" (Paine 1971:6). Choice of roles, according to Paine, is dependent on how the middleman chooses to

> handle the problem of two potential fields of influence: the local and that beyond it...the middleman may be expected by his agency to be its go-between; the local inhabitants on the other hand, perceive this person as their patron, unless he chooses to disabuse them of their "mistake" (1971:101).

Inglis (1971) discusses this "mediation" position in the context of the Indian Agent negotiating with the Indian Band on the one hand and the Department of

Indian and Northern Affairs on the other. To maintain their position, Inglis found, agents could afford to be only partially successful in meeting the goals of either field of influence.

In agreement with Dunning and Brody, Paine holds that there are inherent problems with the piecemeal fashion in which the Canadian culture is introduced into the Arctic; each of its various agents (RCMP, teachers, social workers, etc.) having the desire to propagate their particular version. To lobby for a particular version of culture to be translated into policy, according to Paine, is an act of brokerage. The selection and control of information, a strategy employed by brokers, becomes self-generative with "the government...[losing] control over its policies and even over the selection premises out of which policies are evolved" (Paine 1971:7). The defining characteristics of brokers, therefore, closely parallel those of Lipsky's street-level bureaucrats.

Whereas Lipsky's analysis of the **street-level bureaucrat** may be said to be specific to an urban American milieu, the above discussion of **marginal man, agent** and **middleman/broker** may be seen as specific to a similar status in a cross-cultural or colonial situation. Handelman (Handelman and Leyton 1978) presents evidence of a close parallel between the urban American street-level bureaucrat and its Canadian counterpart, through an extended case study of bureaucratic interpretation of child abuse in urban Newfoundland. Again, parallels are evidenced by Leyton's (Leyton 1975; Handelman and Leyton 1978) exploration of the impact of Workers' Compensation Board policies on a rural Newfoundland community, and Wadel's (1973) similarly-focused study of the

impact of unemployment and welfare policies in rural Newfoundland. While these last two studies introduce rural Newfoundland as the setting, they are correctly placed in this section through the common element for each of these studies, which focus on agents of bureaucracy in different settings, of identifying the bureaucracy and its representing agent as a force exterior to the client community.

The above discussion of lower-level bureaucrats who work in a colonial or cross-cultural setting illustrates that while different authors write about bureaucrats using a variety of terms -- **marginal man, agent, middleman, patron** and **broker** -- as a group these bureaucrats are found to share certain defining characteristics and many of the traits are also shared with their urban counterparts -- the **street-level bureaucrats**. All these bureaucrats have been defined as forces exterior to the client population; there is an inherent power imbalance in the bureaucrat/client relationship. The bureaucrats make decisions which directly impact on the clients and yet the structure of the relationship does not allow the clients to have any input into the decision-making process.

This power imbalance also translates into a separation between the bureaucrats and their clients in areas outside of the bureaucracy. Bureaucrats in both the urban and the colonial settings maintain a social distance from their clients. For the most part the bureaucrats hold a socially superior status or class position relative to that of their clients and they do not share socially interactive relationships. In the urban setting this social or class separation usually involves a geographical dimension as well. The bureaucrat daily commutes to his or her place

of work while maintaining a residence and social life in a separate location. While the bureaucrats in the Arctic setting may live in close geographical proximity to their clients, their separation from the client community is maintained through a strict adherence to ethnic or cultural boundaries, whites socialize with whites or face the probability of being ostracized.

However, there are other settings where the agents of bureaucracy are not exterior to the client communities which they serve, or at least where the separation is not nearly so clear.

4. POLICY IMPLEMENTORS -- RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND SETTING

A theme common to many rural ethnographies is the impact of bureaucracy upon local communities. Frequently this impact is portrayed as having a deleterious effect such that "...local communities are being engulfed by forces which they cannot control...less and less of what goes on locally is subject to the collective decisions of local people" (Warren 1975:6). While Warren's (1975) comments are specific to studies undertaken in a rural American context the sentiment is a common one found in most rural studies.

This view of bureaucracy seems to have led many ethnographers to neglect the consideration of bureaucrats as interactive community members, and to dismiss them instead under the designated **master role** of bureaucrat (see for

example Hughes 1945; Becker 1964; and Dinham 1977), successfully subtracting any human traits and confering "...bureaucratic impersonality" (Szwed 1966:167) instead. Southard (1982:48), for example, writes that "...the security now provided by various types of government transfer payments, subsidies, and programs [are] rendered on an impersonal level by a bureaucracy that has little recognition of an individual's status in the community".

Rural Newfoundland communities play host to a number of status positions which fit the definitional criteria of the bureaucrats discussed in the previous two sections. In fact, in ethnographic literature on Newfoundland outports the bureaucrats are represented as combining the traits of both their urban-based and their colonial counterparts: the rural-based bureaucrats are described as separated from the client community by class and training (as with their urban-based counterparts) and the Newfoundland outport is seen as a cultural isolate which excludes the bureaucrats by definition (as with their colonial or cross-cultural counterparts).

In much of the Newfoundland literature, bureaucrats are defined as a group separate from the community proper and given an elite status placing them "...in a social position which sets them apart from the egalitarian mass of the community" (Dillon 1983:118). According to most authors of Newfoundland ethnographies, a precondition of membership in a rural community was having an intimate knowledge of one's co-residents resulting in the ideal of **behavioral predictability** (see for example Dillon 1983; Faris 1973; and Firestone 1967). In addition, it was necessary to share an "ethos of equality" (Nemec 1972:30). It was

believed that the elite held "...themselves at a distance, so they [were] by no means members of what Faris (1966:248) has termed the 'moral community'" (Dillon 1983:147).

Egalitarianism, while usually a common nexus for community members, is a frequently cited reason for outsiders filling leadership roles in the community. Southard writes that "Due to [the] strong sense of egalitarianism residents neither expect nor desire political leadership to come from within the community...Generally residents seek and have come to depend on outside leadership" (1982:43-44). Faris states "Making decisions which may be unpopular is certainly one factor inhibiting office holders, but simply making any decision affecting others is difficult in the traditions of the Cat Harbour moral community" (1973:103-104).

While the rural bureaucrat has been mentioned frequently in Newfoundland ethnographies it is usually for the purpose of emphasizing cultural homogeneity and isolation -- there have been few (if any) studies of the phenomenon itself. That is, the role or structural position of the rural bureaucrat has not received a great deal of direct attention in the Newfoundland literature. When the structural position of the rural Newfoundland bureaucrat has been discussed it has been conceptualized with a stranger/outsider/insider model.

In rural Newfoundland the various population segments present in a community have most often been understood as a "we" versus "they" typology. The representatives of external forces -- the bureaucrats -- are commonly given the label "outsider" on the "stranger-outsider-insider" continuum. One author who

has tried to deal with this issue defines the "stranger" as "someone about whom the community knows little or nothing" (Dinham 1977:67) and who is therefore feared because of his or her unpredictability. The "insider" is a native resident who supports the dominant values of outport culture -- predictability and egalitarianism (Dinham 1977:65). The "outsider", Dinham continues, is "...a person (usually a professional who resided in the community for some time but was not born in it) of whom much is known, thus lowering his perceived unpredictability and threat" (1977:67) -- that is, the **outsider** stands midway between **stranger** and **insider.**

It is clearly evident that the status of bureaucrats being discussed (and variously referred to as street-level bureaucrat, marginal man, agent, middle man, broker, patron, outsider and rural bureaucrat), though working in widely varying social situations, have much in common. Because of their proven similarities I have coined the term **public agents** to refer to this collective group. Mainly what they have in common is the depiction of distance -- class, geographical, social and cultural -- between the public agent and the client population, and the consequences this has for how they play their roles.

While public agents in the rural Newfoundland context appear to fit the defining characteristics outlined thus far, much of the supporting Newfoundland material does not reflect the recent changes which have occured in the Newfoundland outports. To date, most rural Newfoundland studies have focused on some aspect of "traditional" life-styles, economic pursuits or kinship patterns, as evidenced in outport communities during a time when isolation was still a major

factor and local public agents were all "outsiders" and few in number (see for example Philbrook 1966; Szwed 1966; Firestone 1967; Freeman 1969; Wadel 1969 and 1973; Chiaramonte 1970; and Faris 1973). Only the last decade or so has witnessed the cessation of isolation as a major factor and seen the effective extension of social services which have accounted for an increase in the number of public agents resident in Newfoundland communities. Those ethnographies completed after the lessening of community isolation (including Southard 1982; Davis 1983; and Dillon 1983) have been primarily concerned with detailing changes which have occured to the "traditional" aspects of community life. They have, therefore, expanded knowledge in the areas commonly associated with social anthropological research and it is not surprising that the quietly increasing and changing population segment composed of public agents has been all but ignored.

The community conditions which precipitated the emergence of the stranger/outsider/insider model have altered substantially. Several ethnographers have presented evidence of these changes yet have failed to note the significance of this occurance. For example: Dinham (1977:61) states that, "like any other community member, the doctor is amenable to social pressure"; Dillon (1983:122) states that his "elite" category was a "...somewhat anomalous category...[being]...simultaneously 'outsiders' and 'insiders'"; and Southard (1982:156) says, "School teachers and nurses do hold high status, but it is a separate status from the rest of the community and was *unattainable by local residents until recently*" (emphasis added).

The changes to which I refer include: access to urban centres; improved education; presence of resettled populations; inclusion of local residents within the public agent category; migrant public agents who cease to be transient and settle within a community permanently (buying homes, raising families and retiring); and the increased number of local residents who maintain very strong extra-community ties. Many community residents (along with current ethnographers) are still using the terminology of stranger, outsider and insider. Many see the label of "ousider" as referring to more than a transactional or social role (see for example Frankenberg's (1957) ethnography of a Welsh village). In a similar manner, Southard's (1982:10) ethnography of a Southern Labrador community, showed that

> the "stranger" and the "outsider" play[ed] an important part in preserving social unity, which result[ed] in people being recognized as being of the community or not of the community. This opposition [had] the effect of stabilizing potential disunity within the community.

However, this use of old terminology in a modern context calls into question whether or not the meanings have changed along with the settings. Richards (1984)[10] feels that the position of public agents in the modern rural community is quite different from the position which their counterparts of the past experienced and states that the representatives

> of mass society in the local community...like other agents of external business and government, are seen as peer members of the local community...there is no observable difference in the roles of these external agents and of totally local actors when they interact together in church, in the Main Street coffee shop, or on the golf course...Rather than serving primarily as carriers of mass society, these agents of external organizations may be natives -- or go native -- and identify

[10] Richards (1984) viewpoint on the integrative position of public agents illustrates the current situation he found in the modern rural communities of the U.S.

themselves as much if not more with the local community than with the external government and business interests which they represent (82).

5. THE RESEARCH

As the focus for my thesis research I evaluate the relevance of the stranger/outsider/insider model in a contemporary rural Newfoundland community. This includes my identification of the factors which most affects membership in rural Newfoundland communities and my assessment of the extent to which rural public agents can become community members. I also explore the impact that varying degrees of community membership has on the roles available to rural public agents and how this affects their performance as decision-making bureaucrats.

CHAPTER II.

SETTING AND METHOD

1. INTRODUCTION

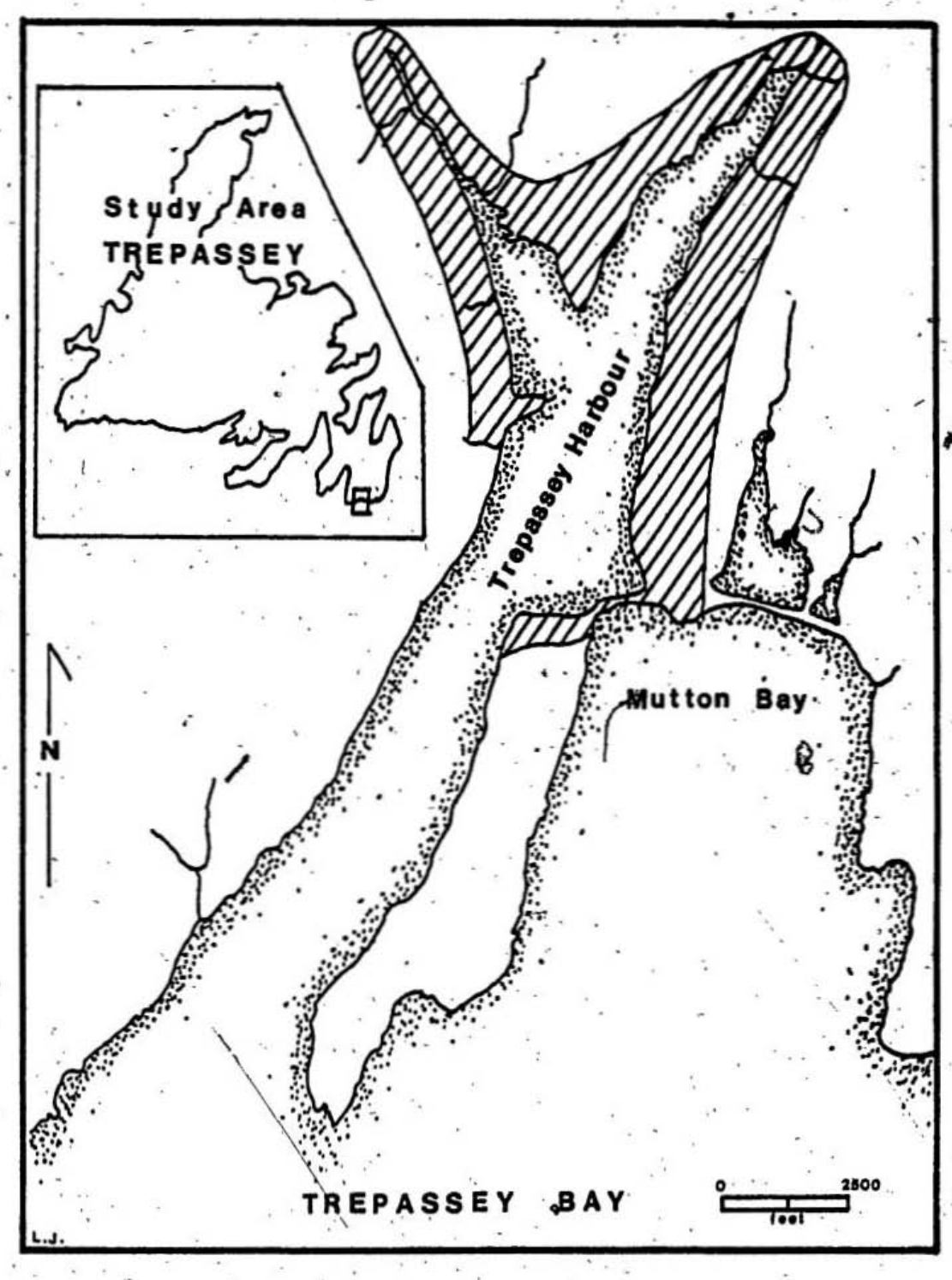
The literature reviewed thus far has established that separation from the client population is the major shared characteristic of public agents. However, while separation seems to be characteristic of public agents who work in urban and colonial settings, or the isolated rural communities prevalent in the past, it is not obviously so for the public agents working in the contemporary rural communities of today. Reaching this conclusion shaped my research goal which was to explore the degree to which public agents in a modern rural community are interactive members of the community in which they work and live, and the implications this interaction has for their role as public agents.

As the subject of my research was the position and behavior of public agents in rural Newfoundland communities, it was obviously necessary to select a rural community in which research could be conducted and the requisite data collected. In choosing the research community I considered several criteria. The community should be a sufficient distance from a major urban centre so that daily commuting on the part of the public agents is not possible. However, the community

should have reasonable access to a major urban centre since I was interested in conducting research in a "modern" rural town, not an isolated outport. Finally, the community should be of sufficient population, while maintaining a rural designation, to allow for a variety of public agents to be residents of the community.

My criteria translated into a rural community with road access to a urban centre with a minimum one-way travel time of two hours, and having a population-range of 1,000 to 2,500. While several communities that fulfilled the necessary criteria were considered, the town of Trepassey, situated on the Southern Shore of the Avalon Penninsula, was chosen as most suitable: Trepassey has paved road access to St. John's with a one-way travel time of approximately two and a half hours, and it has a population of 1,473 (Statistics Canada 1983). On the following page Map I shows the geographical location of the town of Trepassey.

During a short preliminary visit to Trepassey in June of 1984, accomodation was arranged for my autumn field work in the home of a local woman (insider) which she later had to cancel due to a medical emergency in her family. As the result of a few frantic phone calls, alternative lodgings were found in Gordon's Guest Home, the home of the Pennells (also insiders) attached to the Trepassey Motel which they owned and operated. Formal field research took place during a twelve week period of residence in the community between September and December of 1984.


Study Area
TREPASSEY
Trepassey Harbour
Mutton Bay
N
TREPASSEY BAY
0
2500
feet
L.J.

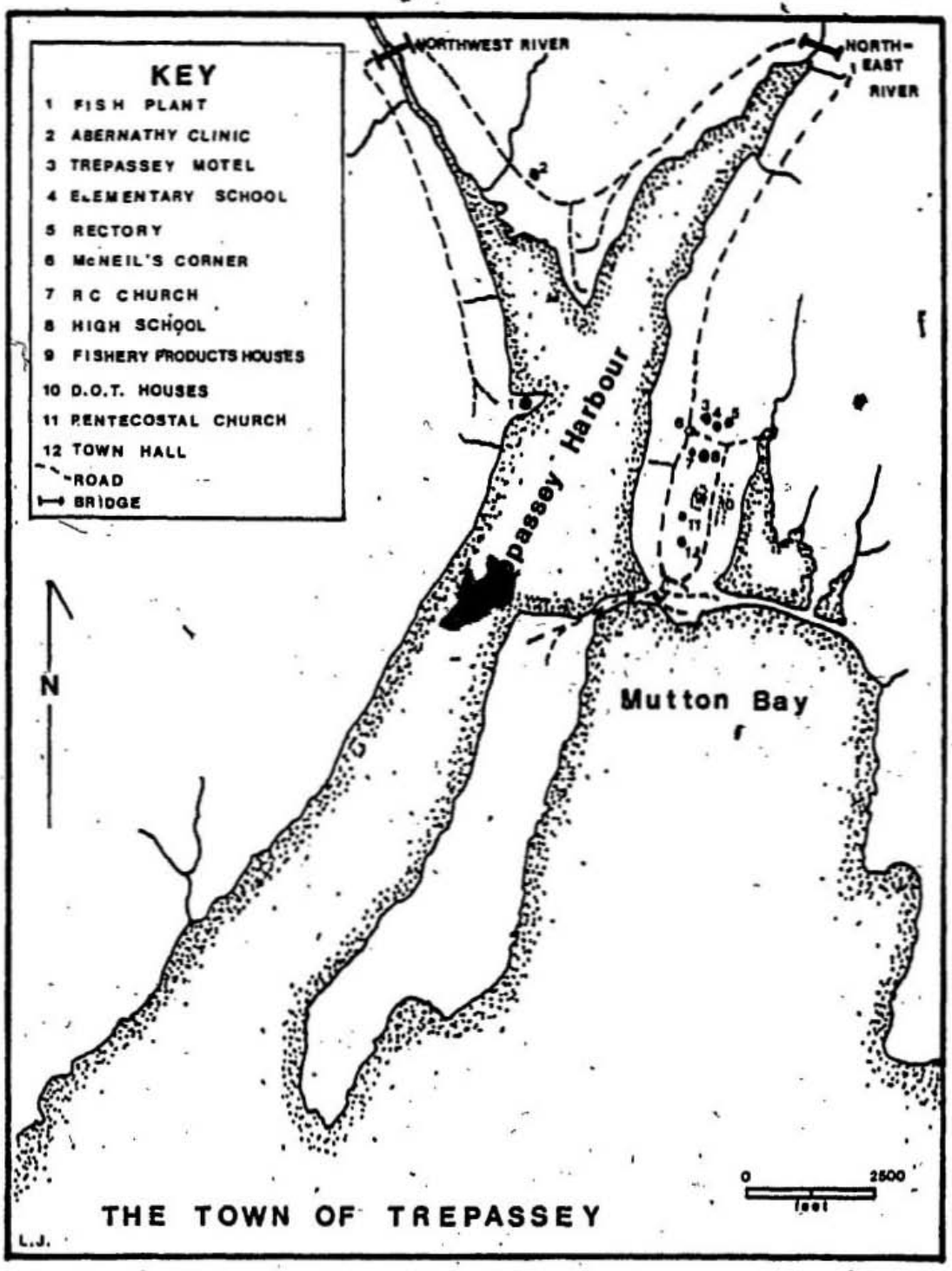
Map I

2. THE SETTING: THE TOWN OF TREPASSEY IN 1984

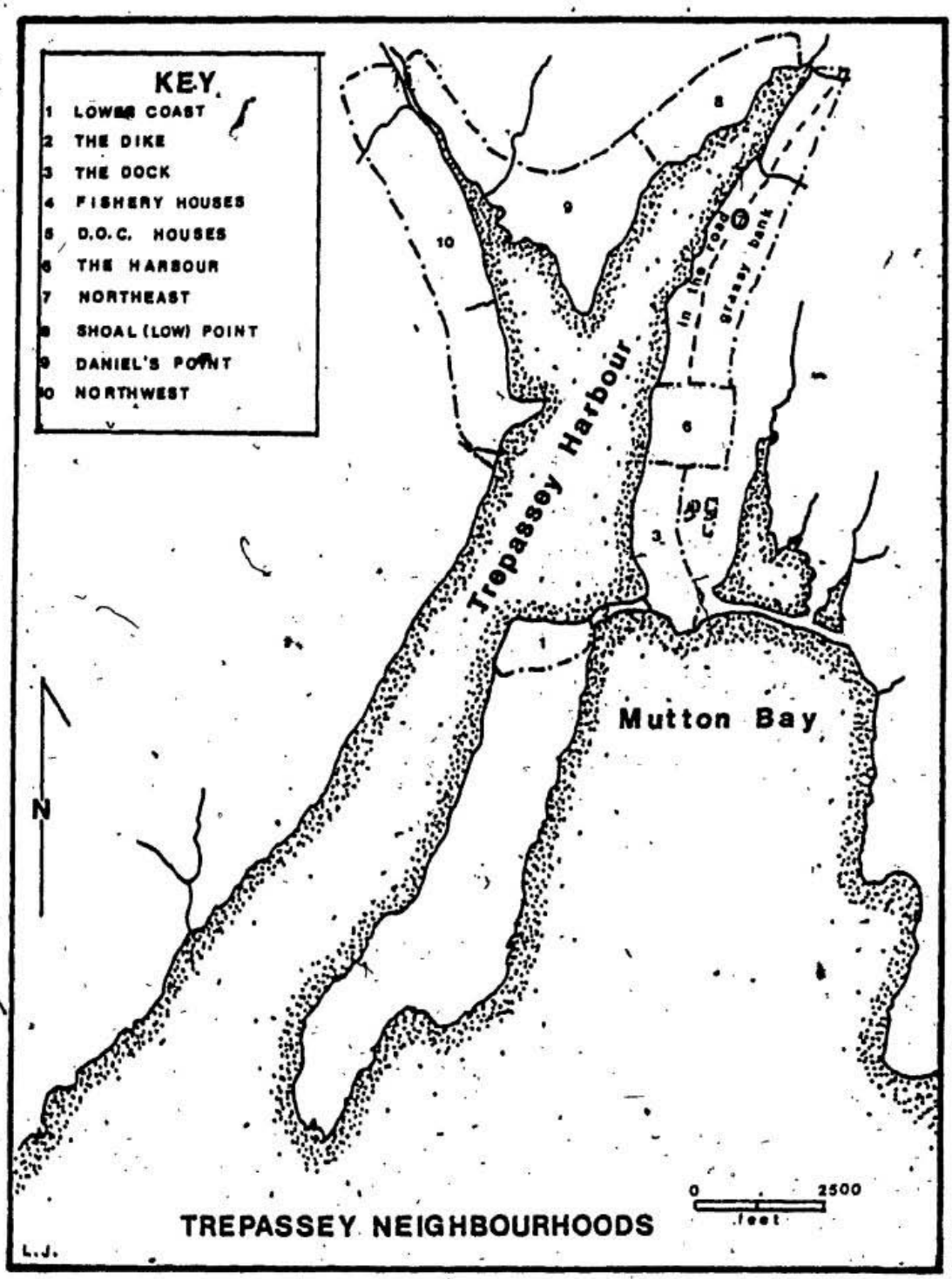
Trepassey is a ribbon community hugging the five mile coastline around Trepassey Harbour. The community is locally perceived as a conglomerate of several geographically-defined neighbourhoods. Several of these neighbourhoods are further defined as the natal area of the five major (i.e. wealthy or influential) families of Trepassey, each family still having a number of representatives living in their traditionally settled section of town. These families are the Ryans, Devereauxs, Powers, McNeils and Pennells. One major road, a portion of the Southern Shore Highway, circles the harbour with smaller, subsidiary roads branching off. On the following pages Maps II and III portrays some of the major landmarks in Trepassey and the geographically-defined neighbourhoods described below.

Beginning in the southernmost section of town, and separated from the rest of the community by a narrow spit of land (the Dike) is the "Lower Coast". The Lower Coast is variously referred to as "a ghetto", "a rough and tough place", "home to the welfare crowd", "the back-side crowd", and while it is said that "some fine people live there", it is generally considered "a hard place". For the most part this view is the result of the local belief that a majority of the delinquency originates from this area of town, a belief which is supported by the local R.C.M.P.' detachment's statistics.

Accross the Dike and in Trepassey-proper is "the Dock". This area is seen as the tail end of Trepassey and its distinguishing name is due to the presence of the local public wharf. The Dock is home to the Ryan family. North of the


KEY
1 FISH PLANT
2 ABERNATHY CLINIC
3 TREPASSEY MOTEL
4 ELEMENTARY SCHOOL
5 RECTORY
6 McNEIL'S CORNER
7 R C CHURCH
8 HIGH SCHOOL
9 FISHERY PRODUCTS HOUSES
10 D.O.T. HOUSES
11 PENTECOSTAL CHURCH
12 TOWN HALL
ROAD
BRIDGE
NORTHWEST RIVER
NORTH-EAST RIVER
Trepassey Harbour
Mutton Bay
N
0
2500
feet
THE TOWN OF TREPASSEY
L.J.

Map II


KEY
1 LOWER COAST
2 THE DIKE
3 THE DOCK
4 FISHERY HOUSES
5 D.O.C. HOUSES
6 THE HARBOUR
7 NORTHEAST
8 SHOAL (LOW) POINT
9 DANIEL'S POINT
10 NORTHWEST
Trepassey Harbour
Mutton Bay
In the road
grassy bank
N
0
2500
feet
TREPASSEY NEIGHBOURHOODS
L.J.

MAP III

Dock is "the Harbour", or "the heart of Trepassey". The Devereauxs are well represented in this area. Both the Dock and the Harbour refer to areas of town which have been long established.

In close geographical proximity to the Dock and the Harbour are two new neighbourhoods which were first established in the 1960's. They are situated behind, or slightly east (away from the water) yet they are socially very separated from the older areas. The first of these new areas is "the Fishery Product Houses", named for the small houses built in Trepassey by Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, a provincial government agency, primarily for families being resettled from smaller communities (see Chapter III below). This area of town is also called "the Fishery Houses" or "the Hill".

The people who live in the Fishery Houses are still primarily plant workers who arrived during the resettlement days. Recently, however, some vacancies have been filled by local people or other migrants who have bought the houses. While most of this area looks pretty dilapidated one small section is well tended, and this area, not so coincidentally, is a street of houses owned by migrant and local teachers who have fixed up their houses and yards. The Fishery Houses are gradually becoming a melting pot. In the past most locals built on land which they inherited, but for many this is no longer possible and buying a Fishery House is becoming a viable alternative.

The second new area is called "the D.O.T. Houses" because these houses were built by the federal Department of Transport for their employees at the

LORAN C station in Cape Race.[11] The D.O.T. area is also called "snob hill" or "on the hill". A local informant told me that "The D.O.T. is part of the Hill but itself is for government people who are going to be looked after. It's a prestige place, most professionals can rent there but a Fish Plant worker or a fisherman, no matter what they make, couldn't rent there".

A middle-aged local resident told me that when she was a child, "all Trepassey was the same. In the 1960's the D.O.T. houses became an elite area, the Fishery Houses became the bottom of the barrel, and Old Trepassey [the Dock and the Harbour] still existed as a village". The D.O.T. houses are in a kind of compound with a fence around them. They have their own water supply and generator for emergency electricity if there is a power failure. People who live there rent, and they tend to be government employees of one sort or another.

East, or behind the new neighbourhoods is the original home area of the Powers who are now said to live on the "top of the hill". The northern sector of the Harbour area is "McNeil's Corner", so-named because of the number of McNeils who reside there. The Highway which connects St. John's to the Southern Shore communities enters Trepassey at this juncture, branching north and south at McNeil's Corner to circle the harbour of Trepassey. North of McNeil's Corner is the section of town called the "North East" area which extends to the northern arm of the harbour, terminating at the bridge which crosses the

[11] LORAN C stands for LOng RAnge Navigation, the C indicating the type of system. The installation is currently under the jurisdiction of the federal Ministry of Transport -- M.O.T. -- although the locals continue to say D.O.T., and its impact on the community is discussed more fully in the following chapter.

Northeast River.

Most of the building in the last ten years has taken place on the Crown Land of the North East area. One resident reported to me that "The new houses in the North East area will probably become the new elite, it's a growing suburb". The North East area can actually be divided into two distinct sub-areas. The first is called "in-the-road" and is the elder of the two sub-areas covering the land west (harbour-side) of the road. The second is called "Grassy Bank" and includes the area east of the road. The new houses being built are predominantly in Grassy Bank and tend to be large bungalows rather than the more traditional two-storey box-style houses found elsewhere in the community.

Once over the Northeast River the road turns southwest and passes through an area of town locally called "Shoal Point". Recently this area has been legally renamed "Low Point" because mail was being confused with another rural Newfoundland community called Shoal Harbour. Further southwest is the area of "Daniel's Point" which is sometimes called "Pennell's Point" since this is the original settlement area of the Pennells. Both Shoal Point and Daniel's Point joined Trepassey only when the town incorporated in the late 1960's and they, along with the Dock, the Harbour and the Lower Coast represent those areas of town with the longest settlement history.

West of Daniel's Point the road crosses a second bridge, this time over the Northwest River and the last, and most sparsely populated region of Trepassey, is found. This area is called the "Northwest" area or "the Plant" because this is where the Fishery Products plant is located.

Trepassey is greatly influenced by the Fish Plant, owned by Fishery Products International Limited: however, other businesses and social services -- themselves in part a response to the presence of the Fish Plant -- are having an increasing impact on the Town and its residents. This impact includes a diversification in employment opportunities as well as an improved standard of living.

Social services available in the community include a Medical Clinic, called the Abernathy Clinic, named for the first public health nurse who worked and lived and has now retired in Trepassey. Associated with the clinic are a local doctor, dentist, public health nurse, x-ray and laboratory technician, and a physiotherapist. Attached to the clinic is a drug store owned and operated by a qualified pharmacist. Educational facilities include two schools, Holy Redeemer Elementary School (281 students) and Stella Maris High School (296 students). In addition to the regular teaching staff there are also trained Special Education Teachers and T.M.R. (Trainable Mentally Retarded) Teachers. For adult education there is a Trepassey office for Memorial University of Newfoundland Extension Services that is staffed by a field worker.

Trepassey has four out-of-town taxis servicing it.[12] One taxi operator also provides ambulance service while another provides bus service to the Fish Plant and funeral vehicles.

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[12] Out-of-town taxis are a service common to most rural Newfoundland communities. They are usually large vans or mini-buses which are owned and operated by local residants who transport passengers and parcels to and from Town (St. John's) on a regular schedule for a fixed charge.

Trepassey has a Town Office, a volunteer Fire Department with a Fire Hall (attached to the Town Office) and fire truck, and a community Stadium. It has a Senior Citizen's Home, a motel and a tourist home. Trepassey also has a local branch of the Bank of Nova Scotia. There is a community Library and a community Museum.

Several government offices both provincial and federal, which service the Southern Shore are headquartered in Trepassey: Wildlife Officers for the Department of Culture, Recreation and Youth; Fisheries Officers for the Department of Fisheries and Oceans; an R.C.M.P. detachment; representatives from the Department of Transportation and Communication; and representatives from Newfoundland Light and Power Company Limited. There is also an agency store for the Newfoundland Liquor Corporation and a Post Office.

There are two churches in Trepassey, one Pentecostal and one Roman Catholic each with a resident clergyman, and a convent for the Presentation Sisters who teach in the schools, both of which are operated by the Roman Catholic School Board for Ferryland District.

Trepassey has two "Clubs" (bars), situated on either side of the highway at the entrance to the town, where dances are held with live or taped music and facilities are available for dart leagues and pool enthusiasts. There is also an amusement centre (pinball machines and video games), a restaurant, coffee shop, and a chicken drive-in. There is a beauty salon, a Sear's store, a clothing store, a footwear store, two hardware stores, two relatively large general stores, and six assorted "convenience" stores. There is also a garage and auto repair shop.

There are three construction companies and an additional few small businesses.

In short, Trepassey is a rural one-industry town (typical in marginal areas) in the mid-1980's which enjoys a variety of services.

3. THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Because my time in the community was to be fairly short, and having no desire to appear mysterious and therefore possibly to be avoided, upon my arrival I immediately contacted the parish priest and the mayor to explain the nature of my research while asking for their cooperation. Both gave me a sympathetic hearing and promised their assistance. The parish priest furnished me with lists of all the teachers from both schools complete with their telephone numbers and information on which were locals (insiders) and which were migrants (strangers and outsiders). He also placed the following notice in the Parish Bulletin:

> Mrs. Wendy Holland-Macdonald is visiting our Parish for the purpose of gathering information for her Master's Thesis at Memorial University and has approached me with the feasibility of visiting homes in the Parish. I recommend that you assist her in this educational opportunity. Mrs. Macdonald will be in the area until December and will be residing at the Trepassey Motel.

I then contacted the principals of the two schools, (Holy Redeemer Elementary School and Stella Maris High School), as well as the Town Manager, and again explained the nature of my research interests.

With the above introduction into the community I began my data collection.

My strategy involved a combined methodology of interviews, participation, and observation. It was hoped that access to many public agents would be facilitated through our common connection with Memorial University of Newfoundland, and my background as a nurse for thirteen years and a teacher for one year. While these attributes assisted in my understanding of graphically portrayed situations, access was primarily a result of the natural kindness and curiosity of the people of Trepassey. It became quickly evident that teachers were by far the most numerous group of public agents in the community and I considered it neither practical or necessary to interview them all. Rather I chose to interview a sample of teachers from each of the schools including a mixture of persons who were male, female, local residents (insiders) and both recent and not-so-recent migrants (strangers and outsiders). I managed to do so with the help of the parish priest's informative lists and the cooperation of those teachers whom I contacted. In addition, I attempted to interview as many of the other public agents as was practically possible.

While Lipsky confined his discussion to the lower-level representatives of civil bureaucracies, Paine *et al* expanded their category to include the representatives of other bureaucracies as well. For my research I decided to follow the expansionist lead of Paine. I used the three basic criteria of mediation, discretion and autonomy to define the boundary of the status group in question -- my target population of public agents.

I carried out interviews with twenty-seven public agents, as demonstrated in the list below:

-doctor; 1, did not interview

-public health nurse; 1, interviewed

-R.C.M.P.; 3, interviewed all

-principal; 2, interviewed both

-teacher; full-time living in Trepassey, 26, interviewed 11

substitute living in Trepassey, 5, interviewed 2

-M.U.N. extention fieldworker; 1, interviewed

-fishery officer; 4, interviewed 3

-wildlife officer; 2, interviewed both

-town clerk/manager; 1, interviewed

-priest; 1, interviewed

-pastor; 1, interviewed

In order to supplement my interview data on public agents, I also conducted interviews with various other community members including a mixture once again of insiders, outsiders and strangers.

All interviews were conducted through informal, open-ended questions, encouraging informants to talk about their lives, careers and various topics which they introduced. Interviews included information on who the informants' friends were, attitudes towards public agents and clients respectively, and individual biographies. The interview settings ranged from the informant's place of work during business hours, to chats over coffee in the informant's home. The number of people involved in each interview ranged from two, the interviewer and infor-

mant, to ten when various family members or friends would arrive and take an active role in the discussion. This latter situation proved particularly fruitful as it precipitated sometimes hilarious, but always informative, discussions on matters that may otherwise not have been made known to me.

While observation as a method of research was an ongoing exercise, particular note was taken of the context and substance of interactions between fellow public agents and between public agents and other community members, in both formal and informal settings.

Participation, as expected, was primarily in the social sphere -- attendence at a wedding, the High School graduation ceremony, bingo games, concerts, baked-goods and craft sales, afternoon coffees and dinner in the evening -- and casual data-filled conversations in unstructured environments which evolved as a consequence of my daily wanders around the community.

Trepassey offered several additional sources of data outside of her hospitable population. Trepassey residents have a well-developed sense of history which is expressed in two institutions that I found particularly useful. First, they have a community developed and furnished Museum, and second, the community library includes an impressive collection of papers, reports and articles either written by, or pertaining to, Trepassey and its residents. I was given full and cheerful access to both. In addition, Trepassey had a local newspaper which was published on average once a month between October 1975 and June 1978. I was lent a full set of the *Trepassey Tribune* by the local librarian (who is also a teacher). Because much of the news and information contained in the *Trepassey Tribune* pertained

to the various community voluntary associations and clubs, I expanded my interview schedule to include the presidents of the currently active associations. The town clerk/manager, kindly furnished me with the list of clubs and the people to contact.

During the tenure of the *Trepassey Tribune* the number of local organizations was truly impressive. After 1978, however, several have since disbanded but the following remained active at the time of my fieldwork: Lion's, Lionesses, Women's Institute, Fire Brigade, Recreation Commission, Girl Guides, Parents of Retarded Children, and the Senior Citizen's Committee. With the unfortunate exception of the Senior Citizen's Committee I managed to speak with the presidents of each of the local organizations. Each volunteered information on their club's activities as well as supplying me with a current list of members and officers. The information gained on voluntary associations was to prove highly informative.

I count myself very fortunate in having chosen Trepassey as the site of my field research. The residents were generous in sharing both their time and their insights with me, and the months that I spent in the community were pleasant and informative.

CHAPTER III

THE EVOLUTION OF A SETTLEMENT: THE DEVELOPMENT OF TREPASSEY FROM AN ISOLATED OUTPORT INTO A RURAL TOWN

1. INTRODUCTION

By North American standards Trepassey has a long history, first appearing on European maps as early as the first decade of the sixteenth century (Seary 1971:30). The name has been given various derivations, from Portuguese, French, English and Dutch (Nemec 1973a). While the early history of Trepassey is replete with examples of major economic fluctuations and shifts in national allegiance, it is the product of the same global economic and political forces that produced the rest of Newfoundland. With three exceptions only, it is events and accompanying personalities since the Second World War which are primarily responsible for molding Trepassey the Outport, into Trepassey the Town.

2. TREPASSEY, THE ISOLATED OUTPORT

The three aspects of Trepassey's early history which had a major impact on the community's later development are inter-related and include: the origipal

source areas of immigration to the settlement, the circumstances and manner in which the Catholic Church was locally established, and the composition of the community's early social structure.

2.1. Early Immigration to Trepassey

In the past there has been some dispute over the origins of a settled population in Trepassey. For a time it was ascribed the dubious honour of being the site of Sir William Vaughan's abortive attempt to found a colony of Welsh settlers sometime between 1617 and 1636 (see for example Prowse 1911; Lounsbury 1934; Innis 1954; Seary *et al* 1968; and Seary 1971). The probable site of this particular example of an early British attempt to establish an organized settlement based on the exploitation of resources other than the cod fishery, has since been relocated to Renews, -- miles to the north (cf. Cell 1969; Nemec 1973a).

According to Matthews (1968:190) the harbour of Trepassey was close to fishing grounds where the cod arrived in greater numbers and earlier in the season than elsewhere on the east coast of Newfoundland. Trepassey was utilized as a summer fishing station by the Spanish, Portuguese and French early in the sixteenth century (see Lounsbury 1934:3; Seary *et al* 1968:41; and Nemec 1973a:18), by the West Country English early in the seventeenth century (Nemec 1973a:18) and by both the English and the French migratory fishermen in the second half of the seventeenth century. Seary *et al* (1968) claim that by 1652 there were

English in Trepassey. Matthews (1968:175-176) names the first English planters, George and Richard Periman (or Perriman), who were West Countrymen operating four to twelve boats and employing approximately sixty men (see Matthews 1971:323; and Nemec 1973a:19).[13]

It has been established that Englishmen from West Country port towns tended to "localize their fisheries in particular harbours" (Nemec 1973a:19) -- for example Barnstaple and Bideford in North Devon localized in the area from Cape Broyle to Trepassey -- and

> This tendency had considerable cultural ramifications along the Southern Shore since adventurers, planters and servants alike shared a common place of origin. In other words, it must be inferred that certain aspects and traits of North Devonshire subculture were transmitted to, and then modified along the Southern Shore, including Trepassey. For a variety of reasons, there were probably much closer social, economic and ideological (i.e. cultural) connections between Trepassey and North Devon, than between Trepassey and other outports on the south and east coasts (Nemec 1973a:19).

Late in the seventeenth century "...by far the largest proportion of Trepassey's residents were seasonal transients who lived in England but spent their summers fishing at Newfoundland" (Nemec 1973a:19). However Trepassey's planter population had reached thirty by 1675 and forty-one by 1681 (Matthews 1971:200) in addition to a migratory population from North Devon of 101 to 145 (Matthews 1971:213). Prowse (1895:699) states that the 1677 census data showed only four houses and two wives present in Trepassey. Nemec (1973a:19) interprets this as meaning that "the bulk of the small resident population consisted of 'men servants', i.e. unmarried fishermen-laborers who worked for planters".

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[13] Planter is a term referring to either permanent or year-round residents.

At this time both the French and the English made use of Trepassey's shore and harbour. Prowse (1895:183) quotes Captain Wheeler -- Commander of the British fleet to Newfoundland in 1684 -- as stating that two or three French families also lived in Trepassey and that it was a place "...where our nation and theirs fish without disagreeing". By 1690 the harmony between the French and English ended at Trepassey when "...the English departed and probably did not return *en masse* until after the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713" (Nemec 1973a:19). Whether this exodus was the result of aggression by the French residents burning out the English (Rogers 1911:90) or because of a raid by French privateers (Matthews 1968:241) the outcome was the same -- the English left, for a time. However, while "...the English were generally slow to develop former French settlements on the south coast following the cessation of hostilities in 1713, Trepassey was an exception as the English fishing vessels had returned there not later than 1715" (Nemec 1973a:20).

Following the withdrawal of the French, after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht, the Southern Shore became virtually the private domain of South Devon merchants from Topsham, Teigmouth and Dartmouth. The merchants from Topsham centred their activities in Trepassey. The firms of Follettes and Jacksons arrived in the late 1720's or early 1730's, with the Pennells arriving several decades later (see Matthews 1968:272; Nemec 1973a:20), establishing themselves in Trepassey as merchant-planters.

> The merchant-planter class arose as a result of West Country firms sending out younger family or "clan" members to act as their permanent agents on the Island. In this way, they made secure their rights of ownership and usufruct over fish "rooms" and premises, besides

facilitating more pervasive economic control over the local population and the fisheries (Nemec 1973a:20).

By the latter part of the eighteenth century the majority of the fishermen who utilized the harbour at Trepassey had ceased to be migratory fishermen, becoming, rather, permanent residents. The influx of Irish immigrants began in the middle of the eighteenth century and "by the time the influx subsided in the early nineteeth century, the number of immigrants had evidently over reached the carrying capacity of the major harbours along the Southern Shore, including Trepassey" (Nemec 1973a:22). I believe that such a statement is justified because it was during this period that new settlements close to Trepassey were established -- examples of which include St. Shotts (Nemec 1981:5) and Biscay Bay (Le Messurier 1981:3) -- a common practice for alleviating population, land and fishing pressures.

It was also during this period that the Topsham merchants, like their counterparts elsewhere, were going bankrupt or withdrawing their capital, precipitated first by the American, and then by the French, Revolutions when "...the West Countrymen lost their economic grip on eastern Newfoundland and its outports" (Nemec 1973a:20) (see also Nemec 1972). Matthews (1968:10-11) states that the Follettes and Pennells had withdrawn by the 1790's with the Jacksons following by 1806. The family names, however, remained, and Nemec supports Matthews's interpretation that "...those family members who remained had either fallen from the status of ship owners to middle men or instead, had simply ceased to have any commercial ties with Topsham" (Nemec 1973a:21). The current Trepassey Follettes and Pennells are assumed to be descended from those

who remained; the Jackson line has died out. The repercussions from the post-war depression were considerable, and the impact on Trepassey was marked,

> insofar as very few, if any, of the major merchant firms remained in business afterwards. This includes the Scottish firm, Andrew Thom(p)son & Co., which was active prior to the turn of the century, and Hunter & Co., which started by 1800...In addition, (William?) B(o)urke who may have been an Irish agent for one of the remaining West Country firms (Nemec 1973a:21).

Nemec finds that the majority of both the English and the Irish settlers who came to Trepassey as year-round residents arrived after 1775. The names of these early residents, whose descendents are still living in Trepassey, include: Bulger, Curtis, Devereaux, Hewitt, Molloy, Sutton, Tobin and Waddleton (Nemec 1973a:23). A second influx of residents, who still predate 1815, also with descendants still in Trepassey, include: Brien/Bryan, Butler, Corrigan, Fenelly, Hackett, Hallihan, James, Kennedy, McNeile, Neil(l/e) and Ryan (Nemec 1973a:23). In addition to the dramatic shift in ethnic orientation -- from predominantly English to predominantly Irish --

> the settlement also experienced drastic economic change; the shift from a major banking centre to a mixed farming and fishing outport. Even so, the Harbor's economy thrived -- at least until the onset of an Island-wide depression which struck following the end of the Wars in 1815 (Nemec 1973a:23).

2.2. The Social Structure of Early Trepassey

According to Nemec, the social structure of Trepassey in the latter part of the eighteenth century was based on class differences rather than those of an ethnic or religious nature. Nemec's concise format placed within the upper class the merchants or their agents, the clergy, and prominent planters and bye-boat

keepers. The merchants and agents gained their status position through their business acumen and information on world markets, as well as their pivotal role in the economy of the settlement. The clergy were respected because of their connection with the church, their responsibility for the spiritual well-being of the residents, and their removal from the economic sphere. The planters and bye-boat keepers in this class category were those who were "...fairly prosperous individuals (and their families) who might have had as many as twenty or thirty fishermen-servants in their employ" (Nemec 1973a:24). The middle class included minor planters and bye-boatmen who employed few or no servants but were successful beyond a mere subsistence level. The lower class was composed of transients, servants and manual labourers who existed near a subsistence level.

2.3. The Establishing of the Catholic Church in Trepassey

The communities along the Southern Shore, Trepassey included, are predominantly Catholic in religion and have been so for over 150 years. This is primarily because the majority of Trepassey's original permanent inhabitants arrived between 1775 and 1815, the period of intense Irish migration to Newfoundland. These Irish immigrants were, for the most part, Catholics, the majority of whom came as servants with perhaps a few arriving as planters. During this same period some English migration continued but did so on a much smaller scale than the Irish. The English immigrants were primarily Church of England and while they too arrived as servants and planters others of their nationality came as mer-

chants and agents of merchant houses. It was this latter group of English Protestant merchants and agents who formed the elite/upper class strata of the outport communities. Their privileged local status was due to their superior education (frequently the merchants and agents were the only literate members of the community) and their control over the local economy (the merchants and agents set the price for supplying the fishermen and buying their catch).

Prior to 1784 the practice of Catholicism was illegal in Newfoundland, following which time King George III granted "Liberty of Conscience" in religious matters. Catholic priests/missionaries then ceased their clandestine activities and went openly about their work ministering to the needs of the growing Catholic population. Most of this early Catholic missionary work was concentrated in those areas of the island which had large numbers of Irish Catholics in the local population, such as the Southern Shore. Protestant missionary activity was concentrated in those areas which had large numbers of English Protestants such as the area northwest of St. John's.

The advent of the Napoleonic Wars caused many of the merchant firms located in Britain to go bankrupt, and made it necessary for their Newfoundland representatives to return to Britain. Some of the merchants and agents elected to remain in Newfoundland, yet they did so with a reduction in local status to that of planter. New merchant houses headquartered in St. John's took over the business of buying fish and supplying fishermen and their families, often with small local entrepreneurs acting as the middlemen in the transactions. This effectively replaced the former elite upper class with a local middle class.

The withdrawal of the upper class merchants and agents was tantamount to the cessation of the effective practice of Protestantism in predominantly Catholic areas; the educated elite having been responsible for the organization and delivery of Protestant services in the areas which lacked available Protestant clergy.

In 1843 when the first resident Catholic priest, Father O'Neill, arrived to minister to the parish of Trepassey, Catholicism was virtually universal in the area. Typically of a Southern Shore community (according to Dillon 1968; and Nemec 1973a) the primary instruments of Anglo/Irish integration in Trepassey were intermarriage and religious conversion -- from Protestantism to Catholicism. In fact, the conversion to Catholicism was so complete that even the descendants of the merchant elite who had elected to remain in Trepassey had their offspring baptized Catholic. Nemec (1973a:26) states that,

> only four Protestant adults were formally baptized in the parish (Cape Race to St. Shotts) during his [Father O'Neill's] entire stay from 1843 to 1861. That conversion to Catholicism was virtually universal in Trepassey by 1840 is attested to by the fact that even the decendents of the Topsham merchant elite (Follettes and Pennells) are recorded in the earliest register as having their offspring baptized Catholic.

The arrival of a resident priest to Trepassey added a new dimension to the sociopolitical hierarchy of the community and laid the foundation for church dominance in virtually all areas of community life; a dominance which only began to lessen during the last decade or so. In those early days the priest was an obvious member of the much-depleted elite upper class through his position as mediator between his parishoners and God. In addition to his spiritual leadership his superior education also set him above the majority of community residents;

illiterate residents had need of his communicative abilities as well as interpretive skills and advice in personal and secular matters. The priest was recognized as a political force; the central government approached the community through the priest as the accepted spokesperson in the days before municipal government.

In short, the priest became the most powerful resident of the community through his unchallenged interpretation of the outside world for the community residents and his presentation of the local community to the outside world. Such was the legacy of influence and power inherited by succeeding generations of parish priests in Trepassey and similar communities.

2.4. The Growth of the Outport

According to census material, in 1836 the population of Trepassey was 247 and by 1857 it had reached 541. In 1857 "...while 198 people indicate they are engaged in catching and curing fish, not one single person with the exception of the priest indicated he or she was engaged in an alternate activity" (Nemec 1973b:17). Further, according to the census of 1857 "Trepassey was undergoing the transition from a fishing port whose labor force consisted primarily of unmarried males to a settled community with an underlying familial social structure" (Nemec 1973b:17). Migration by Trepassey residents to near coves -- eg. St. Shotts and Portugal Cove (South) -- occured. "Once established in their new 'niche' fishermen usually married and settled down. In this way, Trepassey Bay as a whole did not reach a population plateau until after World War I when

many 'livyers' [permanent settlers] emigrated to the Boston and New York area" (Nemec 1973b:17).

Following the demise of the old merchant firms, no replacement merchant elite sprang up in Trepassey. In their place were a number of small local "dealers" who were acting as agents for the St. John's firms. Along with the merchant/dealer change, there was a change in the basic social structure of Trepassey. The priest remained in the upper class joined by various authorities, officials, professional men and certain of the larger primary producers. The list of the officials and professionals increased in number and changed over time in response to increased government intervention, legislation, and general involvement in both economic issues and social services. Marginal grey areas of overlap between the classes was such that "only certain official ranks fell within the upper class, the remainder quite likely constituted an incipient middle class" (Nemec 1973b:19). Also, "...since fishermen overlap with officialdom [some holding government positions and offices in addition to their fishing activities], it follows that some of their number could as well have belonged to an incipient middle class, as well as to the lower class" (Nemec 1973b:19-20).

Among the fishermen, class distinctions were made primarily on the basis of type and amount of gear they owned and utilized. Those who were higher placed employed the use of skiffs and trawls (replacing bankers and schooners), with five-to-seven-man crews and a larger fishing capacity than the one-to-two-man crews in punts and dories. Sharemen took the place of the old-time migratory servants. And finally "...the very nadir of the social scale was occupied by a

variety of readily discernible types: peddlers and tinkers, cripples, orphans, paupers and beggars, lunatics, the deaf and dumb (dummies), and convicted criminals" (Nemec 1973b:20).

The end of the nineteenth century was witness to improved economic conditions in Trepassey with an expansion and development of both farming and fishing. However, following the First World War,

> As a direct result of the depression in the fishery, many unmarried individuals, as well as some entire families, left Trepassey and migrated to the Eastern Seaboard of the United States, and in particular, to Boston and its suburbs and New York City and surrounding environs, including New Jersey. Altogether, Trepassey lost approximately one-third of its total population – by far the worst blow that the settlement ever suffered (Nemec 1973b:21).

The first half of the twentieth century saw the beginnings of industrialization in some sectors of Newfoundland, but the fisheries were not truly involved until the mechanization which followed the Second World War.

> This was particularly true of the Southern Avalon, where a relatively pre-industrialized, small boat, inshore fishery remains intact even now...As an outport whose economy was centred on the fishery, therefore, Trepassey did not undergo major change or growth until its fishery was modernized after Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada in 1949. Indeed, it was not until the 1960's that the long term effects of Confederation began to influence the town's economy, including the fishery, in a significant way (Nemec 1973b:21).

3. TREPASSEY, THE RURAL TOWN

There were several landmark occurrences in the middle portion of the twentieth century which greatly affected the economic and social development of Trepassey. Those which had the greatest impact include:

1948: arrival of Father Frank Mullowney, beginning his 31 year tenure in Trepassey;

1949: Newfoundland's Confederation with Canada;

1954: opening of the first "seasonal" Fish Plant in Trepassey;

1964: opening of the new, modern "year round" Fish Plant;

opening of the LORAN C Station at Cape Race;

1965: Trepassey is designated a "Fisheries Growth Centre" for the government sponsored resettlement program;

1967: Trepassey becomes a Local Improvement District;

1968: construction begins on two housing projects for incoming residents;

1969: opening of the Pentecostal Church -- the first non-Catholic Church in Trepassey;

formation of the first Town Council in Trepassey;

1974: upgrading the access road to St. John's.

To appreciate the pivotal role of the priest, Catholocism or religion generally in the development of Trepassey, also to understand how religion influenced factors pertaining to community membership, it is necessary to introduce in some detail the parish priest who served Trepassey residents from 1948 to 1979 -- Father Mullowney. However, because the impact of Father Mullowney is so extensive it is necessary to describe first some of the milestone events which occured in Trepassey and then to illustrate how it was that Father Mullowney's influence cemented many of these events together.

3.1. The 1940's

Because Confederation with Canada in 1949 precipitated such wide-reaching effects on Newfoundland as a whole, it is logical to assume that it also had an effect on Trepassey. I soon discovered, however, that this is not the perception of many long-time residents of Trepassey. The popular local view is that the growth and development of the community is due to the industry of Father Mullowney, and in particular to Father Mullowney's involvement in the modernization of the fisheries: "The Father built the fish plant then the town took off. The crowd in Ottawa did nothing for us here".

The only change that most residents do associate with Confederation involves a small expansion of the local cash economy which occured through the infusion of federal transfer payments arriving locally in the form of pension and family allowance cheques. However, the local view is that this small economic expansion had a relatively minor impact on community life and community growth when compared to all the "real" changes which began as a result of "The Father's Fish Plant".

3.2. The 1950's

Economic expansion in Trepassey was primarily due to the construction of the Fish Plant which was a seasonal processing and filleting operation that opened in 1954. To assist me in better understanding what impact the Fish Plant had on the community, I was pleased to discover that just prior to its

opening, Trepassey had been reviewed as part of the Newfoundland Settlement Survey undertaken in that year by the Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Geographical Branch (1954). The report which followed the survey gives a comprehensive picture of the community as it existed at that time. It was described as an old settlement, strung out over several miles with three areas of housing concentration, which was seen to lessen the potential for unified public spirited activities. Where previously the community had been concerned solely with fishing, this had recently diminished in importance with men alternatively working at wage labour elsewhere on the island or waiting for the completion of the Fish Plant with the hope of local wage employment.

Trepassey was said to have a splendid church, school and convent as well as enjoying a higher standard of education than most outports. This praise, however, was followed by a prophesy which stated that "...when a higher education such as this is offered the more successful and brilliant students usually leave the settlement to offer their talent elsewhere due to lack of opportunity at home" (Department of Mines and Technical Surveys, Geographical Branch 1954:7). As to available public services in 1954, there were no electric lights, local government, fire fighting unit, water or sewerage system, or hospital. There was a public library, post office, resident nurse and a Canadian National Telegraph office with telephone service to St. John's and the surrounding communities. The report concluded that

> Trepassey [was] by far the most attractive area along the coast for settlement. Its good harbour, its central locality and existing importance would suggest that it could become an important centre and a nucleus for a program of centralization (Department of Mines and Technical

Surveys, Geographical Branch 1954:8).

The opening of the Fish Plant did provide a local wage-labour employment opportunity that was enjoyed by many of Trepassey's residents. The Plant's capacity was such that its labour requirements exceeded the number of locally available workers. This meant full employment for those in the community who wished to work there, and a powerful draw for unemployed or underemployed people living elsewhere. Resettlement to Trepassey was encouraged by the Fish Plant management under the auspices of the Provincial Department of Welfare which sponsored and administrated the government's Centralization Program.[14] This marked the beginning of a new migration to Trepassey and a concomitant escalation in the community's social and economic development.

3.3. The 1960's and the 1970's

The 1960's stand out as the decade which was witness to the greatest number of changes in Trepassey's recent history. It began in 1963 when the Fish Plant was destroyed by fire. A new Fish Plant was built and began operation in 1964. The new Plant was a modern, year-round facility which required a bigger workforce than its seasonal predessor. In 1966 a small fleet of deep sea draggers or trawlers -- called the Z fleet because each ship's name begins with that letter -- was introduced, increasing the Plant's capacity yet again, which in turn further

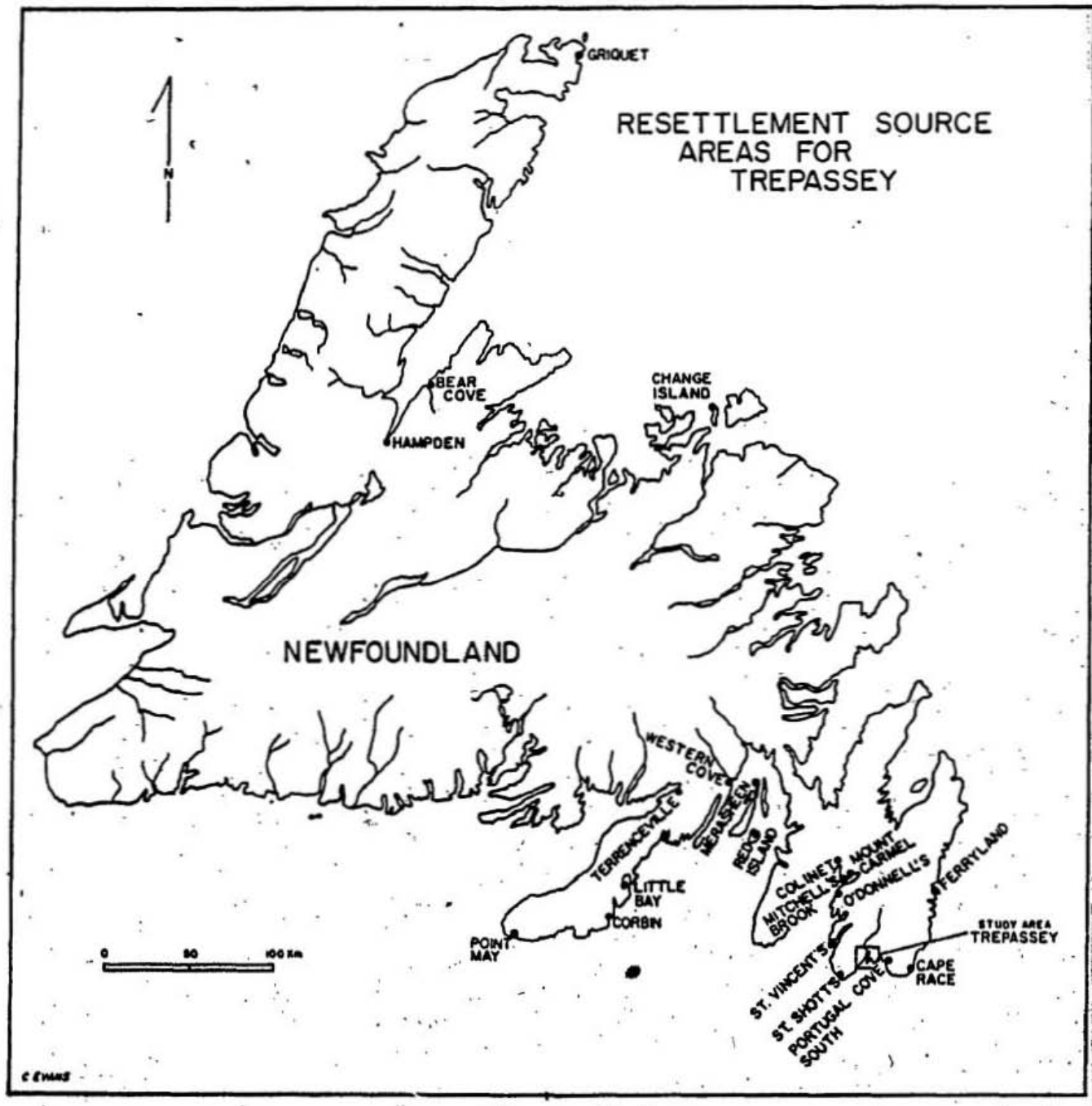
[14] The Centalization Program ran from January 1, 1954 to March 31, 1965. It was designed to assist families from isolated areas to relocate to larger centres that provided better (and more cost effective) social services. The impact of the Centralization Program on Trepassey is discussed in the following chapter.

increased the local labour requirements.

The government's Centralization Program had a mild impact on the population growth of Trepassey but, on April 1, 1965 the Centralization Program was replaced by the Federal-Provincial Newfoundland Fisheries Household Resettlement Program[15] that proved to be of far greater importance to the community. While in 1961 Trepassey was rated within the lowest quarter of the provincal populations index of amenities (Copes 1972:39), by 1968 Trepassey was a designated "Major Fishery Growth Centre" (Copes 1972:111). Because of the labour needs of the new Fish Plant, along with the relatively good location and accessibility of the community, Trepassey was designated a Fisheries Growth Centre and resettlement to the community was actively encouraged. New residents began arriving in quick succession from a variety of communities across the province. Map IV on the following page illustrates the source areas of the Resettlement migration.

A second cause contributing to the population growth of Trepassey during this same time period was the building of the LORAN C Station at Cape Race. As I indicated in a footnote in the last chapter LORAN C stands for LOng RAnge Navigation, the C indicating the specific type of system (A and B systems are apparantly now obsolete). It is a navigational system that can be utilized by

[15] This Resettlement Program ran from April 1, 1965 to March 24, 1972. It differed from the Centralization Program in three respects; it was jointly funded by the federal and provincial governments, the money available to resettling families was increased, and resettlement had to be to an approved receiving community which was designated as such due to available social services and employment opportunities. The impact of the Resettlement Program is discussed in greater detail in the following chapter.


RESETTLEMENT SOURCE AREAS FOR TREPASSEY
N
GRIQUET
BEAR COVE
HAMPDEN
CHANGE ISLAND
NEWFOUNDLAND
WESTERN COVE
TERRENCEVILLE
LITTLE BAY
CORBIN
POINT MAY
REDS ISLAND
COLINET
MOUNT CARMEL
MITCHELL'S BROOK
O'DONNELL'S
FERRYLAND
STUDY AREA
TREPASSEY
ST. VINCENT'S
ST. SHOTT'S
PORTUGAL COVE SOUTH
CAPE RACE
0
50
100 Km
C EVANS

MAP IV

any ship with a LORAN receiver. The LORAN C Station was built and began operation in 1964. The station is under the jurisdiction of the Federal Ministry of Transport. It is locally perceived as a somewhat suspicious installation and there is frequent talk of "spies" or "NATO involvement". In fact, the station is primarily used by fishing vessels, although naval vessels do use the facilities as well, and it is in no way associated with any early warning defence systems (verbal communication from a M.O.T. representative, 1987).

Due to the combination of resettlement and the building of the LORAN C Station, by the late 1960's there was a considerable influx of new residents to Trepassey and with their arrival a major housing problem developed.

In 1967 yet another major event occured, the introduction of municipal government into Trepassey. There are two major reasons given for the Trepassey residents decision to incorporate. First there was the example of some of the smaller surrounding communities -- St. Shotts, Daniel's Point and Portugal Cove South -- which had already formed some type of municipal government and as a result had received government money for local projects as part of Canada's 1967 Centennial Celebrations (Nemec 1972; see also Szala 1978). Trepassey, on the other hand, had received nothing. Secondly, it is reported (Hawco 1979) that the final impetus was in reaction to the massive inflow of new residents resulting from the resettlement programs, exacerbated by the opening of the LORAN C station in Cape Race and the subsequent arrival of its employees, all of whom had to be housed, precipitating a rash of building which was under no formal controls.

The parish priest, Father Mullowney, attempted to organize the community toward initiating local government and to that end held a series of closed meetings with various of the more influential residents of the community (personal communication from several local informants) but seemingly to no avail. While many still believe that "The Father" was the guiding power responsible for the ultimate success of the venture, in fact his failed attempt was turned about to positive result when one of the local private businessmen undertook the organizing (personal communication from several local informants who were involved during the process). A Local Improvement District categorization came into being on September 18, 1967. Local Improvement Districts "...have a board of trustees composed of between 3 and 7 provincially-appointed members. A chairman, who exercises the powers and carries out the duties of a mayor, is appointed by the province from among the members of the board" (Boswell 1977:3). While the members of the Trepassey L.I.D. board were ostensibly appointed by the Lieutenant Governor of Newfoundland, in practice they were chosen on the advice of the parish priest (Community Voluntary Organizations 1976).[16]

The seven member body, while all locals, were representative of all geographical locations within the community. With this formal municipal organization the boundaries of Trepassey expanded to include the Lower Coast, Trepassey Centre, Shoal Point (now called Low Point), Daniel's Point and the Northwest River area (where the Fish Plant is located).[17]

[16] "Community Voluntary Organizations" is a locally written document and will hereafter be referred to as CVO.

[17] In anticipation of this boundary change all population figures and statistics used in this thesis have been ammended to include the entire expanded area.

Shortly after the Local Improvement District was formed it was decided to incorporate as a town. The reasoning was that the L.I.D. had already brought with it the obligation to pay municipal taxes and as the continuation of the newly instituted taxes would not be worse with incorporation, it was decided that a Town Council that would be elected was preferable to the appointment of the L.I.D. Board. Also, the people felt that a Town Council was more dignified (CVO 1976). The incorporation of Trepassey as a town meant that it would be

> governed under the provisions of the Local Government Act. The number of councillors [would be] determined by the Department of Municipal Affairs and range[d] between 5 and 10. The mayor [was] normally selected by council from among their number, although an amendment to the Act in 1973 provided for the separate election of a mayor. The term of office [was] four years (Boswell 1977:3).

On October 14, 1969, Trepassey was incorporated as a town and the first general election took place on November 12 of that year. Fifteen candidates were nominated, the seven receiving the most votes elected. The council then voted among themselves to determine the positions of Mayor and Deputy Mayor. All seven council members were locals, and the new council was best appreciated for gaining improved television reception through a successful application for the installation of a transmitter; up-grading of the main road; a successful guaranteed application for the purchase of fire-fighting equipment; the arrival and subsequent residence of a doctor and his wife; and the promise of a water and sewerage system -- a promise which took many years to fulfill.

They were least appreciated for taxation; animal control regulations (being ignored for the most part even now); problems with garbage collection; the necessity of house construction permits and a "high-handed" manner. On November

12, 1970, after a year in office, the Mayor resigned his position (though he stayed on as a councillor) and a new Mayor was elected from among the existing councillors. This was the first in a long line of such council reshufflings.

The newly constituted Town Council was faced with both internal and external pressures. As Boswell (1977:9) has stated,

> Newfoundland's municipalities are the most tightly controlled local governments in Canada. For instance, under the provisions of *The Local Government Act*, the salaries of municipal clerks and managers must be approved by the Department of Municipal Affairs and Housing. Similarly, municipal budgets must generally be approved by the department, and although *The Local Government Act* gives the municipalities powers similar to those in other provinces, regulations issued by them must receive departmental approval before they become legally effective.

Because housing was a pressing need at that time it is not surprising that other residents of the community wanted input in the decision-making process regarding this issue. On May 21, 1970, the Trepassey Citizen's Committee was formed whose basic function was to work "in conjunction with the Town Council in obtaining needed facilities for the Town" (Nemec 1972:189). The Committee differed from the Council in two important respects. First, it was a regional body which had representatives from each of the constituents of the Catholic Parish -- Trepassey, Daniel's Point, St. Shotts, Biscay Bay and Portugal Cove South. Second, both the chairman and vice-chairman were recent migrants who were employed in management positions at the Fish Plant.

Still the problem of new housing transcended the authority of the Town Council and the Citizen's Committee, and a further Committee, this time a Housing Committee, was formed at a joint meeting of the Council and the

Citizen's Committee (renamed the Action for Trepassey Area Committee). The chairman of the A.T.A.C. was selected to chair the new Housing Committee and in conjunction with the other Committee members, the Parish Priest, the new Pentecostal Minister[18] as well as input from the manager of the Fish Plant and the Town Council, a joint brief was submitted to the Provincial Government. The joint effort was rewarded with the announcement on March 10, 1971, that the government would initiate a housing development program and also that a water and sewerage system for the town would be installed in 1972. The latter promise did not include the whole of the newly-bounded town but it was a start.

There were actually two building projects which took place in roughly the same area of town but they were socially very distant. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation built a large number of small, shell, rental units to be used by the incoming plantworkers -- Fishery Houses. At the same time the Ministry of Transport built a group of large modern houses -- D.O.T. Houses or The Hill -- primarily for the use of the LORAN C employees but also available to be rented to various other government employees. Each housing group formed a separate geographical unit adding to the number of other such concentrations bearing similarly suitable local names.

Because of the increasing migrant population and the resulting combination of cultural diversity and housing crisis, there was an increasing discord within the community. According to several informants it was not coincidental that an

[18] The introduction of the Pentecostal Church into Trepassey is discussed in the following section of this chapter.

R.C.M.P. detachment was posted in Trepassey in August 1967. Clearly the period of resettlement was a traumatic and eventful one for Trepassey residents.

3.4. The Pentecostal Church

While the last section included events from the 1960's which spilled over into the early 1970's, this section discusses events which began in 1968 – the introduction of the Pentecostal Church, the first, and indeed only, non-Catholic religion to be formally organized in Trepassey.

According to Rice (1973) the Pentecostal Movement has a short history in Newfoundland, beginning with the arrival of Alice Belle Garrigus (a teacher from Hartford Connecticut) and two co-workers, to St. John's on December 1, 1910. The first Pentecostal church, Bethseda Mission, was opened in St. John's at Easter in 1911, and the first major move outside of the St. John's area was to Corner Brook (then called Humbermouth) in 1925. The expansion to Corner Brook proved to be advantageous for the Pentecostal Movement because the paper mill situated there was an employment pull to people from all over the island who were then in a position to be exposed to this new faith.

In 1928 "The Gospel Messenger", the first of several missionary boats, began its proselytizing travels, primarily in Notre Dame Bay, along the Great Northern Peninsula and up the Labrador Coast. While in 1930 only five Pentecostal Assemblies had opened in the province, a major period of growth followed soon after: 51 in 1940, 72 in 1950, 98 in 1960, 125 in 1972 (Rice 1973) and 154 in 1986

(personal communication from the office of the Pentecostal Assemblies of Newfoundland 1986). During the early 1970's it was the districts of Green Bay, Grand Falls and the city of St. John's where the strongest Pentecostal support was found.

The introduction of the Pentecostal Church into Trepassey occured in 1968 with the arrival of several families from White Bay during the government sponsored resettlement program. The relocation of these families, and the others who soon followed from the same area, was actively encouraged by both the government and Fishery Products Limited because of a labour shortage in Trepassey's Fish Plant. Before the unionization of plantworkers, the wages offered were seemingly insufficient to entice enough full-time workers from among those people who were already resident in the area to operate the new Fish Plant at anything near capacity; potential employees were unwilling entirely to give up their income from hunting, gathering, animal husbandry and the inshore fishery, and management could not operate the new Plant seasonally as they had the old Plant. Along with the Fish Plant and increasing population, additional business and employment opportunities opened up with larger demands being made on retail and social services. In 1973 Nemec writes that

> a variety of economic alternatives, including wage labour alternatives, now exist in the immediate area. Consequently, the plant has to compete for wage laborers with private concerns, as well as with the traditional orientation towards subsistence production, including the inshore fishery and unemployment benefits derived from it (21).

Drawing labour from isolated, and less economically viable areas, was deemed the appropriate answer to the labour shortage. The cultural and religious differences of the sponsored rural migrants was not an issue considered to be important by

the resettlement organizers or the employing industries.

The first group of Pentecostals to take-up residence in Trepassey held their church services in their homes. The first Pentecostal minister arrived in 1969 and a Pentecostal Church was built soon after, officially opening on May 10, 1970 (Pennell 1979). The congregation of the new church included ten families with fifty-eight children enrolled in the Sunday School program (Rice 1973). At that time (and the situation remains unchanged today) the next closest Pentecostal Church was in St. John's, and the closest non-Catholic Church of any denomination was at least a two hour car ride away. While some of the new families did not settle permanently in Trepassey, by 1979 the congregation had continued to flourish and included twenty adults and sixty-two children (Pennell 1979).

The introduction of any large group of migrants into an area which has a long history of cultural homogeneity is bound to present difficulties. In Trepassey these difficulties were exacerbated by the concommitant introduction of a new religion and all the characteristic peculiarities associated with a different form of worship and life-style practices, which in turn, forced the new group into a highly visible position. For Trepassey locals, Catholicism was an integral part of their existence, particularly when it was joined to the forceful personality and all-pervasive role of the parish priest. It was inevitable that differences would arise and that some would impact (often negatively) on the ability of the new migrants to integrate into the community. Incidents occured which now may seem amusing but at the time created uncomfortable situations.

A few examples, provided by non-Pentecostal informants, will illustrate this last point. After the Pentecostal Church was built the members of the assembly were filled with evangelical zeal. They decided to hold a testimony meeting at which time each member of the congregation would tell the story of their personal experience of salvation. They rigged up an outside public address system to broadcast their testimonies to the community. The reaction of the Trepassey locals was not wholesale conversion to the new faith but rather the enjoyment of a new entertainment. Trucks were driven down the main street towards the church, parked, and groups of young people (along with a few of the curious old) sat in the back of their trucks visiting, drinking beer and passing appropriate (or inappropriate) comments on the succession of testimonies being broadcast for their benefit.

Another time the Penecostal Assembly held a baptismal service out of doors. Again they attracted a crowd of curious onlookers who, while respectful of the service, saw it as further proof of the strangeness of the new residents. There is a recent addition to this last story. One of the current migrant teachers took his class to the Dike (the spit of land joining the Lower Coast to the rest of Trepassey) one day and while there asked if they ever swam at the beach. They responded "we used to be able to swim here until those 'Hillyhoppers' moved in and polluted it".

Beyond these more colourful examples of exotic behaviour patterns were other simpler, yet still striking, differences which accentuated the strangeness of the Pentecostals. Pentecostals are not joiners of political or social organizations.

The fact that the first minister was involved with the Housing Committee of the early 1970's is interesting because as a rule "Holiness-Pentecostals perceive politics as being outside their control [believing] almost all government officials are dishonest, and political change is beyond the influence of any one citizen or even groups of people" (Abell 1982:152). I am not aware of any other instance when the Pentecostal Minister or congregation were actively involved in Trepassey politics. Indeed, many of the activities which are an integral part of Southern Shore community life are not perceived as acceptable by Pentecostals. For example, their religion forbids drinking and gambling: major focuses of Trepassey social life are the two "Clubs" and regular church sponsored bingo games.

3.5. The Father

As will be apparent from the material presented so far, a central figure during most of the period of Trepassey's transition from isolated outport to modern town was the Reverend Frank Mullowney, still referred to as "The Father". Father Mullowney has been described as a dedicated, aggressive, dictatorial and charismatic man (personal communication from various informants). He was much beloved, or at least respected, by his parishoners, and his reputation spread well beyond the boundaries of the parish. Many sources reported to me that outside the parish he was called "The Tyrant of Trepassey", a title he earned for his outspokedness, energy and desire to get things done -- his way.

When Father Mullowney arrived in Trepassey the population was approxi-

mately 500, all of whom were Catholic. In 1948 the community was semi-isolated (accessible by a poorly maintained unpaved road or by sea), had few social services (schools were present but they were poorly equipped and of the one-room, multiple-class variety) and the majority of working adults made their living as inshore fishermen and subsistence producers (there were also a few small local entrepreneurs who were mostly store owners or small-scale merchants, and teachers). This picture of Trepassey differs considerably from the town today, as described in Chapter II, and most of the improvements and expansions are attributed (by many residents) solely to the industry of Father Mullowney or, at the very least, his influence and involvement is acknowledged as being contributory to the majority of changes. A Trepassey resident is quoted by Hawco (1979:117) as saying,

> During the 1940's and the 1950's the priest was the kingpin here in Trepassey. He ran the whole show in the parish and in the town, although the merchants and the teachers had some influence. There was a local roads board, but apart from decisions about the roads, the priest spotted the problems, took the initiative and made the decisions.

Father Mullowney himself held that the merchants did not have a greater influence over the people "...because their involvement with the people was only during the fishing season, from June to August" (Hawco 1979:241). Hawco goes on to explain that "...the teachers were employed by Father Maloney [Mullowney] and their influence would have usually been in support of any stand taken by him" (1979:241).

Father Mullowney's influence was felt in all facets of community life; indeed some residents have said that even "...the policeman's decisions often involved

the priest's advice" (Hawco 1979:117). Whether or not it is true that he was in fact the driving force behind the community's decisions and development, the important point is a great many of the community residents believe it to be true. I was told that "The Father" built the two present schools (Holy Redeemer Elementary and Stella Maris High School), the new church, the sports field, added a gym to the high school, built the first Fish Plant and the modern Fish Plant, got the town's fire truck and generally bettered the community.

During much of his tenure, but particularly in the early years, it is said that few decisions were made without first checking with The Father. For some parishioners this was even said to include the naming of a baby, choosing the colour to paint a house or whether or not to build a new boat. While this appearance of total control was eventually much diminished in fact, his advice was usually sought, or it was forthcoming on its own, until he left the community. Because of the absence of any community or parish council, the charismatic personality of The Father left his authority virtually unchallenged.

When he arrived, Father Mullowney was the head of the local education system, however later, "although the priest is still morally responsible for the religious education of the students in his parish, he now has no authority in schools, and is no longer responsible for education" (Hawco 1979:136). Yet for Father Mullowney, after these changes came about he retained an influential position regarding local education through active participation on the Ferryland School Board. Father Mullowney was always particularly devoted to children and carried on a tradition of daily contact with "his schools" right up until he left the

community. Each day he would arrive at the schools and all the children and teachers would become aware of his presence; a ripple effect would occur as the children waited impatiently for him to enter their rooms (personal communication). This same scenario was repeated on each of his frequent visits to the community after his retirement.

As a general rule community members felt they owed respect to The Father because of his position, all the changes he had brought about and because "he was The Father, whoever else he was besides" (personal communication). Hawco (1979:243) relates an incident involving the 1972 provincial election whereby,

> the defeat of the incumbent was, in no small measure, attributed by some respondents to his having slighted the priest by not visiting him during a visit to Trepassey. 'Even those who didn't like the priest wouldn't stand for that' (243).

Beyond his religious, educational and political influence, Father Mullowney held considerable sway in the social milieu as well. I was told of an occasion when he arrived unexpectedly at the door of a parishioner at dinner time (apparently something he did with some regularity) and upon entering the house asked the woman what was for dinner. She replied, "rabbit stew", to which he responded that he didn't like rabbit. The woman then sent her son out back to "kill a chicken for The Father". His influence was felt socially in other ways as well. For instance, when the Trepassey chapter of the Lions Club formed Father Mullowney was automatically made an honorary member.

A whole generation of children grew into adults under his influence. After he retired he was frequently called back to co-officiate at weddings, baptisms, funerals and graduations because "it just wouldn't be right if The Father wasn't

there" (personal communication).

As with many charismatic people, an entire mystique built up to surround Father Mullowney and his memory. Stories or myths depicting his supernatural powers are still told which reaffirm both his power and his right to authority, albeit now *in abstentia* -- Father Mullowney died in March 1984. One story tells of a fire years ago which burned down the old fish plant and threatened to consume some of the homes. Father Mullowney, it is said, went to the fire and spread his prayer beads on the ground before it and said the fire would not pass them. It didn't. A second tale, and one of recent vintage, involves The Father's own funeral. When Father Mullowney died there were funeral services for him in St. John's and Bay Bulls (his natal community). His body was also brought to Trepassey to be "waked" at which time two further funeral masses were celebrated, one for the adults in the evening and one for the children during the morning. During the children's time in the church it snowed, the first real snow storm in three years. At the end of the service the church doors were opened revealing the snow storm and the principals announced from the church that the schools would have to be closed for the day. Father Mullowney had always closed the schools at any sign of bad weather so the children and the adults saw this storm as a sign from Father Mullowney that he was pleased to be in Trepassey for his wake and that the community was right to have brought him there even though his family had been against it. They said, "The Father did that. He wasn't going to be forgotten".

In most Catholic outports, Trepassey included, the wholesale reliance on the priest in all matters spiritual, political, educational, social and material "...has largely given way to dependence on a host of outside agencies and structures as these have become part of the fabric of contemporary outport life" (Hawco 1979:35). In Trepassey the transition was somewhat delayed, only becoming truly apparent during the latter part of the 1970's. The groundwork for change, however, was laid much earlier.

In the early 1960's the Second Vatican Council, initiated by Pope John XXIII, had as its purpose "...to update the Catholic Church so as to enable it to more effectively carry out its mission of making the Christain message relevant and meaningful for mankind in the Twentieth Century" (Hawco 1979:104). The outcome of the Second Vatican Council were some major changes in church policy; however, while these changes were accepted in the upper levels of the church hierarchy there were two major problems in having them accepted and implemented at the practical, grass-roots level -- the local parish. First, some individual priests disagreed with part or all of the policy changes and did not, therefore, wish to implement them. Second, there was no internal, bureaucratic structure in place to ensure that all recommended changes were actually put into practice. Hawco (1979) found that,

> for many, the various proposed innovations in structure and function loomed as a threat to the security of the status-quo, especially as regards greater democratic participation by parishioners.. Under the old system prior to the Second Vatican Council, the priest was protected by the traditionally accepted autocratic procedures in effect in all parishes. There was no fear of recrimination, challenge or even evaluation because he was the ultimate authority in his parish in religious matters, and often exercised authority in many secular areas. The only parish

> structures were those under his direction and authority, and the only diocesean authority to whom he was responsible was the Bishop (101-102).

One of the recommendations of the Second Vatican Council was to set up Parish Councils which would join in the decision-making process with the priest. During the late 1970's when Hawco was undertaking research in Trepassey, no such council existed. He asked Father Mullowney to speak to the issue of a parish council and reports the following response.

> I don't see the point of having a parish council just for the sake of saying there is a council. All parishes have always had the nucleus of a parish council inasmuch as there has always been a core of good and interested workers (1979:230).

Hawco points out, however, that in fact a parish council had been set up in Trepassey around 1975, but it had been organized "...in his [Father Mullowney's] own way. When he realized the Council was disagreeing with his decisions, he refused to call meetings" (1979:242).

The failure of the council came at a critical point in Trepassey's development and when looked at in context it is not surprising that the council did fail. The early to mid 1970's was a time of awakening and upheaval for Trepassey residents. The year-round Fish Plant was in full operation giving economic stability to many who had previously only known the uncertainty of the inshore fishery. There had been a large-scale inmigration of "outsiders" who introduced new ideas and expectations into the community. Trepassey locals were coming into daily contact with workmates or officials who were not Catholic and had "...no reason to hold allegience to the priest" (Hawco 1979:160).

Numerous clubs and associations were being organized to assist community

members with their search for a new identity in the face of so much change, and yet numbered within the memberships of these clubs were representatives of the new, non-Catholic residents who further cemented the changes.[19] Further, years of improved school facilities had raised the average education levels of most residents and increased their expectations and abilities to make decisions if the opportunities were available. By that time, too, residents had several years experience of being responsible for their own municipal government.

Couple all this to the lessening of the mystique of the role of the parish priest brought on by the policy changes of the Catholic Church which allowed for the open discussion of matters which in the past were decided by the priest alone, and it is no wonder that the members of the Trepassey Parish Council attempted to test their wings. It is even less remarkable that a man like Father Mullowney would put an end to lay infringements on parish matters which he saw as within his jurisdiction. It is clear that Father Mullowney was fighting a rear-guard action against irreversible changes that had already taken place in his parish.

While Father Mullowney was able to maintain much of his authority to the end of his tenure, he did so by virtue of his forceful personality and long history of residence in the community, not solely through his role of parish priest which was no longer all-powerful. When Father Mullowney retired in 1979 it heralded the end of an era for Trepassey residents.

> By 1979, a distinction can clearly be made between the authority of the priest and the degree of his influence. In community issues, the institutional role of the parish priest offers him no authority, although he may

[19] These clubs and organizations are the specific focus of Chapter V.

> have some personal influence with individuals who are part of the decision-making process (Hawco 1979:139).

Trepassey's new parish priest is very different from Father Mullowney. One resident summed up the major difference by explaining that Father Mullowney came from an outport to minister to an outport and "a rural priest is part of everything" while the new priest came from a city to minister to an outport and "a city priest is for religion", he won't take authority away from lay people, particularly in secular matters. Simply, the new priest is a priest and not a community leader and as a result the leadership vacuum left by Father Mullowney is slowly being filled by community residents. The fact that the vacuum is of recent vintage can, in part, explain why a mixture of locals and migrants are filling it. There was no well established tradition of leadership within the community, such roles only being assumed by residents in the past two decades with the advent of a Town Council and a myriad of clubs. Both migrants and locals began to test their leadership wings in concert and the pattern for joint involvement from each group has continued.

3.6. The 1980's

Currently eighty per cent of Trepassey residents are Catholic and twenty per cent are Protestant. While the only non-Catholic incomers discussed so far are the Pentecostals, Anglicans (discussed below in chapter 6) account for a majority of the Protestant population. My concentration on the Pentecostals in this chapter is because they were, and are, so visible and remain the only non-

Catholics to set up their own local church.

In the 1980's the Fish Plant is no longer short of labour; there is now a waiting list for employment. Two recent trawlermen's strikes, in 1974 and 1984, had a profound effect on Trepassey residents since the community revolves around the Fish Plant. Local unemployment figures parallel those of the Provincial average, hitting the older teens and young adults the hardest. The adage is still true -- "How goes the fishery, so goes the town". There is strife between the traditional inshoremen, mid-shore longliners and the dragger fleet. There is competition for both jobs and resource access. Trepassey, the isolated outport, has become Trepassey, a town in the 1980's.

CHAPTER IV

THE POPULATION COMPOSITION AND OCCUPATIONAL STRUCTURE OF TREPASSEY: 1945 TO 1985

1. INTRODUCTION

Community residents may be divided into three categories: native inhabitants (those who were born and raised in their present community), rural migrants into the community, and urban migrants into the community. The first category is self-explanatory. For Newfoundland, the second is composed of two sub-groups: rural migrants who have moved for a variety of reasons on their own initiative, and rural migrants who have moved as a part of the government-sponsored resettlement programs. The third source, urban migrants, have usually moved in response to career demands -- whether they be private business opportunities or social service positions -- thus moving to some economic purpose, on their own initiative.

In this chapter I expand on some of the factors responsible for the presence of the various population segments which, when taken in concert, make up the current population of Trepassey. In addition, I trace the development of Trepassey's economic/occupational structure over the past forty years -- 1945 to 1985 -- considering the occupational and placement patterns of all three

population source categories.

I have chosen to trace the growth and development of population and occupation in Trepassey over the past forty year period for three reasons. First, it allows for the inclusion of pre-Confederation data -- using 1946 as a base year -- thus beginning at a point in time before any modern economic development took place. Second, it allows for the isolation of the surnames of long-term, native inhabitant families resident in the community before the major twentieth century population shifts began in Newfoundland. Third, this period includes all the recent important events, as described in the previous chapter, which have had a major impact on the growth and development of the community.

A primary source of data for this chapter is the Elector/Voter Lists for Trepassey (I include Daniel's Point and Shoal Point which joined Trepassey when the community incorporated in 1969) which include the years: 1946, 1955, 1962, 1966, 1971, 1979 and 1985. These lists not only name all of the adult population of voting age, they also state the occupation for each person. They are thus an invaluable source of information for tracing population growth through in-migration by the appearance of new surnames, also for tracing the development of new occupations and for comparing the occupational positions held by old and new residents. However there are several points which must be acknowledged when utilizing data of this type.

While it is likely that a percentage of the working population is below voting age and therefore will not appear in the given statistics, it is probable that the majority of this group (if not the entirety) will be employed at the lower end of

the occupational hierarchy at the beginning of their careers and therefore offer no compromise to the over-all occupational distribution. Also, it is impossible in most cases to distinguish between new migrants and old residents who have the same surname. This limitation includes women who marry into the community and male migrants who marry local women, in addition to entire families moving in with already locally represented surnames. The conclusion I draw from this is that the presented data on new residents will be an approximation only, and is likely to be an under-representation of their actual number. It is my contention, however, that the restrictions of the data pale beside the abundant information which they contain.

To organize the occupational data into a usable format I have employed a modified version of the occupational classification system as presented by Goldthorpe (1969) and Hall and Jones (1950). My system divides occupations into three categories as well as acknowledging various strata within a given category. The boundaries are based on a combination of economic earnings, degree of education required, degree of responsibility, and degree of job security. I feel it is prudent to emphasize that this is an economic/occupational categorization system and makes no pretense of being a system of social classification. My categorization system is presented in the table below.

TABLE I

Economic/Occupation Categorization System

I: Professional

1) top professionals, managers and entrepreneurs
   - examples: doctor, clergy, fish plant manager and large businessman
2) intermediate professionals, managers and entrepreneurs
   - examples: teacher, RCMP, production manager and medium businessman
3) lower professionals, managers and entrepreneurs
   - examples: lab technician, assistant production manager and small proprietor

II: Skilled

4) supervisory, inspectional, minor officials, service employees and self-employed
   - examples: foreman, wildlife officer, secretary and bus driver/owner
5) skilled manual workers
   - examples: carpenters, mechanics

III: Labourer

6) semi-skilled manual workers
   - examples: brick layer, machine operator
7) unskilled manual workers
   - examples: plantworker, labourer, fisherman

2. MIGRATION THROUGH SPONTANEOUS RESPONSE TO INDIVIDUAL SITUATIONS

Migration between Newfoundland's outports, or between an outport and a town or urban centre, is not a recent phenomenon but a strategy long employed

by rural Newfoundlanders. Settlement spread around Newfoundland's 6000 mile coastline, as well as the coast of Labrador, through the necessary implementation of this strategy. As a settlement would approach its supportable population maximum, young men seeking space for their own homes and fishing stages would relocate themselves to less-populated coves within their natal harbour if possible, or to an entirely new harbour if necessary and practical. They would then marry, if they had not yet done so, raise families, and the cycle would continue as the new settlements matured.

Beyond this "original settlement" practice, rural migration took place for a variety of other reasons as well. Some of the more common reasons include the desire for improved economic opportunities; improved access to social services -- medical and educational needs being foremost; a desire to lessen isolation and thereby improve communication networks; and response to domestic pulls.

Beginning in the early to mid twentieth century numerous wage-labour opportunities began to open up for the rural population. As a result of industrial expansion mines opened, and the pulp and paper industry provided work in both the woods and the mills, and hydro-electrical projects began. There were construction jobs for American Armed Service bases, and later for the Department of Highways fulfilling the Confederation promise for improved island-wide transportation networks. The fisheries began to modernize and on the production side plantworkers were needed while on the procurement side, trawlermen were required. While the majority of these jobs were for unskilled or semi-skilled manual labour, a vast array of complementary skilled, technical or trade

positions also emerged. These skilled positions included such occupations as carpenter, plumber, electrician, machinist and various engineers. As well, foremen, supervisors and administrative personnel were required.

When Britan speaks of rural migration in Newfoundland as "...a part of a stable traditional adaptation and as a response to new modernizing change" (1972:5) he is referring primarily to the unskilled, fisherman/labourer population. The style of migration which they employed was a slow move rather than an abrupt move. In order to test the viability of a new location, a man would frequently commute for a lengthy period of time. With his family remaining in their home community, he would go away to work, coming home on weekends if possible or holidays if he were too far away for more frequent returns. In this manner, while new communities were tested the possibility of remaining in the home community was retained without a major upset to the family involved.

Those people who were in search of improved social services fell generally into two categories: the young family wanting an acceptable standard of education for their children, and the elderly in need of frequent medical attention. It was common for the young family to employ a somewhat shortened version of the slow move pattern. In this case, the presence of the desired social service would dictate in which community the husband/father would test his economic opportunities. The choice of trial communities were usually made through information gleaned from kin and friendship networks, and the presence of such network ties were a powerful draw. The presence of relatives was the major pull for migration by the elderly (Britan 1972).

Escape from isolation has been a popular reason given by individuals or families who left their small natal communities. Isolation was most profoundly felt by young adults who had difficulty finding suitable marriage partners, or longed for a life separate from the uncertain seasonal round of the inshore fishery. That options were few, life-style rarely above a subsistence level and diversions scarce, were considered ample reason by many to leave. Parzival Copes, an analyst for the resettlement programs, utilized this "curse of isolation" syndrome as a partial justification for the implementation of the programs. He stated that "the wish of outporters to escape this curse was made clear by a steady exodus from the outports in pre-resettlement days" (Copes 1972:127).

Migration due to domestic pull can take various forms. An obvious example is a marriage partner who moves to the community of his or her spouse. While this sort of move is usually made by a wife, it is not a rarity for the husband to move if economic opportunities are better in the wife's community. Other forms of migration in response to domestic pull include relatives -- such as siblings, nieces or nephews and aged parent(s) -- moving to live with established kin.

It is difficult to estimate how many rural people have migrated on their own initiative. A documented trend towards some concentration of population before the Second World War is evident (see for example Copes 1972; and Wadel 1969). However, the available statistics only indicate the scope of the process through the declining number of inhabited communities at given points in time. Information is not available on the number of people who moved if their natal community continued to be occupied by others. During 1945 to 1953, the years which

span the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the first government sponsored resettlement program, forty-six communities were completely abandoned (Copes 1972:101), and Wadel states that "...continuously throughout the past fifty years, a large number of small communities had resettled on their own account: the government thus did not initiate the centralization process" (1969:33).

Migration from an urban centre to a rural community is usually the product of an economic or career decision. On average, the general socio-economic status of urban-based migrants is higher than that of their rural counterparts. They are recruited to fill responsible positions which the majority of the local population cannot fill because of their lack of the necessary skills, training or contacts. Some of the moves are made on a temporary contract basis -- for instance the R.C.M.P., teachers, or even the bank manager -- and rural experience is used as a stepping-stone toward promotion or the expectation of transfers back to an urban area. Yet for others, their move to a rural community is a permanent one.

To determine the magnitude of in-migration to Trepassey and the occupational distribution for the period which spans the end of the Second World War to the beginning of the first government-sponsored population centralization program, I have analysed the data contained in the 1946 and 1955 Voter Lists for Trepassey. Using 1946 as the base year, I have designated the thirty-nine surnames which appeared then as representing Trepassey's "local" residents. New names which appear after this date are considered to be "migrants". In 1955 there were thirteen new surnames for a total of twenty-eight migrants. When I

speak of local or migrant it is understood that only the adult population is taken into account. In addition, the majority of my comments will be in reference to those adults who are active within the work force. In particular, when I utilize the occupation categorization system as outlined at the beginning of this chapter, I will have subtracted those people who are considered outside the labour force -- housewives, pensioners, students, etc.

It is to be expected that both migrants and locals will be represented in each of the three occupational categories proportional to the percentage of the working population which they comprise. This, however, was not the case in Trepassey in 1955. From a total working population of 259 adults, 94.5 per cent were locals, while 5.5 per cent were migrants. In the Professional category the local population was markedly under-represented and the migrant population was proportionatly over-represented, while in both the Skilled and Labourer categories the local population are very slightly over-represented with the migrant population obviously only slightly under-represented. Table II below illustrates the percentage of locals and migrants represented in each occupational category.

TABLE II

Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955				
Population	Professional	Skilled	Labourer	Total
Locals	74%	96%	97%	94.5%
Migrants	26%	4%	3%	5.5%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

In absolute terms the local population hold the majority of all occupation positions but, as Tables III and IV illustrate, Skilled and Professional persons

only represent 17 per cent of the local population, while 50 per cent of the migrant population are represented in the of Skilled and Professional categories.

TABLE III

Occupation Distribution for Trepassey Locals, 1955	
Occupation	Population
Professional	7%
Skilled	10%
Labourer	83%
Total	100%

TABLE IV

Occupation Distribution for Trepassey Migrants, 1955	
Occupation	Population
Professional	43%
Skilled	7%
Labourer	50%
Total	100%

The occupational distribution of the migrant population suggests evidence of a split between urban and rural source areas of migration. The occupations of the Professional migrants are all within the service bureaucracies which demand a period of studying or training at an institution of higher education. It follows, therefore, that these migrants would have spent a period of time in an urban centre where such facilities are located; St. John's being the most likely location for Newfoundlanders. While it can not be inferred that these migrants were true urbanites -- those born and raised in an urban setting -- at the very least they can be designated as return migrants. In this context "return" does not imply a return to their natal community but simply a return to a rural area. The Profes-

sional local population is split between service bureaucracies and entrepreneurs, the former occupation also indicating the likelihood of return migrant status for many of the locals.

It is less easy to place the source area for the category of Skilled migrants, which in this instance is represented by just one person, who holds the occupation of Game Warden. At the least he would be a modified version of return migrant (as defined above) and any comments beyond that would be pure speculation. There is a contrast between the Skilled migrant and those of the majority of his local counterparts. For the local population employed in Skilled occupations, there is a split between office staff and tradesmen. The former occupations could be simply the product of having a business sector in the community, while the latter occupations could be attributed to a local benefit derived from the construction of the Fish Plant the preceeding year.

Migrants who are Labourers include one fisherman and six labourers. While it seems probable that they represent migration from a rural source there is no concrete evidence available to make the claim with any degree of assurance. However, as their position is not one of authority, and their numbers are few, it is doubtful that they made any pronounced impact on either the economy of Trepassey or its sociocultural structure. Locals who are Labourers include fishermen, labourers and women as domestics. An interesting point here is the number of labourers (seventy-nine) which almost equals the number of fishermen (ninety-two). This offers some support for the idea of a labour-transfer from the inshore fishery to wage employment precipitated through the construction of the Fish

Plant. There is some support, therefore, for the belief that the Fish Plant produced economic opportunities for the local population during its construction phase and first year of operation, and also that it was the probable pull for the six migrant labourers.

3. CENTRALIZATION PROGRAM

The Centralization Program in Newfoundland was provincially sponsored and administered by the Department of Welfare (now called the Department of Social Services) and was in force from January 1, 1954 to March 31, 1965. It was designed to assist in the relocation of persons residing in isolated outports with inferior public services to larger centres. In order to obtain the financial assistance available -- which at the apex of the program amounted to $600 -- an entire community had to certify its willingness to move. While the principal aim of the program was the governmental desire to provide public services as economically as possible to the rural population, (hence the requirement for the removal of entire communities), there were no designated restrictions placed on where the people might resettle (see Wadel 1969; and Copes 1972). As a result, some "...people moved from one marginal community to another, which although more 'central' often had a poorer resource base" (Wadel 1969:33). The major social difference between this government-sponsored relocation program and the earlier form of spontaneous resettlement was the prohibition of return-migration (Britan

1972). According to government released statistics, between 1954 and 1965, 110 communities relocated (Statistics: Federal Provincial Resettlement Program 1975) which included 1,504 households or 7,500 people (Copes 1972).

There are no statistics readily available as to which communities received the resettled population. However, with Trepassey designated as a potential growth area for resettlement, along with the completion of the frozen/filleting Fish Plant by Fishery Products Limited in 1954, it is assumed that Trepassey received some of the relocatees. Data garnered from the Trepassey Voter Lists of 1962 and 1966 support this premise.

Between 1955 and 1962 five new surnames were introduced into the community accounting for thirteen adults, seven of whom had designated occupations. Of these new migrants four were Professionals (including the manager of the Fish Plant), one was Skilled and two were Labourers (plant workers). The indication is a continued urban-based migration along with a small concomitant rural migration, responding to the pull of the Fish Plant.

Between 1962 and 1966, fifteen additional surnames appeared in Trepassey which included thirty-one adults, fifteen of whom were in the labour force. From a total working population of 263 adults, 88.5 per cent were local while 11.5 per cent were migrants (an increase from the 5.5 per cent in 1955). In absolute numbers the local workforce had decreased from 259 in 1955 to 233 in 1966. Because there was no increase in the number of pensioners within the local population to account for the lack of natural increase, and because occupations are given whether or not the person is working, this would appear to be the result of

local out-migration.

The occupational distribution of Trepassey in 1966 indicates that some changes had occured during the preceding years. While in the Professional occupations the local population was still under-represented, the discrepancy had decreased considerably from the situation in 1955. Table V below illustrates the cumulative changes to date in the Professional occupation distribution, showing the diminishing discrepancy between the percentage of the working population for locals and migrants. In all the tables which follow, numbers in parentheses represent percentages of the total population.

TABLE V

Professional Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1966						
Population	1955		1962		1966	
Local	74%	(94.5%)	73%	(92.5%)	80%	(88.5%)
Migrant	26%	(5.5%)	27%	(7.5%)	20%	(11.5%)
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

A position reversal had occured in the Skilled occupations, illustrated by Table VI, with the local population now being slightly under-represented.

TABLE VI

Skilled Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1966						
Population	1955		1962		1966	
Local	96%	(94.5%)	93%	(92.5%)	85%	(88.5%)
Migrant	4%	(5.5%)	7%	(7.5%)	15%	(11.5%)
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

For the Labourers, the locals continued to be slightly over-represented and this trend is demonstrated below in Table VII.

TABLE VII

Labourer Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1966						
Population	1955		1962		1966	
Local	97%	(94.5%)	96%	(92.5%)	92%	(88.5%)
Migrant	3%	(5.5%)	4%	(7.5%)	8%	(11.5%)
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

Once again it is apparent that in absolute terms the local population is predominant in all occupations. However, while Professional and Skilled positions now employed 36 per cent of the local population (up from 17 per cent in 1955), they also employed 57 per cent of the migrant population (up from 50 per cent in 1955). There are two basic conclusions to draw from this: Trepassey's economic and occupational structure was becoming increasingly complex and specialized; and the migrant population continued to have an urban bias.

In 1966 the Professional migrant population was composed of four public servants, three industrial managers and one entrepreneur. The Professional local population comprised eighteen public servants, three industrial managers and twelve entrepreneurs. The primary change in the Professional category then, was the increased number of local public servants -- sixteen teachers making up the bulk of this group -- and an expansion within the business sector of the community. The large number of local teachers argues for an increased incidence of return migration. In addition, the expansion of the business sector speaks for a growing economy.

The Skilled migrant population included two inspection officials, one clerk and six tradesmen. The Skilled local population included fifteen inspection

officials[20] and clerks, five plant foremen and thirty tradesmen. The increased number of clerks and officials may be indicative of the increasing bureaucratization of Trepassey in both its public and its private sectors. The large number of tradesmen, and the appearance of foremen, was no doubt a result of the opening of the new modern Fish Plant in 1964.

The Labourer migrants numbered five fishermen, four plant workers, three labourers and one domestic. The presence of the fishermen and the fact they marginally outnumbered the plant workers is interesting because it shows that while the pull of the Fish Plant was present it still was not great among the rural migrants. Within the Labourer local population there were twenty-seven fishermen, one hundred labourers, six plant workers, thirteen semi-skilled manual labourers and four domestics. It is difficult to determine what the separation is between plant workers and labourers. It is inconceivable that there be only ten plant workers with the comparatively enormous number of skilled and semi-skilled tradesmen, supervisors, clerks and administrators who were Plant-associated. There are two plausible explanations for the "labourer" designation. The first is that a number of the labourers were connected with the Fish Plant either through the construction phase or simply that they used the term as another way of saying plant worker. Second, because of the seasonal nature of the work, the labourer designation may have seemed more appropriate if workers held other jobs as well during portions of the year. It must be remembered that

[20] The occupation listed as inspection official could mean either minor government officials like fisheries officers, or some sort of quality control position at the Fish Plant. Both would be categorized as Skilled.

the new year-round plant had not been long in operation. Also, it is possible that some men who were residents of the community but "worked away" would be so designated. A final interesting point pertaining to Trepassey's Labourer population of 1966 was that the total number of fishermen stood at thirty-two, a considerable drop from the ninety-three in 1955. This is partial confirmation of a marked move away from the wholesale prosecution of the inshore fishery and it is probable that the Fish Plant is the major source of blame -- or blessing.

A true statement of the impact from the provincially-sponsored Centralization Program on Trepassey is impossible. As a realistic estimate I would say that the majority of the eight Labourer migrant families who arrived during this period would have been candidates, if not actual participants, for the program. There would seem to be little point in making a rural migration at that time without accepting the monetary benefit. However, by such a statement I am making two unfounded assumptions. First, I am assuming that Labourer migrants are, by definition, rural. Second, I am not allowing for the possibility of desired rural moves from communities ineligible for funding -- i.e., where the entire sending community did not agree to relocate. Regardless, the direct impact on Trepassey could not have been great because the majority of the in-migration between 1955 and 1966 was Skilled and Professional (71 per cent of those between 1955 and 1962, and 60 per cent of those between 1962 and 1966) and therefore probably from urban sources. It would seem that the greater portion of migrants during this period were in response to increasing demands for social service workers, most of whom would be public agents, and industrial

administrators. As to Trepassey's Labourers, far more significant was the building of the new Fish Plant and the demonstrated weakening of the inshore fishery, than the minor influx of a few rural migrants.

4. RESETTLEMENT PROGRAM

The Federal-Provincial Newfoundland Fisheries Household Resettlement Program which replaced the provincially-sponsored Centralization Program on April 1, 1965, differed from its predecessor on four essential points. First, there was a shift in emphasis from moves designed to provide services economically, to moves designed to provide fruitful employment opportunities. Second, this new thrust was strengthened with the administration of the program being removed from the Department of Welfare and given to the federal and provincial Department of Fisheries. The administration was later assumed by the Social Planning Division of the Department of Community and Social Development for the provincial side, and the Department of Regional Economic Expansion (DREE) for the federal side. Third, with the program funded jointly between the federal and provincial governments, increased financial incentives were possible. Fourth, in order to receive the available grants, migrants had to move into an approved growth centre. The thrust of the program was thus "...heavily tied in with the modernization of the fishing industry, and [had] to be interpreted as an attempt to canalise movement into the trawler/fresh fish industry which [had] faced a

shortage of labour" (Wadel 1969:34).

During the Centralization Program it was necessary for 100 per cent of the households in a community to agree, by petition, to move in order for any to be eligible for the financial assistance available. The new Resettlement Program reduced this requirement to a 90 per cent agreement, then soon after the program began reduced the required consent still further to 80 per cent. Those communities which met this stipulation were then classified as "designated outports".

Effective on April 1, 1967, a major revision of the program was introduced which provided additional financial incentives and allowed program participation to some households in non-designated outports. The federal government supplied the majority of the supplemental financing, to be used toward the purchase of a serviced building lot in an approved receiving community -- which were "Approved Land Assembly Areas" or designated "Major Fishery Growth Centres" -- where employment opportunities were thought to be good. Lesser amounts were awarded to those who moved to "Approved Resettlement Centres" where employment opportunities were considered favourable. According to Matthews (1970:84) "...a confidential list of 'Categories of Reception Centres Approved By Fisheries Household Resettlement Committee', dated October 15th, 1968, and in use by government officials, listed no less than 9 Categories of Communities".

1) Designated Major Fisheries Growth Centres - 8 communities;

2) Other Portions of Major Fishery Growth Centres - the same communities as

in Category 1;

3) Suitable communities within commuting distance of a Major Fishery Growth Centre - 1 community;

4) Other Fishery Growth Centres - 18 communities;

5) Major Collection Centres - 6 communities;

6) Other Growth Points - 17 communities;

7) Approved Organized Reception Centres - 24 communities;

8) Other Advantageous Locations - 2 communities;

9) Approved Reception Locations - 1 community.

The revised agreement also made provision for "...widows and handicapped or incapacitated persons wishing to be resettled from outlying communities to improved circumstances" (Copes 1972:103). Copes also states that the average assistance per household was $2,295, a major improvement on the $600 maximum of the Centralization Program.

The original Federal-Provincial Resettlement Agreement was for a period of five years. Upon completion, both governments being satisfied with the results, they entered into the Second Newfoundland Resettlement Program which was also to run for five years from April 1, 1970 to March 31, 1975. The second program continued much as the first although it dropped the word "Fisheries" from the title. In addition, along with the eligibility of households in "designated outports", were added other "sending communities" who could then participate in the program as well. A sending community was one in which a substantial

proportion of the inhabitants wished to move, meaning 15 per cent of those in a community in "major isolation" or 20 per cent from a community of "intermediate isolation". Isolation was measured on a ten point scale which measured "...the degree of availability of various services (educational, medical, television, postal, trade centre, telephone and telegraph, and ferry)" (Copes 1972:104). Also, additional "Special Areas" were added as receiving centres composed of groups of adjacent communities with presumed employment potential.

Even though the Second Newfoundland Resettlement Program was to run until March 31, 1975, it quietly collapsed in March of 1972 with the resounding defeat of Joey Smallwood's Liberal government. According to published sources (Statistics: Federal-Provincial Resettlement Program 1975), the overall results of the Federal-Provincial Resettlement Programs were:

1965 - 1970: 119 communities evacuated
1970 - 1975: 29 communities evacuated

1965 - 1975: 312 non-designated communities participated

1965 - 1975: 4,168 households resettled
1965 - 1975: 20,656 persons resettled

According to the data gleaned from the Voter Lists, between 1966 and 1971, sixty-four new surnames appeared in Trepassey for a total of 135 adults, seventy-two of whom were in the work force. In addition to migrations associated with the resettlement program, it is probable that a high degree of spontaneous migration was still taking place concurrently. The latter was probably a result of continued improvement in local social services which were in greater demand

because of the increasing population and industrial expansion in the area. Also, it was during this period that the employees of the LORAN C Station (discussed in previous chapter) were arriving.

For the first time since the 1946 base year the new migrant population was concentrated in the Labourer occupations, and this new concentration holds not only for these most recent migrants but also for the combined migrant population present in Trepassey in 1971. Table VIII illustrates this pattern.

TABLE VIII

Occupation Distribution of Trepasey Migrants, 1955-1971

Occupation	1955	1962	1966	1971
Professional	43%	47%	27%	18%
Skilled	7%	20%	30%	21%
Labourer	50%	33%	43%	61%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

There have been two major developments indicated by the data so far. First, the migrant population has become a visible and significant component of Trepassey. Second, there is a reverse representational disparity within the Professional and Skilled occupations, and the virtual removal of disparity within the Labourer category. In 1971 the migrants are over-represented by 9 per cent in the Professional occupations while the locals are over-represented by 7 per cent in the Skilled occupations. Tables IX, X and XI below illustrate the corresponding occupational distribution patterns to date.

TABLE IX

Professional Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1971				
Population	1955	1962	1966	1971
Local	74% (94.5)	73% (92.5)	80% (88.5)	62% (71)
Migrant	26% (5.5)	27% (7.5)	20% (11.5)	38% (29)
Total	100% (100)	100% (100)	100% (100)	100% (100)

TABLE X

Skilled Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1971				
Population	1955	1962	1966	1971
Local	96% (94.5)	93% (92.5)	85% (88.5)	78% (71)
Migrant	4% (5.5)	7% (7.5)	15% (11.5)	22% (29)
Total	100% (100)	100% (100)	100% (100)	100% (100)

TABLE XI

Labourer Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1971				
Population	1955	1962	1966	1971
Local	97% (94.5)	96% (92.5)	92% (88.5)	70% (71)
Migrant	3% (5.5)	4% (7.5)	8% (11.5)	30% (29)
Total	100% (100)	100% (100)	100% (100)	100% (100)

For the Labourer migrants, the pull of the Fish Plant is clearly evident with 57 per cent plant workers and another 21 per cent semi-skilled manual labourers, 8 per cent labourers and only 10 per cent fishermen,(plus one deck hand and one domestic). The influence of the Fish Plant is less obvious, but still probable, among the Labourer locals. While only 21 per cent are specified as plant workers, 51 per cent are listed as labourers and another 15 per cent fall within the semi-skilled manual labourer category. In support of the discussion on the job-term "labourer" in the previous section, I feel justified in the assumption that a majority of those designated as labourers are in fact plant workers. There were only eleven local fishermen (8 per cent) in 1971 which again may indicate the

continuing decline of the inshore fishery, or at least a lessening of its importance as the single or primary source of income for participants.

As already shown, the local population had an over-representation in the Skilled occupations. These occupations can be roughly placed into one of two strata within the category. The first is tradesmen, occupations primarily associated with the Fish Plant and construction. These jobs are roughly divided representationlly between the locals and the migrants, continuing the trend of the Labourers equal representation of involvement with the Fish Plant. The second category, of clerks, supervisors, and minor officials, are loosely lower management positions of which the locals command a 13 per cent over-representation; the significance of which becomes clear following the discussion of the Professional occupations.

The migrant population is over-represented in the Professional category. These occupations can be placed into three strata. The first, top professionals, has a 13 per cent over-representation by migrants. What is more interesting, however, is that 100 per cent of local top professionals are private businessmen/entrepreneurs, while 100 per cent of migrant top professionals are a combination of social service people and the industrial business managers. The second stratum of Professionals is an intermediate group and shows a 7 per cent over representation by migrants. This is due entirely, once again, to their predominance within the social service sector. There is an exact representational split of intermediate management for the industrial businesses, while again the locals have 100 per cent of the intermediate private business. The third stratum

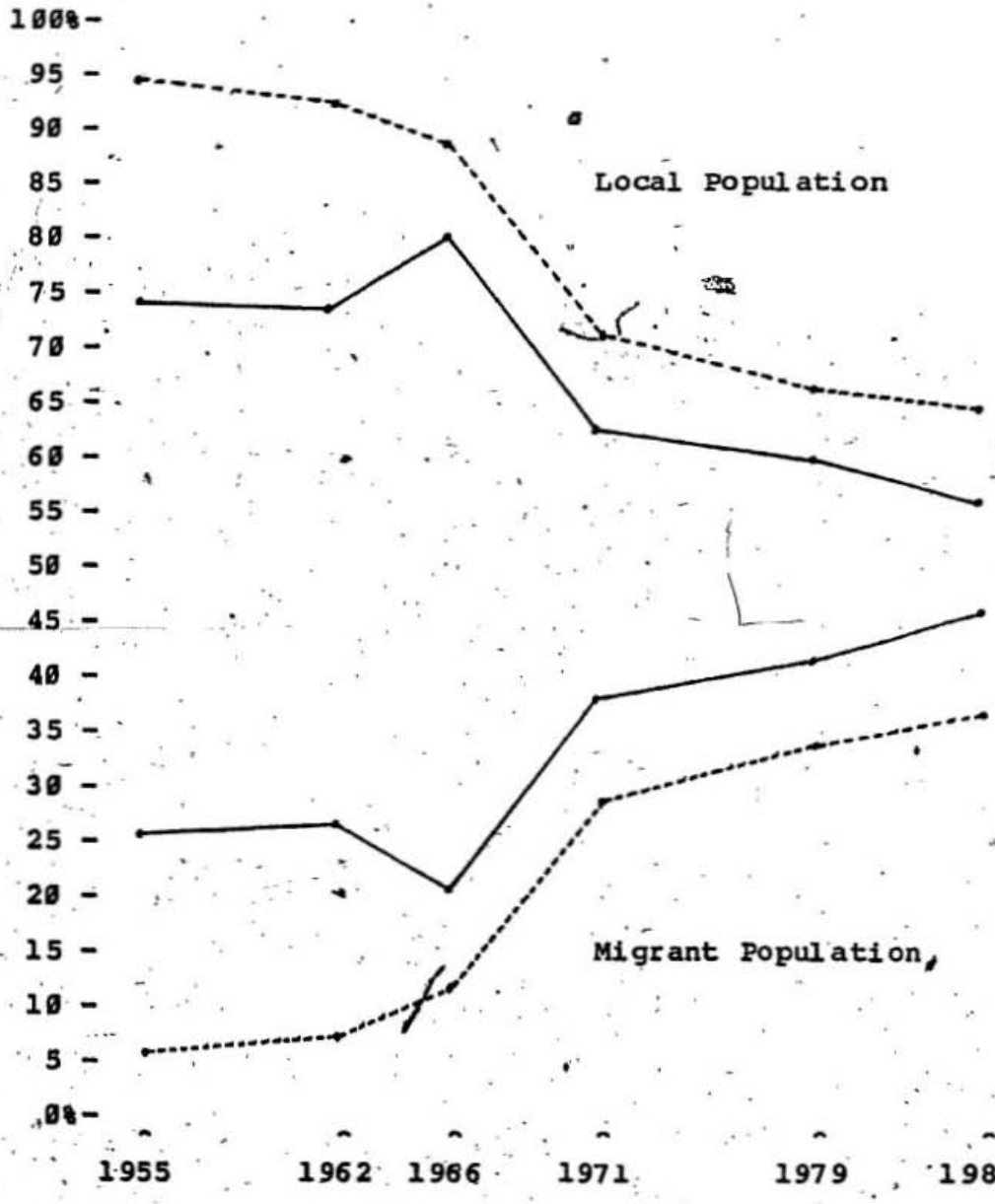
of this category, lower professionals, give a 14 per cent over-representation to the migrants, and, as expected by now, it is due to social service positions. The point to be made from the distribution of occupations for both the Skilled and the Professionals is that migrants fill the majority of social service positions and the top ranks of the industrial management positions, while the locals control private business and hold a majority of lower management positions. Both migrants and locals alike shared in the exploitation of the fishery and the wage-labour opportunities of the Fish Plant in the Labourer occupations.

5. FOLLOWING RESETTLEMENT

It is interesting to note that the occupational distribution for both sectors of the population remain essentially unchanged after 1971, following the completion of the resettlement influx. While the migrant population had doubled in the last fourteen years and the local population increased by 33 per cent, the distribution of occupations seems to have stabilized. Graphs I, II and III on the following pages illustrates the pattern of occupation distribution for the past forty years. The SOLID LINES on the graphs equal the proportion of locals and migrants who make up each of the occupational groups. The INTERRUPTED LINES on the graphs equal the proportion of locals and migrants in the employed adult population.

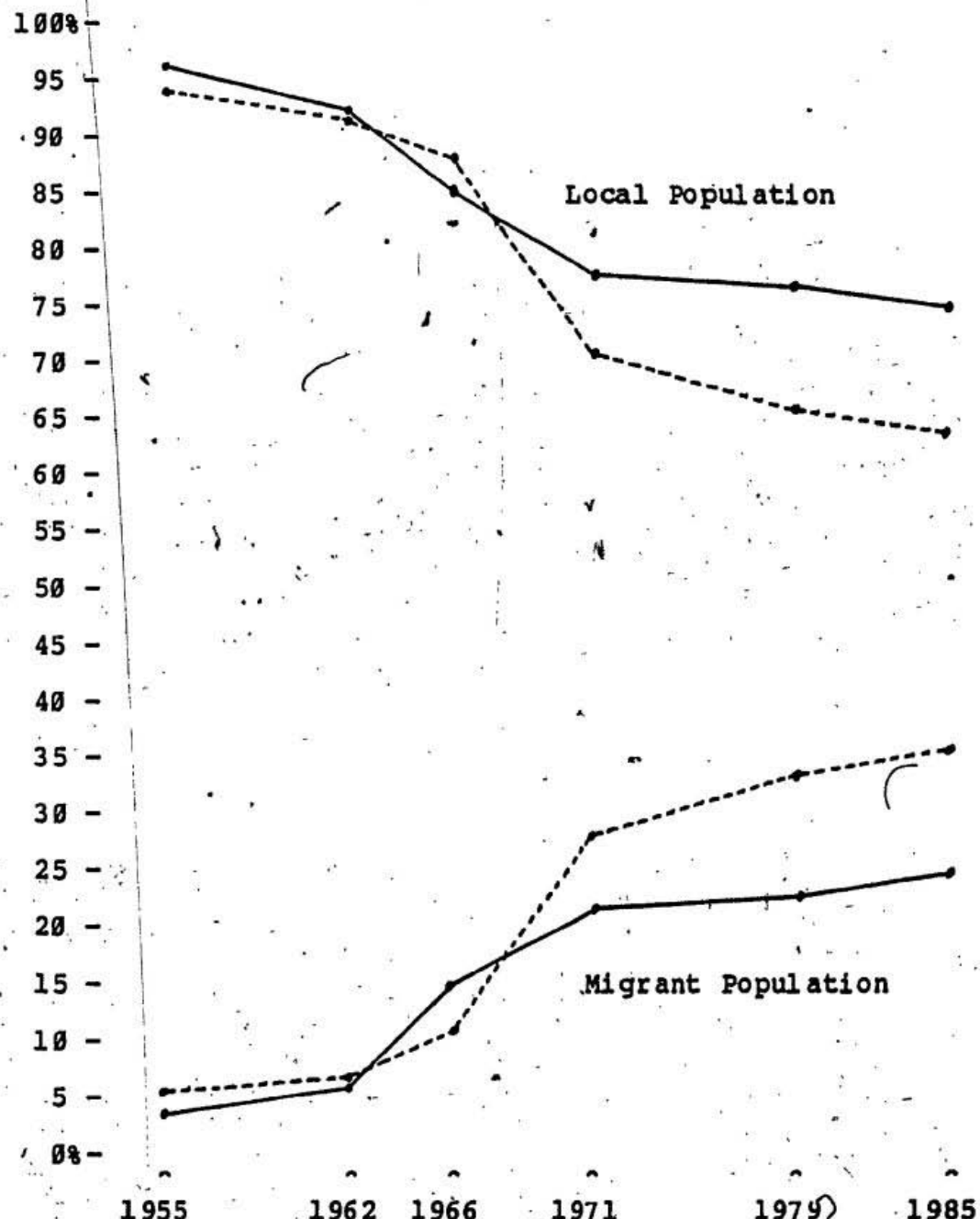
GRAPH I

Professional Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1985



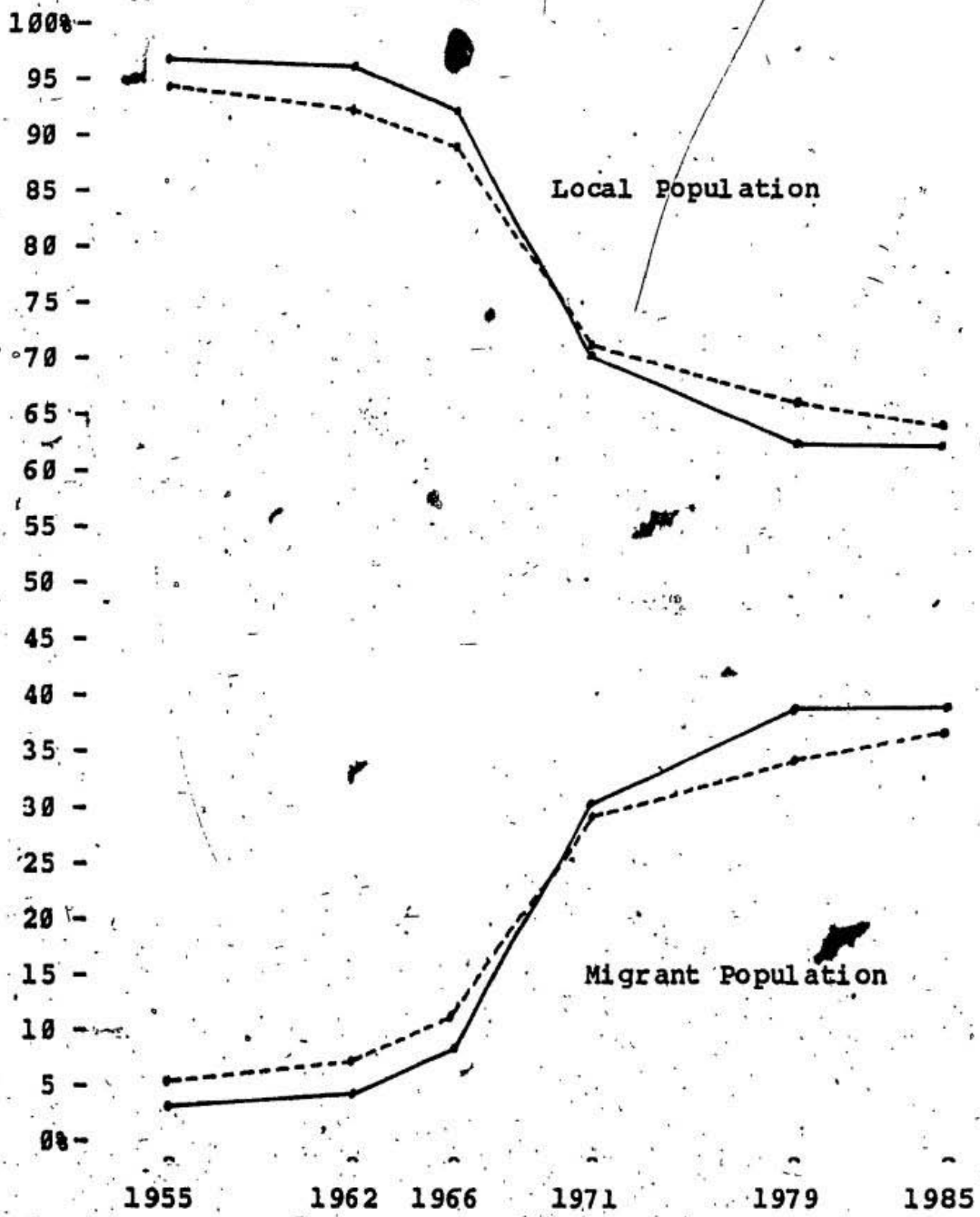
GRAPH II

Skilled Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1985



GRAPH III

Labourer Occupation Distribution in Trepassey, 1955-1985



For the local population and Labourer rural migrants this stabilization of the occupation distribution would be due primarily to a proportional balance between natural increase and attrition/retirement in an expanding job market. For the Skilled and Professional urban migrants a second factor is involved -- replacement. The incumbents for many of these positions, and here I refer specifically to the social service positions, come to Trepassey on a temporary, contract basis, and when they leave their positions are filled by new urban migrants who will once again divide into those who stay permanently and those who move on. The demarkation between occupations held by Skilled and Professional residents of both sectors has remained virtually stable since 1971.

Between 1971 and 1979 new migration, while still high -- fifty-five new names, ninety-two adults of whom fifty-eight were employed -- produced a much diminished impact when compared to that of the preceeding period. In fact, the total migrant population increased by only 5 per cent, much reduced from the 17.5 per cent increase in the preceding period. Contributing to this fairly minor increase was the out-migration of a portion of the migrant population coupled with the natural increase and return migration of the local population. Of the new migrants, 58 per cent were employed in Skilled or Professional occupations while 42 per cent were in Labourer positions.

Between 1979 and 1985, thirty-four new names appear numbering fifty-two adults, thirty-six of them working. Of this new working group 64 per cent are Professional, 17 per cent Skilled and only 19 per cent Labourer. Tables XII and XIII summarize the occupational distribution for the local and migrant sectors of

the population respectively.

TABLE XII

Occupation Distribution for Trepassey Local Population, 1955-1985						
Occupation	1955	1962	1966	1971	1979	1985
Professional	7%	10%	14%	12%	14%	14%
Skilled	10%	21%	22%	30%	35%	31%
Labourer	83%	69%	64%	58%	51%	55%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

TABLE XIII

Occupation Distribution for Trepassey Migrant Population, 1955-1985						
Occupation	1955	1962	1966	1971	1979	1985
Professional	43%	47%	27%	18%	19%	21%
Skilled	7%	20%	30%	21%	20%	18%
Labourer	50%	33%	43%	61%	61%	61%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The data presented in this chapter are intended to illustrate the economic and occupational development of Trepassey for the past forty years -- from 1946 to 1985. Specifically, it is organized to show clearly the increasing role of migrants or in-comers in the economic life of Trepassey as well as to show the range of possible inter-relationships -- between rural migrants, urban migrants, return migrants and locals -- particularly when associated with issues of compatability, complementarity or competition within occupation categories.

In 1985 the migrant adult population stands at a conservative estimate of 36 per cent. However, after forty years of community residence is migrant a fair or

correct term to use? Some of those whom I have called migrant in 1985 are now second generation Trepassey residents with a third generation currently being raised. When, then, do migrants cease to be "outsiders" and become "insiders" or locals? This topic is explored in the remainder of the thesis.

CHAPTER V

PARTICIPATION IN VOLUNTARY ORGANIZATIONS: ONE MEASUREMENT OF COMMUNITY INTEGRATION

1. INTRODUCTION

Dividing the resident population of Trepassey into two categories, locals and migrants, does not give us sufficient information to determine which residents are integrated, interactive members of the community and which are not. There is an important difference between the concepts of **community resident** and **community member.** *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines a **resident** as "one who lives in a place, as distinguished from a visitor or transient" (1979:1540) while a **member** is defined as "a distinct part or element of a whole...a person belonging to some association, society, community, party, etc." (1979:1123). In fact, Newfoundlanders say that a person "belongs to" their community where other Canadians would be inclined to say "comes from". Community membership, therefore, transcends the single element of geographical proximity which defines community residence.

If we begin with the assumption that those residents whom I have categorized as **locals** (earlier defined as those who have family names represented in the community from 1949) are also **members** of their community, member in this

context is closely parallel to the term **insider** from the model of stranger/outsider/insider. Consequently, those whom I have categorized as **rural migrants** and **urban migrants** are something less than community members -- fitting within the stranger/outsider rankings of the model. While *Webster's New Twentieth Century Dictionary* defines a **migrant** simply as "a person...that migrates" and migrating as "...mov[ing] from one place to another; especially, to leave one's country and settle in another" (1979:1140) establishing my two migrant categories as residents, I felt it would be possible for some residents, the strangers and outsiders, to become members or insiders, and the reverse case was also possible; members could lose their status of belonging. There is a body of literature, drawn primarily from rural American situations, which supports this assumption.

To become a member of the community to which one has moved is said to be an active process of integration. Whereas involvement may simply mean some form of participation, integration is an indication of acceptance on the part of the local population (the members), as well as that of the integrating migrant. As Wilkinson states, to gain membership is a positive step because "participation in the community field allows people to take an active part in developing the social structure in which their lives are existentially rooted" (1979:10). However, the degree and manner of participation must be balanced to achieve community integration and membership. If the level of the migrants involvement is too low there will be no satisfaction felt from either party (see Glasgow and Safranko 1980; and Rank and Voss 1982), if involvement is lacking altogether alienation

will result (see Rank and Voss 1982) and over-involvement can be threatening (see Hennigh 1978; and Rank and Voss 1982).

Rank and Voss state that

> "both metro-origin and nonmetro-origin migrants have increasing levels of community involvement over time, and after six to seven years have reached a level of involvement which closely approximates the residents' mean level of involvement" (1982:206).

They also state that "metro-origin migrants start off with higher levels of involvement than their nonmetro-origin counterparts" (1982:206) yet continued involvement declines over time and "...the association between length of residence and involvement is weak after ten years in the community" (1982:207). According to Rank and Voss, the reason for the initial higher degree of involvement by metro-origin migrants is the importance of the "...socioeconomic status of the migrants, rather than their prior residential experiences, [as] the dominant factor in the relationship" (1982:207). Previous support for this general viewpoint is given by Smith who states that "urban-to-rural migrants do tend to be younger, better educated and to have higher incomes than the migrants leaving rural areas" (1978:53) and this difference has been increasing, particularly since 1960 (see also Ellis 1975; and De Jong and Humphrey 1976). There is also a definite tendency for return migrants to have "...higher incomes, higher skilled occupations and higher levels of education than rural non-migrants" (Smith 1978:53) (see also Campbell and Johnson 1976). Rank and Voss (1982) hold that for nearly every additional year of residence, higher SES [socio-economic status] migrants (as measured by occupation, education, and income) have higher levels of involvement, regardless of their place of origin, and that the original reason for

the move and the presence or absence of kin and friends has little impact on the degree of involvement once the move is completed. The incoming expectations of urban-origin migrants translates into active participation with their demanding "...better transportation and health services and placing increasing demands on existing educational facilities" (Smith 1978:53). In essence, it is documented that,

> the initial gap between residents and migrants with respect to community involvement is eliminated with the passage of time. Any concern that these newcomers might tend to be isolated from community affairs is unwarranted. It would appear that as they adjust and grow accustomed to their new surroundings, their levels of involvement rise (Rank and Voss 1982:212).

The discussion above informs us of the potential for integration by migrants into rural American communities and raises the prospect of similar integrative possibilities by migrants into rural Newfoundland communities. While I stated in Chapter I that rural Newfoundland ethnographies have not dealt directly with the issue of migrant integration, the possibility of such occurances cannot be summarily dismissed. Even though the category terms of **stranger, outsider** and **insider** continue to hold a place of importance in the Newfoundland context (they are still used by both ethnographers and community residents) this does not prohibit the possibility that changes have occured in the local definitions of these terms. As I stated in Chapter I, traditionally "insider" refers to those persons who were born and raised and continue to live in their natal rural communities. Also, "insiders" are those who share an ethos of egalitarianism and an intimate knowledge of each others lives. A "stranger" is a person who has recently moved into the community, or is a transient in the community, about whom little or nothing is known. An "outsider" stands midway between the insider and

the stranger. An "outsider" has been a resident of the community for a sufficient length of time that they are well known. Most of the public agents who have settled in a rural community (i.e. not those who simply moved there to fulfill a short-term contract of a few years or less) are considered to be "outsiders".

Taking the documented rural American situation as a model for integrative possibilities by migrants into a community, I looked for similar integrative patterns from among the resident population of Trepassey.

Factors contributing toward the integration process can be broken into two categories: those which are subject to formal measurement and those which are not. Formal indicators could include involvement in community clubs and organizations or participation in municipal politics. Informal indicators could include the development of friendships and associations and subscribing to the local status quo. While this second group of factors is more difficult to assess, demanding detailed personal information, these subjective indicators are important components in determining the degree of successful community integration by individuals. This chapter explores some of the formal indicators of community involvement while Chapter VI explores some of the less tangible, informal factors indicating community integration.

> Eades looked at various integrative strategies and found that,
> it is the personal choice of each Outsider as to whether or not, and to what degree, he wishes to establish bonds with any of the permanent residents outside his usual occupational relationships with them...also, associated with this personal decision is the choice whether the Outsider will become involved with any community organizations...similarly, a differential exists in respect to the manner in which Outsiders who do socialize or form informal relationships with Locals wish to conduct

these relationships (1971:222).

Some important aspects of these relationships is whether they take place in offices, homes or public buildings, through reciprocal visiting of individuals and families, or in the context of formal social groupings such as church activities and general community gatherings, and most importantly, whether the overture is accepted by the locals.

As indicated, one formal measurement of community integration is involvement in community clubs and organizations, and because Trepassey has a number of these organizations I began to collect information about those persons who were involved. To facilitate this exercise I utilized several data sources. First, during my residence in Trepassey I spoke with the presidents of each of the major organizations which were active at that time. I discovered somewhat later that this did not include all such groups and organizations but it did include all that were named to me and were locally perceived as important or influential within the community's social and political life. During the interviews I collected a history for each group, information on the general goals and specific projects being undertaken, and a complete list of the current membership along with that of the executive committees. To these membership lists I added such information as the occupation of the member, the occupation of his or her spouse or household head, the geographical location of residence and the local/migrant status. This additional information I gleaned in part from the occupation given on the 1985 Voters List and in part with the assistance of local informants, who also helped with the correction of surname discrepancies. This last point, the correc-

tion of surname discrepancies, meant that I was told which women had married into the community and so had local names while they themselves were migrants, or which local women had married migrant men.

To include a time dimension with this information I used two additional sources. The first was a local publication entitled *Community Voluntary Organization* (CVO 1976) which listed twenty-four voluntary organizations active in the parish during the mid 1970's and which also gave a brief history for each. Unfortunatly no membership lists were included in the publication but I was able to obtain at least partial lists, along with additional club information, through a careful study of the second additional source which was the *Trepassey Tribune,* (hereafter refered to as TT), the local monthly newspaper published between the fall of 1975 and the summer of 1978. As with the current club information, to these early membership lists I added such information as the occupation of the member, the occupation of his or her spouse or household head, the geographical location of residence, and the local/migrant status. For this exercise I used both the 1971 and 1979 Voters Lists and again received assistance from local informants.

Comparing club membership and organizational involvement at these two points in time -- mid 1970's and mid 1980's -- revealed some interesting patterns. During the mid 1970's fourteen voluntary groups were active in Trepassey. This number does not include the various clubs and organized activities at the two local schools whose membership was drawn from the Trepassey youth and supervised exclusively by teachers. Nor does it include the Town Council which is

discussed below under a separate heading. The majority of these original organizations were formed between 1972 and 1975. By the mid 1980's only six of the organizations, in addition to the Town Council, had survived to the extent that they, along with two new organizations, were perceived locally as worthy of mention to me. While others may still be active it is the Town Council and these eight organizations which are now most visible and have an impact generally felt among the Trepassey population.

2. MUNICIPAL GOVERNMENT -- THE TREPASSEY TOWN COUNCIL

In Chapter III I presented background information describing the circumstances which led to the incorporation of Trepassey as a town. Here I will discuss some attributes of the members of each of the Town Councils which followed the incorporation.

Trepassey's first Town Council was elected in 1969. All seven members were locals and the majority of them (seventy-one per cent) were employed in Professional occupations while the remainder were employed in Skilled occupations.[21] They were all male and represented a variety of the locally-bounded neighbourhoods (as discussed in Chapter II). In November of 1970 the first of many

[21] Summarizing tables of the major attributes of the Town Councillors are included in the discussion portion of this section that follows the preliminary description of each of the five Town Councils.

Council reshufflings took place; the Mayor resigned his position, but remained as a Councillor, and a new Mayor was elected from among the existing Councillors.

The second Town Council election was held in 1973 with the term of office extending into 1977. Six of the seven Councillors elected were again locals, three having Professional occupations, another three having Skilled occupations while the seventh Councillor was a Professional migrant. The Mayor (a Professional local, who was the same as the replacement Mayor from the previous council) resigned from the Council on March 13, 1974 and again a new Mayor was elected from among the remaining Councillors. A by-election was held on November 12, 1974 and the vacant Council seat was won by a Professional local. On April 7, 1975, the lone migrant Councillor resigned but no by-election was held.

The third Town Council, in office from 1977 to 1981, was again one hundred per cent locals, forty-three per cent Professionals and fifty-seven per cent Skilled. It was at this time that the first female councillor was elected. There were no resignations during this term of office.

In 1981 six Councillors were elected, by acclamation, including the one woman from the previous Council who became Mayor and one Skilled migrant who became Deputy Mayor. The occupational division of this council was thirty-three per cent Professionals and sixty-seven per cent Skilled. A by-election for a seventh Councillor was held on December 11, 1981, electing another Professional local who later resigned on September 28, 1982. A second by-election was held on February 11, 1983 and a Skilled local was elected. In June of 1984 two more Councillors resigned and the July 5, 1984 by-election saw two more locals,

one Skilled (woman) and one Professional, elected. This Council ended their term of office with fourteen per cent Professionals and eighty-six per cent Skilled Councillors.

In 1985 there were five locals and two migrants elected. One of the migrants became Mayor. There are also two women on the Council. The occupational split is twenty-nine per cent Professionals and seventy-nine per cent Skilled. As of the summer of 1987 there had been no resignations.

My description of the successive Trepassey Town Council members gives evidence of three identifiable trends. These trends are: the relative paucity of migrant involvement, the transition from domination by Professionals to domination by those in Skilled occupations, and the frequency of Council resufflings. I will discuss each in turn.

The five Town Councils, supplemented with their several by-elections, have amounted to a total of thirty-nine elected positions (some individuals accounting for more than one position) yet only four of these positions were held by migrants. The migrants who were elected include one in 1973 (who resigned mid-way during his term), one in 1981, and two in 1985 (one of whom had served on the previous Council). Four positions (but only three persons) out of thirty-nine positions does not indicate a high degree of involvement by migrants in local politics. I will qualify this statement by pointing out that migrants are greatly involved, along with the locals, in the process of voting; in Trepassey there is traditionally a voter turnout of higher than ninety per cent at elections. However, migrants do not gain nominations, or elected positions, at a rate anywhere near

to their proportion of the total population. I will return to this point again below with some suggestions for why this situation exists.

The second major trend which is evident from the discussion of the Town Councillors is illustrated below in Table XIV.

TABLE XIV

Occupation Distribution of Trepassey Town Councillors					
Occupation	1969	1973	1977	1981	1985
Professional	71%	57%	43%	33%	29%
Skilled	29%	43%	57%	67%	71%
Labourer	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

There is a clear pattern of transition from domination by Professional representatives to domination by Skilled electees. Again, I will return to this point below for a discussion of the implications.

The third and final trend which I feel merits note is the occurrence of in-Council resufflings and frequent resignations and by-elections. Table XV illustrates this pattern.

The relative lack of migrant involvement in the realm of municipal government in Trepassey is a particularly interesting situation because statements made in several of the earlier rural Newfoundland studies (see for example Philbrook 1966; Firestone 1967; and Faris 1973) as well as in some of the more recent ethnographies (see for example Southard 1982; and Dillon 1983) identify one important role of outsiders -- particularly those who are public agents -- as being community leaders. To understand why migrants in Trepassey do not fill municipal

TABLE XV

Trepassey Town Council Membership Dynamics	
Year	Dynamic
1970	in-Council reshuffling
1974	in-Council reshuffling
1974	resignation
1974	by-election
1975	resignation
1981	by-election
1982	resignation
1983	by-election
1984	resignation
1984	resignation
1984	by-election

leadership roles I required more information than that contained in my carefully prepared lists and tables. So, I asked residents -- migrants and locals -- about the Town Council generally, and about its role in the community.

As expected, the responses were varied but several distinct themes were soon apparent. One of these prevailing themes was the fact that municipal political positions are no longer locally perceived as major community leadership roles. Informants stated that "When the Council started there were big issues, but once things were accomplished people didn't care" and "The Council used to be good when there were major things to get done -- water lines, sewerage systems and road paving -- but now people are not so interested."

The issue of interest is further compounded when we remember that an ethos of egalitarianism exists in Trepassey which locally means that many who do become involved in Council positions are said to be "not respected because Councillors are thought to be out for personal gain" or "many are in it for what they

can get out". Some residents told me that this lack of respect is in part the result of "people having unreasonable expectations" for what the Council can do and the fact that "little information of what the Council does do filters back to the community". I was also told that "The Council won't stand up for what they believe because they're afraid they'll offend" and this in turn is the major reason for resignations and resufflings occuring; it is not coincidental that they happen during times of tax increases or other unpopular changes.

According to some informants, because the Council is generally not well thought of, those community residents who have influence, either from holding responsible employment positions or from a long history of respect and good sense, will not run for election. This situation is compounded by two additional factors; firstly, those best able to lead share the community belief in egalitarianism and will not appear to be putting themselves forward into potentially powerful roles, and secondly, many nominations occur from circumstances which negate the inclusion of the best possible candidates. One informant described it this way:

> You are getting incompetents. Seven or eight get together at a tavern and decide to support a body. So small groups get together and make a decision that has nothing to do with the ability to do a good job. The Council is formed by ignorant groups. No public meetings are held to hear speeches for the people to judge.

While clearly this is an extreme view, others voiced similar sentiments in a milder form. One told me "it would be degrading for a respected person to be beat out by somebody mediocre", while another said "The Council aren't as respected as they should be which is a sign of mediocrity", and finally "Even those who aren't liked can get elected because who wants all the pressure and grief?". The

underlying implication seems to be that the big issues have been settled and now the problems associated with "putting yourself forward" are no longer worth it.

So having said all this we are left wondering why outsiders/migrants have not been pressured into taking more of the Council seats. The answer seems to be tied to two factors: the way the nominations are made, and the social position of major critics of the Council. First, as described above, many nominations are made by small groups of peers who put forth a friend as a candidate. Second, the major critics of authority positions are from the polar extremes of the employment spectrum, the Professionals and the Labourers. I would speculate that this is because both of these groups have to work harder at appearing to comply with the egalitarian ethos[22] than those who are in a middle range position, i.e. those who are employed or associated with Skilled occupations. But whatever the reason, critics seem less likely to put forth candidates than those who are not so openly critical. This speculation gains some support when we recall the second major trend which I identified, the transition to a domination by Skilled persons. Therefore, because the migrants most likely to be pushed into leadership roles are those who are Professionals, the fact that their local counterparts are critics of the Town Council makes them less likely to nominate candidates for Council positions from among their peers. Clearly only time will show if the two migrants currently on the Town Council (one a Professional and one Skilled) are indicative of a new trend.

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[22] This point will be developed further in the remainder of the thesis.

Having determined that local politics is not a likely avenue for migrant involvement or integration, it is necessary to look to other areas of potential involvement which are open to new community residents.

3. VOLUNTARY CLUBS AND ORGANIZATIONS

There is a local perception that "You really can't get anything on the go without outsiders running it. If you try you're thought to have ulterior motives." This sentiment is certainly born out in the criticisms leveled at the Town Council and yet the statement was made in reference to my queries about the local voluntary clubs and organizations. I was repeatedly told that "the majority of people who take over are outsiders, locals sit back and bitch", and "It's easier for outsiders to hold authority because everyone is related so 'others' are better able to do the jobs", or "people would rather listen to a stranger than to someone they know."

While the previous section of this chapter demonstrates that locals can run an organization -- i.e. the Town Council -- its success is tempered with the considerable negative feedback which noticeably impacts on the members of the organization, the Town Councillors. Council members tend to keep a low profile relative to their Council activities and hence the comments that not much information filters back to community residents. Also, when contentious issues are dealt with some Councillors resign while others have their motives openly ques-

tioned.

The names of the voluntary clubs and organizations existing in Trepassey, past and present, are listed below in Table XVI. I will discuss each of the organizations which were active during my residence in Trepassey and follow this description with a discussion of the integrative patterns that I found.

TABLE XVI

Voluntary Organizations in Trepassey	
1970's	1980's
Boy Scouts (Leaders)	
Boy Scouts Ladies Auxillary	
Community Learning Centre Committee	
Co-op Association	
Holy Redeemer Ladies Auxillary	
Men's Church Committee	
Rural Development Association	
Safety Council	
Athletic Association	Recreation Commission
Fire Brigade	Fire Brigade
Lionsclub	Lionsclub
	Lionesses
Women's Institute	Women's Institute
Girl Guides (Leaders)	Girl Guides (Leaders)
Senior Citizens Club	Senior Citizens Club
	Parents of Retarded and Handicapped Children

Unlike the Town Council, the various local clubs and associations do not exist for the primary purpose of political leadership. While I will show that leadership and community betterment are components of these other organizations, their primary purpose is believed to be social interaction, thus their leadership aspect is less suspect and perceived, for the most part, to be a positive by-

product.

3.1. Athletic Association/Recreation Commission

The Athletic Association was organized in the early 1970's to "...help the youth of the parish and to put the name of Trepassey in the field of sport" (CVO, 1976). At first the organization was solely interested in sports; they raised money for uniforms, field construction and equipment, and to fulfill a pledge of $5000 per year for five years toward the Lions Community Centre project.[23] Later the interests of the organization broadened.

The organization is currently called the Recreation Commission, the change in name reflecting a change in focus. The mandate now is to provide recreation for the people of Trepassey. Although the primary emphasis remains in the area of sports -- sponsoring teams and providing equipment (eg. the Recreation Commission owns the school's basketballs and volleyballs to ensure that the equipment is available to all in Trepassey who wish to use it) -- they have extended their scope to include all Trepassey residents, not just the youth. The extension to recreation, rather than simply athletics, means the organization now includes such activities as sponsoring the Little Mr. Trepassey and Little Miss Trepassey pageants, a Folk Festival, Garden Party and regularly held teenage dances.

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[23] This project is discussed below under the heading "Lions Club".

3.2. Fire Brigade

The Fire Brigade was started in 1974 in an effort to promote community safety. It began with thirty members, only ten of whom attended meetings regularly. The organization depended on the Town Council, in addition to its own fund-raising activities (teenage dances, bingo and car washes) to keep financially solvent. In the first few years of operation the organization "...did not accomplish[] very much, it was never put to the real test" (CVO 1978). Only the fire chief had previous experience with fire and the Brigade was in need of training for its volunteers as well as in need of a facility -- a fire station -- in Trepassey.

By the mid 1980's the [redacted] Brigade has matured considerably. Active involvement by its members has improved such that fourteen of its current twenty-six members show a consistent dedication. The town of Trepassey is now in possession of a modern fire truck, a fire station (which is attached to the new Town Hall) and the Brigade holds frequent, well-attended meetings which involve training exercises, films, and checking of the equipment. The organization now depends totally on the Town Council for financial support, the Brigade refusing to do any fund-raising following the initiation of community property tax in 1983.[24]

Presently the major focus of the Brigade is public education. The emphasis on home safety is an important fire prevention strategy because realistically, at night, no home could be saved since the Brigade has a fifteen minute response

[24] It is interesting to note that the Town Council serving from 1981 to 1985 had three resignations and three by-elections.

time. The Brigade also checks all public buildings, all of which are currently up to standard, and regularly hold school fire drills. In short, the Fire Brigade is an active and effective organization.

Both the Recreation Commission and the Fire Brigade have matured over time, each expanding their areas of influence and degree of community-perceived importance and respect. Many informants told me that "these are good organizations" and that "these people want to do good for you, good for the community. And they don't get above themselves to do it either."

While the Fire Brigade has always had a representative proportion of local members, through the years an increasing percentage of the membership for both organizations is local. The table below compares the membership composition of the Recreation Commission (R. Comm.) and the Fire Brigade (F. Brig.) to the composition of the town's total population (T. Pop. -- given in parentheses).

TABLE XVII

Membership Composition of Two Voluntary Organizations						
Population	1970's			1980's		
	R.Comm.	T.Pop.	F.Brig.	R.Comm.	T.Pop.	F.Brig.
Locals	45%	(68%)	68%	62%	(64%)	73%
Migrants	55%	(32%)	32%	38%	(36%)	27%
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	100%	(100%)	100%

Informants told me "there have always been outsiders on the Recreation Commission" because "its one way they can be sure there's something for them to do here. Something they want to do like when they were in Town." Many of these migrants are seen as "idea people" or "good organizers" and this is

reflected in the fact that migrants held a majority of the executive positions during the mid 1970's. At this time the leadership of the Fire Brigade was not so clearly defined, however, by the 1980's the leadership for both organizations was equally shared, as illustrated in the table below.

TABLE XVIII

Leadership of Two Voluntary Organizations						
Population	1970's			1980's		
	R.Comm.	T.Pop.	F.Brig.	R.Comm.	T.Pop	F.Brig.
Locals	25%	(68%)	57%	50%	(64%)	50%
Migrants	75%	(32%)	43%	50%	(36%)	50%
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	100%	(100%)	100%

Also during the mid 1970's the majority of all members of the Recreation Commission were associated with Skilled occupations while the rest were Professionals. By the 1980's the Recreation Commission had witnessed the introduction of Labourers into its membership but continued to maintain a Skilled membership majority. During the 1970's the Fire Brigade had all three occupational groups represented but didn't show a clear majority of those who were Skilled until the 1980's.

TABLE XIX

Membership Occupations of Two Voluntary Organizations				
Occupation	1970's		1980's	
	R.Comm.	F.Brig.	R.Comm	F.Brig.
Professional	22%	28%	39%	23%
Skilled	78%	40%	46%	54%
Labourer	0%	32%	15%	23%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%

For both organizations migrants are over-represented by Professionals and

Labourers while locals are over-represented by those who are Skilled.

3.3. Lions Club

The Lions Club was organized by a local entrepreneur in October 1974 and received its charter on December 14, 1974. The primary objective for the club was "to unite people behind a common cause for community betterment" (CVO 1976). To activate a Lions Club it is necessary to have a minimum of twenty members who are known as the charter members. The Trepassey Lions Club began with twenty-six members, each of whom had been personally approached by the local organizer, including the Parish Priest as an honorary member. The membership requirements were as follows: to be an upright citizen, to be a resident of Trepassey (the parish rather than the town specifically), to be able to give freely of one's time, and to contribute to the betterment of the club. New members must always be sponsored by existing members thus making membership possible by invitation only.

The Trepassey Lions Club is a branch of the International Lions Association headquartered in Chicago. All branches are involved with some projects which extend beyond the boundaries of their host locations -- eg. glasses and seeing-eye-dogs for the visually impaired, bus shelters for school children and collections for needy families.

Each branch is also an independent organization which is responsible for its own fund-raising and the undertaking of local community projects. During the

mid 1970's the Trepassey Lions Club raised funds through outdoor and giant bingo, selling lottery tickets and generally soliciting funds. The collected funds were utilized in two ways: to make donations to local projects organized by other groups (eg. Red Cross, T.V. association, and as sponsors for the Trepassey Boy Scouts),[25] and to finance major projects undertaken by their own organization. An early project of the Trepassey Lions Club was the building of a Community Stadium/Centre which they financed through their fund-raising supplemented extensively with a federal government local initiative (L.I.P.) grant and bank loan. This project has since been completed.

Currently the Lions Club have taken on the obligation to raise $4000 for computers for Stella Maris High School in Trepassey. Bingo, run every Thursday, has become the only means of fund-raising employed.

In 1976 there were forty-eight members of the Lions Club (CVO 1976) however between 1975 and 1978 there were at least fifty-seven men who were members at some time (T.T. 1975-1978). In 1984 there were thirty-two members, only sixteen or seventeen of whom regularly attended all meetings. Table XX below demonstrates the membership composition for these two time periods, and

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[25] The Trepassey chapter of the Boy Scouts was organized in the fall of 1975 by the then resident R.C.M.P. Corporal, a migrant, under the sponsorship of the Lions Club. During its three years of operation sixty-seven per cent of those involved with the organization were migrants. The organization collapsed in 1978 when some of the original leaders moved away and most of those who remained felt that other committments precluded their continued involvement.

The Boy Scouts Ladies Auxillary was a fund-raising organization which formed at the same time as the Boy Scouts, the fall of 1975. Because the organization was dependent upon the Boy Scouts for its *raison d'etre*, when the Scouts ceased operation so too did the Ladies Auxillary.

again percentage of the total population is given in parentheses.

TABLE XX

Membership Composition of the Lions Club				
Population	1970's		1980's	
Local	75%	(68%)	53%	(64%)
Migrant	25%	(32%)	47%	(36%)
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

During the 1970's all Lions held either Professional or Skilled occupations and migrants were over-represented by Professionals while locals were over-represented by those who were Skilled. By 1984 not only had the percentage of migrant members significantly increased but there was also the introduction of Labourers among the membership as well. At this time the locals continued to be primarily Skilled persons while the migrants were split between Professionals and Labourers. Table XXI below illustrates the percentages of each occupational category represented among the members of the Lions Club.

TABLE XXI

Membership Occupations of the Lions Club		
Occupation	1970's	1980's
Professional	58%	44%
Skilled	42%	25%
Labourer	0%	31%
Total	100%	100%

Interestingly, at least two of the Labourer migrant members are plantworkers who live in the Fishery Product Houses and who arrived in Trepassey as relocatees during the government sponsored resettlement project.

While migrant membership has increased marginally in actual numbers, and considerably in relative numbers, their percentage of leadership positions has not significantly changed, as is illustrated below in Table XXII.

TABLE XXII

Leadership of the Lions Club				
Population	1970's		1980's	
Local	60%	(68%)	63%	(64%)
Migrant	40%	(32%)	37%	(36%)
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

However, there is one important change in the Lions Club executive. Of the eight executive positions in 1984, three are held by Professional members, three by Skilled members and the remaining two by Labourer members.

While the Recreation Commission and the Fire Brigade are increasing in locally-perceived importance, the Lions Club seemingly is not. The scope of the projects currently undertaken by the Lions is diminishing, as is the number of active members. And while migrant involvement in the former two organizations has lessened, it has increased in the Lions Club. The Lions Club also differs from the Recreation Commission and the Fire Brigade in that Skilled members form a clear minority amongst the Lions.

3.4. Lionesses

The Lionesses was formed in December 1978 and as the name implies it is an organization which is closely associated with the Lions Club, and too has a

parent, international head office. The Lionesses is primarily a charity organization which assists the Lions with their fund-raising activities (the Lionesses help with the Lions bingo held every Thursday evening and in return accept fifty per cent of the profits which average $100 each per week) as well as mounting their own fund-raising activities which include semi-annual giant bingos ($400 to $500 profit) and occasional card parties. Donations are made to a variety of recipients, examples of which include the sponsoring of a foster child in El Salvador, contributions toward the cost of buying computers for the local high school, and the sponsoring or co-sponsoring of several local events such as the Little Mr. Trepassey pagaent, the Miss Teen Trepassey pagaent, a senior citizens Christmas party and the Santa Claus parade.

To be a member of the Lionesses it is not necessary to have a husband who is a Lion. Acceptance or rejection of each potential member is the responsibility of the Board of Directors. I was told there is no limit to the number of members and membership is open to the public with the one criterion that "members must maintain high standards".

For quite some time there were only sixteen members. Currently there are twenty-five -- of these nine new members seven had joined during the two months immediately preceeding my field research. Because the Lionesses formed after the *Trepassey Tribune* had ceased to publish, I have no statistics available for the 1970's. In 1984 fifty-six per cent of the membership were migrants and forty-four per cent were locals. Again, membership in this organization does not parallel the Lions because single women as well as other women with no close kin

association to the Lions can join. Interestingly forty per cent of the total membership are either Labourers themselves, or their family head is a Labourer, while thirty-six per cent are associated with Skilled occupations and the remaining twenty-four per cent with Professional occupations. The migrants are primarily Professionals or Labourers, while the locals are predominantly Skilled. Like the Lions, several of the Labourer migrant members of the Lionesses are resettled plantworkers living in the Fishery Product Houses. Forty per cent of the executive positions are held by migrants and these include the top two positions.

3.5. Women's Institute

The Trepassey Women's Institute was formed on July 1, 1972. According to the organizations constitution the aims were as follows: "to develop better homemaking skills, to stimulate leadership, to help resolve problems in the community and to develop happier and more useful citizens" (CVO 1976).[26] Membership was and is open to all females residing in the Trepassey area over the age of fourteen. The organization did not raise funds or make donations, preferring rather to make skill contributions to the community, not money.

Regularly held meetings were not well attended by the forty-one members associated with the Institute in the mid 1970's. Accomplishments during this

[26] Marilyn Porter (1982) discusses the politial structure of the Women's Institute and describes a meeting of the Southern Shore Chapter. Her paper is written with a focus on the feminist implications of "women's" organizations.

period included: receiving grants for student employment in community service projects, crafts instruction, the formation of a weight-watchers group, involvement in the Santa Claus parade, catering school and community functions, organizing workshops (eg. drug workshop for teenagers), Christmas baskets for the needy, party for senior citizens, and volunteer work for organizations such as the C.N.I.B. and U.N.I.C.E.F. The Women's Institute also started the local Community Museum with a Canada Works grant and a lot of volunteer hours.

Currently the Women's Institute is primarily involved with doing crafts and the sharing of craft skills. Members also visit the Senior Citizens Home once a month to play bingo (cheating to ensure each senior gets a prize) and at Christmas they still give the seniors a party.

Because there is no longer a separate Woman's Church/Parish League in Trepassey[27] the members of the Woman's Institute have taken on some of the general work for the parish -- usually this involves catering. They cater banquets for the school (like the grade twelve graduation party and prom) and for the church (like the Jubilee Celebration for the Parish Priest).

Now all the members of the Woman's Institute, I was told, are "older women". In the beginning there were younger members too but apparently once they had learned how to do the crafts they were interested in they left. Those

[27] The Holy Redeemer Ladies Auxillary was a small group that formed on September 16, 1974. The purpose of the group was to organize the regular cleaning of the church, to cater church functions and to generally promote participation in church services and projects. The group also did some fund-raising for the parish treasury through the sale of baked goods and lottery tickets for craftwork. I was told that the group "just fizzled out" a few years later and that the Women's Institute stepped in to fill the gap.

members who remained seem to be very loyal and attendance at the weekly meetings is good.

During the mid 1970's the membership of the Woman's Institute was three times what it was in the mid 1980's -- forty-one in 1976 and fourteen in 1984. The percentage of migrants to locals has remained fairly constant, as shown in Table XIII below.

TABLE XXIII

Membership Composition of the Women's Institute				
Population	1970's		1980's	
Local	74%	(68%)	79%	(64%)
Migrant	26%	(32%)	21%	(36%)
Total	100%	(100%)	100%	(100%)

In the 1970's there were members from all three occupational categories; however, the membership was weighted in favour of those who were Professionals or Skilled. In the 1980's there are no longer any Labourer members. Table XXIV below shows this occupational breakdown.

TABLE XXIV

Membership Occupations of the Women's Institute		
Occupation	1970's	1980's
Professional	46%	42%
Skilled	38%	58%
Labourer	16%	0%
Total	100%	100%

During both time periods migrants are over-represented by Professionals and the locals are over-represented by those who are Skilled. All executive positions have been held by locals.

More so than the Lionesses, the Woman's Institute is locally regarded as an elite club; all members have respected backgrounds. Many informed me that "this crowd is quiet, but don't be fooled. They're strong, they can make things happen." Others said "The Lionesses are good, you have a bit of fun and do good for the community. Anyone who has a mind to could join the Lionesses but you would have to be 'somebody' to be comfortable with the Woman's Institute."

It is interesting that these two women's organizations are so different. The Woman's Institute appeals primarily to older women who are in a high socio-economic bracket, and has always been dominated by locals. Alternatively, the Lionesses draw most of their membership from the younger crowd, and while they have representatives from all three occupational categories the membership is weighted in favour of those from the middle to lower socio-economic brackets. They also have a majority (albeit a small one) of migrants among the membership.

3.6. Girl Guide Leaders

The Trepassey chapter of the Girl Guides was organized in 1977 and continued to operate successfully in 1984. During 1977 and 1978 (T.T.) twenty-nine women were at one time or another involved with the organization either as Girl Guide Leaders or at a higher administrative level as District Officers. Of this number, thirty-eight per cent were migrants, the majority of whom were associated with Professional occupations, while sixty-two per cent were locals who were

equally divided between Professional and Skilled occupations. Also during this time period (1977-1978) the migrants held fifty per cent of the top executive positions yet the most senior position was held by a local.

Currently there are twelve women involved with the Girl Guide organization and while the migrants now account for fifty per cent (up from thirty-eight per cent) of this total number they account for only thirty per cent (down from fifty per cent) of the top executive positions. The occupation distribution is unchanged for both the migrants and the locals.

In Trepassey, the Girl Guides organization has always served as an avenue of quick participation for the wives of newly arrived Professional migrants. Like the Woman's Institute this organization is locally perceived as an elite group, but one with much reduced visibility. However, like the Lionesses, most of those who are involved are young or middle-aged.

4. THE SIGNIFICANCE OF VOLUNTEERISM

Now that the various clubs and voluntary organizations currently active in Trepassey have been described as separate entities[28] it is possible to delineate patterns of membership attributes and to explore possible explanations for why the organizations evolved when they did, as they did, and what significance these

[28] I have not included a discussion on "Parents of Retarded/Handicapped Children" or the "Senior Citizens Club" because I have insufficient data on them.

organizations have when linked to other aspects of community life.

Most of the clubs and organizations currently active had their origins in the early 1970's. I find there are three inter-related reasons for the initial formation of so many clubs and organizations at that time and equally identifiable reasons for why some prospered and others did not. All were in part a response to the growing migrant population which ballooned so dramatically in the late 1960's. Initially, with the incorporation of Trepassey, first as a Local Improvement District in 1967 and then as a town in 1969, along with the concommitant geographical boundary extension, an essentially new community was born which replaced the collection of small, adjacent and independent settlements which circled Trepassey Harbour. The residents of this "new" community needed to redefine their sense of identity and to set their parameters of influence and control. Therefore, in order to both gain and to retain control over the myriad changes taking place in the community, as well as to preserve a feeling of socio/cultural/geographic/ethnic identity, they began to form Trepassey-based organizations which mirrored select local interests and goals.

The second reason for the formation of so many organizations is closely related to the first. The incorporation of Trepassey led naturally to the formation of a Town Council, all members of which were local residents. Reaction from other locals as well as some Professional and Skilled migrants, to the perceived interests and jurisdiction of the Town Council led to the formation of a Citizen's Committee (as discussed in Chapter III) to promote parish or regional interests (including unspecified industrial and Fish Plant interests as well).

Further, in response to the ongoing housing crisis precipitated by the influx of resettlement families as well as employees of the Cape Race LORAN C station, an ad hoc Housing Committee was formed which included members of the Town Council, the Citizen's Committee, the clergy and the Fish Plant management (also as discussed in Chapter III). It had become clear to everyone that when something needed to be done the correct response was to form a group to co-orchestrate the action. Additionally, it was soon discovered that opinions stated by, or requests made by, an organized group had greater impact and reaped increased benefits over those actions initiated by individuals. Simply by having an organized municipal body the doors were open for increased community/government interaction. More than the few elected councillors wished to tap this now highly accessible resource -- government funds and aid -- thus the organization of various interest groups and social and political associations began and quickly escalated.

A third factor responsible for the large number of rapidly organized groups was the imported interests and expectations of urban and return migrants.

As with the formation of the numerous voluntary organizations in Trepassey, I find equally well-defined reasons for the failure of many of these same organizations over time. Foremost was the inadequacy of the population to support the number of groups formed; Trepassey simply did not have enough people to keep fourteen different clubs afloat. In any given population there is only a small percentage who habitually involve themselves (Preston 1983) and here I refer particularly to those who accept responsibility, take charge and serve

on executive committees. During the mid 1970's there was a small group of names which were conspicuously repeated in the membership lists and executive positions for many of the early organizations. The majority of these people, informants later told me, simply burned out or got tired of the responsibility and stepped down to let others carry the load.[29] In some instances gaps were left when migrants were transferred to new locations. Often they were not replaced and groups ceased to operate because of membership apathy.[30] In addition, many Skilled and Labourer locals told me that they lacked the confidence to take responsible positions fearing those better qualified to do so -- either Professional locals or Skilled and Professional migrants -- would "laugh down their back" at stumbling and inarticulate attempts to chair meetings. Thus, while interest may have been present, locally perceived inadequacy had the same effect as apathy; organizations were allowed to collapse.

On average, for all the early organizations, the percentage of members who were local Labourers, or migrants who were either Skilled or Labourers, was exceedingly small. It follows, therefore, that the majority of association memberships were composed of locals who were Skilled and Professionals, as well as migrants who were Professionals. This pattern of early migrant involvement within the community supports the premise that socio/economic standing was an important determinant for the rapidity of newcomer participation. Additionally it illustrates both the birth and subsequent availability of an organized social

[29] The Safety Council was one organization which met its demise in this fashion.

[30] The local chapter of the Boy Scouts ended in this fashion when the majority of the leaders who were migrants were transferred from Trepassey.

sphere in which Professional migrants were permitted and expected to participate and thereby facilitate social associations with their local counterparts. Indeed, the percentage of Professional migrants who availed themselves of this opportunity was very high. Alternatively, the lack of widespread involvement of the local Labourer population in these same organizations effectively shut out their migrant counterparts as well. This access route into the social life of Trepassey was, therefore, initially available only to those migrants with a high socio-economic standing.

There are three major trends evident from the discussion of voluntary organizations presented thus far. First, while it has been illustrated that migrants with a high socio-economic standing have earlier and more numerous opportunities for community participation within this milieu, over time these same opportunities have become available to those migrants with a lower socio-economic standing. Secondly, the degree of migrant participation on the executive committees has diminished over time speaking for an increased confidence in the local population who no longer require outside leadership to the extent that they did initially. Thirdly, a general trend toward Skilled dominance in many of the organizations is evident and this includes the Town Council.

I should stress that while persons with Labourer occupations are appearing in the membership lists, they remain grossly under-represented when one considers the proportion of the employed population which they compose. While they represent thirty-one per cent of the Lions and forty per cent of the Lionesses, in actual figures that translates into ten members who are Labourers for each

organization. In the Fire Brigade the six Labourer representatives account for twenty-three per cent of the membership, whereas in the 1970's the fifteen representatives of this category accounted for thirty-two per cent of the membership. Again, while the introduction of Labourers in the Recreation Commission is a new occurence, there are only two of them, making up fifteen per cent of the total members. As stated, there are no longer Labourer representatives in either the Women's Institute or among the Girl Guide Leaders. The process of Labourer migrant integration through the medium of membership in voluntary clubs and organizations is, therefore, beginning but has not yet progressed to any great extent.

Exploring the degree of community acceptance -- membership -- for individual residents or groups of residents is highly subjective and can not be limited to patterns suggested solely on the basis of statistics which show levels of participation or involvement in local clubs, voluntary organizations or municipal government. While this information is revealing, coupling it to other aspects of community life adds a necessary depth to the discussion. Chapter VI looks to the less easily measured indicators of community membership -- evidence of subscription to the local status-quo, and the signs of friendships.

CHAPTER VI

STRANGER/OUTSIDER/INSIDER: REVISING THE MODEL

1. INTRODUCTION

Grieshop (1984) holds that participation in one community organization may be an avenue toward direct involvement in additional aspects of community life: "...volunteers became much more directly involved in their communities and in its institutions" (100). While in the previous chapter I traced patterns of volunteer involvement as evidenced by the club memberships of migrants and locals from each of the three occupation categories, it was understood that involvement alone does not necessarily translate into community integration.

However, according to research conducted in rural American settings, involvement could enhance the opening of additional networks and could become a factor in gaining increasing degrees of community acceptance and ultimately a degree of community membership. This was a topic I was particularly interested in exploring among the public agent population of Trepassey. I wanted to discover how, beyond the possible involvement in municipal politics and the active involvement in the voluntary organizations already discussed, the resident public

agents spent their leisure time and how they related to the rest of the community.

I pursued this issue relentlessly, asking all and sundry what they did in Trepassey for fulfillment, fun and relaxation, and with whom they shared these activities. Predictably responses covered a range of possibilities which quickly coalesced into some identifiable patterns when I linked leisure time activities together with two other distinguishing factors -- the degree of personal committment to the community as a home, and the degree of public subscription to locally held beliefs and values, two of which surfaced as elementally significant: egalitarianism and religion.

2. EGALITARIANISM

I have already used the terms "egalitarianism" and "ethos of equality" several times in this thesis, but have done so in a context which did not demand a detailed understanding of the concept. Now it is necessary to wed the traditional meaning of these terms to the relevant concepts that apply to Trepassey residents today.

In Trepassey, as elsewhere in rural Newfoundland, there is a strong tradition of belief in community egalitarianism. In many rural Newfoundland communities, ethnographers find that, "Social relationships throughout the entire area are characterized by a strongly held 'ethos of equality', so we are dealing here, at

least on the level of ideology, with a society of peers" (Dillon 1983:178), (see also Philbrook 1966:71; Szwed 1966:46, 97-98; Firestone 1967:112; Chairamonte 1970:10, 17; and Schwartz 1974:90). Traditionally, "This egalitarianism is also related to a lack of local occupational specialization" (Firestone 1978:104; also Martin 1973:85). Yet concomitant with the ethos of equality "...there is, nevertheless, a very strong awareness of internal stratification (Dillon 1983:312).

Today those rural communities, such as Trepassey, which display well established occupational specialization do acknowledge an economic hierarchy while attempting to avoid any overt acknowledgment of a social hierarchy. Despite the attendant problems, there remains an **ingrained tradition of belief in egalitarianism.** Martin (1973:76) found that "...the public image in Fermeuse [is] one of universal friendship, or at least universal civility. Theoretically, at least, everybody is a 'friend' of everybody else, and the guiding maxim is 'we are all equal here'"(see also Szwed 1966).

In most rural Newfoundland communities, Trepassey included, the ethos of egalitarianism is still verbalized regularly and those who do so are maintaining the long established tradition of belief. Clearly occupational and economic disparities do exist and are recognized by the residents, so the belief in egalitarianism has been wholly transferred to the sphere of social status. Research has demonstrated that "...the public models of social behaviors tend to lag considerably behind the private modes of behavior, even if the public models are no longer applicable to the current situation" (Martin 1973:85), (see also Szwed 1966:180). When residents from each of the three occupational categories told me

"there's none down here better than the rest" it was being said in reference to social status. Verbalizing the belief that "we're all the same" is a binding mechanism calling to mind the community's shared history, a present-day hold-over from the time when there was literal truth to the statement.

Outwardly subscribing to locally-held beliefs and values lends credibility to the ethos of equality. The pursuit of traditional leisure-time activities is in itself an equalizer. I was told "There are few attitude differences between local business people and local plantworkers or fishermen. They all fish, hunt, cut wood and grow gardens." Also, "Everyone owns cars, trucks, snowmobiles and trikes. There was a time when own meant own but now credit makes everyone the same."

Of course there are some who do acknowledge status differences, however such acknowledgements usually include criticisms against those who are different. For instance, I was told that "It used to be past McNeil's Corner you were less, but now nobody is really above others, even if they think so." Another stated that "There are some that's above you, and that's it."

The daily interactions between residents clearly illustrates that they are not all the same, some are definitely perceived as higher or better than others. However, while deference is given to those who are perceived as worthy of extra respect, the recipients of such respect can in no way appear to expect or demand such treatment. Indeed, the most revered or best thought of, are frequently those who deliberately down-play the economic, the authority, and therefore the social differences which are so evident. This can involve several strategies such as

nominating or receiving nominations for club positions from persons in economically separate categories, or "playing at being right foolish" in socially neutral places like club meetings or parties, and guarding against being placed in potentially explosive situations which means rarely drinking in the public Clubs or taking jobs which habitually involve unpopular decisions. In short, while community members must be seen to subscribe to the locally held belief of community egalitarianism, it is, in practice, a public verbal display of belief and a private acceptance of status differentiation.

3. RELIGION

In Chapter III I spent considerable time detailing the historical importance of religion in Trepassey and outlining the significant role of the Parish Priest in the development of the community. I also stated that by the 1980's Trepassey was still considered to be a Catholic community although the wholesale dominance of Catholicism had been reduced from one hundred per cent to an eighty per cent majority. While the introduction of the highly visible Pentecostal faith was in large measure responsible for the lessening impact of Catholicism, those in the community who were professed Anglicans actually made up the major portion of the non-Catholic population. When I was in Trepassey the Parish Priest estimated there were over two hundred Anglicans living there.

I was repeatedly told that "Religion is the big thing. You never really get

away from it." Non-Catholic informants told me that "For the adults, if you are an Anglican, its difficult sometimes because you don't have a church group to belong to." While the Anglican clergy come to Trepassey once a month to hold a service in the Catholic Church most find, "it's just not enough. This way it's only a service with no ongoing fellowship, no feeling that you're part of a united group." Many went on to say that the children had problems too. "At school your kids sit in the library when others go to Mass. Locals view this as wrong and say 'not good enough for you or what?'".

While many of the Anglicans do go to Mass on a regular basis, between visits from their own clergy, they point out that they can never really feel part of the service because they can't take communion and are not asked to be readers or servers. While most of the locals approve of those Protestants who go to Mass "they just don't understand the feeling of isolation you get when everyone knows you're not Catholic and can't take part".

Although many of the migrant Anglicans do feel a degree of separation from the local Catholics in religious interactions, here their similarity to the other Protestants, the Pentecostals, ends. The Pentecostals, while few in number, are much more visible in the community, their lifestyle more completely separating them in all areas of community interaction.

During a casual conversation with a Trepassey resident it came out that she was not Catholic. When she added that she did go to church I asked whether she attended at the Catholic or the Protestant church. She answered, "There's no Protestant church here, only Catholics and Pentecostals. I go to Mass like the

others".

During my 1984 residency in Trepassey the Pentecostal congregation numbered only twenty-eight persons (nine adults and nineteen children -- two families are from the Lower Coast, one from St. Vincent's and the others from the Fishery Product Houses -- in all, three full families and three half families with just mothers and children attending, the fathers choosing not to be involved). This is quite a reduction from the eighty-two member congregation of 1979.

I see two likely explanations for this reduction in the congregation. First, when I was in Trepassey the Fish Plant was closed due to the trawlerman's strike and the pastor said the congregation was moving away either to look for work elsewhere or to go back to their own natal communities since they weren't working anyway. He also told me that there were ten to twelve families in the community who were professed Pentecostals but who did not come to church for a variety of reasons. Chief among the reasons is because there is "a certain limit of holy living [necessary] to be a member". It is my belief that it is this second reason -- the necessary degree of "holy living" -- which is the major reason for the current low number of active church members. Abell, who writes of Pentecostals in rural America, states, "In response to God's expectations, they live a life which brings ridicule from their peers, but they continue to work hard at letting their light shine, bright and holy" (1982:199).

It's difficult to be a Pentecostal in Trepassey. For the people in the church there is little opportunity for community socializing because all the activities which form the nucleus of social life in the town are prohibited. Pentecostals do

not drink, dance, or play cards or bingo. Activities for the Pentecostal Assembly revolve around their church: two church services on Sunday -- a morning service geared for "Christians" (i.e. Pentecostals) and an evening service that would normally be gospel/missionary but because only the regular "Christian" assembly attends, it is a teaching service as well. A women's group meets every second Monday night for Bible study, work period and prayer. Wednesday night is prayer meeting. Every second Thursday is the Missionette group for girls; and a boy's youth group meets on Fridays. In short, the life-style of the Pentecostals is an isolating one. The Anglicans have no church-related prohibitions against community activities and for the most part are active joiners.

A final point concerning the Pentecostals is that most, and possibly all, of the assembly members are Labourer rural migrants. The church is in the Fishery Product Houses area of town as is the minister's house. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Pentecostals are the least integrated migrant group in Trepassey. Their low socio-economic standing prevented them from gaining easy access to some avenues of community integration (joining clubs and voluntary organizations) and when these avenues opened up recently their religious beliefs prevented them from joining in and extending their social networks. The Anglicans have more opportunities to integrate since, for the most part, they arrived with a high socio-economic standing and have been joining in with community activities.

4. INFORMAL SOCIAL ACTIVITIES -- FRIENDSHIPS AND PRIVATE SOCIAL NETWORKS

Frequently pursued leisure activities outside of the formally organized clubs and religious services are diverse, reflecting a variety of tastes in entertainment. Trepassey is well situated for those who enjoy the traditional outdoor activities of fishing, hunting, cutting wood and gardening. Athletics are very popular in Trepassey and this interest is reflected in well attended adult team sport events which include floor hockey, softball and basketball. Darts has a long history of popularity in many rural communities and while no longer a universal pastime in Trepassey one active community league continues to play regularly and there are a few private groups of friends who meet weekly at homes on a rotation basis to play darts as well. Bingo remains both an important social event and a major fund-raising mechanism, it can be played twice a week in the community and there is always a good turnout, particularly so when large jackpots and prizes are due to be won. Card parties, 45's and auction, are also popular fund-raising activities as well as being a frequent choice for an evening gathering of friends. Trepassey has two local "Clubs", situated just outside town on either side of the main highway from St. John's, where customers can play darts or pool, drink, talk, listen to music and dance. There are numerous impromptu parties given by some groups of friends as well as several community-wide "Do's" held each year.

Videos have become very popular and a high proportion of the population owns video equipment in addition to televisions which are owned by practically everyone. As a final form of social entertainment there is the ever-available trip

to Town, meaning St. John's.

Many of the women in the community who are not employed are dedicated watchers of "the stories", the afternoon soap operas on television. A goodly number of all the women are also avid readers of light romance novels, many having a membership in the Harlequin Romance Book Club, receiving up to eighteen books a month which are traded back and forth and discussed in detail. The local library keeps a large selection of light romance and westerns (for the men) in stock, these two categories of books reputedly being heaviest in demand.

Permeating the whole social fabric of the community are two items, cars and alcohol. People in Trepassey do not walk, they drive, and most households that have vehicles (which is the majority) actually have two or three cars, one for each adult. Families drive to church or the shops whether they live one block or five miles away. Children are usually driven to and from school (including round-trips at lunch time) as well as to and from all their extra-curricular activities.

In fairness to the community residents I will restate that during my residence in Trepassey the Fish Plant was closed because of the trawlermen's strike, so much of the excess driving of short distances that I witnessed may simply have been a function of bored adults looking for any excuse to leave the house. However, I must also admit that most whom I questioned on this issue simply laughed and said "when you have a car why walk?" or, "It's not good for 'Participaction' but if the cars are there why not use them?" [31]

[31] "Participaction" is a term used in a national advertising campaign to promote exercise and physical fitness.

The fact that I did not have a car and did walk made me a highly visible personage in this mobile community. It also illustrated the natural kindness of the majority of residents who were constantly offering me rides during my daily walks around the community. During the formal interview stage of my data gathering most informants insisted on picking me up from my place of residence and driving me back afterwards, whether the interview was at their home or office, during business hours or in the evening.

It is not clear whether the number of available vehicles was a cause or effect of the locally perceived desirability of frequent trips to Town. Whichever was the case, Trepassey residents do travel to St. John's frequently, some twice a week while others only once or twice a month.

The second item, alcohol, is a very real problem in Trepassey. Drinking begins at an early age and simply carries on as an accepted habit and integral component of most social or leisure activities. One informant related the following;

> Drinking is the major problem here, and some drugs as well. There is a flourishing A.A. group, 22 to 23 members, from young to middle-age. The problem is there's lots of money around but nowhere to spend it, so it's spent on that stuff. There is also a lot of people who smoke and that uses up money and time too. Alcoholism is primarily a man's disease but obviously it causes family problems as well.

The R.C.M.P. report that the vast majority of all problems they deal with revolve around the excess or improper use of alcohol. This leads to frequent impaired driving offences, charges of having open bottles in a moving vehicle, a variety of other traffic violations, alcohol induced fights, and alcohol-related family violence. I was told many times that "people have no respect for minor laws;

particularly motor vehicle or liquor" and disregard them continually.

Other laws are ignored as well. It is a common practice to poach and as one informant told me "people have always poached. Before regulations you got what you needed when you needed it, you still do."

When I first began asking people what there was to do in Trepassey their initial response was invariably "nothing". They would then go on to explain that most rural communities were boring and you had to "make your own fun" or "go to Town as often as possible". From their opening comments they would then progress to listing the local activities in which they, and their families when applicable, were involved in.

I soon began to notice a pattern developing from the numerous responses I solicited. The pattern roughly translated into integrative networks of friends and activities for some migrants and most locals, and virtual social isolation for others. The pivotal element which determined what category each fit into was associated with the resident's personal committment to the community. Specifically, whether residents chose to look upon Trepassey as a home base or whether they saw Trepassey as a stop-gap only or even as a sentence to be endured. Those who chose to see it as a home included many native residents -- locals -- and a variety of migrants. Among the contented migrants were some who had made permanent committments to settle there, and others who were only there for a few years and expected to be transferred.

Those who chose to look upon Trepassey as only a stop-gap or a sentence

again included a variety of migrants, most of whom anticipated transfers to places they deemed more suitable (usually the hope was for somewhere nonrural), but it also included some locals and migrants who appeared to be resigned to permanent habitation locally but just didn't like it. Most, though not all, of the single public agents fit somewhere in this second category, suffering from varying degrees of discontent.

Single adults in Trepassey, like most other rural areas, have problems peculiar to their status of being an unmarried person. Marriage is an accepted norm so an unmarried person is an anomaly. Most socializing in Trepassey, outside of the organized clubs and sex-specific team sports, is done as couples. Many of the single public agents in Trepassey are teachers who have come to a rural community to gain their first teaching experience. In Trepassey teachers do not form a socially cohesive group. At the elementary school a majority of the teachers are married women with children. The staff is stable, most are locals or at least settled into the community. The few single teachers on staff do not socialize with their co-workers. As one reported to me, "we are not rejected socially for being outsiders but because we are single and have little in common with the others."

Age is the second factor in the equation. Most single teachers tend to be younger than their married and well-established counterparts yet, while a few of the younger married teachers will, on occasion, include a single teacher in a social activity, it is not done often enough to be considered a reliable component of a social network. The staff at the high school is less stable, and while the large turnover of teachers is accepted well by the few locals or settled persons on staff,

again age and marital status exclude the newcomers from entering their co-workers social networks.

There are two further elements which need to be understood when assessing the opportunities available to the single public agents' abilities to integrate into the community. The first is work load and the second is visibility. For the first element, work load, I will again address most of my comments to the plight of single teachers because it is they who are most affected by this point. Of the single teachers I interviewed, a majority volunteered the information that they as teachers were expected to participate in numerous extra-curricular activities, and as single persons they were asked to take on more extra responsibilities than their married counterparts. Beyond the typical teaching duties, extra activities included such things as coaching athletic teams, participating in bingo and card party fundraisers (the proceeds to go toward the purchase of school equipment), editing the school newspaper, working with the school Annual Committee, overseeing the French Club or most other school clubs, directing drama efforts, and chaperoning dances on a rotation basis.

While most teachers take turns chaperoning dances, on the night of the Fireman's Ball, a major community event in Trepassey, there was also a teenage dance held which the single teachers were expected to chaperone rather than giving them the option of going to the Ball. Again, socializing in Trepassey is usually done as couples so it was taken for granted that married teachers would go to the Ball with their spouses and the single teachers would take care of the children at the teenage dance. Both children and parents expect these extra duties to

be performed by the teachers, particularly the single teachers. While they may appreciate the fact that the extra duties are performed, most of my informants felt that if the teachers didn't do what was expected they would be condemned so the expectation outweighs the appreciation. Not only do these additional duties take time, they also take energy thus leaving the single teachers with little time and energy to expend on those few socializing opportunities that are available to them.

Others among the public agents, and some additional Skilled and Professional position holders, suffer from this time and energy deficit as well. In particular I speak of those who are involved with the medical clinic, which is open during the day and again in the evening, and those who work shifts like many of the enforcement officers. For these people it is not a matter of an extra work load because they are single (most in fact are married) but a work schedule which coincides negatively with the time of day that most socializing is taking place. It is difficult to establish and maintain a broad spectrum social network when the demands of your occupation prevent regular participation in social activities.

All public agents, and indeed all community residents, have to deal with the issue of visibility, but single public agents are among those who are most affected by it. Informants told me "You live in a gold-fish bowl, everybody watches", and "You have to keep a low profile, you are always watched". When the teachers went to the Lions Bingo Game which was held especially to raise money for the purchase of computers for the high school, the next day all the students knew how many cards they played and what they ate and won. If they go to one of

the local Clubs for a drink the next day students will say "You were at the Club last night sir and you were loaded". Or, "Sir, now I know why you've got that pot belly, you love your beer". Other times its "Miss, you had two drinks last night, my sister saw you". Or, "Don't like onions on your sub sir, do you?".

People in authority positions are expected to maintain certain standards. One local teacher told me "Your social behaviour is noticed more if you are an insider and you are judged as the teacher rather than as a cousin or friend". Another informant was discussing teachers and telling me that they tend not to be involved with the community outside of teaching and school activities. She went on to say "Maybe they think themselves superior" yet she also noted that "Most single teachers go to St. John's for the weekend. There's nothing for them to do here, they can't go bar hopping and darts are going downhill". The escape to St. John's is a popular route for most single residents, and many couples, but even that is fraught with problems. Some single female teachers reported to me that at the beginning of the school year they went to Town every second weekend but managed it less often as the year progressed and the extra-curricular work piled up. Another, a male teacher this time, said he would go to the Clubs in St. John's but "The kids come up to Town too, so you may run into them anyway".

There are social barriers for a number of community residents because of their occupational positions. Not only are they expected to maintain high moral standards but they must also guard against becoming caught in difficult situations. For instance, the wife of one industrial manager told me "You can't be

friendly at the 'Club' to someone who you may have to discipline the next day at work", and because of the prevalence of alcohol abuse, just being at the "Club" opens the potential for a confrontation between yourself and someone who is belligerently drunk and harbouring a grudge -- a situation which is best avoided altogether. As a result, most public agents, along with anyone in a position of authority, do not feel free to use the Clubs on a regular basis as part of entertainment. In short, the most common activity for all those who feel discontentment is going to Town regularly, yet those who are reconciled to living in Trepassey, or even happy with their residence situation, also make frequent trips to St. John's.

I was particularly interested in discovering that from among all Skilled and Professional persons, and among public agents specifically, only one group can be readily identified as those who tend to socialize for the most part with their own occupational peers. (I am excluding the Pentecostals here because while they do tend to socialize as a group it is due to their shared religious beliefs rather than any trait resulting from a shared occupation.) This group is the enforcement officers, and while I say they tend to be a socially cohesive group, it is not a group which includes all in the occupational category and they are by no means isolated socially from the rest of the community. Indeed, each of the three R.C.M.P. constables is also an active member of one of the local voluntary organizations, one with the Lions and two with the Recreation Commission. They are also involved with the Mens Stadium Floor Hockey League; one told me that "every time an enforcement officer gets penalized a cheer goes up in the stadium,

but it's done in a good natured way and we're all accepted as team members just like everybody else."

Each of the R.C.M.P. constables is married and one wife is actively employed in giving music lessons locally, another is involved with Girl Guides while the third is busy with the care of her new baby. The latter two wives are also planning to take on paid jobs in the community -- one as a nurse, the other as a teacher.

There is an R.C.M.P. policy which encourages its officers to involve themselves with the communities in which they are posted, both for good public relations and to aid in their personal social comfort. These officers and their families are involved in Trepassey life and seem content with their current situation although one did complain, and I feel justifiably so, of the depressing weather. As R.C.M.P. policy dictates, each one expects to be transfered elsewhere after a resident period of approximately four years.

The other enforcement people include the Fisheries and Wildlife officers. Here we have a mixture of those who are permanently settled locals, permanently settled migrants and transient migrants. Some own homes (one in the Dock, another just north of McNeil's Corner but still in the Harbour area, and a third outside of town down the Highway) the others rent in the D.O.T. area as do two of the R.C.M.P. officers with the third one renting the house attached to the R.C.M.P. Detachment Headquarters (at the top of the Fishery Houses). Some of these public agents are active participants in sport leagues and are also involved in some local voluntary organizations -- one with the Fire Brigade, another on the

Town Council. A third used to be a member of the Lions but has now quit -- and the rest are not members of any structured community organization at all. Views on the advisability of generalized community interaction vary among this group. One who has no community committments told me that he "usually socializes with the other enforcement officers" and while he had never associated exclusively with "these types before, in a small town you must be careful." Another, who has community committments, told me that he plays "floor hockey for the exercise and the chance to interact with potential clients on a human level rather than on an exclusively professional one."

All of the enforcement officers I spoke with are men, and married. Like their spouses, some of the wives are active in community organizations while others are not. Most do at least go to Mass and the major community dances or play bingo occasionally. Beyond the more visible social pursuits several of the enforcement group will get together privately to socialize at their homes playing indoor tennis, poker or other card games. Most often it is just the men who play these games while occasionally the women will get together as well. Like the single teachers, the enforcement officers tend to feel that going out to the local "Club" to drink would be inappropriate; they would be too visible and the potential for confrontation too high. They too are expected to maintain high standards, particularly the R.C.M.P. who arrest others for alcohol abuse.

I will only briefly mention the clergy here who are, of course, in a unique situation. As stated earlier in this chapter the Pentecostal Minister, along with the whole Pentecostal congregation, are not involved in any of the general

community activities. The current Parish Priest is not active in the community outside of his role of Priest except for his participation in some "committee work" such as the Ferryland School Board and the Friends of the Fisheries. The Presentation Sisters are a teaching order and as one said to me "a teacher is a teacher whether she is a Religious or not". Clearly those who are associated with religious ideals are watched very closely and are expected to be somewhat socially distant. A few of the Nuns, however, are involved in some of the community activities -- one was a member of the Woman's Institute, another used to teach music lessons, a third was involved with the Girl Guides and the Principal of the Elementary School also teaches dance.

Beyond the few loosely defined groupings of persons which I have already discussed I found no other groups of public agents which stand identifiably apart from the rest of the community. Of those who have not been specifically mentioned, some take part in community activities while others do not. Some have established social networks through their associations with co-workers, as members of clubs or from childhood friendships which have matured during their lifetime in the community. Others have no social ties at all to the community.

From the various partial social networks that I was able to reconstruct three patterns of social integration emerged. First, there is a tendency, albeit with many exceptions, for public agents entering the community to establish social ties with residents in the Skilled and Professional occupation categories. Second, (and this is really just a slight modification of the first point), there is a tendency for all Skilled and Professional residents (locals and migrants, private and industrial

business people, along with the public agents already mentioned) to have the bulk of their close social networks composed of their occupational peers. Third, most exceptions to the first two points are due to the continuation of close ties with early childhood friends. In other words, while like class tends to associate with like class, old friendships can and do transcend class boundaries.

This third point, early childhood friendships, introduces an additional aspect of social networks which really only affects on resident locals. As I stated in Chapter II, Trepassey is composed of several geographically bounded neighbourhoods. Each of these neighbourhoods has a separate history of settlement which is evidenced today by the concentration of given surnames in specifically identifiable areas of the community. For most of Trepassey's history new building to accomodate the needs of maturing families took place on inherited land which led to the continued concentration, over generations, of groups of families within their natal section of the community. It has been only in the last two decades that other, previously unsettled, areas of the community were developed; such as the Fishery Houses, D.O.T., and the North East areas.

Administratively (or even politically on occasion) Trepassey may be a unit, but culturally and socially it is not. It continues to be divided into distinct geographical neighbourhoods giving the social fabric of the town a patchwork quilt effect with very little real overlap. While each of the old and well-established neighbourhoods has a long tradition of internal social networks the new areas have no such history and cannot be said to have developed into internally cohesive social groupings. During the past twenty years, in addition to migrant

families entering the community and settling into the new areas of town, there has been a small movement of some young families of locals also moving into these same new areas. These relocated locals bring with them the social network strands which continue to bind them to their natal areas of the community. So while the social networks of most Skilled and Professional persons (and this includes all public agents) are composed of other Skilled and Professional persons -- their networks having extended to include co-workers or fellow organization and club members -- among the locals most will also include some persons from their natal neighbourhoods and for these there is no pattern of class predictability.

5. COMMUNITY MEMBERSHIP

I have found that community membership is not necessarily an inherited characteristic, it can also be an achieved status. For those residents who enter the community as migrants, and therefore strangers, several opportunities exist to assist them in their integrative process. It is easier to begin the process of integration if you enter the community as the holder of a Skilled or Professional position. As indicated in Chapter IV, because occupations of these two categories tend to be divided into parallel strata, those traditionally held by local residents (private business and industrial lower management positions) and those traditionally assumed by migrant residents (the top ranks of industrial management and a

majority of social service positions), antagonism over employment opportunities is not likely to occur. Such antagonism or competition can, and often does, exist between Labourer migrants and locals because no such separation exists between their employment options, each sharing in the exploitation of the fishery and competing for wage labour opportunities offered by the Fish Plant and the construction industry.

All residents have the opportunity to develop social networks through extending their ties with co-workers. Beyond the work setting, social networks may be further extended through involvement in community clubs and organizations, and there is the local expectation that newcomers will want to involve themselves in appropriate community activities. Those with higher socio-economic standings traditionally have a higher level of involvement in voluntary clubs and organizations when compared to those with lower socio-economic standings. Skilled and Professional migrants, therefore, have the opportunity to plug into an existing structure of social activities which allows them to become known outside of the work place and in turn to begin to know their local counterparts in multiple settings. This quickly extends their opportunities to construct their own social networks from this combination of co-worker associations in addition to associations developed from their memberships in clubs and organizations.

Presently, these same opportunities are begining to be available to Labourer migrants as well but seemingly not to the same degree. Few Labourer locals are involved in community clubs so the same rapport between peers is rarely

available to the involved Labourer migrants. Unfortunately, I do not know if there are alternative avenues available to Labourer migrants which would differ from those I witnessed as available to migrants with higher socio/economic standings. It may well be that dart leagues, drinking at the local "Clubs", or hunting parties, etc., serve a similar integrative opportunity. While my data do not speak to this point I see it as an interesting topic for future exploration.

Clearly those "...individuals who express attitudes consistant with and behave in accordance with another's normative expectations are better liked than those who do not" (Stein 1982:15) and being liked is a component of acceptance. Subscribing to locally held values, such as being married, involving oneself in community activities, and vocally or behaviourally supporting the concept that none are better than others, all add up to the possibility and probability of being liked. Alternatively, those who do not involve themselves, who are not married, or in some manner contradict the view that all are equal (either by acting in a "high-handed" manner or by having a job which habitually places the incumbent in a position of power over others which can not be ignored even in the realm of socializing) will always be considered as something less than "one of us". Following a religion other than Catholicism does not, in itself, exclude one from attaining community membership -- many Anglicans, for instance, are integrated community members. However, if following a religion, such as the Pentecostal faith, denies involvement in locally accepted activities or in any other way promotes social isolation, it will place barriers between segments of the population.

The forgoing discussion allows at least tentative answers to two questions: **"Who is an integrated and fully-accepted community member in the town of Trepassey?"** and, **"Is the model of stranger/outsider/insider valid today?"**. I will answer the second question first.

The model as it was originally conceived is no longer wholly applicable, but with some definitional modification we can understand why the terminology remains in use. The fact that the terminology is still in use by members of the rural community is the product of several reasons. Like the concept of egalitarianism the terms stranger, outsider and insider reflects a traditional belief whose public display has continued after the private reality has, in many aspects, ceased to exist, and in this instance, and at this time, the public display has almost ceased to exist as well.

Once when I was sitting in the dining-room of the Trepassey Motel I overheard a conversation about myself between a local resident and a young local child. The child had asked who I was to which the adult replyed, "She's a strange lady". The child responded "What makes her strange?" I admit I was curious about the answer to this question myself and was relieved to hear that the explanation was, "Not really strange, but a stranger, she doesn't belong". I was the object lesson for the passage of a traditional belief, and vocabulary, to a new generation.

While strangers can be easily identified, in many instances outsiders and insiders are not so easily separated. Frequently the term outsider is not used as an "exclusive" term but rather as an "inclusive" one. Saying that someone is an

outsider is often a statement of community pride indicating that the town and its people have proven themselves worthy enough to make others want to come here, to settle here, and finally to belong here. As Gunness (1973) states, and with which I concur, the only way to find out who are outsiders "...is by asking for information pertaining to genealogies -- this is not a topic of conversation" (121) and is not readily discernible from public or private interactions.

Having previously stated that place of origin is not an appropriate means for categorizing residents is not meant to imply that the local perception of residents does not include knowledge of one's place of origin, but rather place of origin can cease, over time, to be either an automatically exclusive or inclusive element to community membership. In many instances the term "outsider" is used situationally. It is meant to imply nothing more or less than the fact that the person so-designated was not born in Trepassey. Far eclipsing place of origin in importance is the public subscription to locally held beliefs and values, the establishing and maintenance of a stable social network, and the proof, over time, of one's personal worth through consistant behaviour and contributions made to the community either through involvement in local organizations and activities or in some other manner which shows committment to the community.

This does not mean that all those who historically have been called outsiders are now to be seen as fully integrated community members. It is difficult to know if there is, for some people, a limit to the degree of community acceptance to which they can aspire. In other words, is there some point where the old definition of exclusion surfaces? I'm reminded of several comments passed on to

me indicating that for some, the fact will always remain that, "They aren't from here". One seemingly well-integrated fellow noted that "some rare times, of an evening, you get caught because you can't share the old memories. Nobody says anything, but there it is". Conversely another, a local this time, was criticising the actions of an enforcement officer. He said, "He should know better, he belongs here even if he wasn't born here".

Currently the distinctions between outsiders and insiders are much more subtle than they have been described -- and possibly than they were -- in the past. That is, the old categories still have validity as gross divisions that can be used to categorize people when it suits a specific situation, but are to limiting to accurately categorize all persons in all situations.

Outsiders, much in the traditional sense, still do exist, but they are now a much reduced and more clearly defined group. I presented the definition for the "outsider" which has been commonly accepted in rural ethnographies, in Chapters I and V describing them to be "...a person (usually a professional who resided in the community for some time but was not born in it) of whom much is known, thus lowering his perceived unpredictability and threat" (Dinham 1977:67). Today's outsiders are long term residents of the community, local or migrant in origin, who in some manner have been judged to be either non-accepting of some basic local belief or have chosen to hold themselves removed from totally integrative involvement.

While migrant status is still an element of the outsider category, this category no longer represents the highest level of integration that a migrant can

achieve. It is possible for migrant residents, particularly migrant public agents and other professionals, to achieve, for most purposes, full community membership status which removes place of origin as the primary defining characteristic of insiders -- insiders now meaning fully accepted and integrated community members.

However, a subtle difference does exist between community members who are locals and community members who are migrants. Because place of origin is recognized locally as a descriptive trait, community members can be best defined either as "insiders", meaning fully integrated locals, or as "inside-outsiders", a term I introduce meaning fully integrated migrants.

There is also a possibility that locals could be relegated to the position of outsider which would, therefore, remove place of origin as an essential characteristic for outsiders -- outsiders now meaning a very well known resident of the community who doesn't "quite" belong, either from personal choice (eg. those who do not involve themselves in a completely socially integrative manner), or as the product of locally perceived non-acceptance of locally held beliefs and values (eg. enforcement officers who arrest fellow community residents).

Again, however, it is necessary to recognize the subtle difference between a migrant "outsider" and a local "outside-insider" (a second term I introduce) who, for various reasons, rejects parts of the insider roles. The point is, the current situation is much more complex than the stranger/outsider/insider model would indicate. Definite gradations of community membership are possible and place of origin is only one factor in the equation.

A stranger, "someone about whom the community knows little or nothing" (Dinham 1977:67), is still a stranger.

CHAPTER VII

THE ACTIONS AND REACTIONS OF PUBLIC AGENTS IN TREPASSEY

1. INTRODUCTION

In Trepassey the public agents include a broad spectrum ranging from those who are strangers, outsiders, outside-insiders, inside-outsiders and insiders. Assessment of the impact of rural environment upon bureaucratic decision-making was facilitated by the presence of these multiple examples of public agents who represent varying degrees of community membership.

It does appear that public agents can, and do, achieve something like insider status. I have already discussed, in the preceeding two chapters, several factors that affect this possibility and the ease or difficulty with which this can happen. However, two of the more important considerations have yet to be fully explored. The discussion which follows focuses on the roles available to public agents in Trepassey and includes the impact emanating from these final two variables; family status and the demands of the job.

2. PUBLIC AGENTS IN TREPASSEY

I have described already some of the problems associated with the status of single adult in Trepassey, and have shown that marriage is supported by locally held beliefs and values. I also found evidence which strongly suggests that family status can be an important determinant of the roles available to public agents.

Among the married local population of public agents in Trepassey I have personal knowledge of nine; one holds a municipal position while the rest are teachers. I found all to be well integrated community members but there was great variation in the types and amounts of their community involvement. Involvement ranged from much to little community participation by either spouse, yet each couple was accepted and accepting and had well-established social networks, again of varying size.

As far as I was able to determine, there is only one unmarried local public agent, a significant point in itself. This person admits openly that while living and working in Trepassey they have little interest or real involvement in local affairs or activities. He/she does not have current knowledge of the local power structure and is not privy to much of the local gossip. While numerous family ties exist in the community this person's regular weekly social network includes only one relative with whom frequent visits take place, and that is all. He/she goes to St. John's every weekend, leaving Trepassey Friday after school and returning Monday morning. While a comparable life-style by any newcomer to the community would leave them forever at the status of a stranger, this person, when asked to objectively place his/herself on the scale of stranger to insider,

without hesitation chose the status of an outsider. I concur with this placement because it is supported by their own known history in the community, present family ties, and the fact that a committment to the community does exist through the ownership of a home. This person has, in short, lost their insider status and become an inside-outsider, through non-compliance with the locally expected behaviour patterns of marriage and involvement in community activities.

The married and unmarried urban migrant public agents yielded evidence of several variations to the integrative theme. I divided the group of married migrant public agents into three sub-categories: six whose spouse is a local and whose committment to the community thereby appears permanent, one who has migrated with his family and is determined to settle permanently in the community, and six who, with their families, will reside in the community for only a set period of time.

The migrant public agents with local spouses all own their own homes and have lived in Trepassey for many years. There are two female representatives of the medical profession: one has lived in Shoal (Low) Point for twenty-two years and has two children at home and three grown children now living in St. John's; the other has lived in the Dock for over twelve years and has five young children at home. There is also one female substitute teacher who has lived in the Lower Coast for ten years and has three children at home. There are three male enforcement officers. One lives in the Dock, has two children and has been a resident for nineteen years, having migrated to Trepassey as an adolescent with

his parents. The second has lived in the northern section of the Harbour area for fifteen years and has four young children. The third one lives in the North West area, has eight children and has been a resident for nineteen years. With the exception of the latter male enforcement officer who currently lives in the North West area of town (for ten years his family lived in the Harbour but outgrew the house supplied by the Department of Fisheries and Oceans) each of the others in this sub-category live in the natal neighbourhood of their spouses, in homes that were either inherited or on land that was subdivided from parental holdings.

Community interaction by each of these public agents takes place on several levels. Each has fit into the natal network of his or her spouse. Each, either currently or in the past, has been involved in community clubs and organizations. All attend the Catholic Church, although one is an Anglican. With the exception of the substitute teacher, all include within their social networks some of their co-workers. Four have achieved the status of inside-outsiders ("insiders" according to local informants and confirmed by my own observations) while two have not progressed beyond outsider status; one from demands of the job and one as a result of personal circumstances.[32]

Of married public agents who have migrated to the community with their families intending to settle permanantly I can say little, since, I have personal knowledge of only one such person (in the public agent category). My one example is a male representative of the medical profession who has two young

[32] Demands of the job as a factor in the process of integration is discussed in detail later in this chapter.

children, has built a home in the North East area and has lived in Trepassey for four years. Both he and his wife are active members of local organizations, himself the president of one, and their children are involved in appropriate children's organizations. While they are Anglicans, they do attend Mass occasionally and they also attend community dances and "Do's". They have a satisfying social network composed primarily, but not exclusively, of Skilled and Professional persons drawn partially from work associations but mostly from fellow club members. This includes being one of five couples who play darts every Saturday night at each others' homes. When I left Trepassey this man and his family were well into the transition phase, from being strangers to becoming outsiders, and further progression is likely.

My sub-group of migrant married public agents who were living in Trepassey for only a few years before moving elsewhere included a sample population of six men. The first is an adult educator with three teenage children, who rents in the D.O.T., and has lived in Trepassey over four years. He does not know how much longer he will be staying, but expects to be gone in a year. The second is the Pentecostal Minister who has two young children, rents in the Fishery Houses and has completed three-quarters of a two year contract which he will not be extending. There are also four enforcement officers in this category, three R.C.M.P. constables and one Fisheries officer. Each of the R.C.M.P. officers expects to be stationed in Trepassey for four years. The most junior officer in the Trepassey Detachment, having less than one year in the community, has one small child and rents in the D.O.T. The second in seniority has lived in

Trepassey one and a half years, has two small children and another one on the way, and also rents in the D.O.T. The third R.C.M.P. officer has three children, rents in the Fishery Houses and has been in Trepassey for two and a half years. The Fisheries officer has one child, rents in the D.O.T., and while in Trepassey for only nine months is already looking for a transfer.

Needless to say the transient nature of their commitment to the community negates the possibility of insider status to any in this group. In fact, it also renders improbable outsider status. What is left is a gradation of stranger status. In Chapter VI I detailed the degree of community involvement for each of the three R.C.M.P. officers, along with their families, showing all to be highly motivated participants in many local activities. Even though each will become well known, and perhaps even liked and respected by the end of their stay in the community, the nature of their occupation, along with the limited time committment, will not raise them above the status of a moderately well known stranger. However, an interesting possibility was raised when one officer predicted that his wife, who is very involved in local activities, will be sorely missed when he is next transferred. This suggests to me the possibility of separate status allocations being granted each spouse in much the same way that separate status is available to those who have a local spouse.

Unfortunately I have insufficient data to specifically speak to this point but my opinion is that the possibility does exist. For instance, the wife of the adult educator is far more involved in local activities, and better known personally in the community, than her public agent husband who maintains only "superficial

friendships" with fellow residents. Alternatively the wife of the most recently arrived fisheries officer has made no social connections whatsoever while he has pursued a social connection with some of his co-workers. The Pentecostal Minister and his wife have socially isolated themselves from everyone, including their congregation. Among this group, therefore, none has risen above the status of stranger but some individuals have become more generally integrated than others, and I expect by associated reputation have increased the community's awareness of their respective spouses.

I come, finally, to the category of unmarried migrant public agents whose integrative options I discussed in some detail in Chapter VI. With this group I must, of necessity, include a second aspect of the issue currently being discussed -- the influence of the presence/absence of spouse and/or children on the degree of community integration -- and address what marriage represents in the value system of the community.

At the time of my fieldwork there was a number of unmarried teachers who have been living and working in Trepassey for varying lengths of time. Some came to gain a first teaching experience while others came to be closer to town or for promotional opportunities.

These teachers have employed similar stategies in providing themselves with greater privacy despite living and working in a rural community where privacy is militated against. The basic strategy is to do what is expected of one locally (eg. taking on the majority of the extra-curricular activities), not to get caught in a compromising situation, and to save the greater part of their socializing for

frequent trips to St. John's. To comply outwardly with local values, one of the female teachers smuggled her boyfriend into the community for a weekend visit, bringing him in under cover of darkness and spiriting him away again in the same manner. It is interesting that while this group share the same integrative problems and know each other, there has been no attempt to form an internally cohesive social network beyond those who share living arrangements. All of this group are, and will remain for the duration of their residence, strangers.

There is also a group of public agents who are single by reason of religious vocation, the Priest and the nuns. Even though they are single for acceptable reasons their special and sacred relationship with the church keeps them as socially isolated -- albeit on a somewhat exaulted plane -- as their fellow single residents. They too suffer the scourge of high visibility, in addition to local expectations of their maintaining high moral standards, expectations of their doing more for the community than their specific public agent occupations call for, and being surrounded by the mystic cloak of the Church. Nobody in this category would be permitted to achieve insider status, the community preferring to keep a humble distance from the highly religious. However recent trends in the demystification of the church now allow for the status of outsider to be reached by those who aspire to deeper community integration. For those in this category about whom I have personal knowledge, none have yet gone beyond a status of well-known stranger but the opportunity for status progression does exist.

In Chapter VI I demonstrated the existence of three barriers to the integrative opportunities of single public agents. First is the local belief that adults should be married and raise families, and non-compliance with this basic standard of rural existence leads to varying degrees of social isolation. Marriage is a public demonstration of an individuals willingness to accept responsibility and to place personal needs and desires second to those of their family. Because marriage is the norm most community activities reflect this state and socializing is done in couples. Adults who are not married, and in most instances this means they are not part of a couple, find that their opportunities to participate as a single individual are few or uncomfortable. The second barrier is the tendency for single public agents to be expected to assume a greater work-load because they are perceived as having more available time than their married co-workers who have family responsibilities. Again as I indicated in Chapter VI, increased work-load is a problem particularly evident in the case of single teachers who are expected to take on the majority of the extra-curricular activities that both parents and students assume will be available. This increased work-load limits the time and energy that single public agents are able to expend in socializing activities. The third barrier is one held in common by all public agents -- visibility. All those in positions of authority are expected to maintain high moral standards, and for those who already appear different, due to their unmarried state, their public appearance is watched even more closely. As with all public agents it would be scandalous for single public agents to be seen drinking heavily or loudly carousing, for example.

Returning to the general issue of the impact of family status on the degree of community integration of public agents, I will summarize the major points I have discovered. To begin with, while having a local spouse may well assist in the integrative process for migrant residents it does not of itself assure community membership. What it does do is open up already established social networks and increase the visibility and accessability of the incumbent through their close association with an already established community member. It also increases the probability of taking up residence in an internally cohesive social neighbourhood rather than beginning community residence in the socially barren newly developing neighbourhoods. Ultimately, however, each new resident is judged on the display of his or her own locally perceived merits. For each of the examples I have used to illustrate aspects of a migrant public agent's integrative opportunities while married to a local spouse, the local spouse was portrayed as an insider. I have no information on potential integrative differences if the local spouse has lost his or her insider status.

Those who migrate as families increase their socializing opportunities simply by being a couple. If both spouses are involving themselves, they jointly increase their public visibility and speed up the "getting to know them" phase. When children are added to the equation they serve to establish common links and conversational possibilities. Single public agents have little potential in gaining insider status since too much of community socializing is done as couples and it is considered abnormal not to be married unless you are married to the church, which in itself separates you from the rest of the community. Most married

public agents who wish to become community members will eventually be accepted as such as long as they do not break local taboos -- eg. to be a protection[33] enforcement officer, or to publicly behave in a superior or high-handed manner. Those who will be living in the community for a short period of time but wish to be involved in local activities are welcomed while those new families who do not make an effort will find themselves existing in social isolation. Those who are return migrant public agents will maintain their local/insider status unless they actively disassociate themselves from the community.

While the general integration pattern I witnessed in Trepassey recognized particular social backgrounds to be potentially reversible assets or liabilities, some specific job categories, and their associated training component, are more completely submitted to local rules for inclusion or exclusion than the rest. In other words, while some categories of public agents were able to choose whether or not they wished to comply with the behaviour necessary to gain community membership, other categories of public agents were virtually cut off from full community acceptance due to particular aspects of their jobs which prevented them from displaying complete compliance with acceptable behavioural patterns.

Throughout this thesis I have grouped all enforcement officers into one category. I did so because for much of my time in Trepassey I thought of them as a single group. At this point in my analysis it is necessary to admit to a flaw in my grouping-mechanism; there are some members of this group who do not

[33] This term is made clear in the discussion to follow.

entirely qualify for inclusion. I refer specifically to one of the Wildlife Officers and two of the Fisheries Officers. While all are locally perceived as enforcement officers an important distinction divides this group. Only one of the Wildlife officers is a "protection" (enforcement) officer and the other is a "field technician" (researcher), and two (or three) of the Fisheries officers are protection (enforcement) officers while the others are Primary Products Inspectors who, as one of them put it, "preach the gospel of fish quality to not-so-quality-conscious fishermen".

It is only the protection officers who routinely must enforce resource protection legislation and are seen to "sneak on people [poachers] who aren't hurting anybody". This distinction is important because while the protection officers are seen to behave in a manner unacceptable for a community member, the other officers are exempted from this criticism. We already know that the R.C.M.P. officers are migrants living in Trepassey for up to four years before they are transfered. It is interesting to note that of the two Fisheries protection officers I spoke with one is a recent migrant who looks forward to a quick transfer -- a stranger -- and the other is a long-time resident who lives a half-hour's drive from town -- an outsider -- while the non-protectionist officers were strangers then outsiders (one was a migrant from another community in the Parish) but have now become inside-outsiders. The non-protectionist Wildlife officer (also a migrant from another community in the Parish) has also attained inside-outsider status while his office-mate (an urban migrant from many years before) is, and will remain, a long-time and well-known outsider. Locals who wish to remain

community members would not accept employment as an enforcement officer. As one resident told me "Nobody would admire a local fellow who would be an enforcement officer".

One informant explained it to me by relating an incident that occured recently during moose-hunting season. Apparently someone with a bull license shot a cow and the moose was then confiscated by the enforcement officer. My informant felt that this was "inflexible treatment" that should not happen between fellow community residents, and that by doing his job the officer was being "unfair to his family who has to live here too and listen to the comments. He's been here a long time and should know better -- shouldn't make his family suffer". This enforcement officer is a long time resident, but although he is well known, he will remain an outsider. Alternatively, a migrant enforcement officer will be accepted as an outsider and one who is not a resource protection officer can attain insider status.

3. RURAL PUBLIC AGENTS AND THEIR POLICY IMPLEMENTATION PRACTICES

I arrive at last at the issue which first shaped my thesis topic. It is;

Do fellow community residents count as a primary reference group in defining the public agents' role? If so, does this include the client population?

The answer must speak to two related subjects. First, if as I have documented, fellow community residents do count as a primary reference group in the

definition of the public agents roles, does this include the client population? Second, how does rural community residence generally impact on the decision-making processes implemented by the public agents?

For those public agents who are either integrated or becoming integrated, and have social networks of friends and acquaintances, these networks become a reference group in defining the public agents' community roles, and this includes their occupational role. Whether or not this reference group directly includes representatives of their client population depends, in part, on the defining characteristics of each public agents mandate. For instance, those public agents charged with the implementation of religious, health or education policies have a very broad-based client population which potentially includes all community residents -- most residents go to church, the medical facilities are utilized by everyone and all parents send their children to the local schools. While many would erroneously assume that the implementors of the judiciary (R.C.M.P.) or resource protection (Wildlife and Fisheries officers) policies would have smaller client populations, drawn primarily from the lower socio-economic residents, it must be remembered that poaching and alcohol abuse are prevalent community problems which know no class boundaries. Additionally, while a public agent may not personally include members of his/her client population within their social networks, the clients may well be in the category of a friend of a friend, or a relative of a friend. While it is true that in rural communities no one is friends with everyone, everyone does know everyone and is expected to appear friendly during "recognition contact" such as passing on the street or meeting in a store

or the church. It is only the recently-arrived strangers who do not know, as a matter of course, some intimate details of the lives of most of the community residents.

In essence this means that fellow community residents can count as a primary reference group in defining public agents' roles and this can include the client population. To move from the realm of theory-- the possibility or even probability of community impact on bureaucratic decision-making -- to the realm of practical knowledge, I had to look for specific examples of job-related behaviour which could be directly attributed to role-input by fellow community residents, including clients.

I have, in this thesis generally, dealt with the integrative potentials of lower-level bureaucrats in a rural environment (public agents), demonstrating that differences do exist between members of this group and between this group and those who hold similar positions elsewhere. In Trepassey some public agents are thoroughly embedded in the community in which they not only serve and live but also hold integrated community membership. Others in Trepassey who hold the same occupational position range in degree of community integration from those who are not yet fully accepted community members through to being outsiders or strangers. Clearly the rural situation, as it is evidenced in Trepassey, does not duplicate the cross-cultural or colonial setting demonstrated by the caste-like societies of the Arctic. While Trepassey is a hierarchical society, local mechanisms are in place which can diffuse status differences and allow some social networks and community activities to bring together representatives from all

three economic/occupational categories such that frequent opportunities exist for public agents and their clients to interact on levels other than their professional associations. Thus the rural situation, as it is evidenced in Trepassey, also does not duplicate the urban setting which socially separates clients from street-level bureaucrats.

Although all public agents may be seen to share certain traits, like a similar socio-economic position, degree of autonomy, and discretionary rights in the implementation of policies, they do differ with regard to which bureaucratic principles and policy guidelines they give their major allegiance. They also differ in their perceptions of the degree of impact rural community residence has on them.

Most teachers agreed that there were some basic differences in how they approached their duties which related to their status as community members. They were divided, however, as to whether they felt these differences reflected positive or negative elements favouring insiders, outsiders or strangers. One such controversial area is classroom problems which may stem from the personal lives of the students. On the one hand it is an advantage to know the details of a home life so that if a child is crying out for attention and misbehaves to get it, while they still need to discipline the child, the teachers' approach would be tempered with the foreknowledge of extenuating circumstances. This would seem to favour insider status for teachers who would then be able to supply personalized treatment to each child.

Many of the insider teachers seem to hold to the belief that private lives should be protected and information known about fellow locals is therefore not

freely shared with strangers. This limits the personalized treatment that the stranger can give to their students. Outsiders, by definition, would share similar knowledge with the insiders. Alternatively some hold that this excess information held by insiders and outsiders is not good. They feel "a child should be taken for what they are, treated alike, and not judged by what is known of their families or background". In this instance strangers are seen to hold the advantage because they approach each child without pre-conceived ideas or judgements. The point is that differences exist between implementation practices based on community membership status. In this instance training is not a general equalizer.

Beyond variation in the ways teachers can approach their students, status differences are also reflected in the way parents will approach the teachers. Some hold that it is best for a principal to be a stranger or outsider because the reduction in community attachment means the incumbent can be objective with parents. On the other hand many insider parents feel they cannot file complaints with people they do not know so they will approach insider teachers to advocate for them. Both of these examples illustrate the potential for client input in the public agent's role.

The major rural environment impact felt among the representatives of the medical profession was the use of public agents as general information brokers. One informant told me, and the others agreed, that people come to her with any problems -- school, Town Council, etc. "It is definitely a different job from the city. Most people need listeners and you get a real mixture of people to listen to"

Also, when a medical officer is dealing with a client population that he or she knows well "there can be some problems with pressure when dealing with compensation claims". I was told that there was a lot of abuse of Workers' Compensation. For instance, two days before the last Trawlerman's strike the ambulance made fourteen trips to St. John's with plantworkers suffering from neck or back ailments. Also, over the preceeding two years there were in total seventy-eight Compensation claims. How one deals with this client pressure is an individual choice but the fact that it is recognized as existing is further testament to the inclusion of the client population as a primary reference group for the behaviour of public agents in rural communities.

As stated in earlier sections of this thesis, enforcement officers attain insider status only if they are not involved in protection activities. This in itself speaks to the influential power of the client population, first in making the selection of such a job by a local community member an impossibility, and second by limiting the degree of community integration available to migrants who do hold the jobs. Even though these enforcement officers are not community members they can still feel the pressures exerted by their fellow community residents and response to these pressures are sometimes evident in recognized implementation practices.

One informant told me that "Everybody knows everybody's business; treading on one person's toes may mean treading on the toes of the whole community". It is difficult for residents to make decisions that affect the livelihood of people they know. Discretion is an important commodity for these occupations because it is possible to deal with many problems unofficially -- "discretion allows

for a warning rather than prosecution because you know the person and their attitudes". Alternatively, when arrest or prosecution is called for, denial of discretion is often used as a strategy. One protection enforcement officer justified his unpopular actions in the following way:

> Before 1981 there was lots of discretion. It used to be if a moose was shot of the wrong sex it didn't much matter. Now the policy is to enforce the rules so the hunter will lose the animal, have his licence revoked for the rest of the season and go to court. Because this is now the official policy it is out of my hands and I explain that to them -- it makes it easier.

Another strategy, which has been utilized in the past, relies on the possession of insider knowledge. One former fisheries officer told me that when he was briefly involved with enforcement -- meaning poachers -- he had no real problems because he knew who they were so he talked to them and laid down the law. He told them to either stop or to be discrete and not put him in the position of having to catch them. He felt this got better results than arresting them out of hand.

Most enforcement officers agreed that living and working in a small community meant that people must be handled differently but the same rules and regulations must be applied and enforced -- "a different approach but with the same results".

4. CONCLUDING REMARKS

The behavioural examples given above support my original hypothesis that

the actions and reactions of public agents in rural settings differ from those described for their counterparts in other settings.

Michael Lipsky's (1971, 1980) analysis of the street-level bureaucrat is rooted in an urban American setting where the bureaucrat, for the most part, deals with a client population rather than a community -- or, to the extent that the client population can be conceptualized as a community, the bureaucrat is not part of it. Lipsky takes the position that the non-voluntary nature of most client/bureaucratic interactions negates client input as a significant element of the street-level bureaucrat's role. This makes possible the conversion of people into clients who are then seen in terms of a set of bureaucratically-relevant attributes rather than as individuals.

Other studies of analogous roles in different settings have resulted in different concepts, examples of which include: marginal man (Dunning 1959); agent (Brody 1975; Inglis 1971); middleman, patron and broker (Paine 1971, 1977). This second set of studies is composed primarily of Arctic material which places the white population, as the holders of the status position, within a cross-cultural or colonial setting. While living in close proximity to their native client population, they are separated from them by virtue of their occupation, life-style and ethnic differences. According to Dunning the result was "...ethnic caste-type societies" (1959:118).

The common element, therefore, for all of these studies is that the bureaucracy and its representing agent is seen as a force exterior to the client community.

In rural Newfoundland communities, there are found a number of statuses which fit Lipsky's definition of street-level bureaucrat. Unlike Lipsky's examples, however, the incumbents of these statuses are resident in or near the communities within which they work. Also, unlike the statuses in the Arctic setting, they do not operate (or at least not so clearly) in a colonial or cross-cultural setting. Although the policies of the bureaucracies they represent may be seen as forces exterior to the communities, the officials themselves are embedded in the communities and interact with their client population (fellow community residents) on other levels.

Traditionally rural public agents in Newfoundland have been described as strangers or outsiders; however, the research I conducted in Trepassey clearly indicates that many public agents are fully-integrated community members and their occupational roles can no longer be dismissed as bureaucratically impersonal. Although not all public agents are integrated into the community, for many there is a degree of choice involved in the level of community integration which they can attain.

Individual strategies and life choices are involved with becoming a functionary in given situations. To increase their integration into the community public agents must open themselves to popular influence, and this includes client input in the decision-making aspects of their jobs.

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