

MATERNAL POLITICS: WOMEN'S STRATEGIES IN A
RURAL DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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KATHLEEN ANNE MURPHY, B.A.



Maternal Politics:
Women's Strategies in a Rural Development Association

BY

Kathleen Anne Murphy, B.A.

A thesis submitted to the School of Graduate
Studies in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Masters of Arts

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ABSTRACT

The central concern of this thesis was to understand how women had achieved and maintained local political power in a regional development association (LSDA) in a isolated logging region in northern Newfoundland, dominated by several sects of fundamentalist religions. Early researchers had suggested that women in Newfoundland were subordinate to men; later research revealed that women had some power and authority but located in separate spheres from those of men; but the women I was examining had achieved power in the public and political arenas. The central puzzle in the course of the fieldwork and the writing of my thesis was understanding how and why this group of women who made up the executive of the LSDA were able to come into positions of authority and power, both in their own personal lives, and within the context of a fundamentalist religious community, which upholds patriarchal ideals about the roles of women and men in the community.

I saw that women's maternal strategies and politics enabled the women of the LSDA to achieve decision-making positions within the community. Maternal politics is the transference of women's traditional maternal, nurturing, and caretaking role to the political sphere. Within the political domain they were able to improve the condition of women's lives by using the very roles imposed on them as women by the patriarchal fundamentalist culture of Northeast Brook. These strategies I discuss first in the fundamentalist congregations and then within the specific context of the LSDA. I then discuss the theoretical implications of this kind of working class women's politics within the political framework of feminism.

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Finally I thank my family, Aaron, Sarah, and Anthony,
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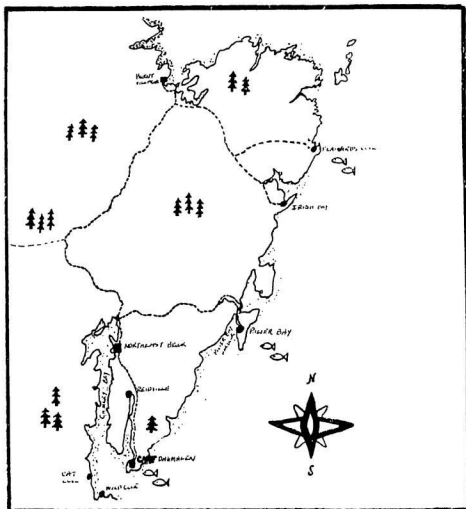
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List of Abbreviations

RDA	Rural Development Association
RAND	Department of Rural, Agricultural, and Northern Development.
LSDA	Labrador Sea Development Association.
NDC	The Northern Development Corporation.
DFO	Department of Fisheries and Oceans
CBLC	Chimney Bay Lumber Company



MAP OF LSDA REGION

Scale 1:384,600

KM 0 5 10 15 20

1 cm = 3,846 KM

Chapter One

BEGINNINGS

My interest in women in rural Newfoundland for my thesis topic grew out of my personal experiences, as I had lived in Newfoundland for several years and I developed strong emotional and personal ties to that province. I also developed patriotic feelings toward Newfoundland and its people which later, living on "the Mainland", soon became intertwined with feelings of defensiveness. Being the butt of good natured "Newfie" jokes is one thing, but having to consistently defend Newfoundland people, politics, and culture gets tiresome. As an undergraduate taking Anthropology and Atlantic Studies courses at a Maritime university, this was frequently my experience.

However, the worst part for me, as a woman, was the pervasive attitude that Newfoundland culture was very traditional, especially in terms of the relationship between the sexes and the role of women. These points of view were unfortunately supported by research from male ethnographers which presented Newfoundland women as being submissive and politically unimportant. Some examples include:

A man without a wife is like a man without a good boat or a good horse and a woman is, in the division of shares of a voyage, considered an item of her husband's capital, just as a cod trap or an engine (Faris 1973:75).

In the house the woman gets a drink for her husband from the barrel or food on his demand. It is the nature of the tone of the communication that indicates the nature of the relationship. The man tells his wife to do whatever it is that he wants in a manner of fact way - neither a command nor a request- and she complies. There is no question as to the man's authority nor to the woman's subordination (Firestone 1967:74).

Before drawing a random sample from those who can be described as the general population, I decided to structure my study in one further way to eliminate one of the common weaknesses of interview studies. Researchers generally interview the spouse who is at home when he or she calls. In Newfoundland where comparatively few women work and are thus available when the interviewer calls, there is a danger of over representing women. Because my previous studies had convinced me that Newfoundland is a tradition oriented society in which most of the final decisions on community affairs are made by men, I decided to omit from the general population listing those few women who were household heads (Matthews 1976:6).

Being a quasi-Newfoundlander and a woman, I felt it my duty to explain to my professor and classmates that Newfoundland women were not like that at all. They were strong, determined, and opinionated women; I should know, having been the daughter-in-law to one. Having lived in Newfoundland for several years and experienced relationships with Newfoundland women: my girlfriends, their mothers, my teachers, and a mother-in-law, I knew that the ethnographic pictures of Newfoundland women were not complete. I became frustrated by and interested in the contradictions between the literature and the reality I had experienced. When I

decided to go on to graduate school I wanted to demonstrate my experience of the women who wait on and work for their families.

At Memorial the Newfoundland ethnography still focused on the work of Faris and Firestone, but other pictures of Newfoundland women were presented in the work of Dona Davis and Marilyn Porter and other women (Antler 1982, and Murray 1979). Porter's research (1983,1985a) documents the early history of women's contribution to the settlement of Newfoundland and the central importance of their role in the family and in the processing of fish on the shore. Davis' research (1983a,1988) focuses on women's authority in a community where they had no historical role in the fishery.

My own graduate interests became focused on women's role in community development and I became interested in women's participation in community development associations, known in Newfoundland, as Rural Development Associations.¹ Researchers have found that because of their voluntary nature, development associations are probably more accessible to people who would otherwise be reluctant or feel unqualified to get involved in political organizations. The RDAs are concerned with "rural socio-economic development through small scale economic development of rural resources, and through the involvement of local people in the development process through a regional and self-help development group" (Johnstone 1980). Other research on

women's involvement in voluntary associations in underdeveloped countries shows that such institutions enable women to promote their common economic, political, and social interests (Stitchner and Hay 1984), and I was interested in investigating this in the context of women in Newfoundland. While development associations are not inherently concerned with women's issues, the RDA movement in Newfoundland has proven to be a vehicle for less traditionally politically represented groups to get involved in the decision-making process. Fuchs (1985:8) writes that development association directorships are pluralist in composition in that the directors "come from a wide range of occupational groups". Statistically, a large proportion of directors are in-shore fishermen, a group which has historically had little say in governmental decision-making. Women have also found RDAs a vehicle for their political participation. At the time of this research, there had been no specific research on women in RDAs, but some data indicated that women were participating at an increasing level (Fuchs 1985:9). Figures from the Department of Rural, Agricultural, and Northern Development, at the time of my fieldwork, indicated that women comprised 16.6% of the presidents and 38.3% of the coordinators of the fifty-five provincial associations.

I decided to attend a conference of Rural Development Associations to meet women who were involved in these

associations and to talk to people who worked in this area. Reports were not favourable. I heard stories of women in some communities who were chased out of meetings by men, that women were not interested in RDAs. I talked to some women who were involved in the associations but for whom "women's participation" was not a concern or an issue. ²

At the conference I met many interesting women associated with RDAs, mostly as paid employees, and coordinators, but few women who were at the executive level. However, during the sessions I noticed a couple of women who frequently got up to speak their piece with a particular mixture of anger, determination, and commonsense. I later found out that these women, who knew their minds and the needs of the region they represented and were not afraid to let anyone know what they wanted, were from the Labrador Sea Development Association. ³

I met them the next day at a session on women's involvement in RDAs. As usual, they had their say in the discussion, and I talked to them privately afterwards. We discussed the problems that women faced in their involvement in RDAs. They told me that they had been in town for a week prior to the conference, meeting representatives of Newfoundland Hydro and government officials to present their proposal for a wood chip generating plant which would provide some jobs for women. ⁴ The women of the LSDA had

already established a crab plant in one of the member communities to provide jobs for local women. They described the difficulties they faced and the joking and innuendo that they had to endure from members of their communities and RDA members, because people assumed they "fooled around" when they were out of town. Everyone assumed, they explained, that they were members of this organization so that they could get paid trips and have a good time. No one, they felt, acknowledged the amount of work and energy they put into their volunteer work. They also described the problems involved in arranging their households and family responsibilities so that they could be away from home, and how understanding their husbands had to be in order that they could participate in the regional and provincial meetings.

I was very happy; here were women involved in local politics, and what was even more exciting was that they worked together as a group on women's needs as well as regional concerns. These were the women I was waiting for; these were the women who had no time for silently bringing dinner to the table. I had found my Newfoundland warrior-women, mother-figures, who would negate all that patriarchal rubbish. Here were women who fit my idea of the Newfoundland woman who was strong, outspoken, nurturing and hardworking, who incorporated her own needs and goals into the weave of family service and responsibilities: women not at all like

the passive, opinionless creatures of some Newfoundland ethnographies.

I knew I had found the women I wanted to work with and the beginnings of my thesis topic. I set about asking them if they were interested in having a student for the summer. They were enthusiastic and encouraging. They scribbled down addresses and phone numbers, characteristically assuring me that they were in favour of anything that might be to their advantage. They explained that I would be good advertising for them if I came up with any information that they could use to promote their association; then they hurried off to their next set of negotiations concerning their woodchip plant.

Theoretical Considerations

As it turned out I did not see these women again for almost two years before eventually arriving in Northeast Brook with notebooks, camera, and tape recorder in hand. By that time, my fieldwork had become, in my mind, a task equivalent to the search for the Holy Grail. Getting any information or historical background about the tiny, distant communities which were members of the Labrador Sea Development Association was no small task; and what information I did find was often contradictory and confusing. The regional newspaper did not have much

coverage concerning Northeast Brook and her sister communities Burnt Village, Reidville, Cape Daumalen, Irish Bay, Flamands Cove and Pilier Bay: all members of the LSDA. However, with bits and pieces from the newspaper, association reports from the Department of Rural, Agricultural, and Northern Development, and a couple of student papers, I was soon totally confused about the nature of women's political participation in Northeast Brook; but I had some interesting questions for my thesis proposal.

It turned out that the community which bore these outspoken and political women was the most unlikely incubator of what seemed to be feminist ideals and strategies. The prominence of fundamentalist religions in the region would suggest that women would be less likely to hold and maintain positions of authority in elected decision-making structures, which are clearly identified with political and economic issues and very much in the public domain.

Yet at the time of my fieldwork the mayor and one of six councillors of the municipal council were women; six of the fourteen directors of the LSDA were women, and three of the four positions on the executive committee were held by these women; and for fourteen years the largest fundamentalist sect, the Apostolic Faith Church, had been presided over by a black woman from Florida. Somehow I had to understand how these women were able to hold a

considerable degree of legitimate, institutional power in an isolated logging community, dominated by a fundamentalist church which ideologically validated male authority.

Northeast Brook being a relatively young logging community (it is less than seventy years old in a province that has the longest period of settlement in North America) does not have the historical tradition of women's role in the fishery that others have cited as providing women with some status and authority. Most of the research that has examined women's roles in Newfoundland communities has focused on fishing communities e.g. Davis (1979,1983a, 1983b) and Porter (1983,1985a). While Northeast Brook is not a fishing community these studies are important within the context of this research because Northeast Brook was settled by residents of nearby summer fishing communities (see Chapter Two). This shared cultural heritage with these fishing communities made it reasonable to expect that they would have some similar patterns of behaviour, attitudes and social practices. Another reason for focusing on fishing communities research is the lack of research examining the role of women in other types of Newfoundland communities. Studies looking at other kinds of communities, such as Philbrook (1966) have not discussed gender roles and social practices. Looking at the question of women's involvement in public decision-making I decided to limit the literature to studies of Newfoundland communities because I was interested

primarily in Newfoundland women's political culture rather than a more general view of women's involvement in community politics. I was interested in presenting a picture of Newfoundland women and the ways that they have managed within the context of male dominated, male working culture, a Newfoundland context.

Images of Newfoundland Women

The images of Newfoundland women, as presented in ethnographies, are contradictory and complex. Both male and female researchers have written about the important role women had in the inshore fishery historically in Newfoundland (e.g. Faris 1973, Porter 1983, Murray 1988, and Antler 1981) but have reached differing conclusions about the status and image of women in these communities.

Murray's book More Than 50% documents the image of strong and hard working women who were the mainstay of rural households.

In Elliston, in the period prior to 1950, the women were full participants with their menfolk in wresting a living from the sea and land, and were directly involved with all the economic, as well as social activities in the community. The role of the fisherman's wife was completely intertwined with that of her husband. As one man, Josiah Hobbs, put it:

The woman was more than fifty per cent.
In some cases there was more push in the
woman than there was...if there was

fish, to get fish, than there was in the man. The woman was more for fishin' even though she stopped on the land. She was the driving force (Murray 1979:12).

The ethnographic research of Faris (1973) and Firestone (1967) both portrayed women in Newfoundland fishing settlements as having central roles in the production and processing of fish; yet they seemed to have no status, and their position within the community was degraded and demeaned by their male counterparts.

Women work hard and long, especially during the fishing season; for not only do they have to cook five or six meals ('lunches') each day for the fishermen, but do all their household chores, mind children, and help 'put away fish'. They seldom have time to visit extensively, usually only a few minutes to and from the shop or post office.... A woman's role (or at least the facade I observed) is not enviable (Faris 1973:74-75).

Faris portrayed Newfoundland women as hardworking and subservient, perceived by males as "jinkers" and "polluted" in patriarchal and male controlled families.

All women are, in consequence of the marriage patterns, loosely thought of as being potential witches, even though I have never documented a case of a witch, male or female, who 'belonged to the place.'

Similarly, women are regarded as pollutants 'on the water,' and the more traditional men would not consider going out if a woman had set foot in the boat that day; they are 'jinkers'...

Cat Harbour, quite apart from the gender symbolism, is a male dominated society. As has been pointed out, only men can normally inherit

property, or smoke and drink, and the increasingly frequent breach of this by women is the source of much gossip (and not a negligible amount of conflict and resentment). Men are seated at meals first and eat together while women and children eat afterwards. Men are given the choicest and largest portions, and sit at the same table with a stranger or guest (Faris 1973:73-74).

Firestone's ethnographic research on the Northern Peninsula reflects a similar perception of the relationship between husband and wife, women's confinement to the house, and the inferior status of women to men, largely based, it seems, on whether women smoke and drink, which is considered to be a male privilege.

The house is more the women's world than the man's. She is there most of the time in all seasons, being absent longest in the late summer and autumn when helping with the fish. Then, she and the other women of the crew go down to the stages and help split and salt and spread the fish to dry in the sun. Such absence poses some problems in household management during this period, but the women are not gone so long that they cannot keep the house and meals in minimal order...

Women, of course, leave the house to visit and shop and attend church and C.E.W.A. meetings, and go to times and sometimes restaurants, but by and large their primary focus is the home, and domestic affairs are entirely in their hands.

Women do not smoke, although some of the younger women have now started, nor drink, except for a little wine at Christmas. These taboos are symbolic of the male-female status differential. To partake in such male prerogatives would be "brazen" and imply assertiveness. Men have said that they did not feel like a man until they started smoking (Firestone 1969:72-75).

Along with the woman's position goes a great deal of security. Her role and authority in the home is defined, there is no divorce, and very little disharmony among married couples. There is no question about the worth or necessity of women in the home (Firestone 1969:75).

Other male ethnographers have studied various types of Newfoundland communities but have presented more harmonious accounts of the relationship between men and women. John Szwed's study Private Culture and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society set on the west coast of Newfoundland, focuses on the Codroy Valley farming communities and he briefly describes the relationship between husbands and wives.

Husbands and wives in the Valley do not show affection publicly, nor make any references to sex, even in jokes, with each other present. Men are expected to be the judges of what is wise for themselves and their families. Yet, there is considerable sharing and cooperation between husband and wife. A man is expected to discuss all important decisions with his wife, even if they provoke arguments. He is expected to "win" the arguments, and those that do not are joked about, or directly censured. General household decisions are made by the husband, but matters concerning children usually fall to the wife ("A man doesn't have time to be bothered by all that.") (Szwed 1966:83)

One of the few ethnographies to study logging communities is Cato Wadel's monograph Now Whose Fault is That? The Struggle for Self-Esteem in the Face of Chronic Unemployment. This study of Squid Cove, located on

Newfoundland's northeast coast, includes a discussion of the relationship between the sexes. Wadel's primary interest was how men adapt to long-term unemployment in Newfoundland, and it includes a discussion of how women are able to keep their own status and reputation in order by maintaining their roles as good wives, even though their husbands have failed in their role as provider of the family.

George talks very highly about his wife Elizabeth. "I've a good woman and that's been a great help. Not everybody can say that." There are at least two implications in this statement: first, that she is respected by other people in the community and second, that she respects and supports George in his role....George is very proud of his wife as a home-maker.

She's a hard worker. She's always been like that. Her father died when she was only sixteen and she was the oldest so she had to help her mother. There were many children in the family and she had to do everything, go in the woods and cut wood-everything. She's had it tough.

When I was workin' in the woods she had to take care of all the children and get wood and water; she never complained. She got good help from the children though, when they grew up (Wadel 1973:51).

Wadel points out that the role relationship between husbands and wives is based not only on a division of labour but also on a division of authority. George praises his wife not only for what she does but also for who she is: a model wife. Part of her role as the model wife is her recognition

of her husband's authority. Although Wadel portrays these Newfoundland women as being subservient to their husbands, he observes that this relationship is an ideal, and that women can and do break down the boundaries of their role if their counterparts are not fulfilling their responsibilities. This sheds a different light on the balance of power relationship between husbands and wives within the context of rural Newfoundland.

When George says he has a good wife, he is clearly praising her for being not only a good worker, but also because she "behaves like a wife should"....An outport wife is supposed to admit, at least in public, that the husband is in charge - in the local language, that the husband is "the skipper"....

For Elizabeth, supporting her husband in his role of authoritative head of the household is clearly made easier because George is a good husband in everything except for his not being able to earn a living...We can perhaps make the generalization that the cultural rule which is that the husband is treated with the respect due him as the head of the household is followed by the wife as long as there are no good reasons **not** to do so.....

If and when a wife "takes charge" of the family, it may involve a maternal protective behaviour towards her husband, especially if he is on a medical certificate. The wife of a man on able-bodied relief may also regularly tell her husband what to do and contradict him or argue with him in the presence of other people (Wadel 1973:55).

It is clear that a man on welfare relies greatly on his wife's **voluntary** support of his role as the head of the household, a role which came automatically when he was working and was the undisputed provider. Using an old cliché, one can say that the husband in George's situation has to be supported in his role more for what he is than for what he does (Wadel 1973:57).

This suggests to me that Squid Cove wives support and legitimize their husband's symbolic role as the authoritative head of the household or "skipper", unless there is some reason, such as a husband's failure to provide for his family, for them to withhold this support or challenge his authority. The "subservience" of women is therefore more symbolic than real, and conditional upon a man fulfilling his roles adequately. If he does not or can not, perhaps through no fault of his own, the balance of power is changed, and the wife may become the "skipper".

Feminist Research

Since the early 1980's women began doing ethnographic research on Newfoundland communities and often they focused on the role of women in these communities. Antler's work (1980) has analyzed the economic value of women's work in the processing of salt fish. Marilyn Porter's (1983, 1985a) research suggests that outport women achieved considerable authority through their contribution to the fishery; but in her analysis she argues that this authority was lost with the decline of the salt fish industry due to increased modernization and capitalization of the fishing industry.

In "Women and Old Boats: The Sexual Division of Labour in a Newfoundland Outport" (1986) Porter summarizes the

factors that contribute to the ideology of male domination in Newfoundland communities, but she insists on the interdependence of men and women, and that women had control of their own spheres of activities. This is something that had not been recognized by some male ethnographers of the 1960's and '70's.

The ideology of male dominance is strong in Newfoundland culture. Initially, the island was settled by groups of fishermen who stayed ashore for the winter. Women only came later and then against the strong opposition of the English government that wanted to prevent permanent settlement. From then on, a combination of the male culture of fishing (as exemplified in J. Faris, 1972), a strong Church presence, and a kinship system that separated women from their own community, seemed to ensure an ideological domination that reflected the male control of the technical means of production. But we have already noted that while men controlled the gathering sector of the fishery, it was women who commanded the processing sector. They also showed other signs of economic self-reliance and female solidarity, e.g. selling berries, taking jobs as telegraphists, selling bait to schooners, etc. Ideological domination, indeed did not seem to reflect the much more complex economic reality. If we look more carefully at the material on traditional outport life, it is clear that both sexes accepted the sexual division of labour; both men and women worked unremittingly hard and everybody was poor. Nobody had any real power, being helpless in the hands of merchants, and the "truck system". Family cooperation was a matter of necessity, and beyond that emerges an equality of respect (Porter 1986:181).

Porter's works on the sexual division of labour in historical Newfoundland outports demonstrates the complex and subtle nature of the relationships between men and women

in these communities; these include an examination of women's spheres of control: the kitchen, which Porter states also acts as a public meeting place, and the fishing stage where women contributed their labour in the processing of the fish. Women's work, which Porter examines in detail, includes caring for the men, care of livestock, the growing of seed and then vegetables, preservation of food, berry picking, bread making (at least once a day), mending, knitting, sewing, quilting, carding and spinning of wool, washing, polishing and cleaning; and in the summer, women's labour was central to the processing of the catch on the flakes.

Both Firestone and Faris produce some evidence for what they see as extreme male authority in the home. It is worth quoting the passage in which Firestone states: "The family is patriarchal. Decisions pertaining to family activities are ultimately those of the father...(Firestone, 1978:77). He cites as corroborative evidence a woman saying "it is best when the wife does what the husband wants". But in the very next quotation we hear a woman saying "a good woman here is one who is obedient and doesn't try to tell the man what to do....at least the men would say that". Thus, even on the evidence Firestone gives us, there are some contradictions. Firstly, economic decisions relating to the fishing crew might well have been taken by the skipper without infringing on the way in which domestic decisions were taken. Secondly, the apparent servitude of women in the matter of providing food, applies not just to the men of the house, but everyone, including female visitors. I suggest that rather than reflecting subordination, it arises out of poverty and the extreme skill needed to produce sufficient food and drink. It has become part of the housewife's pride that she can, and does, supply what is necessary herself personally. When I see it today,

I do not notice subjugation, but rather a sense of quiet confidence in the women's control of the kitchen and the house. Thirdly, it is hard for a feminist to escape intimations of connivance in the last quotation. She was, after all, talking to a man, who would, she assumed, also "say that" (Porter 1985:118-119).

Even more important was women's control of the house and everything in it, including the kitchen. The distinction between "public" and "private" in Newfoundland outports did not happen between "outside" and "inside" but between the kitchen, which was public, and the rest of the house, which was private. The kitchen was not just an extension of the community, but in effective terms, the centre of it. No one knocked at a kitchen door. Anyone could come and go as they pleased - but were forbidden to pass into the "private" areas of the house. Only "strangers" or those in authority knocked (and sometimes entered by another door). In the absence of community meeting places, the kitchens were the places in which the community met, that is, publicly interacted, held discussions, and came to decisions. Even where alternatives were available, the absence of any effective heating except the kitchen stove would not encourage much conversation to take place there. In this context it is vital that the kitchen was readily and obviously acknowledged to be the women's domain. It was impossible to exclude them in those circumstances. Present-day observation shows male conversation being carefully monitored by the women who often disguise their interest behind ceaselessly working hands. Coupled with the egalitarian ethic it helps to explain the much-noticed practice of "waiting-on-men." In this way, the women can easily intervene in the men's conversation without apparently leaving their own sphere and thus can exert a correct authority of their own (Porter 1985:120-121).

Cato Wadel's research in Squid Cove reinforces Porter's analysis of women having control and authority in the spheres that she is responsible for.

The wife's duty to give voluntary role support to her husband is made possible by an internal accommodation between husband and wife; but there is still another problem: the spatial setting of role performances. If the wife is to maintain her social network with other women in the neighbourhood and hold their respect and friendship, and her husband his masculinity, he has to keep out of the women's territory....If a man does not have too much to do, it would be convenient to spend much of his time in the house. However, in outport Newfoundland, the house is not the man's castle; it is the woman's. For a man, the house "is (only) where he eats his meals, sleeps, procreates and occasionally indulges in some special skill - carving a ship model, perhaps, or whittling out birch brooms" (Mowat 1968).

Except for these occasions, the house is the territory of the housewife and a man will feel uneasy staying in it if he has nothing to do there. In an outport house, there is no 'men's room' where a man could carry on an activity. The main room of the house is the kitchen - the wife's workshop - where she also entertains her women visitors (Wadel 1973:57).

While Faris (1973) interpreted outport women's contribution and labour as evidence of their subordination within a male-dominated society, and Porter views women's economic contributions to the fishery as having provided them with authority and control in several spheres of activities, in the home and on the fishing stage, Davis (1985) on the other hand, finds that most women in Grey Rock Harbour were able to attain "considerable status" from their roles as housewives and mothers.

A woman's household roles are important, for they constitute her major sources of identity, self-esteem and self-importance. The most valued traits of a "good woman" are easily attained by all.

Since the most admirable qualities in a woman is that she be a good worker, good housekeeper and patient mother, for a woman to be labelled as bad or be a disappointment to her husband and relatives, she must resort to extreme behaviour, such as extramarital relations, child abuse or wasteful spending. Thus, most women qualify as "good women," and feel that they have been successful in living up to local values. It is interesting to note that notions of the comparative importance of male and female roles are foreign to them. When asked whose work, husband's or wife's, was most important, women responded, "What a silly question, my dear; one can't do without the other." (Davis 1983:104)

In the context of intra-village social organization, with its egalitarian ethic, women's status is at least equal to that of other outporters. Women do not lack power vis-a-vis other individuals, as the above cases demonstrate; they are able to effect decision-making on issues that are important to them (Davis 1983:99).

The difference in the status of women in Grey Rock Harbour may be due to several factors, endogamy, and the nature of the schooner fishery which meant that the men were away from the community for long periods of time and also meant that because the catch was salted on board women were not involved; also, because residents had access to Nova Scotian and American buyers, merchants did not have the tight grip on residents as they did in other parts of Newfoundland. Thompson's (1985) article "Women in the Fishing: Power Between the Sexes" points out that male absence can lead to women's contribution to domestic and subsistence production having more visibility, both economically and culturally. Thompson says that women's

higher status and greater responsibility are often found in societies where men are forced, for whatever reason, to be away from home for regular and extended periods.

Wherever the men of the family have to work away from home, the power of women is likely to be relatively emphasized: this can be equally observed as a feature of families in Quebec or northern Sweden, where the men work away in the woods as loggers; or in central France...The enforced absence of men from home can help to give it another social meaning, less a place in which women are confined and more a territorial power base of their own..." (Thompson 1985:17).

Cecilia Benoit's thesis "The Poverty of Mothering: A Case Study of Women in a Newfoundland Community" traces the historical and ideological roots of patriarchy in rural Newfoundland. The community Benoit studied is Stephenville, a Catholic community. Though Stephenville is not a logging community itself, many men went away to other communities to work as lumberjacks. Benoit depicts the hard work and inferior position of women in this community through the case studies of individual women.

You were born to work and tend on the men and you lived with it. Work was your story and so you bit your lip, tied your shoe laces and got on with it. We women had what it took to make a good frame. Sometimes I wonder, as I sit here getting old, how I conquered it all. (Mother of ten children, born 1898). (Benoit 1982:62)

While these women worked hard and lived difficult lives, so did the men of Stephenville and as we read this quote we have a sense that women knew their value and were

proud that they were able to "conquer" their roles as wives, mothers and workhorses.

Stephenville women depended on each other. They could band together to face the merchant and demand that he lower his prices if they felt he was ripping them off, and sometimes pooled their labour to make their work more enjoyable. Especially when women gave birth, other women acted as mid-wives and helped the new mother with her responsibilities until she was recovered from the birth.

These female concerns allowed women to build a kind of private culture among themselves which gave them some measure of worth and dignity and a non-political avenue to vent grievances in connection with their restrictive life situation (Benoit 1982:33).

Like the women of Grey Rock Harbour, Stephenville women's roles as wives and mothers gave them their status and authority in the community.

The fact remains that given the social setting which Stephenville women have faced from the beginning of the century until now, it is quite rational for them to cling to their roles as mothers. Mothering remains, essentially their most important claim to social status, since their double labour burdens give these women little opportunity for equal participation in work, social affairs, and politics (Benoit 1982:136).

Davis' (1988) research on women's roles in Grey Rock Harbour includes a discussion of the images and expressive roles of women in various Newfoundland studies.

The few studies of female expressive roles in the Newfoundland outport setting focus on the

affective aspects of the male/female relationship. Stiles (1972) demonstrates how the emotionally satisfying, highly interdependent relationship that characterizes outport marriages may be temporarily undermined by the wife's inappropriate use of radio information. Andersen and Wadel (1972) comment on how a husband's presence at home can disrupt a woman's schedule to the extent that she is glad to see him leave. Antler (1982:133-134) notes how village exogamy can result in a woman's low, constant stranger status in her husband's community. As outsiders, women lack easy means of friendship and cooperation. On a more phenomenal level, Faris (1972) points to village exogamy and its consequent production of negative hostile views of women as polluters and jinxers. Brake (n.d.) and Szala (1977) are among the few observers of outport life, who have gone beyond a simple observation of the affective, relational aspects of the female expressive role to address the greater complexity inherent in the more esoteric aspects of outport women as symbols of occupation and community (Davis 1988:216-217).

To my mind Davis best expresses the contradictory ideal of the Newfoundland woman as it operates in the modern context of Newfoundland communities. According to Davis women in Grey Rock Harbour are labelled according to two categories or types of women, the "shore skipper" the bossy woman who runs her husband, and the "grass widow" who is the cultural ideal of what a woman should be: "the long suffering, ever dependable fortress of community and domestic life. Her appropriate behaviour and quiet concern for the safety of loved ones insures that all is right with the world" (Davis 1988:221). Davis explains that women who are powerful, independent, and opinionated can be classified as "shore skippers" if they overstep the boundaries of what

is considered appropriate behaviour for a good woman. Yet the "grass widows" are allowed a wide margin of behaviour that one cannot consider as being synonymous with the ideal of the "clean quiet" woman, nor the submissive women of male ethnographies.

Women pride themselves in being "yary". Men and women alike enjoy feisty women. Women who let someone "walk all over you," a wife who lets her husband do "just as he wants" and is afraid "to put her foot down" is called "low lifed". Women will stand up to and stick up for their husbands. As Ted's wife repeatedly told me:

I sure hope someday when we're out together (husband and wife) we'll meet up with Skipper Jack and his fat so and so. I'll tell him a thing or two. My old man don't dare talk back to a skipper. We women can and do. I can come up with all kinds of sass. Men can't. We wives can get away with it. Next time I see him I'll ask about the "fishes' peas" and how's he's cheaten my man to feed his fat wife (Davis 1988:224).

This description of Newfoundland women, in my experience, is closer to the reality of women in rural Newfoundland. These women, though they act within ideologically patriarchal social systems have always been able to use their own expressive roles to act out and against the symbolic dominance of male authority. As Porter points out, Paris', Firestone's, and Matthews' research provides us with evidence of women's resistance to male authority and control, though they all seemed to have

discounted it in their presentations of women's subordination and lack of political power.

Faris describes how the local women's church group (the UCW) asked that the church floor be painted (to make cleaning easier) and when the male stewards refused, they countered by threatening to withhold the money they had 'earned' at the numerous fund-raising events unless the floor was painted (Faris, p.74). This does not look like the behaviour of subservient women (Porter 1986:123).

In [Matthews'] own words, one of the communities he studies was able to survive, not because it was organized in opposition to survive, not because it was organized in opposition to resettlement, but because one former resident took it upon **herself** (my emphasis) to act on behalf of the people. They survived because this woman provided information which ended the rumours of a mass exodus and confronted the government with fact... In other words, she took a primary leadership role and not only influenced the decisions, but also set the agenda for her entire community at a time of crisis (Porter 1985:7-8).

Symbolic Gender Roles

The body of literature concerning sex roles and gender relations in Newfoundland suggests to me a pattern of symbolic gender roles, authority and negotiation. Newfoundland communities, as documented by male ethnographers are publicly patriarchal. Faris and Firestone were men and they were primarily interested in male lifestyles and interests. They were not sensitive to the issues of gender and power and they did not notice the

subtle resistance of women to male authority. As Faris and Firestone pointed out, men are seen to be the heads of households and to make all the important decisions. Porter's research, on the other hand, documents women's authority and control of the spheres that they inhabited, the kitchen, which in Newfoundland is a public arena, and on the fishing stages. Davis' research points out that women in Newfoundland have symbolic roles or ideals that they must fulfil and against which they are measured. Women achieve status and authority through their fulfilment of their symbolic roles as wives and mothers. However, if they step outside of the boundaries of what is considered appropriate for these roles, unless they have reason to do so, they are subject to community censure, gossip and ridicule. Wadel documents that women were able to contradict their husband's authority if he fails in his responsibilities as provider of the family and thereby becoming "skippers" of these families.

The ethnographic literature has documented that Newfoundland communities are divided between male/female, public/private spheres in which a strict division of labour operates. This literature suggests to me that men and women, as husbands and wives, inhabit separate symbolic gender roles/spheres, within which they each have authority and control. Men symbolically inhabit what appears as public arenas in a social system that is patriarchal, men inherit

property, they eat their meals first, and so on. Both husbands and wives, men and women, have ideal gender roles and appropriate behaviour. When either party steps outside these symbolic spheres they are subject to resistance by the other, i.e. men beat their wives, harass women publicly; women argue with their husbands, or embarrass them publicly.

This idea of the negotiation of appropriate behaviour and gender roles boundaries will be examined in this thesis within the context of Northeast Brook and the women of the Labrador Sea Development Association. How these women were able to extend their maternal or symbolic gender roles into the public and political arena because of the failure of men of Northeast Brook to provide leadership will be discussed in Chapter Six. Other factors such as the traditional absence of men due to the nature of their work (i.e. the offshore fishery or men's work in logging camps) have an impact on the nature of the relationship between the sexes in that community. This could be one factor that might explain the apparent concentration of women at the executive level of the LSDA and in the municipal arena of Northeast Brook. In my community of research, Northeast Brook, women were very active in the public sector: the political economics of the LSDA and also to a lesser extent in the municipal context and in a fundamentalist sect; the mayor of Northeast Brook and one of the councillors were women, the

examine both bodies of literature in order to place this research within the larger context of women's political participation.

Generally, development and public service policy planners have been interested in the role of voluntary and informal associations for women because economic growth and political involvement often do not reach women, who are almost always outside of formal economic and political structures. In Newfoundland women comprised only 5.8% of the legislature in 1982-1983 and only 17% of board members and 8% of crown corporations, "the foundations of the economic and resource development of Newfoundland and Labrador" (Provincial Advisory Council on the Status of Women, 1982). Voluntary associations provide women with a means of coming together to address issues that are of importance to themselves and their communities. They have also acted as a voice through which their demands can be heard and acted on by formal agencies (Little 1972). Other researchers have shown that voluntary associations provide women with valuable experience in terms of later political participation in formal traditional organizations (Brodie 1985).

Ethnographic research that has attempted to examine rural Newfoundland women's political involvement outside the domestic domain have focused on the role of voluntary associations in small rural communities. Women, for the most

founder of the largest fundamentalist sects in the community was a woman, as had been the pastor of that sect for the last fourteen years. The balance of power and even public authority in Northeast Brook can be seen as the break down and restructuring of gender roles as the result of failure of government, business, and religious leaders to provide and nurture the community.

Politics or Volunteer Work?

The other theoretical difficulty to be resolved was finding a conceptual framework within which to place the women of the LSDA who straddled both bodies of literature concerning voluntary associations and local-level politics. Most of the research that has looked at women's political participation at the local level has dealt with specific women's groups (CRIAW 1986, Cohen 1989, Luxton 1986) or it has examined women elected to municipal, provincial, or federal levels (Brodie 1985, Kopinak 1985, Randall 1987). The LSDA does not fit neatly into either category as it is not specifically a women's organization and at the same time being both a voluntary association and a publicly elected decision-making body that allocates government monies. Therefore this research is concerned with a particular local level political organization that has in this instance become dominated by a group of women and it is useful to

part have been excluded from the more formal political spheres, such as federal and provincial elected assemblies, so researchers have examined the informal political arenas, such as women's voluntary associations and organizations. This literature is particularly relevant within the context of Newfoundland.

Studies of women's voluntary associations in rural Newfoundland have reached varying conclusions about the nature of these groups. Dona Davis' research on women's voluntary associations in Grey Rock Harbour focuses on concepts of social structure and sexual domain (Davis 1979). Her informants described their participation in associations and other service organizations as a means of dealing with the social, psychological, and physical problems associated with middle age, menopause and the isolation of housework.

Davis suggests that the nature of women's participation in these organizations is expressive rather than instrumental. The activities by women of these association (such as the Anglican Church Women's Association, Women's Lodge, Kinettes, women's dart league, and exercise class) included organizing weddings, suppers, dances, craft sales, luncheons, receptions, card games, baby showers, bake sales, and bingo and catering high school graduations. Such activities, Davis writes, are recreational and service-oriented and they are directed toward members and their community interests as compared to those instrumental

groups, which Davis defined as "social influence" which focus on goals and activities outside of the community.

Anthropologists have stressed the importance of women's associations in maintaining power vis-a-vis male spheres of power and as emerging bases for organizations to meet the demands of modernization, urbanization, migration, and social change (Kerri 1976). The role of expressive associations has been overlooked. Focus on associations of "chattering women" whose purposes are not political or economic can have some implications for the division of activities into domestic and public spheres.

Of course, it can be said that these associations are instrumental in establishing a sense of community, supporting local institutions serving various psychological functions and they may lately function in informal village political processes. However, to emphasize these traits would obscure the role of the associations in the overall social context (Davis 1979:10).

Davis maintains that in order to understand the inability of outport women to establish their own powerbase and authoritative leadership, one has to examine community egalitarianism, culturally meaningful spheres, and Grey Rock Harbour's place within the wider social structure. Davis suggests that in order for women's associations to be politically powerful and supportive of women's interests they should be in conflict with male interests. She interprets women's associations as being accommodative and nurturing rather than aggressive (Davis 1979:11).

She insists that the egalitarian ethos of this Newfoundland community prohibits the formation and existence

of instrumental groups. Davis draws on Morsy's analysis of male/female roles in the social structure in which control over meaningful parts of the environment is seen as the important determinant. Davis sees the family as the core unit of the social structure of Grey Rock Harbour society. It is the basic multipurpose group and defines the behaviour of its members within the social arena. Therefore, women's voluntary associations are not instrumental but rather expressive in nature. Davis does suggest, however, that this does not mean that they are unimportant, and that perhaps anthropologists have been overly concerned with "politics" and "economy" as the means of measuring status and authority

While I do agree with Davis on the point that anthropology may be overly concerned with "politics" and "economy" I do not agree with her definition of women's concerns and organizations as being expressive and therefore non-political in nature. While these women's activities and concerns may be somewhat distant from what most would define as formal politics, I do not see that they are unpolitical. Women use their resources and energy on what is of concern to them in their community. The exclusion and inclusion of the activities they perform or do not perform is in that context a political choice. Political Anthropology has examined various aspects of local and community politics and has not restricted its view of what is political by whether it is instrumental and/or expressive.

In contrast with Davis' interpretation of women's associations is Marilyn Porter's (1985b) research on "women's political culture" on the Southern Shore of Newfoundland. Her research also focuses on women's involvement in voluntary associations and organizations such as, the Ladies Auxiliary, Legion, Women's Institute, Kinettes, the dart league, Guides, Brownies, Weight Watchers, 4H, and other informal and less structured associations such as garden parties, the softball league, wedding showers, fund raising events and the ever present bingo. Porter states that, while these associations can be termed non-political in a traditional sense, they are important instrumental groups as they provide needed and valuable services that would otherwise not be provided by formal levels of government. They are also instrumental in the sense that they are structures which allow women a certain degree of control and decision-making within their communities where women may not be represented at any level of government. Porter states that rural Newfoundland society provides an illustration of a public arena which is divided into gender specific spheres which allow for the examination of definitions of "culture" and "politics". She wonders why men's concerns, such as, fish, technology, and oil, are identified with the formal political sphere and women's activities, fundraising, and community services which the

provincial government is unable to provide are seen as being non-political and/or cultural.

Porter suggests that such identification has more to do with stereotypes and cultural definitions than with the reality of the processes involved and that perhaps our understanding of the term "political" should be more comprehensive. Porter states that these outport women have "bypassed the transmogrified forms of association and have established a kind of freedom, autonomy and material confidence in which they could make their own politics. (They) have established control over certain aspects of the shared life of the community which they see as central" (Porter 1985b:21).

One difference between Porter's and Davis' analysis of women's associations hinges on the meaning of the terms instrumental and political. Davis interprets voluntary associations activities as being service-oriented, as does Porter, but she places them within the domestic sphere and outside of the political realm. Porter sees that through these associations women have developed tools of political importance which include an organizational sophistication and access to and control over information channels. In her research area women did not participate in the local rural development associations, which were controlled by professional and business men who were concerned with fishing and technology, domains in which women had no

participation. Rather, these women had created their own alternative political culture "which remains powerful in controlling the culturally meaningful parts of the environment of its members" (Porter 1985b:89).

In her book Women in Politics Vicky Randall discusses the political nature of defining what we see as "politics".

In different eras and different societies and even from one political thinker to another, the nature and scope of politics have been viewed very differently. In this sense, as Wolin writes, politics is "created" not given (Wolin 1960,p.5). Conceptions of politics reflect the values of those who hold them. In other words, definitions of politics are themselves inevitably political.

However, most seem to share certain common assumptions about the kind of situation that gives rise to politics. Politics is recognized to be social: it has little meaning for the solitary inhabitant of a desert island. It arises in situations where resources, in the broadest sense of the term, are limited and there is, at least potentially, conflict of interest or opinion as to how they should be distributed. At a minimum, politics is about how people influence the distribution of resources.

But beyond this point of fairly widespread agreement, interpretations diverge. First of all, they differ on what politics essentially is. Simplifying, we may say that there are at present two main and contrasting views. One, the more traditional, sees politics as an activity. It is conscious, deliberate participation in the process by which resources are allocated amongst people. The alternative view, which has become influential more recently, tends to equate politics with the articulation, or working out of relationships within an already given "power structure" (Randall 1987:10).

Linda Christiansen-Ruffman discusses the difficulty in talking about women and politics because of the lack of

"adequate conceptual tools for understanding women's political activities" and the need for theory-building and testing within the context of women and politics (Christiansen-Ruffman 1982). She draws on Collier's (1974:89) treatment of women as "political actors" who have "goals and strategies" and who seek to "maximize desired ends" for their community.

Unlike Collier's (1974:96) analysis which examines women as "social actors whose choices affect the options open to politically active men", this paper concentrates on women's political activities. More specifically, it focuses on how women influence community definitions of what is important - or the public agenda- and the nature of women's activities as citizens (Christiansen-Ruffman 1982:2).

By using mainstream social science definitions of "political" Davis has conceptualized the nature of women's voluntary associations as belonging within the private sphere and the domestic domain, within which women are viewed as being apolitical. Randall points out that seeing the private sphere as separate from the public acts to legitimize women's exclusion from public politics, ignores the reality of the interconnectedness of the public and private in both industrial and non-industrial countries and reinforces male dominance (Randall 1987:13-14).

Barbara Neis examines the development of women's role in the local political arena in her paper "Doing time on the Protest Line". She discusses the emerging vision of the nature of rural women's politics in Newfoundland:

This revised understanding of politics has been reflected in recent research on women in Newfoundland. It has been argued, for example, that despite continued male dominance of formal positions of political power, women in Newfoundland "have achieved a piece of subversion that should not go uncelebrated; but more than that, the latent power of the organized rural women of Newfoundland is, as yet, unrealized" (Porter 1985a:89). Women in rural Newfoundland have created and presently sustain a network of women's organizations. Within these organizations they pursue goals and engage in activities that are both cultural and political, thereby generating a women's political culture. In contrast, working class males and male petty commodity producers are often trapped in inappropriate political institutions (Porter 1985a:87). However, the power of women's political culture is to some extent latent in that the organizational strength and ideological understanding evident in these organizations may be directed towards a range of goals and issues that tend not to be the focus of women's collective struggle (Neis 1988).

Neis' work documents the "latent power" of women's expressive organizations in Burin which were mobilized by the women who formed a protest line in response to the company's decision to shut down the fish plant. The women of Burin, who were relatives of the plant workers, were able to maintain the protest line for six months using the organizational skills and networks developed through their expressive organizations, such as the dart league and the Red Cross branch.

The literature on women's political participation in Newfoundland calls for the acknowledgement of women's "political culture" as an important and vital resource that Newfoundland women use in their own political agendas and which up to now has been under-valued by researchers. This

research will examine the political careers of a group of women who have already made use of their "political culture" within the domain of big "P" politics.

Fundamentalism and Fieldwork

The other apparent difficulty in understanding women's position in decision-making structures in the LSDA region (and one of the problems of fieldwork) was the presence of fundamentalist religions in the area. About two-thirds of the population of Northeast Brook are adherents of fundamentalist churches. The two sects in Northeast Brook, Pentecostalism and the Apostolic Faith, profess an Old Testament flavour of fundamentalism and they believe that the husband is the head of the household, as Christ is head of the church, and that it is the duty of the wife to submit to the will of her husband. Both sects demand strict moral code of behaviour of its members. Activities such as drinking, smoking, dancing, singing (except for hymns), watching television, and anything else perceived as "worldly" behaviour, is forbidden. The Apostolic Faith Church is very strict about the physical appearance of their women who do not wear pants, make-up, or jewellery of any sort, including wedding rings, and their hair must not be cut or adorned.

While these sanctions only apply to the congregations of the fundamentalist churches, the whole community is in many senses controlled by this moral order. Therefore it was not exactly the kind of environment that I expected to support women's involvement in the political domain or in the control of local resource allocation and management.

This particular brand of fundamentalism was the basis for much anxiety on my part, and proved to be worse in some ways than I expected. Not being even an occasional church-goer, although I was brought up as a Catholic, the thought of living in a small community of "saved" fundamentalists was not very appealing. I also wondered whether being a divorced mother of two children would cause problems in terms of being accepted by the community, and whether I should wear a wedding ring to make myself more acceptable. I knew that I would be perceived as a single woman and I did not want my relationship with the women of the community to be complicated by unwanted male attention. Male attention did become a problem in the field, but for the most part it did not affect my interactions with women.

One problem that others suggested to me as a potential issue to be dealt with was my own appearance. At the time of fieldwork my red/black hair was short and spiky and my earrings passed as bracelets. People were trying to tell me that my eyeliner and fringed boots would be clear and definitive statements about my personality to the

fundamentalist congregation of the community. It was suggested that I might want to make some personal changes in appearances before beginning the first fragile contacts with this community. However, I did not see this as an option. I needed these symbols of who and what I was, so that I would not totally and entirely lose contact with my life and myself in that time of crisis and isolation. I suspected that this fieldwork, in a community so different from my own world and friends, would challenge all my concepts and values of myself, what my work was about, and my relationships with others and their values. And somehow I felt my relationship with the community I was about to enter would not be honest if I was posing as someone other than the real me. Of course this "real" me as presented would shape and determine the experiences and reality of the field, but I did not realize how much and in what ways. And these experiences and relationships determined by my appearance were, to my mind, just as valid and important as those of someone whose personal style was different, or less clearly marked.

So, there it was; I was proposing to investigate and understand the development of women's political participation in a community which did not fit the patterns developed by other researchers, and which seemed to contradict all the assumptions about the nature of women's role in rural communities. All I could do was point out the

curious contradictions and propose to ask more questions. While I was trying to formulate these questions other practical difficulties had to be overcome.

Fieldwork poses almost insurmountable obstacles, both emotional and financial, for a single parent graduate student. Once I finally got into the field, I had to decide if I would bring my children with me, if I did, who would look after them, where would we live, and if they didn't come with me how would I deal with the loneliness and the guilt and all the other emotional baggage of motherhood? I felt guilty about leaving my children, I had never been away from them for very long, and I was now proposing to go off into the bush for four months. Of course there were other RDAs closer to St. John's, where it would have been easier to find affordable accommodations, and I would have been able to see my children more easily and more often; but that would have been too easy. Something in my contrary nature wanted to make fieldwork a test by fire. If some exotic foreign country was inaccessible, the most remote part of Newfoundland would have to do. Fieldwork in my own community would not be legitimate in terms of my own anthropological ideals. And so, leaving the academic security of the classroom, the relative safety of a Canadian city, and the bonds of parenthood, I journeyed toward an isolated, fundamentalist, red-neck lumber town in the midst of

Newfoundland wilderness, half suspecting that life would never be the same again.

Thesis Organization

Chapter Two presents a historical account of the development and growth of Northeast Brook from its early days as a winter settlement for nearby coastal fishing communities, through its transitional period of becoming a permanent settlement with the growth of the logging industry in the region, to the period of chronic unemployment and the collapse of the logging industry in the 1970's when a special Provincial Government Task Force was set up to investigate strategies for the economic diversification of the region. Many community interest groups sprouted as a result of the economic crisis; but the most prominent and long term organization concerned with implementing economic strategies for the area was the Labrador Sea Development Association. This chapter includes an examination of the historical roles men and women had in the community and the home, and the growth of fundamentalist religion in the area.

Chapter Three presents the community as I perceived it during the period of fieldwork. It focuses on the lives of men: their work, their recreation, and their relationship with women; the lives of women: their work, their

recreation, and their relationship with men; and it comments on the role religion plays in the community.

In Chapter Four I use a developmental model of political socialization to present the life histories of the women of the Executive Committee of the Labrador Sea Development Association, dividing their lives into sections (family background, work history, etc...). I analyze the social and cultural variables which have contributed to their participation in a political decision-making structure within a community dominated and controlled by a patriarchal/macho and fundamentalist culture. Chapter Five discusses the history of the development association and the major projects that it has undertaken, and examines the problems encountered by the women of the Labrador Sea Development Association, and how their actions have been received by the community and the bureaucratic networks of government and industry.

Chapter Six examines fundamentalism and shows how it allows for certain kinds of gender role manoeuvring by women so that they are able, in some contexts, to achieve positions of power and authority. Women are able to exchange levels of personal power within marriage for security, and at the public level the women of the LSDA were able to manipulate their gender roles (as perceived by the patriarchal/fundamentalist community) to achieve authority and power within a government sponsored organization that

parachutes liberal/progressive ideals regarding the equality of men and women into an isolated fundamentalist community.

Endnotes

1. Rural Development Associations are provincial community development organizations that evolved during the 1960's as a response to the Smallwood government's strategy of centralization, industrialization and resettlement. The first and largely successful organization began in Fogo Island, Eastport, and Bell Island. These communities typically faced severe economic depression due to problems in the fishery and were not "viable" according to some government policy planners. Fieldworkers from Memorial University's Extension worked with a reactivated development committee and put together a project to develop the local fishery with funds from the Department of Community and Social Development. The aim of these associations is "the development of natural resources by local people with the assistance of the government to upgrade rural life and economy" (Johnstone 1980, 30).

2. One group of women in Trinity Bay South, Newfoundland, had formed their own organization, WIN (Women in Newfoundland) as an alternative to the government sponsored RDA's. I was interested in doing research on this organization as a comparison to the Labrador Sea Development Association but it was too large a project.

3. All place names, associations, and geographical descriptions and personal names in this thesis have been changed to protect the identity of individuals, who would otherwise be easily identified.

4. This project, which would provide electricity for the region and employ men and women in the silviculture and chipping aspects of the project, will be discussed at length in Chapter Four.

Chapter Two

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1800-1900 The French Shore

Northeast Brook, which is today the business and service centre of the region encompassed by the Labrador Sea Development Association, was originally part of what was known as the "French Shore". The French fished along the northern coast of Newfoundland from the late 1600's, catching and curing their fish on the shoreline up until the early 1900's. McDooling's (1982) thesis which examined the community of Pilier Bay (a member community of the LSDA), describes the early history and settlement of this area.

The surviving remains of two French Men of War that were abandoned in [Pilier Bay] Harbour during a sea battle with the English Captain John Underdown in 1706 is material evidence of French exploitation of the North Atlantic Fishery in the area of [Pilier Bay] before the Treaty of Utrecht gave them the formal legal right to do so. This treaty, which was formalized in 1713, gave the French exclusive rights in the fishery as well as denying any form of permanent settlement along the "French Shore" by the English. These rules were enforced until the Seven Years War (1756-1763) when the French left the fishery and settlers of British extraction from Newfoundland's southern shores moved into the area. This English settlement was short lived. After this war the French came back, re-claimed their legal right in the fishery and promptly removed the squatters. "Prouse, in his report of the French fishery in Newfoundland, mentions that there were forty-four French fishermen at [Pilier Bay], but he does not mention any English settlers" (Joy 1970:7). During the Napoleonic Wars (1792-1815) the

French left again and the men from the south moved in for the fish once more. This time however they did not attempt permanent settlement. They fished during the summer and returned to their southern homes at the close of the season (McDooling 1982:37-38).

While the French did not settle or winter over in Newfoundland they hired Irish servants and planters to work in the processing of the catch and to protect the interests of the French. Most of the place names of communities within the LSDA are derivatives of the original French names. Chimney Bay was once called Baye Equillettes and as late as 1880, the French and English divided Baye des Equillettes, the French fishing along one side of the bay and the English on the other side.¹

It was with the failure of the fishery in the southern portions of Newfoundland that the English began settling in the area bordering on the Labrador Sea. The French gave up their rights to mainland Newfoundland in 1905, when they were traded for rights in the West Indies.

Later in the nineteenth Century, probably 1850-1870 many English settlers moved in from other areas in Newfoundland. Families in the community trace their ancestors to Bonavista Bay, Harbour Main, Harbour Grace, St. John's and various Southern Shore communities. Many of these came to work for the residents and remained to make their own homes there (Joy 1970:12 in McDooling 1982:41).

1880-1910 Winter Settlement

Northeast Brook, located at the head of Chimney Bay, was originally a winter settlement for the nearby coastal communities of Cape Daumalen, Pilier Bay, Cat Cove and Wild Cove. These fishing settlements had been French fishing rooms taken by Newfoundlanders when the French were fighting the Napoleonic Wars in Europe (McDooling 1982).

The fishing settlements along the French Shore, and what are now part of the Labrador Sea Development Association area, were similar to others along the French shore as described in ethnographies of the Northern Peninsula (Firestone 1970); fishing crews were, and still are, kin-based (McDooling 1982:57,108). These men pursued the inshore fishery, cod and salmon, in small boats, during the summer months while their wives and children were largely responsible for the splitting, drying and salting of the catch. One resident of the community of Northeast Brook, Pastor Stanley Hancock, a prominent local religious leader, who is now in his nineties, describes life in one of these communities at the turn of the century when he was a very small child in his book, To This End Was I Born.

I was born in a log cabin built of round logs. Covered with rough lumber, the floor was of the same material. Moss taken from the forest was caulked into the seams between the logs to prevent the frost and winter winds from piercing through. The cottage was humble, but God was there. (Hancock 1983:11).

About the middle of April, the scant supply of food they had gathered in for the winter during the month of October was exhausted and they faced starvation unless a miracle took place. There were no grocery stores along the Treaty shore. No place that one could go to purchase a pound of flour, tea, butter or molasses even if they had money to buy it. Unfortunately, no one had a penny in their possession.

Early each year around the last week in May or the first week in June, some sailing vessels from one of the firms in St. John's or Twillingate, Notre Dame Bay would arrive with supplies for the summer. Around the middle of August, she would return to collect whatever amount of dried cod fish and pickled salmon were ready for market. In the month of October, these vessels returned, took on board the remainder of the catch, and settlement was made there and then. After the summer expenses were paid off, if there was anything left to their credit, that was all the fishermen had to depend on for the coming winter. The vessels, when ready, sailed away flying her flag to the top of the main pole. It was a pitiful sight, a testing time, with only sufficient food to barely carry the families through the seven months ahead. The vessels would return again in June, depending on weather and ice conditions. Perilous times (Hancock 1983:47).

After the vessels left, the families migrated inland to more secluded and warmer locations, where the men worked in the woods during the fall and winter, hunting and trapping. Northeast Brook was an excellent winter settlement because it was ten miles up the bay and provided shelter from the cold, pounding North Atlantic gales that swept in from the sea. Families either came up the bay by boat, early in the fall of the year, or by dog team and komatik after the bay was frozen over. Cabins were built from logs cut from the surrounding forest and other locally available natural materials.

In the spring, when the ice would break up, families would

move back to their coastal settlements in time to prepare for the summer cod and salmon fisheries. Hancock describes the pattern of migration between winter and summer settlements during his youth (he was born in 1899, so that would make it the early 1900's).

Our school year was divided into two locations. From the opening in June up to October 1st, I attended school at [Cape Daumalen] where my father, with others, prosecuted the cod fishery. After the fishing season closed, we removed to [Northeast Brook] for the winter. There, I returned to school and remained until April 15th. We then went back to [Cape Daumalen] to prepare for the summer's operation. (Hancock 1983:22).

Women were responsible for the work in the house, the washing and mending of laundry, cooking and baking, tending the garden and the livestock, knitting, carding, and spinning of wool, and to work at the flakes when the fish was plentiful. They knitted socks, mittens, vamps, stockings, and sweaters.

Girls went into "service" about the age of fourteen to work for other families who were either wealthy, or because the wife was ill and not able to do all the heavy work, or because there were a lot of children. Serving girls lived with the family, they received room and board, and about three dollars a month. They also had to work at the fish, feed and milk the cows, look after the livestock, and clean the stages. Families were large and hard to feed, so daughters were sent

out to work (and find husbands) to reduce the burden on the family. Children were put to work at an early age; they went out with their fathers once they were old enough not to fall off the flake. They would put the fish on the splitting table for someone to cut open. Children also picked berries and worked around the house doing jobs.

Boys went fishing with their fathers once they were old enough; and a man and his sons became a crew once the family could afford a boat. The youngest son inherited the house and boat and he was responsible for his parents in their old age.

Fishing in an open boat in my boyhood days was a very unpleasant task. We used a cross handled paddle boat fitted with a foresail and mainsail to assist when winds were favourable. Most of the time we rowed from home to fishing grounds, a distance ranging from one to four miles. Rising before dawn, father spent no time preparing breakfast. As I rowed the boat with one set of oars, father cooked breakfast in a small iron pot, using for a bogey a galvanized bucket. Roasted rounders, kettle tea and hard bread was our fishing meal but we enjoyed our humble meal and ate it with gladness-" (Hancock 1983:19).

People who could afford to hire a serving girl often had a shareman to help with the fishing, and many a girl and shareman paired off together and started their own kin-based crew. Young couples usually started off living with the husband's parents in Cape Daumalen and, during the winter, they moved up the bay to Northeast Brook while he worked logging. For the first few years they would return to Cape

Daumalen for the summer fishery but when woodwork became more stable they settled in Northeast Brook and the husband's family would spend winters in land with the son's young family.

Men would work in the woods, cutting and hauling timber for use in the summer settlements, and hunting game (rabbits, caribou, sea birds and ducks). Women tended to the domestic sphere, cleaning and feeding, mending and knitting, occasionally giving birth and tending to the sick and dying. Mr. Hancock describes his mother and her role in the family:

My mother was a sturdy, strong woman with a meagre education. She was Queen of the home. She planned the family budget and filled more official positions in our home than the majority of the mothers of this modern age. Mother invested her life as some people invest their money. Her life was spent without the present day advantages of modern household appliances. Mother believed in miracles. She worked miracles. She turned poverty to songs of praise. Motherhood is big business. Believe it. Mother conducted a dozen businesses. There were thirteen of us in our family including father and mother. She served more meals in a year than some restaurants take care of. She ran a laundry for the family, washing, ironing, mending, patching and sewing buttons on her children's clothing. She also ran a hospital, serving as a nurse applying home-made remedies to relieve a toothache, or applying poultices to ease the unbearable pains of a festering carbuncle (Hancock 1983:10).

1900-1910 Grenfell Sawmill

It was in the early 1900's that the first sawmill was

established in Northeast Brook. Dr. Grenfell, in line with his efforts all along the Labrador coast and in Northern Newfoundland, was concerned and appalled by the extreme poverty of the area known as Chimney Bay. Being aware that the region was rich in forest resources, he decided that some sort of industry could be established in the area.

For years we puzzled our brains to discover some way to add to the earning capacity of the people in that section. It must be an enterprise which would be both cooperative and distributive. I had been told that there was plenty of timber to justify running a mill in one of the big bays, but that no sawmill paid in Newfoundland. All the same we were spurred by the poverty which we had seen in [Chimney Bay], about sixty miles south of St. Anthony. Also we knew that in our district labour would be cheaper than in the southern part of the Island - for our labour in winter usually went begging (Grenfell 1919:148).

A bunkhouse and cookhouse were built and, later, land was cleared for the growing of crops for local use and for the hospital at St. Anthony. However, due to a lack of experience in that sort of enterprise, and other financial difficulties, the operation did not survive.

That first year only one trouble at the mill proved insurmountable. The log-hauler would not deliver the goods to the rotary saw. When subsequently we discovered that the whole apparatus was upside down, it did not seem so surprising, after all! The second year, however, was our hardest time. For the bills for the lumber which we had sold were not paid in time for us to buy the absolutely essential stock of food for the people for the winter. Like King Midas of old, it was food, not cash, which

they needed in their mouths; and without the food, the men could not go logging (Grenfell 1919:150).

Although a couple of ships were constructed, this attempt at settlement was not successful, and Northeast Brook did not have a permanent population until the late 1920's (Task Force on Economic Potential and Development, 1980).

1920's-1930's Permanent Settlement

In terms of being recognized as a permanent community (permanent population on a year long basis), Northeast Brook was not established until 1928 when another woods operation was established by John Reeves Ltd. from the nearby fishing community of Cape Daumalen. John Reeves Ltd. had established business operations in Cape Daumalen in the late 1880's, primarily as a fish merchant, who bought from and supplied local in-shore fishermen; so it was not surprising that it extended operations to Northeast Brook, with wood rather than fish, being the commodity exchanged for supplies (Decks Awash 1983).

The Depression years were particularly harsh for the people of the Northern Peninsula and tales of extreme poverty and hardship are the norm when people recall this period of the region's history during the 1920's and 1930's.

In the autumn of 1933 a contract for pulpwood was secured by a firm at [Chimney Bay]. About twenty-five miles from [Pilier Bay]. About half the families left home and moved there to earn a winters food. No one who did not take part in this removal can ever come close to realizing the toil and hardship suffered by those people who took their possessions and with their families of small children went in small fishing boats over rough seas to [Chimney Bay]. There they had to live in small log cabins erected hurriedly before winter set in. A lot of them who had no boats to take them were brought there by the steamer Prospero. They were taken on board at night. It was the 13th of November with a gale of wind and snow flurries. There was no public wharfe (sic) at [Pilier Bay] then. Small boats plied back and forth from ship to shore. It was a scene of misery and woe never to be forgotten by those who witnessed it. If any of the crew of the old Prospero is still alive, I'm sure they remember it vividly. Some of them described it later as something unbelievable. There were people of all ages from enfants (sic) to men and women in their eighties. What was most striking was their dauntless courage in the face of such hazards. This went on for three years. Coming home in spring to the fishery; going back in the fall to work in the woods (O'Neil, unpublished).

The Great Depression was at its height then, and about half the people in [Pilier Bay] had moved to [Chimney Bay] the fall before to earn a winter's food cutting pulp wood. I have already written about the hardships they endured getting there. Now many of them were returning home bringing their families and household goods across country by dog team--a distance of about twenty five miles by the old trail used at that time. It required from three to five teams to move a family and their possessions, according to the size of the family...

We started off again, the dogs breaking into a swift gallop for a while, then settling down to a long swinging trot. The route lay over barrens, frozen ponds, and marshes, through skirts of woods where at intervals we saw the tracks of small forest animals in the snow and flocks of jays flitted through the trees. About two thirds of the

way was covered when we met several teams, probably twenty or so. They were hauling home families and had just finished lunch and were straightening out their dogs to resume the journey.

The scene in that grove of woods defies description. There were people of all ages from infants three and four months old to a man and woman in their eighties. The komatiks were piled high with every kind of household item from a bed to a stove and hencoops full of hens. One komatik even had two goats in a crate on it. There were dogs barking and howling, goats bleating, hens clucking, roosters crowing, babies crying, and the shouts and curses of the drivers all combined to create a medley of sound that is easier imagined than described (O'Neil, unpublished "A Memorable Dogteam Trip").

Women in the Woods

The Depression years were particularly difficult for the people of these isolated communities. The Task Force report states that during this period living conditions in Northeast Brook were so bad that, women were "forced to go into the woods to log in order to support their families" (Task Force Report 1980). Women have often been responsible for the gathering and cutting of firewood in logging communities because men worked away in the woods for contractors or the big logging companies. Whether women worked as wage earning loggers as men did, as the Report states, I was not able to determine. Although many older people whom I interviewed told me stories of women who had

According to another informant, a former logger, the two daughters of one of the contractors used to log at his camp. These two girls cut wood by the cord to make pocket money, rather than as an economic alternative in desperate times. This man was quite pleased to tell me that the girls "could work as well as a man" but when I pressed the point, admitted that they did not cut as many cords of wood a day as the men did.

Because the lumber companies hired contractors to provide the logs, and most contractors in those days did not keep records of employment or payroll, I did not find any formal documentation of these women who worked as loggers. The one local company that might have kept records without the use of intermediaries (the contractors), John Reeves Ltd. had a fire in the late 1970's in which all their records were lost.

1935-1950s

In 1935 Saunders and Howell, from Carbonear, took over the woods operation and increased production to 5,000,000 running feet of lumber annually (Decks Awash 1983). By this point homes, churches, schools, stores, and limited medical services were established in Northeast Brook. The community was also serviced by the Newfoundland coastal ships which

worked as loggers, I did not find any woman who had actually worked for a wage.

I did meet one woman in her seventies living in the senior citizen's home. She and her husband (and their budgie) lived together in their own private room in the home (as did many couples), and she told me that she had worked like a man when she was younger, she had built her own house, and had fished with her grandmother when she was a young girl. Her husband, who had a stroke and could not speak very well, reinforced the image of this amazon woman by referring to his wife as "She" as a proper name, whenever he got a chance to say anything, which was not often. "She" answered all the questions I asked him. "She" told me about two sisters whose father was disabled, and who were forced to cut logs to support the family.

People seemed reluctant to discuss whether their mothers or grandmothers had worked in the woods. When I interviewed the two men whose mother and aunt had worked as loggers, both of these men denied that their mothers had worked in the woods. One man totally avoided my question about his mother and I was never able to get him to acknowledge that I had even asked it. Perhaps significantly, both of these men (one in his nineties and the other in his late seventies) are "saved" fundamentalists, and have taken leadership positions within their churches and both have started their own fundamentalist sects.

brought food, supplies, visitors, medicine and even the occasional luxury.

Increasingly company houses were being built for employees of Saunders and Howell, who would provide building materials to their employees. For young married couples this was seen as a golden opportunity, as the fishery, at that time, was poorly paid and any form of wage work was seen as being preferable to the uncertainties of fishing. Couples would:

build a house - more like what you'd call a shack - kind of a place to live in the summertime. So usually we'd all live in one side, while they worked on the other and they worked down at the mill.

Other members of the extended family, i.e. the husbands' parents, would then come to live with the couple in the house in Northeast Brook during the winter months. The men, if working for the company or a contractor, usually had to live in woods camps, quite a distance from town, depending on what areas were being cut, so that they only "came out" on the weekends to be with their families.

Sometimes, women would move their families closer to the camps, so that they could be near their menfolk, but this was usually only possible before they had too many children or older, school age children. Some women whom I interviewed had very fond memories of packing up kids, dogs,

food and bedding and heading into the bush, on a sort of arctic adventure.

Well, one winter we all went in there. I went in there and his three brothers. He built a big long log cabin. We, Max, and his brothers, Fletch, and Ple, we all lived under the one roof that we had built - partitioned off like...I didn't mind... because I was there with him. I could cook for him and he didn't have to go and pay no board. We had it cosy. We just moved in with what we needed - beds and a few things that we needed, dishes and clothes - just enough to get by with.

We had a horse and a dog team. We went in on a horse, they built a boxed-in sleigh, put everything in, and the small kids, all covered up. We went in like that. I enjoyed it. We used to walk out on the roads the men used to haul the logs with the horses on. We used to walk out there sometimes for a ride.

Women had babies with the help of nurses who were stationed at the Grenfell mission station in Northeast Brook and/or midwives when nurses were not available. Mothers made all their own clothes and made diapers out of flannelette from the local merchant. They made little shirts and nightdresses that were embroidered around the neck. Materials were hard to get and expensive: women used whatever was at hand and put it to use. Old flour sacks were boiled in "jealous lye" and washed to whiten them; they were used for the backing for quilts made from old blankets. During my preliminary research I had read a student paper about Northeast Brook which stated that some people were so poor that they had to make clothes out of old flour bags.

When I asked a couple of elderly sisters about people using flour bags to make clothes they were highly indignant that people would say that about anyone in Northeast Brook. However, after I turned off the tape recorder the same two sisters told a story of a very large woman who bent over when getting out of a boat and everyone could read the words "Robin Hood Flour" across her rear end.

Men's Work

Men would work in the woods at camp in the fall and winter. They came out on Friday or Saturday nights for the weekend to be with their families. Fundamentalist men told me that they would walk the 20 miles (or whatever) to get home before the sabbath and they would not leave to return to work until after midnight of the Sunday because walking back to the camp would violate the sabbath. Men lived in wooden buildings in the woods where they would eat, sleep, and prepare for the next day's work. Room and board for these accommodations would come out of their wages. The contractor hired a cook, usually a man, but sometimes the contractor's wife worked as the cook for the camp. Some men played cards, while others sang hymns, and washed their clothes in the little free time that they had.

During the fall and winter, logs were piled up along the sides of the brooks for the drive in the spring when the waterways thawed out.

They used to put all the logs in the brook and they came out on the pond. They used to drive them all out there--they came out into the salt water. The men used to be along the sides of the brook with pevies--a big, long pole with a hook on it--to get the logs clear. This is the way they'd work at each side and they'd clear the logs--they's get hung up and they'd clear them up so they could run with the brook.

...there used to be a big boat that used to come in to take the wood . They used to load the boats by the piers. They'd make a boom around the wood - They used to rind it - they'd take it out on the banks and rind it first before the ships would take it. A lot of people, used to do it years ago with an axe or a "jawing" knife, a knife with two handles on each side and they'd haul it back and forth.

The logs were sold to European ships; in spite of the area's isolation it was not unusual to see ships from all over the world. Even today gigantic foreign pulp ships tie up to the small wharf in Burnt Village and load thousands of feet of pulp logs.

With the establishment of a permanent source of income Northeast Brook began to prosper in the 1940's and 1950's and people came from all over the region to settle and work there. Although Saunders and Howell pulled out of Northeast Brook in 1949 the community was not terribly affected as Bowaters had established a large operation in Burnt Village.

Growth of Fundamentalism

During the 1920's there was an Island-wide fundamentalist revival that swept through Methodist, Salvation Army, and fledgling Pentecostal congregations. The first Pentecostal missionaries had arrived in St. John's in 1910 and by the early 1920's they were making inroads in their efforts to expand throughout the province. The Conception Bay area was a particular stronghold.

About twenty-four years ago, God visited Clarke's Beach with a Pentecostal outpouring. The slain of the Lord were many. Sinners were converted and the town stirred. No one who saw those days could ever forget them. Blinding arrows and biting winds could not keep the people from the church - the old Fisherman's (Union) Hall - for God was there. Sinners sat on a plank in a rather cold room till the doors were closed which varied from 12,1,2,3,4, to 6 o'clock in the morning. Clarke's Beach assembly is made up of those who received the baptism or were saved at that time (Janes 1983:217).

In the 1930's the Salvation Army sent missionaries/officers to the Cape Daumalen area and people began converting to this faith from former Methodism (as they were all over Newfoundland). According to one of my informants, fundamentalist religion was introduced to Northeast Brook with the development of the logging industry. Saunders and Howell lumber company originated in Carbonear where the loggers had written to places in the States for information about Pentecostalism. These loggers

brought their faith with them when they were sent to Northeast Brook to establish a sawmill there in 1930's.

The Apostolic Faith church was introduced to Northeast Brook in the early 1940's by Pastor Stanley Hancock who "miraculously" found a tract from this organization in an old trunk. The sect originated as a splinter sect out of a world-wide Pentecostal movement begun with the great Welsh revival in 1904; its North American origins were in California in the early 1900's and today the Apostolic Faith has churches throughout Canada, the United States, Britain, Norway, Finland, Jamaica, West Indies, Africa, Japan, Korea and the Philippines (Apostolic Faith Church: An International Evangelistic Organization,1)

The purpose in founding this religious organization was not to promote any new doctrine but rather to re-establish, maintain and teach all the doctrines as taught by Christ and by His Apostles in the time of the Early Church, and to promulgate the Gospel in its fullness to the people of all lands (Apostolic Faith Church,1).

In terms of doctrinal beliefs, the church tenets include: the Divine Trinity, Repentance toward God, Restitution, Justification and Regeneration, Entire Sanctification, The Baptism of the Holy Ghost, Divine Healing, The Second Coming of Jesus, The Tribulation, Christ's Millennial Reign, The Great White Throne Judgment, The New Heaven and the New Earth, Eternal

Heaven and Eternal Hell, No Divorce and Remarriage, Water Baptism, The Lord's Supper, and Washing the Disciples' Feet (Apostolic Faith Church literature).

The Northeast Brook church is the Newfoundland headquarters of the sect, which has other Canadian branches in British Columbia, Ontario, and New Brunswick. Its congregations are characterized by particular codes of conduct and appearances. For women, a uniform of loose-fitting dresses or skirts is prescribed. Younger women's hair should be uncut and loose; older women wear their hair bound up or tiedback. They must remain free of make-up and all forms of jewellery and generally seek to appear feminine and unworldly in appearance. Men are likewise expected to be unfashionable and "unworldly" in appearances. Followers do not engage in behaviour that is seen as being sinful, such as smoking, drinking, swearing, watching television, dancing, any forms of singing except hymn-singing, gambling, and politics.

The Apostolic congregation was led by Pastor Hancock until the 1970's when he was relieved of his leadership by a missionary, a black woman from Florida, who took over until her death the summer of my fieldwork (1988). This missionary, the Reverend Dolly Walker, was very authoritarian and strictly presided over and, some say, was worshipped by her flock for about fifteen years.

The Apostolic Faith Church in Northeast Brook was described by Harold Horwood, who visited the community in the 1970's.

Today it is a squalid mill town with a much-too-large population living in balance between life and death, where men soured by discontent and a vague realization of their status in a vicious industrial system perform indifferently tasks of numbing monotony, or sit in the sun doing nothing but feel mad at the world.

The [Northeast Brook] churches are a revealing thing to see. The Salvation Army (which in Newfoundland is a religious denomination rather than a welfare organization) flourishes, along with a very shabby version of the United Church of Canada. There is a meeting hall for the Pentecostal Assemblies, where people gather to 'speak in tongues' and give other manifestations of possession by the Holy Ghost. But above them all, in Byzantine splendour, stands the Apostolic Church of the Full Gospel, domed like St. Sophia's, except that the domes are green-painted wood, and fronted with a billboard painted in black letters six feet high. Perhaps these various brands of emotional fundamentalism give people some relief from the misery of their surroundings... The harbour front at Northeast Brook is quagmired with sawdust. The streets wind crookedly between the little houses, their mud smelling of inadequate sanitation. A sign in the restaurant proclaims: "Full Course Meals" (Horwood 1969:44-45).

1950s-1970s

In the late 1950's Chester Dawe had built a planer mill in Northeast Brook which was prosperous for a while, e-

ven drawing workers from all over the province; but by 1968 markets softened to the point where the mill was shut down and the workers laid off.

When the Stephenville Linerboard mill was brought on stream it created a new pulpwood market for the Northeast Brook company and the Chimney Bay Lumber Company was again in business; a giant new mill was constructed in 1974. However, as is the case with many primary resource industries, the export market for pulp logs softened again. In 1976 the Stephenville mill closed and with it went the lifeblood of the Chimney Bay Lumber Company (Task Force Report 1980). This collapse of lumber markets in the 1970's, had devastating consequences for the residents of both Northeast Brook and Burnt Village, the two primary lumber towns in the Labrador Sea region.

Development of Local Decision-Making Groups

As early as 1970 interest groups had formed in Northeast Brook with the idea of using already existent government programmes to supplement incomes and to create employment. The people of Northeast Brook came to the conclusion that private industry could not be counted on in the hard times, and that if they were to survive economically they would have to be prepared to fight both government and industry; which is largely what they did

throughout the 1970's and 80's over the issues of jobs and services (Northeast Brook Town Council Minutes).

In the seventies the council had begun applying for Community Incentives programmes to employ small groups of men when the local lumber company began to feel the effects of softening markets and the increases in transportation costs. Council also began to hold meetings with government and company officials about the lack of work for the loggers of Northeast Brook. Contractors who had been awarded work in Northeast Brook were met with demands to hire as many local workers as possible, and telegrams were sent to high-ranking government officials concerning the unemployment problem in the town. Council was also applying for and administering Canada Works projects to employ men in the woods (Northeast Brook Town Council Minutes).

Committees were also formed to deal with many aspects of community services and any issue that town residents were concerned about. The Community Social Committee was made up of citizens concerned about the woods operation; also formed were a Committee on Improving Medical Facilities, the Senior Citizens Committee, and a citizen's delegation concerning complaints about the power house (Northeast Brook Town Council Minutes). An Athletic Committee had been formed in the 1960's and this committee worked on issues regarding recreation, and even today it is active and still trying to get facilities established in the community. In the early

1980s a Road Committee was set up which lobbied various levels of government to improve roads in the area, and primarily to pressure government to pave the "cross-country" road that connects the region to the rest of the province.

With the decline in employment, labour unrest became more of an issue for both municipal and provincial levels of government, and for the lumber companies in the region. By 1978 Northeast Brook Town council was embroiled with conciliating the Citizen's Committee and the Loggers Committee with representatives from both the provincial government and the Chimney Bay Lumber Company. Loggers and town residents were unhappy with the company's history of employment and they were concerned that work had not yet begun on that year's woods operation. The Department of Forestry was also concerned with Chimney Bay Lumber Company's proposal for that year's woods operation.

According to town council records, Chimney Bay Lumber Company was having difficulty getting their annual cutting permit renewed by the Department of Forestry because they had not clear cut the year before. In Newfoundland, forestry is controlled by the government, and land is leased to lumber companies for long-term use and harvest but under the scrutiny of the Department of Forestry. All land belongs to the Crown, but great chunks of it are harvested by companies such as Bowater's, Chimney Bay, Price, and others on long-term leases. Chimney Bay Lumber Company was leasing their

land from Bowater's who had ceased production in the Labrador Sea region in 1968.

In order for these leases to be upheld, the landholding companies are required to keep up the resource that is they have to use the resource or it falls back under the control of the government; in effect they have to cut a certain amount of timber each year. With the softening of lumber markets and the increase in transportation costs, Chimney Bay had reduced their operation to the point where they were only cutting what was required to ensure their cutting permit for the next season when the industry might be more profitable. In the meantime, this strategy was not providing much employment for the loggers of Northeast Brook.

Chimney Bay was then contracting out this work to contractors from other areas of the province who, history had taught the people of Northeast Brook, would hire local men, and before the completion of the contract, would have declared bankruptcy, thus transferring the cost of the operation to both the loggers and the local shopkeepers, who would end up with a safe full of bouncing cheques.

The Department of Forestry was concerned with the quality of the harvesting being done in the forest. They had been dissatisfied with the CBLC's forestry management in the past and they were hesitant about issuing a cutting permit until all royalties had been paid to the Crown, and until CBLC presented a proposal that would include marketing

possibilitie_ for a barge, and shuttle service (Northeast Brook Town Minutes) .

Chimney Bay Lumber Company argued that the forestry roads needed to be upgraded, that they were not usable for trucking pulpwood out, and that the whole operation would not be profitable for them. The loggers were demanding \$20.00 a cord; transportation costs were \$33.00 a cord to Corner Brook where they would only be able to sell pulpwood for \$50.00 a cord. CBLC was not interested in the operation unless the government would subsidize their transportation costs for \$8.00 a cord. Meanwhile the Concerned Citizen's Committee was working on a petition asking the government to hand over the timber claims to the people of Northeast Brook who would form their own company and employ themselves without what they perceived as the mismanagement of the Chimney Bay Lumber Company.

In November of 1979 the Minister of Forest Resources and Lands announced that a provincial Task Force was to be established which would look at the issues of unemployment and declining population, and examine areas of potential development in the Northeast Brook and Burnt Village region. This Task Force, made up of civil servants, heard submissions from the Northeast Brook Citizens Committee, the Northeast Brook Loggers Committee, the Northeast Brook Town Council, Chimney Bay Lumber Company, the Department of Social Services, the Burnt Village Recreation Committee, the

Burnt Village Town Council, the Northeast Brook Forest Management Unit, Department of Forest Resources and Lands and local business people.

It was out of this Task Force that many development projects would later be developed. The Task Force recommended many changes in forestry management: including increased silviculture programmes, an examination of forestry access roads in the region, and discussions between local sawmill operators, the government and proposed new operators to determine the desired levels of production; the Task Force also recommended changing the term of export pulpwood permits, so that contractors might be able to operate realistically, and tighter departmental control over Chimney Bay Lumber Company's five-year operating plan and the technology utilized, generally better management of the resource by industry, and the diversification of local resources. The Report also suggested that, according to federal biologists, a crab fishery would be viable in the region (Task Force Report 1980).

The Northeast Brook Citizen's Committee was established during this crisis period and this committee brought many of the local development issues to a head. The committee evolved into a primary component of what was to become the Labrador Sea Development Association. The LSDA was officially registered in August 1978. It functions according to the guidelines developed by the Department of Rural,

Agricultural, and Northern Development. The fourteen directors of the association are elected from each of the community committees which are members of the regional association, Northeast Brook, Burnt Village, Flamands Cove, Reidville, Cape Daumalen, Pilier Bay and Irish Cove. The executive committee is made up of the president, vice-president, secretary, treasurer and the directors, who represent the individual committees where they are residents. The objectives of the RDA's, according to the guidelines developed by RAND are:

- 1) To serve as a forum for discussion and exchange of ideas with a view to identifying local needs.
- 2) To serve as a vehicle for the involvement of the people of the region in the planning, implementation, and management of social and economic programs for the development of their area.
- 3) To be a vehicle for the coordination and communication with other agencies concerned with the development of the region.
- 4) To be a local agency to which individuals and groups can bring their problems for discussion and possible resolutions.
- 5) To mobilize the resources of the local area and its people to solve their own problems as far as possible.
- 6) To obtain, acquire and seek and accept from the government of Canada, or any of its agencies, the government of Newfoundland, or any of its agencies etc... any property, concessions, grants, rights, powers, privileges or assistance whatsoever which may

be advantageous towards attaining the general objects of the association. (Minutes of the LSDA)

By 1979 the LSDA and Northeast Brook town council were looking into the feasibility of developing the recommendations of the Task Force Report, and by the time of my arrival in the community of Northeast Brook the crab plant had been operational for several years and construction of the woodchip plant had just begun.

Endnotes

1. Complaint of John Bingham, fisherman, against Mr, Pecqnenee, Captain of "Verviene Portrieux" to the Governor of Newfoundland. Bingham was attacked by Pecqnenee (who said, "Je vous prenoiserais comme un morue!" and then struck Bingham on the arm) for fishing on the French side of the bay with hook and line. (Governor's Miscellaneous and Local Correspondence 1849-1890, GN1/3/A, Provincial Archives, St.John's, Newfoundland.)

Chapter Three

NORTHEAST BROOK TODAY

The pockmarked gravel road to Northeast Brook winds through seventy-six kilometres of moose-infested but otherwise uninhabited forestland. The road is mysterious and silent. There are no houses or buildings of any kind, only thick walls of pine, juniper and spruce, border this lonely road. Clumps of dusty spruces and alder huddle to each other, boughs thick and encrusted with seed; downcast and secretive, they yield no clues to ethnographic mysteries. Silence is punctured by acrobatic sparrows who dart out from the trees to swoop below the grill of my car before diving back into their spruce sanctuaries.

The road continues slithering through the land, mile after mile, hump after hump. No houses, no buildings, no people. Cautiously, I began searching the edge of the treeline for tell-tale signs of dragons and other mysterious beasts from beyond the edge of the world. Only the occasional moose warning signs reveal that humanity had bruised this wilderness.

Gradually, other signs of habitation indicate that a community does exist in these densely grown woodlands: a sprinkling of car wrecks, a garbage dump, and the rusted remains of a sawmill announces the boundary of Northeast Brook. The gravel road continues along the arm of land that

bounds Chimney Bay, past the gas stations, take-outs, and churches of Northeast Brook, unfurling itself across the woodlands, past Reidville and the gastanks of Cape Daumalen before finally plunging into the Atlantic.

I rolled off the snaking gravel road and into Northeast Brook around suppertime on a Sunday evening, after having inhaled a pound of dust and nearly having been run off the road by the dust-churning, stone-flicking mechanical beasts that fly along that curling and humping road. The town was eerily silent and seemed deserted.

With its spectacular backdrop of purple and violet-hued mountains, the town did not resemble the typical Newfoundland community as expected by my ethnographically trained eyes. Rather, it seemed to be a spilt-level and bungalow village; its gravel walkways, white marble lined gardens and vinyl-sided homes resembled middle America more than the stereotyped quaint Newfoundland fishing village.

This visual monotony was punctuated by the spikes of church spires against mountains that crouch across the bay and onto which the intense blues of the heavens are reflected. During the sultry summer days of my fieldwork they seem wrapped in smoky gauze and sparkling with drops of celestial crystal. These crouching giants were sometimes capable of seducing even me, the unbelieving anthropologist, into thoughts of salvation and redemption.

Later, during the worst days of my fieldwork, the days of mineshafts of depression and endless loneliness, I would go down to the bridge, where the two halves of Northeast Brook meet and where the river intersects the ocean. Here the land was low and provided an unfettered view of the tri-coloured blues of the ocean, the skies, and the mountain, and the sparkling and winking of the sun as it danced over the sheltered bay. This sight always renewed my courage and I sometimes understood why all these people believed in god and salvation. Then, I would trudge back to my interviews and my infernal questions, to my hymn-singing and prayer-meeting women, and their hard-working, log-sawing men.

Arrival

Locating Anita's house, where I would be staying until I found a place of my own, was tricky as there were no street signs or house numbers, directions were verbal descriptions which included degrees of road curvage and window shutter styles, with the house colour being the key to identification. Fortunately Anita, who was one of the women I had met two years ago at a conference, was home and recognized my grime covered and bewildered face. I was immediately welcomed, introduced to her family and seated at the supper table for the first of many excellent Newfoundland dinners, which would include fish and brewis,

moose soup, cod tongues and britchens, boiled dinner, cod stew, fresh salmon and crab.

After dinner we went out onto their immense wooden patio deck that faced the calm, bejewelled Chimney Bay into which, they told me, humpback whales sometimes followed the caplin in the spring. I could just imagine these aquatic giants breaching against the reflective mountains, while the bay echoes with the slap of their gigantic bodies on the water. I sat back against the sun soaked wood, and gazed out at those lovely snowcapped mauve mountains; after two beers I figured I had found nirvana. The silence, thick and tranquillizing, was hypnotic. Fanned by the gentle lapping of the ocean on polished stones and the voices of my new found friends, I drank more beer and felt even more peaceful, gazing out at the horizon and soaking up the bits of conversation and gossip. Tomorrow, I would begin the unravelling of ethnographic mysteries.

Life in Northeast Brook

Northeast Brook, (population approx. 1300), one of the seven communities encompassed within the Labrador Sea Development Association, is the business and geographical centre of the region, and provides most of the services and retail outlets for the six surrounding communities. The main road is littered with gas stations, several large

supermarkets, a motel, a games hall, a few take-outs, two flower shops (specializing in plastic and cloth flowers), a Yamaha retailer, the post office, the municipal building which also houses federal government offices, two schools, the local RCMP detachment and, of course, the various churches.

The Departments of Fisheries and Oceans, Forestry and Land Resources, and Transportation and Highways have all located their regional offices in Northeast Brook. The Department of Social Services regional office is located in Cape Daumalen, some ten miles distant.

Anita, who was the president of the LSDA, was my primary contact with the different sectors of the community. She is the wife of a federal fisheries officer, a mother of three teenagers, a volunteer, ex-manager of the crab plant, and relative to various members of the town, since she was born in Northeast Brook. Because of her outgoing and vibrant personality, she saw to my introduction to the community. For the first week I went around with her in her truck and I was introduced to everyone she had business with, or anyone else she thought might be of interest to me.

Anita was supervising a project sponsored by the LSDA under "Challenge '88", a federal program that creates work for students in the summer.¹ The project was the construction of a park for families at the senior citizens home. She introduced me to all the students working there,

including her daughter and her friends, who became friends of mine and through whom I experienced some of the realities of being a teenager in this small community, (such as driving around in a car full of teenage girls in Cape Daumalen and harassing all the good-looking guys, hanging out at the arcade, going to dances in Burnt Village and driving to Reidville for Topchoice fried chicken). I also got a tour of the senior citizen's home and met some of the people whom I later interviewed about the early years of Northeast Brook.

Anita could not bear to be unemployed, and I accompanied her on her search for employment: to the Department of Social Services in Cape Daumalen, where I met the social workers, and to the site of the wood chip generating plant where I met the contractors. The construction site was experiencing a lot of labour unrest, as men who could not get work there were hanging around the site and on several occasions violence erupted. Many people were worried that a riot would be started and there were threats that workers would burn equipment (see Chapter Five for further discussion). ²

She also took me to see anyone who might possibly be of use to me. Because she had worked as manager of the crab plant she knew a lot of women and introduced and explained me to them, including Apostolic women, with whom I might have had difficulty making contact otherwise. In a small

town it does not take long for information of any sort to travel and by now everyone knew I was some sort of hybrid Catholic townie/mainlander doing research (probably for the government) on women (and probably one of them there women's libbers!). Anita's approval and introduction made me acceptable and safe; and because I was seen with her so often people began to wonder if I was her foster daughter, and this made me less of a stranger and a threat to them.

Learning the Ropes

My first independent act upon arrival and settlement into the bosom of my new found family, who championed me and my goals through and beyond fieldwork, was, I thought, to set out on foot to survey my ethnographic dominion and plan the conquering analysis of Northeast Brook. Alas, my reign as ethno-detective queen of male-female power relationships was brief. The boys of Northeast Brook soon had me cowed and confined to my "rightful" place.

My first walk along the pitted gravel roads of Northeast Brook, I found involved negotiating and avoiding men, young men in particular, whose favourite pastime is to harass any woman within shouting distance. I soon learned that walking by a house by myself would be an invitation for teenage boys to hang out of open windows, wolf whistling,

cat calling, and asking me intimate questions about anatomy. The older boys were even more dangerous as they had vehicles from which they operated. I soon learned to get out of sight when I heard the squeal of tires, the crunch of gravel, and the whoops of men. Pick-up trucks of lunch-boxed men returning from a days work were no less energetic in their enjoyment of this sport.

After the third episode of this sort on my first and only walk around town, which included being approached and followed by a very senior senior citizen with a desperate glint in his eye, I decided enough was enough.³ I vacated the field, hardened my soul for the next volley of verbal abuse as I trudged back toward the house, vowing never to go outside again. However, I soon encountered a group of little boys coming toward me wearing rubber boots and carrying fishing rods. They smiled at me and I guessed that they were the same age as my own children. Here finally is an exchange that I can handle, I think confidently to myself. Their sunny, well scrubbed faces turn up to me and they say hello very sweetly. I ask them what kind of fish they're going to catch in a matronly kind of way, and immediately one little devil pipes up, "If we catch any, I'll bring you one, cutie-pie" with a wink, as the rest burst out laughing while they all scamper down to the shore. Later I even encountered a two-year old male who held court in the sandpile and could flirt with four women at the same

time as well as any full-grown man. The boys of Northeast Brook learn their stuff early.

Men's Lives

Northeast Brook seems a quiet town. During the day it seems almost deserted. It comes slowly to life between 4:00 and 5:00 p.m. when people are getting off work. Traffic concentrates around the post office as people check their mail and chat with each other. In the evenings, after supper, small groups of women go for their evening walks together and in some driveways clumps of men gather around the yawning hoods of pick-up trucks.

It is a man's town. One woman said to me that "it should have been settled by homosexuals. They never should have brought women here." Situated in the midst of a great expanse of wilderness, it is a paradise for hunters and fishermen. Every man in Northeast Brook has a gun, and when he is not working, he will usually be out in the woods after ducks, moose, bear, when in season of course, or out on the water fishing or shooting birds.

Men go moose hunting in teams or with their partners, usually brothers and fathers, or brothers-in-law and fathers-in-law, or with close friends. In the fall they can frequently be seen in a group of three or four, standing around the hanging carcass of a moose, discussing the hunt

or admiring their handiwork, as they skin and divide their quarry, in some form of bizarre male bonding rite. Once I had a chance to fly into the bush and bring supplies to a group of these men who were 'gettin' their moose. When we got there they had already shot their moose and were in the process of bringing the quarters to the cabin. The moose, which was a cow, was gutted and quartered out in the bush where she had been shot, then slits were cut in the hide so that they could be used as straps to carry the meat back to the cabin. Each section weighed approximately 120-150 pounds that had to be carried several miles, over bush, bog, and dense thickets. In the winter men take to skidoos and travel into the interior, to places that cannot be reached in the spring and summer. There they live in cabins built about ten feet above the ground; inside there are a couple of benches that are used as beds and a oil drum that serves as a stove. They eat what they catch and whatever foodstuffs they bring with them; along the walls are tacked plastic bags of dried caplin and potatoes. Anyone who happens along is welcome to use these facilities as long as they replace what they use, and remember to leave some kindling for the next visitor.

Most men make their living in the woods. Apart from a few instances, the men have been the ones to go into the woods, to get up before dawn, gather their gear and head into the bush for eight to ten hours of chopping, hauling, and cutting, before swinging chainsaw, lunch bucket, axe,

walk to the store everyday and that he used to work in the woods until he lost his leg. Someone later told me that he had gotten part of his clothing caught in the mill and because he had very strong arms he hung on to a beam while his leg was pulled off by the machinery.

One of the nurses at the Grenfell Clinic at Northeast Brook told me that today wood's work is not nearly as dangerous as it was, and that most accidents today happen to people cutting their own firewood and not to the professional woodsmen. Even so, while I was there one young man lost part of his hand. Loggers told me that there were no safety standards enforced by contractors. Most men did not wear hard hats or goggles.

Young People

In spite of the dangers and difficulties of logging as a livelihood, young men are still eager to take it up as their life's work. Most boys see no point in staying in school, because they do not need algebra to be a logger. They quit school as soon as they can, around the ages of fourteen to sixteen, in spite of high unemployment and the collapse of the lumber industry.

The school system in Newfoundland, because of the variety and intensity of religious sentiment, is denominational. Northeast Brook has two schools, the

and raingear on their backs and walking miles back to the truck and then, finally, driving home. When they can get it, men work this way all summer and for most of the fall, before heavy snowfall makes woodwork impossible.

The men I talked to, who worked in the woods, complained loudly about the poor wage they made for this work; some complained about the lack of an effective union and safety standards and the frustration of working like slaves for contractors who frequently came in from out of town and ended up skipping out and bouncing cheques. But more often they expressed enjoyment of their work. They talked about the independence woods work gave them. Ownership of a chainsaw made them their own bosses. They were free to work as hard or as little as they pleased. They had no foreman or particular shift. The only thing driving them was their desire to provide for their families and maybe get that new three-wheeler next spring. They appeared like cowboys or prospectors of the old west, men who valued their independence and freedom more than the creature comforts and security of an easier kind of job.

But it is dangerous work. Many men around town, particularly the older men, have several fingers and even parts of their hand missing from accidents with chainsaws. There was a old man who lived near me and who had great difficulty walking. One day when I was walking past him and we exchanged hellos he proudly told me that he made himself

Pentecostal and the Integrated. While the two fundamentalist sects, Apostolic Faith and Pentecostalism, have many similarities, they do not hold much Christian charity for each other. The Apostolic children attend the Integrated school system and the Pentecostal children go to the Pentecostal school.

While all children in Northeast Brook begin school, most do not graduate from high school. Although provincial legislation requires children to attend school until they are sixteen it is a difficult and a time consuming process to enforce this legislation. For many fundamentalist families, education is secondary to being a good Christian. Girls are not encouraged to continue or do well in school, although in both schools there are some brave single mothers who continue their education.

Sex education and birth control is not discussed in the Pentecostal school because it is not considered suitable material to be discussed in the classroom. The Integrated school teaches a family living program, and Public Health nurses discuss birth control with the students. There is no drug store in Northeast Brook, or anywhere else within the region where someone could buy condoms. Condoms are available at the drug counter which is located inside the waiting room of the medical clinic. The nurse I spoke to told me that young men can come to the clinic after-hours to buy condoms. Girls interested in taking the birth control

pill must have a note from a parent to show the doctor. Abortion is not available. Most girls who get pregnant have their babies and raise them themselves with the help of their families.

Teenagers in the families of fundamentalists have a difficult time in these communities. Fundamentalists do not hold with dances, rock and roll music, sexual activities for unmarried people, drugs or drinking liquor. The Apostolic families are even stricter with their children, especially the girls. They are not allowed to wear make-up, jeans, or jewellery. It was always easy to spot the daughters of these Apostolic families as they had developed their own strategies for evading the dress code. Girls wore tight knee-length jean skirts with bobby socks (actually called slouch socks), and black leather jackets encrusted with chains and AC/DC logos on the back. Once out of range of home, their long hair was let loose, make-up came out of their bags, and dangerous looking earrings pierced their ears. The make-up and accessories were removed before they returned home, and so far the Apostolic Church has not included black leather jackets on their list of "worldly" and therefore unacceptable clothing. These young women always seemed to me to be on the brink of hysteria or rebellion, and they seemed almost dangerous. At the community Crab Festival and Dance I noticed one young woman who was dancing very wildly and seemed as if possessed by

some demonic force. Someone told me that her family was Apostolic, which implied that no further explanation was required.

During the summer of fieldwork there always seemed to be rumours that a devil-worshipping cult existed in the community. One of the social workers, when I asked him about it, explained that there had been some problems associated with the teenagers and heavy metal music (a gang rape), but that this was mostly the result of teenagers being repressed by fundamentalist parents, and the inevitable result was conflict. I heard other stories of teenagers going out into the woods and making blood sacrifices but I don't know if people were trying to kid me or not. Teenagers may not have practised devil worship but they did drink, smoke drugs, and have sexual relationships with each other, which to my knowledge is a part of the teenage experience.

Women's Lives

"There's not much here for a woman," say most of the women. In the fall, someone usually starts a weight-loss programme, which almost everybody joins. It is a very weight-conscious community. Whether I had gained weight and the amount I had gained was a frequent topic of discussion amongst my adoptive family, probably related to their compulsion to feed me and my compulsion to eat in response.

Going to their house for supper and washing up with the women afterwards was my daily sanctuary.

Occasionally a dart league is started but it is not usually successful, probably owing to the fact that there is no bar in Northeast Brook and any place that sheltered dart-players who had a drink while they played would be shut down by the fundamentalists. The men have softball, hockey, and broomball leagues organized, but women do not seem to participate in these kinds of team sports, though they do raise funds for the men's leagues. On Sunday evenings, some women will get together and "drive over the road" to Pilier Bay, where the Catholic priest from Boston organizes Bingo.

Although there are few recreational facilities in Northeast Brook, the people are outdoor enthusiasts. Winter is the season that the community comes into its own. When the heavy snowfalls of winter arrive the roads are covered with "heavenly pavement" and families take to their snowmobiles and head off into the country where most have cabins and they live like their parents did in the bush. People often told me that I should come back for the winter in order to really experience life in Northeast Brook.

With the help of the Labrador Sea Development Association skiing has quickly become a favourite winter activity for many families in the region. In Burnt Village a beautiful ski chalet has been built and several cross-country ski leagues have been started. Recently, cross-

country skiers from Burnt Village have won medals at the provincial winter games. The province's top cross-country skiers are residents of Burnt Village.

Women's Work

Except for secretarial work, most of the jobs associated with government departments are filled by men. In the retail and service outlets women occupy the cashier positions while men are employed as managers, salesmen, labourers, and for the most part they own the businesses. The Scotia Bank has a part-time branch in Northeast Brook that is open three days a week. The next nearest bank is located 76 kilometres away, over a very bad gravel road. Women can also find employment at the senior citizen's home that is privately owned and which provides accommodation for less than thirty people. The crab plant is the major source of employment for women since it began production in the early 1980's. The influx of cash and jobs for women has given rise to the erection of several large supermarkets and other new businesses, in spite of the decline of the lumber industry.

Since 1981-1982 the crab stocks that were originally located in Chimney Bay have become depleted and fishermen are now required to fish farther offshore. Most crab boats fish out of St. Anthony now and the crab is trucked to

Northeast Brook. These men live in Northeast Brook and get up early and travel for several hours to get to St. Anthony each day before getting started.

With the construction of the crab plant some families got into the fishery but not many. There are only about seven families that fish and the wives of crew members (fishing crews are normally consanguineously and/or affinally related men), if they are not working at something else, drive to Cape Daumalen to help in the processing of the catch.⁴ Most crews combine crab, caplin, herring and cod fishing in order to make a living; and then some of them combine fishing with woods work in the fall. Northeast Brook always had a few fishing families; but logging has always been the mainstay of the community.

The diversification of resources and the establishment of the crab plant has been a major boon to the economic life of the community but mostly through the impact of creating jobs for women. Before the crab plant there was little or no work for women and it has had a major impact on the viability of the community. Both men and women recognize the importance and necessity of having two incomes in the household. Families cannot survive on a male breadwinner's income; this fact allows women's economic contribution to be recognized as being important to the survival of the family. For the most part, women seemed to be the primary breadwinners, since their work at the crab plant or as

secretaries tends to be more permanent than their husbands' work as loggers, who never know if they are going to get enough work to qualify for unemployment insurance. Since the women have had their fish plant jobs supermarkets and shops have mushroomed in the community.

Women fill most of the jobs in the plant. Men, young men, work at butchering the crab and in the loading and unloading of fish tubs. There are always a few young men needed for heavy work on the floor and men drive the forklift and drive the trucks to and from the plant.

Women roll crab legs, (machines take the crab legs and press/squeeze the meat out) work the breakdown table, (where the sections of the body are separated and sorted) make crabmeat salads, and chip the claws and pack the product. The women work eight hour shifts and make minimum wage. They are not unionized. The summer that I was there there was an attempt to bring a union in by a couple who lived in the community. They held one or two meetings but the owners of the plant got wind of it and called their own meeting of their employees. The owners very pleasantly explained to the workers that they all owed their jobs to the company which was barely showing a profit, and would not make it if a union was brought in. Then, not so pleasantly, they promised to close the plant and lock the doors for a long time if the workers signed their union cards. The workers were then offered a slight wage increase, which they accepted.

Most women had never belonged to a union before, did not know much about it and were easily scared off the idea. Many women were convinced that unions were evil and wanted no part of them. Many Apostolic Faith women worked at the plant; their religion encourages them to work and they make good employees as they work hard and are obedient. These women believe that being unionized is against their religion. There was a local union representative of the inshore fishermen's union in Cape Daumalen, but he did not seem interested or active in unionizing these workers.

One area in which fundamentalist women were able to have more control over their environment was in the workplace. In the past, Apostolic men who worked as loggers had Sundays off; but because Sunday is the Lords day they would wait until after midnight on Sunday before the starting the long walk back to the bushcamp, and would probably only have a couple of hours sleep , if any, before they had to start work on Monday morning. The women who work in the crab plant have been able to negotiate a more advantageous accommodation of their religious belief in the workplace. Anita, who was manager of the crab plant explained how these women were able to do this.

The women in Northeast Brook won't work Sundays. One is religious reasons, the other was, I would say, a lot of it was, you need a day of rest, whether it be Sunday or whatever. And the religious reason gave them an excuse. At the beginning that they didn't do it then they saw it as o.k. The crab is there and they said "if we would go

into production they could keep us working seven days straight", so a lot of them said "NO, I'm not working on Sunday."

Baie Verde [a sister plant to the Northeast Brook plant] works Sunday and I've talked to women out there and they've worked straight through, week after week. They had two shifts but they were still working straight through because they didn't have a day off. They worked seven day days, seven nights, then back to days again so they were weeks on end with no day off.

When we were at the caplinbut the next year they decided, "well, if I work till 12, by the time I get home and get cleaned up, I'm an hour into Sunday." Some of them were leaving at 11 so they'd go home and have their clothes off and have their clean clothes on and ready for bed and whatever, and they won't work on Sunday because they felt if they didn't leave until 12 they were still fooling around on Sunday.

After a while I got to see other people, like that, didn't really consider themselves religious but they knew that their bodies needed the rest whether it be Sunday or Saturday or what. So a lot of them fell into this "I don't work Sunday". And we knew it wasn't for religious reasons. I could never do that because I was manager, if the place was open, you go there, if there's a problem you go there. And I was stupid enough to do it.

Although the crab plant employs many women, there is no organized daycare in the town. Some women take children into their homes but it is expensive (because the women at the plant make "good money" women who provide childcare are few and they charge high rates because they think the women at the plant can afford it). Usually the sons of a family build on or near the parents' home and childcare issues are taken care of that way. Young women are not interested in

babysitting because they would rather try to get work at the plant.

Some people agree to provide child care for little or no money in exchange for receipts for ten weeks of "good stamps" and they receive high unemployment for the rest of the year. Although this is a strategy that I had heard some people were using I do not know if it is commonly practised. This may be a factor in the lack of organized daycare in the community.

One of the spin-offs of the women of the LSDA efforts to help women in their communities was the organization of a Single Moms group. This group was organized in conjunction with the provincial network of single parents organizations through teleconferences. While I was in the field there did not seem to be any meetings of this group and they seemed to be poorly organized or lacking in motivation. While Northeast Brook had more than a few unmarried mothers, being connected with this organization did not seem to be prestige enhancing. The Single Moms did host a training program for Home Health Aid workers (a service which is needed in the community); but students have not found employment because the Department of Social Services does not have the funding to hire the women who were trained for needed community services. Although there is a retirement home in the community, it is privately owned and can not provide for the communities needs. Many households in Northeast Brook were

burdened with elderly relatives who required the care of trained caregivers.

Surviving

According to workers in the local Department of Social Services, the biggest issue facing women in the region is the problem of wife abuse. I had no figures on the number of battered women in the community but I knew three women personally who were battered, I heard of others, and when I attended the circuit court I heard of even more. One friend's husband had a drinking problem and when he got drunk she was beaten by both him and her teenage son.

One day I went over to interview Mae, a woman I had met at a party who told me she was going to move because she had a chance for a job. She needed the work so she was going to go ahead with the kids while her husband stayed behind to sell the house. I was interested in interviewing her because she had been one of the women who protested because of the lack of jobs for women in Northeast Brook (see Chapter Five).

When she opened the door I saw that Mae had a black eye. Well, it wasn't really black, it was more blue, green and purple with black in different parts. It was quite beautiful in its intensity of brilliant colours if you could separate the colours from the reality of crunching bone and

yielding flesh. I had known that she had a black eye because people were talking about it, but I had never seen anything like it before. People, even my women friends whom I considered as women sensitive to and only too painfully aware of the issue of wife battering, all said she deserved what she got. They said that she "screwed around" on her husband and that he had finally done what he should have done a long time ago. Not knowing what to say or do I just mumbled something about coming back another time. She insisted that today was fine and invited me into her home, leading me through a turquoise bead curtain and into the living-room where the television blared and its blue light was reflected onto her bruised face.

I was very uncomfortable and upset. I tried to offer help but there is not much that I could do or say. I could see parts of myself in Mae, I could have had a life like hers if I had been raised in this town. She had a child when she was very young, married, had another, and was now unhappily married. She was young, attractive, she liked to have a good time, and she was trapped. I asked her what she was going to do. She shrugged and lit up another cigarette, rarely taking her eyes away from "The Young and the Restless". She had filed for charges to be laid against her husband, and the court date has been set, a couple of weeks from now. The circuit court only meets once a month in Northeast Brook. Because there are no transition houses or

any other facilities, she and her husband have to continue living in the same house. Mae has nowhere else to go and he will not leave the house. He is away working in the woods and leaves early in the morning and does not get back until dark, so they somehow manage.

She tells me she's still going away but first she has to deal with this. We keep talking and she tells me how she met her husband and the problems they have. I offer suggestions but there is not much I can say or do. She asks me questions about being separated and getting divorced and she asks me about my children and if I miss not being with them.

I feel myself sinking into a turquoise-tinted depression and I decide I have to get out of her house. I am bone tired of male-female relations in Northeast Brook. I tell Mae I have to leave and thank her for her time. On our way to the door Mae tells me that her girlfriend and some guys are going to get together and party and she invites me to join them. I tell her I might and I turn and walk away into the frosty autumn evening. I did not see Mae again and I do not know if she was able to escape Northeast Brook.

Northeast Brook has even fewer services for women than it does recreation facilities. Although there is a medical clinic in the community (during my fieldwork, construction on a new medical complex was supposed to begin the next spring), no services available to women for marital or

psychological counselling. There are no lawyers, and the circuit court comes to town once a month with public defenders. One woman I knew who was in the process of getting divorced had to drive 418 kilometres to the nearest lawyer.

Women in Northeast Brook did work together to support and help each other in times of need. One of these ways was green-back parties, where women give money instead of a gift. I was invited to one for two women, who were going on a trip to Hamilton, Ontario, where they would stay with family members. For one woman it was the first time she had ever been outside the province of Newfoundland. The party was structured like a bridal or baby shower, but people brought money to contribute to the travel fund. The women sat around the living-room talking and drinking tea. We played shower games, such as taking as many clothes pins off a hanger with one hand, remembering objects, a question and answer game. Afterwards lunch was served; women had cooked three huge pots of moose, turkey, and 'fresh meat' soup, along with sandwiches, cookies, cake, and coffee contributed by the guests. Because some of the guests included older women who were "saved" I was told that I should not smoke or swear in their presence. While the women who were having the party and most of the women attending were not "saved" (in some cases being "saved" is a weekly or seasonal condition; some people flip back and forth between states of grace on weekly

or monthly schedules, while others are stonily "saved" forever) the presence of two older women who were "saved" imposed a strict moral order on the rest of the women, at least so it seemed. It being Friday night, after a long week of interviews and hounding people I made my goodnights early, after I had played, eaten, and photographed everyone. As I made my way out the door I heard a loud whispered "Psssst, Kathy, down here." coming from the basement. Peering into the dimly lit basement I saw a cloud of cigarette smoke, and the tops of beer bottles littered the floor. I couldn't believe it. Here I was, the sophisticated anthropologist from the city, investigator extraordinaire, and I hadn't been able to see what was going on in front of my face. Women had been disappearing from the party all night, supposedly fussing over a new puppy who had to pee all the time, when they were actually going down stairs to have a cigarette or drink a beer. After they patiently explained this to me, they told me not to go home because all the men were next door waiting for us because there was a real party going on. Of course, being a dedicated anthropologist, I had to go with them, to observe the drinking strategy of non-fundamentalists in a town controlled by tee-totalers. Somehow I had never imagined that doing anthropology was going to be quite like this.

Religion

Church activities play a dominant role in the social life of residents of Northeast Brook. Of the population of 1,300 residents, approximately two-thirds of the community are members of the fundamentalist churches. Each denomination in the community has a youth group, a men's group, and a choir group which meet on week nights. The fundamentalists have testimonial meetings on Saturday and Sunday nights, service on Sunday mornings, Sunday School on Sunday afternoons, and addition prayer group meetings during the week. On Sunday evenings the town and surrounding bay resonates with the sound of accordion and organ music, and the hallelujahs of the saved.

The United, Anglican, Salvation Army, Catholic, and Pentecostal churches all have women's auxiliary organizations that meet weekly during the fall and winter. Most of these organizations are devoted to raising funds for the church; the women pay dues, knit, sew, and bake goods toward that end. The Apostolic Church has an organization for women, but it seemed that it was only for cleaning the church in teams. During my fieldwork I began attending the Salvation Army's women's Home League meetings. I originally had plans to attend all the women's associations meetings as a way of making contact with fundamentalist women whom I might not have any other contact with. However, the reality

of walking into a small wood-paneled room occupied by ten or twelve middle-aged ladies, who silently acknowledged my awkward introduction with wide eyed wonder, and I thought, more than a dash of Old Testament righteousness as they eyed my jean jacket and army surplus pants, but who were probably even more intimidated by me than I was of them, somewhat lessened my intentions of invading the sanctity of the Pentecostal women's associations.

For the first forty-five minutes of that meeting the ladies of the Home League eyed me when I wasn't looking, but by the end of the first meeting we had become friends and they fussed over me, insisting that I had to have the best teacup when the meeting broke for lunch. I photographed everyone and they invited me to come back. I attended all their meetings and their bake sale until I finished fieldwork. During the formal portion of the meeting the women were divided into groups (named Rainbow, Sunshine, Dewdrop, and so on) and each group has a turn hosting the meeting. This includes the recitation of selected prayers and hymns, and the playing of parlour games, and the collecting of money for the upkeep of the Brigadier and his family. They also tried to have a guest speaker each week to address their membership. The women were also responsible for supplying baked goods and handicraft items; these were sold at the bake sales to raise money for the household of the Brigadier-General (this included furnishing the trailer

that he and his family lived in while they were stationed in the community). The meeting concludes with a tea which is the responsibility of another group. This is the most relaxed and anticipated part of the evening, as the women get to have tea with the wife of the Brigadier-General, and eat the sandwiches and cakes contributed by each member. It was also my favourite part of the evening and allowed me to contribute as I helped clean up afterwards.

The Apostolic Faith Church is the most extreme of the fundamentalist sects in Northeast Brook; its members are mostly concentrated on the "other side of the harbour", which is viewed with mild disdain by the other residents of the town. The membership is poor, uneducated and separate. The Apostolic Church survives on the tithes it collects from its membership; members are required to give a tenth of everything they receive, including their unemployment and social assistance payments to the Church. While the congregation is mostly poor, the clergy is not. In Cape Daumalen the pastor's new home is referred to a "South Fork" by town residents.⁵ Usually each new pastor is built a new home and retired pastors are allowed to keep their homes. This is a passage in one of their publications explaining the biblical source of this practice:

In the Law given to the Israelites on Mount Sinai, God said to Moses, "And all the tithe of the land, whether of the seed of the land, or of the fruit of the tree, is the LORD'S : it is holy unto the LORD . And if a man will at all redeem ought of

his tithes, he shall add thereto the fifth part thereof. And concerning the tithe of the herd, or of the flock...the tenth shall be holy unto the LORD" (Leviticus 27:30-32)(From Tithing -God's Plan of Financing, Apostolic Faith Church).

Apostolic women have strict codes of conduct and appearance. They are not allowed to wear pants, tight clothing, make-up, or wear any jewellery, including wedding rings; they are not allowed to cut their hair, generally they must seek to appear womanly and unworldly in appearance. The church publishes literature which describes the biblical explanation for their practices:

Some religious orders wear special uniforms to designate who they are. The early Christians were known by what they preached, how they lived, and whom they followed - and not by the peculiar garb they wore. We have a standard, and that standard teaches us not to dress so as to be **like the world**, but to dress as becometh a child of God - not in an extreme manner, but rather in a conservative way.

Some girls yield to temptation along the lines of rouge or lipstick. Miserable, abominable pride is the downfall of many a young girl today. Some girls who have knelt at the altars of prayer have gone away from God's house without receiving His great treasures, simply because they could not part with a few fads or fashions - like bobbed hair, short skirts, sleeveless and low-necked dresses, rouge, or lipstick. What a cheap price for which to sell out to the adversary of their soul.

An example of a woman who painted her face is found in the Bible. (Read II Kings 9:30.) She was none other than Jezebel, a very wicked woman who died a terrible death. In fact she was not even given a burial, for the dogs ate her body. Surely her life's story should make one shun the very

thought of following such an example in painting one's face.

Slacks, shorts, dresses low at the neck, immodestly tight garments, and the generally scanty dress with which women appear on the streets at times are a disgrace and an abomination in the sight of God. (The Dress Question, Apostolic Faith Church)

In order for the followers of this faith to remain somewhat separate and "other" they are kept busy with a multitude of meetings: prayer meetings, youth meetings, men's meetings, choir practices, Sunday school, and testimonial meetings twice on Sundays.

While I was in Northeast Brook I attended Sunday evening services, alternating between the Apostolic Church and the Pentecostal services, each week. Both services are much alike. At the beginning of each, people who "feel the spirit" are bent in subjugation at the altar, men on the right side and women to the left, where they expound and exult "in tongues". During the service believers exclaim the joys of baptism: holding forth on the glory of God in "tongues", standing up and professing their faith, reciting the process by which they were "saved" and how this has given their lives peace. Individuals were often in various states of frenzy or a kind of hypnotic hysteria. Grown men would pray, cry, and scream unto the Lord. The published testimonial of the Reverend Dolly Walker is typical of many conversions described during testimonials.

And that night as I knelt there praying, with my face buried on my arm, I told Jesus if He would come into my heart and make me happy, I would serve him.

I will never forget what happened. As I began to raise my head toward the sky, peace dropped into my heart. I knew that God had forgiven my sins. I knew my name was written in Heaven.

Oh, the peace, the joy that I felt! I had never lived for Jesus, but I knew that I now had victory in my soul and that I would be able to live for Him.

The next day, I began to realize just how complete the change was. I didn't want to dress as I had dressed before. I wanted to look like the other church people. I felt different inside and out. (Quoted from a pamphlet written by Dolly Walker supplied by the Apostolic Faith Church in Northeast Brook)

I noticed while attending testimonial meetings in both the Pentecostal and Apostolic Churches that individuals sometimes used testimonials to lodge complaints about their parents, children, friends, and the community at large when they were upset about something or perhaps to shock people. People would frequently, when baring their souls and confessing their sins, tell the most shocking stories about what they had done before they had "seen the light", including stories about their former sexual affairs and drug use. [Praise the Lord!]

Testimonials alternate with the singing of hymns, which are loudly and lovingly belted out by the congregation, accompanied by accordion, organ, piano, guitar and building shaking foot-stomping.

Faith-healing is a common cure-all for the "saved" of Northeast Brook. Anyone of the Apostolics whom I interviewed had either been miraculously healed themselves, or someone in their family had been healed, by the beloved Dolly Walker or Pastor Stanley Handcock. Usually these people could not be helped by modern medical treatments, but I did hear some sad stories of parents with sick children who hoped to have their children saved through the grace of God and would not take them to the doctor. I heard these stories from non-believers who pointed out the graves of these small victims. I also heard stories of devoted women who died from their cancers rather than turn to modern medicine which would, to them, have shown a lack of faith.

Because of the predominance of these fundamentalist religions in the town, activities that involve alcohol, dancing, and much of what could be considered socializing, is not permitted. Both the Apostolic and Pentecostal congregations are represented on the Town council and they veto any proposals that are not in line with the doctrines of their religion. I asked fundamentalists why they did not bother with the rural development association or municipal council, or what they thought of these organizations and their accomplishments in the community. I was trying to find out what they thought of women being in leadership positions in these structures. They told me that they had no interest in those kinds of things and that they knew little

about it so they could not make any comment. As fundamentalists they were not supposed to be concerned with, or participate, in politics. Whether this is officially part of the church dogma or not, I did not discover, but fundamentalists were represented on the municipal council, where they imposed their standard of morality, especially concerning events associated with liquor (such as public dances), over the whole community. Some people told me that the Apostolic Church congregation elects members to hold positions on the town council to ensure that no bar is built in the community. When an election is called, the Apostolic congregation is informed of whom they should vote for, and these representatives ensure that no bar is established in the community.

While in the field I attended municipal council meetings and had access to the town records. I knew from reading the records that various business entrepreneurs had been trying to get permission from the municipal council to have a bar established in the community but with no success.⁶

Each side in these disputes have organized petitions for and against the establishment of a bar and the fundamentalists have always imposed their will on the council and the community. But in the summer of my fieldwork one entrepreneur had attempted to manoeuvre around this embargo.

For several years the local motel/restaurant had held a Crab Festival and Dance on their property as a tourist attraction and a celebration of the success of the crab plant in the community. The year of my fieldwork they had turned this into a community sponsored event to be held at the local arena. In order for this event to have gotten so far, the woman who owned the motel and who sponsored this event had been elected to council. It was largely through her efforts on the council that the project was allowed to proceed. The fundamentalists were totally opposed to a public dance being held in the community; and the weeks before and after the events were spent in testimonials bemoaning and complaining about the whole thing. While the festival and dance were able to proceed, there was no liquor sold on the grounds and during the entire dance the RCMP spent the night outside the arena arresting people who had liquor in their cars or on their persons.

Leaving

I came to Northeast Brook filled with apprehension and fears about living in a community of religious fanatics and holy rollers who would have no time for me or my work. Instead, I was made to feel comfortable and at home and totally relaxed within half an hour of arrival. Sometimes you meet someone and you feel an instant connection and

understanding and this was how it was between me and the women of the LSDA and their families in this town on the edge of the world. They were all interested in what I was doing and they were more than willing to help in any way they could. Anita and I and the other women of the LSDA became good friends and even though we might not see each other for a long time we would be able to pick up our friendship.

I realized that because of these strong friendships with the women of the LSDA I was being identified with women who financially had more than a lot of people (but nearly not so much as others) and who were controversial in several respects: one had worked in a man's job as manager of the crab plant, she was also president of the development association and had defeated a man to get there. Some of these women were very outspoken and opinionated in their views, and I'm sure some people must have felt antagonized by them.

Although this identification with the women of the LSDA may have biased or skewed my network of informants in some ways, I did not consider it a problem. With time my circle of acquaintances grew and branched into other areas and once I had made contact with people, I felt confident and able to interact with them on my own terms, and to be accepted or rejected as myself and not as a friend of the women of the LSDA. Even the men of the Unemployed Workers Committee who

had political differences and rivalries with the women of the LSDA and who, I thought, might not have any time or interest in talking to me, were helpful and eager to discuss issues and answer my questions.

The only times I met with open hostility and aggression were from men who thought I worked for the government or the university. They saw me as some uppity young woman with a lot of book learning and too much time on my hands, if I could afford to run around asking people questions all the time. My strategy for dealing with this was to explain my situation, that I was not being paid to do this, I had a small research allowance but most of my money came from student loans, which had to be paid back, that I had two children to support and I was doing this research in the hopes of getting a good job, and because I was interested in the community and helping out if I could. Being associated with the government and the RAND had its own problems. A lot of people did not think much of RAND and in one small isolated community where I had a hard time getting people to discuss their involvement in the RDA, the headlights of my car were smashed out because, I felt, some people thought I worked in that department. Even the Apostolic community, people toward whom I had harboured prejudicial attitudes, were accepting of me in their midst. The first time I attended the Apostolic Church, the sermon topic was "Masked Devils" - in which the pastor compared women who wore make-

up to "foreign heathen savages" who killed and ate missionaries. I assumed this message was directed to me, but I refused to be parted from my eyeliner. I continued to attend meetings and after the second or third visit the congregation accepted me in their fashion, although the children never stopped staring at me. Before I reached the church doors they always swung open mysteriously and the stewards, once they knew I was interested in church literature, always brought me any they thought I might not have seen, along with a song book.

In the end I did not bring my children into the field with me. While some anthropologists suggest that bringing children into the field makes initiating contacts with families easier, I had no wife nor the research funds to hire someone to help me with the caring of my children while I played at being an anthropologist. I tried to imagine juggling homework, grilled cheese sandwiches, and "I'm bored, there's nothing to do here!" statements with taking fieldnotes, RDA meetings, and interviews, and decided that it would not be fair to my children or myself to bring them. So I ended up trading the freedom and independence of being childless in the field, and the associated guilt, for the isolation and loneliness of fieldwork.

While Northeast Brook is a difficult place for its women, it is especially difficult for women not of that place. I had some unpleasant and abusive experiences with

the macho men of Northeast Brook. I did not have any brothers or husbands or fathers or any family to act as a protective buffer from male aggression. As far as I could see, I was fair game to some men, who harassed me whenever they got the opportunity. It is difficult being educated, feminist, and having lived in an urban Canadian centre: one develops liberal and egalitarian values and expectations of behaviour that does not match with the reality of an isolated logging town. You are not who you were, especially if you happen to be a woman, when acting the anthropologist and inhabiting a different culture or community. As graduate students taking a fieldwork methods course, no one taught us self-defense, and I was not the only female graduate student who needed it. No one mentioned that some man might expect to have sex with you against your wishes because of your actions or friendship, which were normal enough in an urban setting. But in the Middle East or a logging town, friendship can be interpreted as aggression and an invitation, or at least an excuse. Fortunately, not all of the men of Northeast Brook were problems, and most of the men I knew, especially the husbands of the LSDA women, were good friends to me. They were protective and supportive of me and my work, patiently asking questions about my work or answering my questions about theirs.

I gradually came to see that my field data was the combination of myself, my experiences, attitudes, values,

and self-image, as impacted on the totality, society and culture of Northeast Brook. Who I was, as an individual, brought out certain actions, reactions, and attitudes of the people and the community that I experienced. This psychological and cultural chemistry produced my vision of Northeast Brook and the social relations of its inhabitants.

During the four months of fieldwork I spent in Northeast Brook I set up interview schedules, attended every municipal council meeting, regional committee meetings, public discussions, Rural Development Association meetings, RDA regional meetings, an RDA workshop, various religious sects women's association meetings, attended the regional circuit court sessions, garden parties, the Northeast Brook Crab Festival and Dance; I interviewed mayors, deputy mayors, and councillors of every municipal council in the region; I interviewed every woman who had held a position in these councils, social workers, the RCMP, business people, church leaders, and health care workers, as many senior citizens in the senior citizen's home, talked to the executive of the Unemployed Workers' Committee, construction workers, fishermen, crab plant workers, and just about anyone who would talk to me.

However, what I later came to see was that my eventual understanding and conceptualization of the nature of the relationships between the sexes and the process whereby women could achieve a degree of authority in spite of the

position of power men hold, grew out of the informal and familial contexts of fieldwork: rather than the piles of cassette tapes and notes scribbled during meetings. It was in the kitchen, at the bar, or in whispered conversations between women so that the men or the kids wouldn't hear. It was my own experiences of harassment from men, women's understanding of what was happening, and their own marital difficulties, the stories and community gossip, the blackened eyes of women, the unleashed frenzy of schoolgirls from strict fundamentalist families, the symbolism of women's language as they tried to convey their feelings, frustrations, and aspirations that shaped my vision and understanding of how women managed their lives, their families, their men, their jobs, within the constrictions of fundamentalism in a working-class men's world.

It was through this filter of male/female relations that I came to see the lifestories of the women of the LSDA, how they got to these positions, how they managed their gender and political roles, worked out the contradictory tensions between these roles, and once in power, the social and economic decisions they made as a group, in the context of a rural development association.

Endnotes

1. The LSDA had sponsored a make-work project the previous winter during which the wooden lawn furniture, swings and picnic tables,

for the Senior Citizen's Park had been built. Anita had been employed on that project.

2. Northeast Brook residents had blockaded the road to the regional electrical generating station to protest the failure of the provincial government to pave the road several years earlier. The RCMP riot squad finally broke the blockade weeks later and some people would say brutally treated the men arrested who were later discharged by the judge.

3. I told Anita's family that I had been "followed" by an old man outside the senior citizen's home. They told me between chuckles that Uncle Jeb was not trying to attack me but because the staff of the home rationed his cigarettes he spent the rest of his time trying to bum a smoke from people passing by.

4. Most fishing crews fish out of Cape Daumalen rather than Northeast Brook because it is more economical to drive the ten miles to Cape Daumalen and fish from there than to fish out of Northeast Brook which is ten miles farther up the bay.

5. "South Fork" is the name of the ranch where J.R. Ewing, a rich oil tycoon, lives on the American television programme "Dallas".

6. The town council had met to decide whether I should be given access to these records as only tax-paying town residents could read these documents. I had to have a letter faxed from my supervisor at the university, stating that I was doing research recognized by the university before they would allow me access to the records after the council had voted in my favour. Anita hypothetically suggested to the town clerk that if I was not allowed to use these records any town resident, such as herself, could photocopy the records and then give them to me, so there was not much use in the council voting against it.

Chapter Four

WOMEN OF THE LSDA

Janine Brodie (1985) followed the political careers of women who have chosen to run for political office at the municipal, provincial and federal levels in order to concentrate on the factors that influenced their decision to seek office. Brodie argues that women do not follow the same pathways to office as men. Gender, she believes, is very much a factor at each step of the recruitment process, and this can be demonstrated through an examination of the history of women's political careers: their political socialization, initial political activities and apprenticeships.

I have used Brodie's developmental model of political socialization as a guideline for this research because, while the LSDA is a voluntary organization, the directors are elected by members of their communities to sit on the community sub-committees. The president and vice-president of each sub-committee become directors of the regional development association. At the annual development association meeting the regional membership elects the executive committee from the fourteen directors, representing seven communities. The only requirement to be a voting member is a five dollar membership fee which has only

been recently enforced; usually anyone who went to the election meeting was able to nominate and vote for any director who wished to stand for an executive position. RDAs can be viewed as regional administrating bodies of provincial and federal monies and programmes. RDAs are not religious, gender, or occupational specific.

The executive committee of the Labrador Sea Development Association consists of two elected members from each of the seven member communities of the association. Of these fourteen positions six are filled by women and eight by men. During the period of my fieldwork, two regular scheduled meetings, one emergency meeting, one workshop, and one regional meeting were held. At least three men did not seem regularly to attend association meetings. The rest of the executive did not seem to have much contact with these representatives. Their absence seemed routine and at several points over the course of my fieldwork members of the executive complained about the lack of communication among the directors. ¹

The women of the LSDA are all originally from the region, except for one who is from a nearby community. All, except for one, have married men originally from the seven communities that make up the region.

The women fill the president, secretary, treasurer, and co-ordinator positions on the executive committee, and

two director positions. While women make up less than half of the directorship of the association, they fill all but one of the positions on the executive, which is the decision-making sub-committee, elected by the community sponsored directors. They also form the majority of executive members in attendance at the regular meetings. Perhaps it is of more interest to note that it is this group which often gets together informally, as friends, and which frequently ends up discussing association business and making decisions. They act as a team, and they largely recruited each other because they had common interests and characteristics. Any woman whom they saw they could work with and who would work toward the same goals, such as developing jobs for women, they actively recruited to be part of the directorship. Once they had a core of sympathetic women on whom they could count they could act more effectively and support each others' goals, in the association and personally. In some aspects they have what might be called an old girls network.

I conducted in depth interviews with as many directors of the association as possible. Factors such as their willingness to be interviewed, difficulties in finding time from their schedules, and in one instance transportation difficulties, prevented some interviews. I was not able to interview those male directors (three) who did not attend

meetings, primarily because I had absolutely no contact with them and I was not so interested in them as they did not attend meetings. Because I was so interested in the women of the executive I did not pay much attention to the male directors though I did interview four of them.

Although I interviewed as many men as women this work will concentrate on the stories of the women as the focus of this thesis. In terms of a comparison of male/female experiences or attitudes I am not sure how useful these interviews would be. The men who agreed to interviews, and who made themselves available, were sympathetic and had no problems with a female leadership or involvement. It would have been more interesting to learn what those men who did not attend the LSDA meetings had to say. Was their lack of involvement a reflection of their attitude toward the female dominated executive? It's difficult to say. Only later did I see the possible importance of their absence.

Another man whom I tried to interview, but who could never find time for me, had been a former executive member of the Association and he had been replaced by the present female president. He later ran a campaign to be re-elected that included, according to everyone I asked about it, free beer and transportation to the meeting. He won that election but was defeated the next time around. Probably because I

was so closely associated with the women of the executive he was not interested in discussing the association with me.

In the course of fieldwork and the thesis-writing process I ended up focusing principally on two executive members and the coordinator (who had previously been an executive member), in particular because they had in some ways adopted me. I spent much more time with them than any of the others. I came to know their histories and personal lives much more intimately and as a result, I found I could write about the various aspects of their lives much more authoritatively than those members I had only formal interviews with. The women who adopted me brought me into their families, I hung out with them, drank beer with their husbands, and cooked and cleaned with "my women" in the kitchen while we talked about rural development, men, and told dirty jokes to each other.

So, while all the women of the executive will tell their stories, some individuals will have more extensive and complicated stories to tell. I will dwell on the aspects of their stories that will illustrate the cultural context within which they carry out their political and personal agendas.

Life Stories

Ruth

Ruth is the co-ordinator of the Labrador Sea Development Association. She lives outside Burnt Village with her son in their A frame lodge nestled between Salt Water Pond and the ragged edge of the forest. The house is both a home and a business as Ruth operates a hunting and fishing operation that caters to American and Canadian businessmen who come there to experience both big-game hunting and the comforts of saunas, a jacuzzi, and full cooked meals when they return from the wilderness.

Ruth was originally from Flower's Cove where her father's family had, for generations, been the local merchants, and they were relatively wealthy in that area. Their home was frequented by visiting notables during her childhood; these included the circuit court judges, ministers and even an American anthropologist who wrote one of the first Newfoundland community studies. She had exposure to people who had education and had travelled. This made a deep impression on her and inspired her to leave home and do some travelling before settling down.

After she left home, she travelled around the province, went to Ontario, and did a clerical accounting course before

she got married. Her husband was working toward his commercial pilot's license. Over the years she worked at various jobs to support them while he built up his flying hours in Ontario and Labrador. In Labrador City she worked as manager of the Sears store there. This gave her business experience and confidence which she later applied so successfully as a president and co-ordinator of the LSDA.

Her husband then decided that he wanted to return to his home town of Burnt Village to set up a charter plane business. Ruth went along with his plans somewhat reluctantly, but threw herself into making a go of the operation. She spent the next years operating several businesses to support the costs of buying planes and setting up a charter plane operation. These included a retail grocery and furniture store, a disco, and a fish buying operation in which she drove a truck from Burnt Village to Corner Brook with her small son in the seat beside her, selling fish to motels and restaurants along the way.

Ruth was one of the first people approached by fieldworkers for the Department of Rural, Agricultural, and Northern Development, the provincial government department responsible for rural development associations. At the time she was a member of the municipal council of Burnt Village. She describes how and why she got involved in the municipal council and the development association.

When I came here I seen things that were wrong
from what I saw in Labrador City. Well - Labrador

City - there's no way to compare it, I see it now, because the Company takes care of the town.

But, I saw things that was happening that I didn't like and probably I thought that I could help to change it. We need a water system, we need better roads, we need a road around the bay. We need an airport and all this kinda thing. And I was always interested in politics and I figured, "Well, this is the way to get involved and get to know politicians and do something."

And the fishery, and the offshore and all that kind of stuff was on stream. And I knew if I lived here ... I just couldn't stay here if I couldn't get access to intelligent people!! (laughter)

Her first excursion into local organizations was with the municipal council. When she moved to Burnt Village her son was ready to begin school but with the deterioration of the community school it looked like students would have to be bused to Northeast Brook, miles away, over very bad gravel roads. This meant that students would be on the bus a couple of hours every day. This was not the first time that students had been bused to Northeast Brook, and residents knew from previous experience that many of their children would drop out of school rather than be bus-sick every day.

She got on the local school board and the municipal council, and successfully worked toward the construction of a new school. She served as deputy mayor for almost four years but quit just short of the second term because she was constantly being criticized by her mother-in-law, who said she was not giving her son enough attention and that she was away from home too often. However, she could not resist getting involved with the burgeoning development association

in spite of a lack of family support (although her sister-in-law, Ann, who was also active on the municipal council and the development association was not subjected to the same criticisms).

We set up the development association in the beginning. Mr. X from Irish Cove was the president and he was excellent. I was just one of the directors. I didn't want to get involved because I didn't know that much about it.

After a while, when the next elections came up, people seen that I didn't mind using the news media; I got on the radio, television, no matter what it was, to put the point across about Burnt Village, I was the one who did the news media.

Every time I went to a public meeting I got nominated for something. So they kept nominating and nominating me to go back on the development association. So then they put me vice-president and then I ran for president; I wanted to see what that was like and I got in and I was president for a couple of years. Ann was coordinator and I was president.

I thought it was great. It put you up in a category where the men were and they were always bosses. I was manager of Sears in Labrador City and I didn't mind that kind of stuff; I kind of liked it. I could follow but I'm a better leader than a follower. I follow when I got to but I couldn't follow all the time. I feel that I'm not useful.

Anita

Anita was born and grew up in the community of Northeast Brook, the daughter of a sawmill manager in a family of ten. Her father had grown up in Cape Daumalen, and his family spent winters in Northeast Brook working in the woods. He had always worked in the woods as an adult and

established his family in Northeast Brook. Her mother was originally from around St. Anthony and had worked as a serving girl; she met her husband when he worked for the same family as a shareman. ²

When she was twelve years old her father was killed in a mill accident. Although she was one of the youngest children in the family she was the oldest at home and a lot of responsibility fell on her shoulders. At seventeen she left home and went to Corner Brook where she worked as a waitress. She then married and had twins and moved to Lewisporte, working at various jobs along the way, including being the first woman to work for the Newfoundland Liquor Commission. By the late 1970's she returned to Northeast Brook with her family when her husband was transferred in the Department of Forestry to the Northeast Brook branch.

Her husband and oldest son spend a lot of time hunting and fishing, and for them Northeast Brook is a paradise. This was a major factor in their decision to settle there, where they soon built a house. In the winter months the men (her husband, sons, and their friends) often go by snowmobile into the isolated interior to go hunting with their friends. The family used to have a cabin located in an abandoned settlement which they reached by boat in the summer and by snowmobile in the winter.

Once settled into her old community, Anita gradually became involved in community committees; she joined the Northeast Brook Road Committee, which was established to

lobby government to pave the only road which connected the communities of the LSDA to the rest of the province. The road was originally an old logging road. At the best of times it is not good and at the worst of times it is very dangerous. Trucking companies charge extra to bring supplies and foodstuffs when they travel to the LSDA region. Today the road is still not paved and probably won't be for a long time, although in the late fall as I was leaving there was a lot of up-grading being done. During the four months that I was there several nasty accidents occurred involving non-locals.

Anita was approached by a woman on the local development association sub-committee to help establish a base group of community women who would be interested in knitting for the development association project. She explains her early involvement with that project which led to her own participation on the local sub-committee.

I was invited to go to a Development Association meeting by ... actually Sharon Billard. We were trying to get the crafts going here, knitting sweaters and socks and we were trying to get the knitters here. So she asked me if I would be interested in helping out...She wanted me, more or less, to help her with getting the wool out around town and find knitters and things like that.

What they were trying to do was find women who would knit and get paid. You wouldn't get no big lot of money. I can't even remember what the rates were now. But the thing that we were telling people ... There was no employment for women here so if they earned enough to pay the light bill off, then that would help. So by knitting sweaters and socks and everything like that, for the Association they'd get paid so much per garment.

With the development Association, I spent the first year on the sub-committee, as just a sub-committee member. The next year I was elected as vice-president of the sub-committee. Then the next year I became president of the sub-committee and president of the association. So it wasn't bad except for one year when I was voted out and Rod Power came back on. That's who I bumped as president that year to go on. So he came back on as president of the sub-committee but not as president of the association. Then I bumped him as president of the sub-committee. Jim [the Executive Director of the Northern Development Corporation] wanted me to run for president of the association, so I did, so that's the year I went in as president of the Association. So really, it was my third year of being involved with them that I was president.

After the youngest child was in school Anita became interested in working and she was hired and trained by Statistics Canada on a part-time basis. It was because of her skills as a researcher that she was approached by the Northeast Brook Women's Committee to help them with their plans to develop a gill-net industry in the community. As in Burnt Village, there was very little in the way of employment for women in Northeast Brook, as it was not a fishing community and there was no fish processing.

There was little work for anybody at that time (see Chapter Two) but it was particularly bad for women. A Canada Works project (upgrading a small wharf) was under construction and a group of angry women (including Mae) picketed the work-site, demanding that women be given jobs and that the men working on the site put down their tools and join them. The police were called in to deal with the women, and not much came of it except that the women were

co-opted into forming a women's branch of the Concerned Citizen's Committee which would look into the feasibility of establishing a fishing-gear industry which would provide jobs for women.

Technicians from the Marine Institute in St. John's came out to train the women to make gill nets, while research into the economic viability of such an industry was undertaken by Nordco, who hired Anita as a local researcher. This research indicated that such an industry was not viable since Northeast Brook was not a fishing community. By this time a provincial government Task Force (see Chapter Two) had been established to look into the economic problems and unemployment in the region. The Task Force Report recommended that a crab fishery would be a viable industry for the region, according to federal biologists who had measured crab stocks. Northeast Brook was not an obvious location for the site of the crab plant; but it had a large population and a high number of unemployed. And, some would say, residents of Northeast Brook complained the loudest and longest; so the plant was eventually established there. Anita describes her involvement in the project.

That was the committee that was developed because there was no work here and they got this group together to see what they could do. That's the group that looked at the construction of the crab plant.

There was no work and they almost declared it an emergency area, the government declared it, not an emergency, I don't know what you call it but they had a Task Force. You must have read that, where

they looked into it and one of the suggestions came out of it was probably a crab plant. So that's what Sam picked up there. Now, I wasn't involved in that committee.

Well, Sam picked up on the crab plant as being something that we could have in Northeast Brook, o.k.? Then he got a committee going, I don't know if that's prior to this idea or after, that the committee was formed. But I know that they had, it was mostly made up of men. Then they set up what they called a Women's Committee. That's when I got involved in trying to get the crab plant going.

I don't even know what year it was, I don't know how it was set up, all I know was Sam called and asked if I would go to a meeting with God-only-knows how many more women and there was a group of women that were ... they were the "Women's something Committee", they were looking into making gill nets and things like that. I did some work with them for Nordco. Some of them were involved in it. I can't really talk about it because I don't know that much about it.

All I know is I was invited to a few meetings, where I was involved in the development association and working and small kids and all that. So I just went to their meetings and helped out and then the Development Association took it on ...

We did all the ground work, everything is over there in Ruth's office about where our Association was involved in it. Up to the stage where they went and put together money from different areas, like Rompkey [the federal Member of Parliament for the region] did, he gave \$300,000, then council sponsored that programme because it was going to be in Northeast Brook. Council sponsored a programme to put a private crab plant in there.

Our Association never constructed that part but every project that went into it after that our Association sponsored... our Association did all the work, in looking at , like the design of the plant, where it would be put, the whole background thing was done by the Association. It came up to the stage where a proposal was submitted, we put together that for funding, everything was put

together... council just put their name on the application and sponsored the project... So the Council holds the lease to it because they sponsored the first programme.

Mary

She grew up in Northeast Brook although she now lives in Pilier Bay, with her husband and their young son. Her parents were both immigrants to Northeast Brook. Her father came to the settlement as an employee of the Saunders and Howell lumber company; her mother was the postmistress of Northeast Brook for 35 years and worked throughout her marriage.

Their home was less restrictive than many of the fundamentalist families in the community, and they often billeted pilots, stranded in the course of delivering the mail who liked to be able to have a drink and a game of cards. The kids were often taken up in the plane for a spin and the pilots brought them fresh fruit and eggs, luxuries unobtainable at that time in Northeast Brook.

In school she was active in sports and good at maths and seemed "doomed" to be in charge of money in all the organizations of which she was a member. She was treasurer of the badminton club, and she collected money for Christmas Seals and the Red Cross. After grade 11, she went to Corner Brook and did a shorthand typist course before she began a career alternating between a switch board operator and working as a bank teller and with a loan company.

After moving between the larger centres in the province she came back to Northeast Brook to work in a managerial position in a local business. Returning to Northeast Brook she met and wed her fisherman from Pilier's Bay, where they settled and had their child. She now spends a lot of her time going back and forth between her home and Northeast Brook, where she worked in the bank, and attending development association meetings.

Roseanne

The day I arrived for my interview with Roseanne I found her in her kitchen just finishing bottling up the unpleasant parts of a moose, which she used as catfood for the large collection of cats she nourished. A few days earlier she had shot and killed her first moose. It was the first moose she had stalked, shot, and stewed, so to speak, all on her own. She explained how she loved to be outside, in the woods, enjoying the smell of the trees, and the solitude of the forest. When I delicately inquired about how she felt about killing a mighty and majestic moose, she described the excitement of tracking, hunting and shooting the moose, but explained that she didn't get close to the animal until it was long dead, so that then it was no longer a warm and bleeding body but just another dead carcass, a piece of meat.

She made me tea and we went into her office where we talked about children, grandchildren, rural development, and hunting. Although she is the only woman on the association who is "saved" she is not strict in her attitudes. She was relaxed and very easy to talk to. One of her daughters popped in several times during the interview to ask her mother questions about her income tax form and the walls were covered with photographs of children and grandchildren.

She told me stories about growing up, and the early years of her marriage in Burnt Village. Her father fished for salmon and went "furring" for fox, mink, and otter in the winter. Her father also worked at the woods, and the family sometimes lived with him in the woods camps. There was even a settlement called Shacktown where families lived in duplex cabins during the winter, and they travelled by dog team back and forth to Burnt Village for supplies.

Because the men were off in the woods so often much of the burden of raising a family and running a household became the wife's lot. A woman was usually responsible for cutting and keeping her own firewood stocked. Children helped with the firewood and with bringing in water.

At sixteen Roseanne left home and went to St. Anthony where she went to work in the hospital laundry while she daydreamed about becoming a nurse. Eventually she did a correspondence course in assistant nursing but before she finished the course she was pregnant and returned to her parent's home until she met and married her husband.

I think its always in the back of your mind, I don't care what anybody says, I think its there. And you might not let it come up to the surface but you worry about it. A husband is security. It was then. Its not the same now.

I think that security for my child was in the back of my mind. But I didn't always want to stay home with my mom and dad, I mean there was no work here unless you left your child with your mother and I couldn't do that. I couldn't leave my child, so I stayed and took care of him and then I met Bob and two months later we were married.

We've been married 28 years now and we've had a lot of ups and downs. But the ups were really good!

Roseanne's husband had been taken out of school when he was fifteen because his father had fallen ill and he was needed to run the family lumber business. Over the years he worked at several lumber operations, including his own operation. The first year they were married he was supervisor of a woods camp and both she and the baby spent the winter out in the camp with him.

Bob was there, see? And then you're with your husband and it was perfectly fine because you're like, your whole life was with your child and your husband. It was a small little circle. And I think most people are like that when they get married first. I think so because you got that little baby there and , I mean, that's a full-time job...

It was a choice of mine. I mean I could have stayed home in the house. Bob was gone Monday to Friday anyway. That was the thing. I mean I was left home Monday morning and he came back on Saturday evening. That was the whole thing - we didn't see our husbands during the week.

During the early years of marriage and motherhood there was no running water or electricity. Doing the laundry involved hauling in the water from the well or the brook, stoking up the stove to boil the water and then washing everything, including men's waterlogged woollen one piece underwear, flannel sheets, and loads of dirty diapers. Once the kids were school-age, she and her neighbour would go into the woods for walks and set rabbit snares, before they had to hurry home and prepare for the lunch-time assault of hungry children. She described her life as "to get up in the morning and take care of the kids."

Over the years their sawmill operation had grown and she acted as bookkeeper because she had always been good at math and through trial and error she was trained, "courtesy of Revenue Canada". Bob had been active on the Fishermen's Committee for several years and Roseanne was initiated into community politics working with him on some community issues.³ Bob also served for two terms as mayor of Burnt Village, and he suggested that she apply for the position of bookkeeper on a Canada Works project that the town council was sponsoring .

She got the job and it was through that project that she met and became friends with Ruth and her sister-in-law Ann, who were members of both the town council and the Labrador Sea Development Association. As soon as the next position on the development association became vacant they encouraged her to run for it. She has been active on the

association ever since and has been treasurer of the LSDA because of her bookkeeping experience.

Violet

Violet grew up in Big Harbour, an isolated community that was resettled in the 1970's. Her family resettled to Cape Daumalen but today most of the family lives in Northeast Brook. The summer that I did fieldwork she and her husband were building on an addition onto their house, where her parents will live. She was brought up in the Apostolic Faith and although she is not religious her parents are, and her brother had been appointed the new Apostolic minister with the death that summer of the Rev. Dolly Walker.

Her husband, George, finished school and went into St. John's and did an education degree; but once he was back in Northeast Brook, and with the development of the crab fishery, he and his brothers bought a boat and now fish together for crab, herring, caplin, and squid when it can be had.

After the children were in school she started working in a local business as a secretary. Her sister-in-law was involved in the gill net industry committee and she met Anita at a demonstration outside of Town Council building. Anita persuaded Violet to become involved in the local committee of the Labrador Sea Development Association. They

became a team and close friends in the process. They were both elected as president and vice-president of the local committee and Anita became president of the association and Violet the secretary.

When the crab plant became operational, they both went to work in the office, Violet as office manager and Anita as plant manager. Today, while Anita no longer works at the plant, Violet continues but with an eye toward new job possibilities and she takes French language courses in the fall.

Ellen

Almost a week before I finished my fieldwork I learned that there was another women director of the association whom I didn't know existed, which is revealing perhaps about her involvement and commitment to the association, and her relationship with other female members of the association. She was not part of the tight-knit group of women who made decisions and supported each other. Ellen had grown up in the community of Burnt Village and had taught school for a while as a probation teacher. After that she had the opportunity to become town clerk for the village of Burnt Village, and she has occupied this position for thirteen years. I interviewed her in the Town Hall in between numerous phone calls and customers. The Burnt Village municipal council was in the midst of a crisis as its second

mayor and deputy mayor (women) had just resigned over the lack of provincial funding for basic water and sewage facilities. The council was comprised of a couple of very overburdened women who were trying to do the best they could under the circumstances. Ellen worked hard at her job as town clerk and perhaps this was where most of her time and energy went, instead of the development association.

A few years ago she had been invited to a provincial conference of the Status of Women's Council and from that conference she was involved in establishing a Status of Women Council in Burnt Village. She was president until she resigned a couple of years ago.

When I interviewed her and asked her questions about the preponderance of women on both the development association and the Burnt Village municipal council she was negative and pessimistic about the role of women in her community and I left feeling depressed and that I had been romanticizing my data and informants.

Conclusion

Models applied to women's participation in the public sphere have gone beyond the limitations and constraints imposed on women's public participation to look at the ways in which women have been able to break into public life. Brodie's data on 1,003 women who had contested elections federally, provincially, and municipally between 1945 and

1975, indicate that familial socialization, involvement in voluntary associations etc... were all important factors enabling women to participate in public elections (Brodie 1985:16).

Brodie found that women's initiation into the political sphere was diverse and complex; that the family was not as important an initiation agent as the literature suggested; that women were likely to become interested in politics as adults, but that, because of their gender role constraints, they did not have the same opportunities as men to become exposed to political involvement in their adult years (Brodie 1985:39). The local level political arena is particularly successful for women because they can start themselves for the most part, and they do not need institutionalized networks to get into the running. Family and friends can sponsor a woman as a candidate for local political office. In the local arena the problems of gender role constraints (child care responsibilities etc.) are more easily dealt with. These constraints, while not totally prohibiting women's participation, can make it much more difficult. Many women delay their entry into municipal politics until these constraints are more pliable.

Brodie's socialization model was useful in my examination of the case histories of the women of the LSDA. Almost all of the women on the executive had spent part of their lives outside of their community of origin. Only one woman had not lived off of the peninsula, the rest had all

lived across the province, particularly in the larger centres. Even among the men whom I had been able to interview, this factor seemed constant. Exposure to other communities broadened their horizons and gave directors the confidence and the motivation to get involved in a politics and, probably more importantly, community and regional development. Seeing services and facilities that other more prosperous and less isolated communities had, led to their involvement in rural development associations. Of course many people who had lived in other communities were not active in the association but it can still be seen as a contributing factor.

The women of the LSDA all had parents or husband who had some sort of public or community role i.e. sawmill manager, postmistress, merchant, or businessman, and this seemed to have encouraged their participation in the association. Women who had been exposed to public figures often cited it in their description of their life histories, whether it be pilots, judges, town councillors, or American anthropologists.

Brodie found that women's public participation did cause role conflict, but that these women were able to cope with it. She pointed out that as long as women have the responsibility of being primary care-givers they will have a limited political participation (Brodie 1985).

Not surprisingly, all the women of the LSDA experienced gender role conflict. They all had husbands and children.

Anything other was not an option; nor indeed was any other lifestyle wanted. All the women put the care and servicing of their families first and foremost, but later they strived to combine their familial responsibilities with their work and volunteer activities. All of the women of the LSDA had to deal with gender role constraints. Their husbands had to be supportive if they were to be able to fulfil their responsibilities as executive members of the LSDA. When the women were out of town attending provincial meetings, or lobbying government officials, or attending workshops on community participation, someone had to cook the dinners, wash the clothes, get the kids to school and make their lunches. The women of the LSDA all had children, ranging in age from four years to their thirties. Most had teenagers who did not need so much motherly care but who presented other kinds of demands.

Most of the women on the LSDA were originally from the communities they lived in, or their husbands were originally from the community, so they had family in their communities and they were able to rely on their female kinsfolk (sisters, mothers, mother-in-laws) to help out and take care of children when they were away and even see to the feeding of husbands. Others, like Ruth, who did not have a good relationship with her almost ex-husband, received a lot of criticism from female family members for being away from home so much, and she was accused of not taking care of her son. Usually women waited until their children were older

and did not need so much attention. Older daughters also were able to step in and take over cooking and cleaning duties while their mothers were away. If not for these kinship ties with other women, the women of the LSDA probably would not be able to participate in the development association. It is doubtful whether their husbands would have supported this involvement if they had been totally responsible for picking up the slack while their wives were out doing association business. RDAs were effective avenues for women's political involvement in community decision-making because they are closely allied with other kinds of "service" organizations and therefore less threatening than municipal or provincial politics. I do not believe that the husbands of the LSDA women would have been supportive of their wives if they had entered municipal politics.

None of the women on the LSDA ever spoke about a lack of support from their husbands. In fact, they usually stressed the amount of support they did receive; but in my own observation of these families I could not help sensing the occasional underlying resentfulness of some husbands because their wives were so busy with the work of the LSDA. Because the women on the executive were concentrated in Northeast Brook and Burnt Village and because they became close friends, much of the business of the LSDA took place as social visits between friends and often in the company of their husbands who visited other husbands. Husbands sat in the livingroom watching the game and talking while the women

sat nearby at the dining room table, gossiping and plotting political strategies and policy development, in between feeding kids and answering the phone. This accommodation of family responsibilities and socialization as couples allowed the executive members to conduct business without seeming to disrupt their normal lives, or seem to be putting so much of their time into it. This strategy also served to bring the executive members closer to each other, and allowed them to act as a unit who could bring their own personal goals and strategies into association business. It is interesting to observe that Ellen, who was not a close friend of the rest of the women on the LSDA, because of personality differences, was not part of the tight-knit decision-making group of the LSDA executive. In fact she had little involvement in the association, as far as I could see. The friendship ties, created through their common involvement in the association, bound the women of the LSDA together into an effective political organization because they were united in their goals and values. They shared familial concerns and priorities with each other and worked around these constraints together. They also shared the same objectives of creating jobs and resources for women, and promoting projects that were family orientated.

Endnotes

1. The LSDA is a member association of the Northern Development Corporation, the business corporation of the regional development associations in that area of Newfoundland, who have common economic and business interests. A director from each member association sits on the Board of Directors of the Corporation. This director acts as a liaison between the Corporation and the development association he or she represents. During the period of my fieldwork there had been little communication between the executive of the LSDA and their liaison with the Corporation. This led to some political difficulties for the women of the LSDA, which is discussed in Chapter Five.

2. Young men often worked as sharemen for established fishermen until they were able to buy their own boat and fish for themselves. They often shared in communities other than their own and they would receive room and board in exchange for their labour along with a certain share of the catch. Men would share or fish in the summer/spring and work in the woods in the winter. Once the Northeast Brook lumber industry became more established people would work at the woods full time and not bother with the fishery until the logging industry failed, as had the fishery previously.

3. Fishermen's Committees are community level organizations that are made up of fishermen and who make decisions regarding fishing issues in the community. The Burnt Village fishermen's Committee had a reputation for being particularly political. They had a history of arguing with processors that set up operation in the Burnt Village fish plant. The fishermen would not agree to the prices set by the processor and would more often than not dump their fish rather than sell it. Because of this the fish plant processors could not stay in business and women were not able to work in the plant.

Chapter Five

THE PROJECTS

Once the LSDA was established and operational it began developing projects that would utilize local resources, diversify local industries, and create employment for groups that had historically had found little or no employment. This included the establishment of a handicraft industry, the construction of a crab processing plant, and a woodchip plant that would utilize waste products to create energy for the region and employ local residents. These and other projects of the LSDA will be discussed in this chapter. The women of the LSDA describe their goals, their problems, particularly their problems with the Northern Development Corporation, and the development process within the context of the area.

"Pocket Money"

One of the first small projects that the Labrador Sea Development Association took on was a handicrafts project which employed local women who had no other form of employment in the community. Both Ruth and her sister-in-law Ann had scrambled to start their own businesses and they were painfully aware of the lack of employment for women. They saw creating employment for women as one of the priorities of the development association.

We went into Gerry O'Reilly's office and he was deputy minister and he got telling me about the crafts they were involved in and I said, "Well, the women " - none of the women worked in fish plants at that time, o.k.?, and that was in '78, anywhere in the area. There might have been a few in Cape Daumalen but not too many. It was still ... women didn't do that.

Well, then we thought if we could get a few women knitting we could put some money in their pockets. I went into that office and I saw all the knitted goods and I said, "Oh - we wants cross-country skiing." And after I said it I didn't know what in the hell I was talking about!

Ann was really good at crafts; she was excellent. I said we need to start cross-country skiing. She got all excited, she loved this kind of stuff and she got at it right away. So, me and Ann, and Stan Pike, the RDS (Rural Development Specialist) from St. Anthony, ... by the time we got back they almost had the money all ready to give to us for a project that we didn't even have wrote up. We didn't even know how to start! And we still got the same amount of money, that grant money is still there, either in knitted goods, in money or whatever. It's still there, \$10,000 that was given in the beginning. (Ruth, coordinator of the LSDA)

The knitting project is still a viable project but, while women in Burnt Village still do not have employment opportunities the number of knitters has declined. Knitters have to be very good and a strict quality control is enforced. Each sweater is a lot of work, and because of the cost of the materials, transportation costs, and the commission for the woman who organizes the project (who is not a volunteer or member of the development association) the knitters do not make much for each sweater.

Ann, who had been co-ordinator of the LSDA, divorced and left the area. When the position of co-ordinator became avail-

able, Ruth decided that she was interested in this position as it was a paying job and it would accommodate her roles of wife, mother, businesswoman and community worker more advantageously than that of a non-paid director of a voluntary association. It was through her position as coordinator of the LSDA that she was able to start up and develop her business as a hunting and fishing outfitter, lodge operator and sea-plane charter, which she and her husband ran until they separated and divorced during the summer of my fieldwork. The LSDA sponsored the sea-plane base which is located on Ruth's property. The base and hanger is available for anyone's use, but it is primarily used by Ruth's clients.

Ruth is a dynamic women who provides much of the creative and directional force of the development association. I have spent time in her home and watched her entertain senior government bureaucrats, university researchers, vice-presidents of banks, and hunting guides while answering dozens of calls from locals confused about filling out government applications for make-work programmes.

During the first years of operation the LSDA executive committee hiring policy was to draw names for the positions available. Some people felt that everyone needed jobs and that by drawing names there would be no favouritism. This system evolved into an economic analysis of each applicant's qualifications for the job, their family income, the number of dependents in the family, and so on, before the

committee held a vote for the deserving applicants. Each community sub-committee would be responsible for hiring workers from their community: in this way they would know how much individuals were making, how many children they had, and whether they needed the job. This hiring policy was confidential and kept from the public. Most of the association projects were funded by federal make-work programmes, so applicants, to be considered had to be eligible for unemployment insurance; and the executive voted to hire the person with the lower U.I.C. if two individuals from the same household applied for the same job. This would usually be a woman, if a husband and wife both applied. The LSDA always hired a certain percentage of women on every project, which is a requirement of federal government funding policies, even on projects that involve heavy manual labour and construction skills, including wharf building, road clearing, breakwater building, etc.

The LSDA, which is primarily an economic development organization, takes stands on social and moral issues. In several towns some groups applied for funding for construction of community centres. In Burnt Village the Lion's Club (there is no Lion's Club in Northeast Brook) approached the LSDA to sponsor a application for a grant to rebuild the Lion's community centre. The association agreed to do so until they discovered that the Lions intended to operate a bar in the facility. The association dropped its affiliation with the

project because they saw that the bar, which is run by volunteers and has a much lower operating cost, would put the other bar in the community, which was a family-run operation, out of business. The association refused to sponsor a facility that would destroy a locally owned and operated business which could not compete with the Lion's Club.

The next year in Pilier Bay the Catholic men's association approached the LSDA to sponsor their application for the construction of a community centre. The same thing happened. When the association found out that the centre would have a bar they dropped their support of the project, which would drive out another locally owned and operated business, which could not compete with a non-profit organization.

Aside from the fact that these organizationally operated bars would drive several small businessmen out of business the women of the LSDA had strong feelings about the increased availability of cheap liquor, they saw it as a threat to families of their region and they refused to support the proposals to build these centers.

Ski Trail and Chalet

The LSDA developed and implemented several projects that were family focused and community oriented. The construction of a ski trail and chalet in Burnt Village is one example. When the LSDA got funding for the clearing of a ski trail and

the construction of a chalet they were determined that the facility would be family orientated and that alcohol would not be part of the facility. Ruth explains why the LSDA are against increasing the availability of liquor in their communities:

I never want to see one single ounce of booze sold and drunk in there and why? Because we couldn't get job development projects and we had kids dropping out at an 85% drop out rate in the school, its gone down to 15% now. Those children are all down there skiing, families are back together, everybody's participating. And once you put liquor there the kids are not gonna go there. They're drunk. Who wants to see someone drunk? Families will stay away cause some man is going to be drunk there all the time - or some woman. Who needs it? And that's not all, we're getting a project approved on alcoholism and drug addiction and planned parenthood. That's the problem in the area.

I've got the RCMP to come in and do that. Cause we have kids here 14 and 15 years old, getting pregnant. Young girls, and then going on welfare and I've seen enough of it. And I'll tell you what - I put it through the system [the funding application process]. "I'd Rather Ski Than Screw". and it went all through the system. Everybody remembered it. When the project went in, I put it under Planned Parenthood and Alcohol and Drug Addiction. And they called me. They said, "What have you put on there? And I said, "Its like this, I'd rather have them ski than have them screwing." And that's how it got approved.

Planned Parenthood - I had people in talking about young kids getting pregnant and how to use birth control and condoms for young boys and girls...The nurses did the planned parenthood. A lot of the young kids were embarrassed but they were the ones causing the problem. So, I made them listen and if they didn't show up for their training, they lost a day's pay. Everyone who worked on the trail was young.

That project has brought families together, its the best thing that ever happened. And the best thing is that little children know how lawyers and doctors, and other people outside of Burnt Village live, when they've got their education, 'cause they go there to stay. And they see all the things they can have if they get their education. They go to Corner Brook and St. John's to compete at cross-country skiing, they stay in homes of other people, and they see the nice things that people got around them from getting their education and doing different jobs. Now they come back and they want to stay so they can do this, and they want to get educated so that they can go to university and do things.

Every child from the age of four or five to adults, the age of sixty-seven, is involved in cross-country skiing. Everybody skis. There's Jackrabbits for little kids. Parents organize it. They got a committee set up. And they work at it. What happened was that parents got involved and children got involved. And that's the parents and children together and you know you're rooting for your kid because you want them to do well. Then you're rooting for your community. One of the little girls from here, she went to the Winter Games in New Brunswick last year. And people get together and raise money for them and make sure they got enough money to go and stuff.

The Eider Duck Project

The eider duck program is an example of the long term planning of the LSDA and their efforts to provide jobs for both men and women. This idea came up as a response to projects that would be suitable for long-term development planning. Eider duck projects had been initiated in other parts of the province and Evert Village committee thought it would be a feasible project for the community, which was suffering from extreme unemployment. An eider duck industry

involves several different aspects of community involvement. The first level involves wildlife management of the ducks themselves: eggs are flown in from Quebec and hatched in incubators, ducks mature and nest in the area (which has to be a suitable environment for the ducks to nest in), someone collects the down that the ducks line their nests with, the down is then used either for sale or possibly in garments, such as coats, gloves, hats, duvets, etc., which can be produced locally. This will mean employment for women in a community that has no other source of work for women. The ducks have been introduced to the area and are nesting. So far, the project has been a success.

The Crab Plant

The Crab Plant was the first big project that the Labrador Sea Development Association took on to create employment in the region, particularly for women, who had no other large scale source of employment. By 1983 the plant was completed and ready for operation. Funding for the building which houses the plant came from a Canada Community Development project. The Town Council holds ownership of the building while the company that operates the plant is a partnership of the Dooley Brothers of St. Mary's and Quinton Brothers, which is known as the Chimney Bay Seafood Company (Decks Awash, 1983). The town leases the building to the

Chimney Bay Seafood Company at a nominal fee on a long-term lease. The plant was built to process crab primarily but it has adapted to the processing of caplin, squid, mackerel, and herring. At its peak it employs about 125 women, and the summer I lived there a few less than that.

The Labrador Sea Development Association has put a lot of their resources and funding into keeping this plant going. The local development association recommends local projects to the RAND for development funding and make-work projects and through the association the plant has had a wharf upgraded, an extension built, and much more. Anita, who was the president of the association, knew that a plant was going to be built and because she was interested in it as a job possibility for herself, she and other Northeast Brook women took it upon themselves to go the fisheries college in St. John's to be trained to work in the plant for managerial and production supervisory positions. Anita describes the decision to get training for these jobs.

I went to the Marine Institute that winter and did training 'cause I wanted to get full-time employment. I was only working part-time with Statistics, one week of work and U.I.C. for three weeks.

When I knew that the plant would be built, I put in my name for bookkeeper on the project but I didn't get it. They figured I didn't need it because Tom was a full-time employee - that was the council's reasoning. Anyway I just went in and did production supervision because I figured, well if the plant

was coming here they're going to need someone to supervise it, and its mostly women going to be working there, so it was a good chance for a woman to get a job.

Then after I did that course I went back with eight or ten others. We went back then, we knew there was a company coming in so we needed to do crab processing, so we went back and did that. That summer I was floor supervisor and the next year I went manager. I was one of the first ones to go to work there. I went in and did an interview with them. I helped them screen some of the applications. They didn't promise me anything when I went there, any position at all. They just said "we'll put you to work on the floor" and I started scrubbing equipment.

She also describes the difference it made to the community having lots of jobs available to women.

If you could see Northeast Brook in '82 and see Northeast Brook now... all they need right now, the crab plant should probably have a groundfish license and process groundfish as well as crab and then they'd have more work. Even now, the women are still working, well from May usually up to November. They're not making a fortune but they're having an income that they wouldn't normally have anyhow.

Though it was recognized in the community that there was an urgent need in the community for these jobs for the women of Northeast Brook, it did not necessarily mean that the men of Northeast Brook would accept having a woman as a plant manager.

Anita describes the difficulties and successes she had in her dealings with the fishermen.

I loved my job as plant manager. I liked it. I went to Fisheries College, when I knew that there was going to be a crab plant here. I knew I didn't want to go down there just working on the floor rolling legs or whatever. If I have to do that at the beginning I'll do it. O.K. I did it. I did every job in that plant. I scrubbed floors, I took off offal, I shoved it out the drains, I did everything. I butchered crab, I did every bloody job down there. There was no job that I would tell you or anyone else to do that I didn't do myself. And I liked my job. I got along great with fishermen. I got along great with the women.

Oh, some of them (fishermen) made some smart remarks at the beginning but I think that if you talk to any of the fishermen, even last year after I quit... There were fishermen who came up to me and said they really missed me at the plant and their way of putting it was, pretty well, "you did a good job for a woman."

I mean that means a lot. It was sort of, most people would look at it as a put down, "you did a good job for a woman" but I mean, you look at men, those fishermen that are saying that are on the water for fifty years and haven't dealt with women on the water. One guy in particular said to me, "I was on the water for fifty years and never had to deal with a woman. Its bad enough having to deal with a woman when I'm not in the fishing boat." But the same guy came in probably two or three days after and patted me on the back and said "you're doing a great job for a woman."

Most of the men that I've worked with see me as one of them. Because, I just follows with what I'm doing and go along with them and do... And I work as hard as they do, I got to. And maybe a little harder to prove that I can keep up with the men.

Unfortunately work at the crab plant was not all positive experiences, especially for Anita who was in a managerial position. While Anita did the work and had the responsibility of production manager she was only paid slightly above the

minimum wage of her workers, \$4.75 an hour. When she complained, her wage was raised to \$4.95/hr. They also refused to allow her to use the title of manager. She also had to deal with verbal abuse and continual putdowns by her employer because she was a woman.

'84 I went back as floor lady. I don't know at what time I was ever told I was manager. They just didn't hire a manager, I started - like in '83 they didn't do any caplin. In '84, I set up the place, I never ever did caplin before and with a conversation over the phone I was told the difference between a male and a female caplin, "Now get the fuck down the stairs and sort the caplin". That was my training in processing caplin.

My favourite saying down there was "because I'm a woman, I work twice as hard, take half the pay and ten times the abuse." And that was true. The conversation was never cut because I was around. Because they felt, "well, she's one of the boys." If they wanted to swear, they swore where I was to or whatever.

If there was things like ... oh my, vulgar language being used, well if they felt they wanted to use that it was up to them. But when they started using it at me, then I was offended. Like when I was told to "go fuck yourself", then I was offended because I told them, "I don't deserve this, I worked too hard here for to be treated this way and that was one of the reasons why I quit.

Larry used to say "go ..." Well, the main reason why I quit the one time... it was about not even work in the plant that concerned me. It was about some system, he said he wanted the McBee system set up and I said "Larry, the McBee system has been in place here ever since '84." McBee is a filing system ... I don't think he even knew what he was saying, it was just something to be contrary about. I spoke to him and he said, "ah, shut your fucking mouth and wait till your spoken to" or something

like that, that was the way he always started to talk. I had a fill of it. Cursing and swearing and shouting all the time.

I quit the fall of '86, I quit for a week because during a conversation on the phone he told me to go fuck myself. So I quit. Due to my own financial position and everything I felt that I needed the job so I went back. That spring then, when I went back, I just wasn't happy there. I don't know, I was fed up by the treatment from the owners. And his favourite saying was "you're only a woman, your getting as much as you deserve in pay." Like if I asked for a raise, "your only a woman, Tom is working full-time." The foreman got the same pay as I did as manager. But because he was a man, he didn't care if he worked or not, he deserved it.

Anita had a very different style of working with people which she saw as getting the best out of her workers rather than abusing and threatening them. Anita, as a manager, used her skills as a woman, wife, and mother, to communicate with her employees which put her in confrontation with her own employer.

A lot of them told me that they miss me at the plant. I'm the type of person, I don't know ... I never ever pulled authority on anyone. If I had some problem with any worker there I sat down, called them in my office or wherever, and just talked to them, as a person to person. Not as, me being manager, and saying "you did this, you're being fired." I never ever used that, I didn't feel it was necessary.

I think Larry said to me one time, he said, "your problem is that you want everybody to like you. You got to be enemies with people. To be in authority people got to hate you." I said, "that's bull - people don't have to hate you, you get better work out of people who are working with you and know that you aren't looking down on them. You treat

them as a human and they'll work. They didn't kill themselves, pushing themselves, because they were drove by me. I never used that on them at all.

And that plant had good production. I know the production now and the production past and it had good production. And a lot of it was because the women were, they were the type, I guess we were lucky because most of the women were good workers anyway, especially if they got a job to do, they do it as good as they can, as fast as they can and the best they can.

I worked from May up till November. When the last of the crab went out they kept me on probably two weeks, to help clear up lay offs, T-4 slips and all this stuff, office work. Now, if they had a man managing that, that man wouldn't have had to do any of this office work. But if it was any day that there was no crab down on the floor downstairs or no production, Anita was up in the office doing office work. Anita had five jobs. I was plant manager, production manager, I had to do quality control. I didn't mind doing it. But because I was a woman if there was no production, I didn't get in my truck or my car and go o'f and do something else. Anita went in the office and did office work. And that was how it was.

I felt cheated because I trained myself. I worked hard. I'm not trying to brag or anything like that. I think I did a good job for the company. I went above and beyond. Every year that there was a project there I supervised it as a volunteer because I was drawing U.I.C. so I said "O.K. I'll supervise it" and because I was president of the Association.

Since this time Anita has been approached, indirectly, by the owners of the plant to go back to work because they have been having a hard time finding another manager as good as she was, according to some women who work in the plant who talked to me. Some of these women complained of the new manager who

they said was very rough and abusive with the workers. Anita has worked at a number of jobs and has applied for a position in the Department of Fisheries and Oceans, but she feels that her chances are slim as her ex-employers are powerful within the province and may have some influence in keeping her out of this job. Since she has left the plant the Chimney Bay Seafood Company has not received any funding through the local development association which it relied on for funding of building extension, repairs, and maintenance, among other needs.

The Hydro Plant

The Labrador Sea Development Association has also been active in organizing and bringing to life another major project in the community of Northeast Brook, the wood chip generating plant. They had been working on this when I first met them at the Annual General Meeting of RDAs. In the early 1980's the executive committee of the LSDA received a pamphlet from the Department of Energy, Mines, and Resources about energy alternatives to oil for permanent communities which did not have access to the provincial power grid. Northeast Brook and the other communities of the LSDA are outside of the provincial power grid and since the 1950's they have had a diesel generating plant.

Two of these potential alternative sources of energy were peat and woodchip, which, with the proper processing, could generate electricity. The executive of the LSDA immediately saw in the wood chip alternative wide-ranging implications for employment and increased utilization of local resources.

The executive then gathered information about other woodchip operations and hired a consulting company to do an assessment on the local forestland and its capacity to provide the necessary output for the generation of electricity. Due to the nature of the local woods operations, or rather the lack of the local woods operation, the local sawmillers would, it appeared, easily provide much of the necessary raw material and a chipping operation would clean up a lot of the cut-overs from previous contractors' wastes.

The original proposal from the executive of the LSDA was a comprehensive development strategy which would provide employment for local loggers and women, the increased consumption of local resources, the utilization of by-products and waste materials, and would provide increased electricity to the area. They were interested in leasing or renting enough land on which they had plans to build a greenhouse in which seedlings would be grown and possibly vegetables for local use. Women would be employed in the greenhouses. The seedlings grown in greenhouses heated by the hydro plant would then be transplanted to land obtained for the purpose of silviculture and they would eventually be harvested for lumber or

woodchips. This silviculture programme would have a two-pronged benefit: it would provide employment for local men as loggers and for women in the silviculture, and also the area's natural resources would be replenished; a sadly neglected area of forestry management in Newfoundland.

After the trees had reached maturity, local loggers would be employed in the processing of trees to a form usable by the woodchip plant. The plant itself, as envisioned by the committee, would be a small operation and would provide electricity to local schools and the hospital.

Once the provincial departments concerned were approached, however, and their approval was obtained, the women of Labrador Sea lost control of their project, and it has become something different. Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro took over the reins of the project and by the summer of 1988 construction had begun on a 26 million dollar generating plant. Six different construction companies, not including subcontractors, were at the site for various stages of construction. The plant when completed will generate electricity for the region as well as contributing supplemental electricity to the provincial power grid, and it will require 50,000 tons of woodchip a year.

Even the construction of the plant which should have created employment for the local population caused problems for the community. The generating plant envisioned by the women of the LSDA became the generating plant of the

Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro Company, and it required experienced and highly trained workers: carpenters, welders, heavy equipment operators, draughtsmen, etc... Most of this skilled labour force had to be imported from outside the region. ¹ Few unskilled workers were needed; according to a representative from Fenco, the engineering company which was responsible for designing and building the plant, twenty five local residents were hired. Yet each morning dozens of men gathered at the construction site hoping to become some of those unskilled workers. There were fights and many threats of violence against the contractors by the unemployed workers. This was aggravated by the formation of an Unemployed Workers Committee who, it was rumoured, were threatening the contractors with violence if any workers from outside of Northeast Brook were hired. I interviewed the leadership of this committee and they denied the threats of violence; but they had submitted the resumes of their membership to each contractor, if workers were required. This membership did not include any citizens of any other community than Northeast Brook.

The community was rampant with rumours that equipment was going to be torched, and that one man had almost been run over by a backhoe. Stories were told that the contractors had reverted to drawing names out of a hat, and that carpenters were working as labourers, and labourers as carpenters, and that after weeks of work someone had been discovered reading

blueprints upside down. The land outside the boundary of the community of Northeast Brook was filled with trailers the summer I did fieldwork, so that Northeast Brook did not even benefit from the room and board of these immigrant workers.

The women of Labrador Sea were disgusted with what had begun as their dream of creating employment and energy. They did not want what was left of their dream to become jeopardized by the politicking of a group of redneck loggers. One of the women from the LSDA had gone onto the site while I was there to inquire about the possibilities of jobs for women on the site. She was told, in no uncertain terms by the unemployed workers to get off the site and go home because her husband had a full-time job. They did not want women on the site competing for the few jobs that were available. The women of the Labrador Sea Association were hurt and disappointed. They felt that if it had not been for them there would have been no job opportunities for anyone. By this point Newfoundland Hydro had taken over the authority and responsibility for the project, and the women of the LSDA felt that no one in their own community recognized their input, energy, and creative drive which had given birth to the whole project in the first place. They began to see this as the norm.

The Northern Development Corporation

The Northern Development Corporation is another example of the frustration these women experience in dealing with bureaucratic and institutionalized structures. The Corporation was conceived and implemented by local regional development associations, workers at Memorial's Extension Department, members of RAND, and university researchers. The regional association of development associations had asked for workshops and information dealing with community development corporations, and representatives from these associations visited similar organizations in Cape Breton: New Dawn and New Deal in Sydney. By February 1987 the Northern Development Corporation was in business, and each member association elected a representative to sit on the Corporation's Board of Directors. The Northern Development Corporation describes itself as:

a community-based economic development organization established in February 1987. The Corporation is owned by the people of [the area] through their six Regional Development Associations and is incorporated under the Corporations Act of Newfoundland and Labrador. As an umbrella structure the Organization will promote and implement a wide variety of projects and enterprises. The Corporation will initiate both business ventures as well as community, social and human development programs that will benefit the people of the [region] and encourage socio-economic development.

The Development Corporation will combine the efforts of six regional Development Associations, community residents, business expertise, and opportunity planning in a corporate structure to

achieve comprehensive economic and social development in the ... region. Through the planning and development activities of the Corporation any number of subsidiary companies may be established and organized as private profit or co-operative organizations, with majority ownership restricted to local people. The Corporation will also assist already established companies or business persons together with other community development groups (Northern Development Corporation pamphlet).

Each member development association elects a representative who sits on the Board of Directors of the Corporation. There were no women on the Board of Directors, even though most associations had several women on the executive committee. The day to day operation of the Corporation is controlled by the Executive Director, who is from outside the region, and the office staff, which had expanded to five at the time of my fieldwork.

The first major venture of the NDC, which operates as the business arm of the development associations, was in connection with the hydro project; it formed a company, Nebchip, made up of six "local" sawmills and the Corporation, to bid as a company for the contract to provide chips for the plant. ² However, this proved to be no easy task.

The Corporation worked at getting community support from residents and the town council of Northeast Brook for this venture, but it has not been very successful. The Unemployed Workers Committee was dead set against the Development Corporation getting the contract from Newfoundland Hydro for the woodchip plant in Northeast Brook because they, the

loggers, wanted what they saw as a legitimate contractor to get the contract. They saw the Development Corporation as just another form of make work project. They assumed that the Development Corporation would end up asking loggers to accept a lower wage in order for the Corporation to make a go of the thing.

The women of the Labrador Sea had worked hard for the Corporation since its inception, and when they heard through informal sources that the contract would likely be awarded to a company from Central Newfoundland they started talking about going to St. John's to talk to the Premier and the Ministers of the concerned departments. The women of the LSDA remembered the town's experience with outside contractors, and as they put it "we worked too hard to let someone come in and rape the area".

However, the Corporation did not want the women of the LSDA lobbying levels of government about the contracting process. They felt that these women had no business interfering with the business arm of the Corporation; their work lay in their own development association and in supporting the role of the Corporation in their communities. A workshop was organized by the Corporation for its member associations to "set the direction of further workshops on community economic development" and to hear external evaluations of the Corporation by consultants from the university on its first anniversary. The Corporation wanted

to clear up what they saw as some misconceptions about the nature of the Corporation and how it operated. They felt that some of the members of the associations did not have the proper idea about the Corporation, and they brought in Dr. Greg McLeod from Sydney to make his presentation on community economic development, and the role of the Corporation in Cape Breton.³ The Corporation did not want the women of the LSDA involved in negotiations concerning the awarding of the wood chip contract to Nebchip or lobbying government officials about the tendering process. Dr. McLeod accordingly described similar corporations and the difference between cooperatives and this kind of community corporation.

The women of the LSDA understood this but they perceived other problems with the Corporation which they wanted dealt with. They did not want to lose their input into the Corporation decision-making process, which they felt was what had happened. The LSDA representative on the Corporation board of directors was not attending the LSDA meetings so there had been little communication between the two groups. It seemed to them that the Corporation was not interested in hearing what they had to say. The women also felt that the Corporation had lost touch with the people of the member communities and they wanted some public relations work done in their communities. No one outside of the LSDA executive committee knew anything about or understood what the Corporation was doing, or what it stood for. LSDA women wanted a public relations position

created within the structure of the Corporation which would facilitate communication and information about development issues in the region. The Corporation did not see this as necessary. The women of the LSDA wanted to know what role the people who had created the Corporation, themselves, now had in regional resource and industry development. As they put it to me, they felt like they had struggled and work hard to give birth to this "baby" and only "having someone else raise it."

During the course of the workshop the Labrador Sea women talked about the history of the Chimney Bay Lumber Company in Northeast Brook, people's attitudes toward the Corporation, the Unemployed Workers Committee and their information regarding the allocation of the woodchip contract. They felt strongly that the community should have a voice in the government decision-making process of the contracts, and that Northeast Brook had a long history of being ripped off by outside contractors. By the end of the workshop viewpoints had been turned around and the Corporation had begun to see that their member development associations could have a role in the political side of economic development and that they could be influential in lobbying government for contracts.

Shortly after this meeting two women of the LSDA went into St. John's and met with the relevant officials, and eventually the Nebchip company did get the contract; but in terms of the relationship between the LSDA and the Development Corporation, it probably came too late. I left Northeast Brook

a few weeks later and I have not keep in touch with the Hydro plant and the politics of woodchips, but I knew that the women of the LSDA resented their treatment by the Corporation and the residents of their own communities. They were tired of working hard for long periods on projects that they lost control of, and of men, such as the unemployed workers at the woodchip plant site, or the executive of the Northern Development Corporation, telling them they had no right to be involved in these projects any longer. They were tired of creating make work projects and being bureaucrats for government programs (emergency response programmes particularly) which would never come to anything, and which they did not get paid for nor recognized. ⁴ One woman told me that she had been asked by the Corporation to attend a meeting of the Economic Council of Canada in St. John's to represent rural Newfoundland. She spoke several times at the meetings, and she later heard through other sources that she had impressed officials who had written to the Development Corporation stating this; but she was never recognized by the Corporation, or thanked for her efforts. She felt disillusioned about that and did not understand how the organization that she had done so much to create could treat her that way.

While the women of the Labrador Sea Association had been asked to sit on the NDC Board of Directors for their association, they have refused because the meetings are held

in a distant community (over 76kms of bad roads), and their family responsibilities make it impossible for them. And by that point they were tired and disillusioned. For the most part they wanted good, satisfying jobs; where they would not be subjected to male harassment or abuse, something that they could put their new skills into and get some rewards.

It was not just the Corporation who did not recognize the efforts of the LSDA women. Even the crab plant was seen by local residents and by local newspapers, as a project of the Northeast Brook town council, and particularly a result of the efforts of the current mayor, a man who had gone on to provincial politics, rather than as the project of the women of the LSDA. One woman, Mary, described the lack of support and acknowledgement from the people of their own communities for the work they did on the Association. People always assumed that these volunteers were making personal gains, especially money, for the work they did.

I've had remarks said to me from time to time- probably something about- "I don't know what in the hell they still got that going for. I don't know what good that it does. All it does is keep a few scruffs in make-work projects."

"All these meetings - never hears tell of anything. What goes on at their meetings?"

"You must be getting some bundle of money out of these meetings."

So I say - "Where do you think we're getting the money to build a house?" just to get them going then. I'm not getting anything out of it, except the knowledge. I mean forget it! We had to lay Ruth

off. We didn't even have enough money, last year, to keep Ruth on, right? But people think that when you're at this stuff, there's a big bundle of money. They don't realize...

She also described the long hours, the work, and the hazards of this volunteer work. Women who are wives and mothers have to have husbands who are willing to support their volunteer work, if they are elected to these positions.

... you're so far a distance after the meeting's finished, that when you go to the meeting, supposed to start at 8:00 but everyone shows up late and it gets started, its probably quarter to nine and then its probably 11:00 before the meeting gets over or 11:30, and then you got an hour and a half's drive. I've seen nights when we didn't get home till one in the past winter.

But now, lately, a lot of us been complaining about it and they're trying to keep it to two or three things on the agenda. Some times we have eleven or twelve things on the agenda, I mean, you're somewhere like Irish Bay and you gotta get up the next morning and go to work. And you're talking about winter time and travelling, when its stormy weather and that slippery. What happens when the roads are slippery, and I'm going to Burnt Village or Irish Bay for a meeting, what happens to my truck, I'm doing volunteer work, if I go off the road?

Last spring, it was probably the state I was going through at the time or something, I came close. I didn't go to a meeting anyway. I said, "I think I'm gonna put in my resignation." I did sit down with the paper, I said, "I'm getting off of this thing. The hell with this, this is long enough." People say that you're getting a big bundle of money out of it. You give up your free time and you're away from your family and all this stuff. Anyway, the next day I was clear of it.

I must say, Doug is pretty good, I don't get too much flack. Sometimes, stormy nights or something like that, or the roads there's just one lane cut

through them...But he's never ever said, "I don't want you to go, stay home." He'll probably just say something like "What are you doing banging around the woods, supposing you go off the road and get hurt or something."...if I said,"well, I have to go to Gander for three or four days for rural development meetings", or something like that, there's no such thing as "No, I don't think you're going." "Who are you going with, how long you gonna be gone?" or this kinda thing.

Up to this year now, I've been lucky enough that my mother'll always take him (her son) up in Northeast Brook. Because in the winter Doug is around, I'll leave him with him and his mother takes him the day time but if its summer or spring time and they're fishing and that I can always leave him over to Northeast Brook with Mom. I think we got a good bunch of men. We're lucky enough.

Conclusions

In spite of the lack of public recognition and reward for their volunteer work, the women of the LSDA, because of the experience and knowledge of bureaucratic processes they gained through association business, made good use of their volunteer work. They were able to gain information that they used in their personal and work lives. These trade offs, between the lack of recognition and support from their communities, and the experience and job opportunities, made the volunteer work of the LSDA women worthwhile to them personally. It enabled them to continue their development and job creation efforts in the LSDA region. Ruth was able to develop a business as a lodge operator and outfitter, and Violet and Anita got administrative positions in the crab

plant. Roseanne got jobs as bookkeeper on various make-work projects in her community. Any job that any one of them applied for could be seen as a result of their experience on the LSDA. Through her contacts at a regional development association meeting, Anita was able to get a job with the Department of Transportation when they began paving the roads in Northeast Brook. By the time I left Northeast Brook, and with the disappointments they felt over the wood chip plant I knew Anita and Violet were tired of doing so much for so little recognition and that they were hoping to come up with a good business idea. Then they could get set up and retire from the LSDA and work for themselves instead of an ungrateful community.

Endnotes

1. Newfoundland and Labrador Hydro approached the engineers of the old generating plant and offered them upgrading if they were interested. Some young men did take advantage of this opportunity and went into St. John's for training.

2. I say "local" because the Unemployed Workers Committee does not see Nebchip as a local operation since it is made up of three local sawmills and three from the other side of the Peninsula. The Committee is totally opposed to Nebchip and do not want them to get the contract because they see them as a development association setup and therefore they will ask the loggers to take lower wages in order for the Corporation to make a go of it. They would rather see what they perceive as a legitimate business operation get the contract although they are opposed to Chimney Bay Lumber Company

getting the contract either. Chimney Bay has no admirers among the loggers of Northeast Brook.

3. Dr. McLeod teaches and is involved with community economic development institutions in Cape Breton. The NDC was modelled on a similar organization in Cape Breton.

4. These are programmes put into place by the federal government to create work for several weeks for fishermen, who because of the failure of the fishery in 1987, 1988, 1989, were not able to catch enough fish to qualify for U.I.C.

Chapter Six

MATERNAL POLITICS

My central concern, when I began this research, was to understand how women had achieved local political power in Northeast Brook, and maintained it. There were only a few hints in the Newfoundland ethnographies; early researchers had suggested that women in Newfoundland were subordinate to men; later research revealed that women had some power and authority but located in separate spheres from those of men; but the women I was examining had achieved power in the public and political arenas. The central puzzle in the course of the fieldwork and the writing of my thesis was understanding how and why this group of women who made up the executive of the LSDA were able to come into positions of authority and power, both in their own personal lives, and within the context of a fundamentalist religious community, which upholds patriarchal ideals about the roles of women and men in the community.

The problem seemed even more difficult in some ways once I was in the field. Even outside of the religious congregations the communities of the LSDA region are characterized by a male work ethos that can and does control the movement and lives of women to stay within the prescribed limits of their gender boundaries, or risk being subject to male intimidation, harassment, and even violence. These symbolic and very real gestures of male power and

authority, which I could see and even experienced for myself, reinforced the image of the women of the LSDA's political involvement as contradictory and inexplicable.

Over the period of fieldwork and especially during the writing process I came to see that the development of what I call women's maternal strategies and politics enabled the women of the LSDA to achieve decision-making positions within the community. Maternal politics is the transference of women's traditional maternal, nurturing, and caretaking role to the political sphere. Within the political domain they were able to improve the condition of women's lives by using the very roles imposed on them as women by the patriarchal fundamentalist culture of Northeast Brook. These strategies I discuss first in the fundamentalist congregations and then within the specific context of the LSDA. I continue the notion of symbolic and real power, for this distinction is critical to the understanding of gender relations in the community; one aspect of this is symbolic language. I then try to discuss the theoretical implications of this kind of working class women's strategy, which does not seem to fit the political framework of feminism.

The Rise of Maternal Women

Newfoundland ethnographies (Faris 1973, Firestone 1967, Porter 1985, and Benoit 1982) demonstrate that in rural

Newfoundland there exists a strict sexual division of labour and a patriarchal, male-dominant, macho ethos of the hard working male who is boss and who is in charge. ¹ From my own personal experiences and during the period of fieldwork I saw that both Newfoundland women and men accept and maintain this as an ideal model. As Porter points out women, through their control of the domestic sphere and primarily the "kitchen", which in Newfoundland is more a public than a private arena, were and are able to have access to public arenas. They make use of their gender role to achieve power. In other words, this role is largely (but not entirely) symbolic: appearance and reality are not quite identical. If we could don ethnographic decoder glasses to examine the whispers and shadows of women's resistance to the symbolic authority of men, we would observe that women are able to manoeuvre and work around this domination through the use of their own image as "good women", who are clean, hard working, maternal, and the care-taker of the family, the home, and even the community. Women are also able to step out of their symbolic gender roles as obedient and quiet women if men have failed in their symbolic gender roles as heads of family, which Wadel (1973) describes as "maternal protective behaviour". However, if women do step out of their roles, whatever that role is perceived to be, they are subject to various kinds of censure, physical abuse, sexual harassment etc..as demonstrated in the life histories or the

women of the LSDA. I suggest that this individual negotiation of symbol gender roles and behaviour also operates at the community or political level.

In the case of Northeast Brook, women have stepped into the leadership and decision-making positions and structures because the men of Northeast Brook failed to provide for the community, economically, spiritually and politically. In the context of Northeast Brook we can see that during the 1970's the male leadership of the community was eroded with the economic collapse of the region. This failure on the part of men to fulfil their symbolic gender roles was reflected in the rise to power of the Northeast Brook women who stepped into positions of power in the municipal arena, the economic development arena, and in the spiritual arena with the replacement of Pastor Hancock by Dolly Walker, as leader of Apostolic congregation, a woman from Florida, who appeared on the scene and took control of the church.

Historically, women in Northeast Brook did not have roles in the fishery that others have shown have provided women with a certain degree of authority and status in other Newfoundland communities but throughout Northeast Brook's history women took over men's responsibilities and duties when men were not able to fulfill them. Women worked as loggers and cut the family firewood because of the absence of men. The long term absence of men also gave them a degree of independence and authority, as Thompson (1985) point

outs, in their lives and in the community. This was a factor in understanding the rise to power of the women of the LSDA but it did not seem to account for women's arrival into positions of authority in the fundamentalist congregations and the development associations especially since men, due to changes in technology and the decline of the forestry industry, were no longer absent from the community for long periods of time.

Women and Fundamentalism

The contradictory roles of women in fundamentalist religion proved to be an important factor in understanding the development of maternal politics in Northeast Brook. I noticed that in many of these sects (Salvation Army, Pentecostalism and even the Apostolic Faith Church), women played important roles; and I was intrigued by the contradiction of the fundamentalist ideology regarding gender relations and the fact that women have central and leadership roles in these sects. ²

Fundamentalism, and particularly Pentecostalism, is the fastest growing religious denomination in the world, particularly in underdeveloped areas. Social scientists have found that these sects flourish in "areas undergoing social change, such as the founding of new communities around mills or other industries" (Cartwright, 1985,66). Pentecostalism

is also spreading in mainstream, middle America. Susan Rose in her book Keeping Them Out of the Hands of Satan explains that Pentecostalism offers clear and defined answers about issues of control and authority for its followers; this allows them to submit to and uphold traditional American values in their relationships with each other and in their place in society.

The politics of the contemporary Evangelical movement centers on issues of control and commitment, "Man" is supposed to submit to Christ, wives to their husbands and children to their parents. Any questioning of the "God-given" lines of authority is considered an act of ungodly defiance...That means, in the mainstream of evangelical thought, to go back to the days of patriarchal, parental, and Protestant supremacy, contemporary evangelicals would like to roll back the advances made by the women's and civil rights movements which have challenged not only the legitimacy of patriarchal authority, but also its very desirability for women, children, and men of any colour, creed, or class" (Rose 1988:xviii).

For a significant number of Americans, evangelicalism provides a perspective that makes sense of their world, as well as provides role models and guidelines for living in it. For many who have converted, it offers a greater sense of social and personal coherence. It offers people assurance that their lives will be meaningful and that things will "turn out o.k." (Rose 1988:14).

Rose's research focused on two fundamentalist communities in New England and the schools they had established for their children. One of these communities had evolved out of a commune of flower-children in the sixties

who had become evangelists in the eighties. Her interviews with the women of this community, who had been very active in politics prior to their conversion to fundamentalism, are particularly revealing:

Authority in relation to gender is central to the Covenant's notion of government, family, and God's natural order. Many of the women who considered themselves quite strong and at one time, "political", recognized that they had relinquished their independence and authority to men. Many of the Covenant women were consciously aware of the compromises they had made to build fulfilling relationships with their men.

The women are aware they have sacrificed. We had to step down in order to let them (men) step up to their "God-appointed" positions. We had to relinquish some of our power. We value it because it's part of God's order and government.

The Bible legitimated their reasoning: "according to Scriptures, this was the way things should be." The husband is believed to be the spiritual head of the community and family. He is "Lord of the household" and is responsible for protecting and loving his wife who is his helper; assisted by her, he is responsible for leading, training, and disciplining his children. Wives are to submit to their husbands who, in turn, submit themselves to God (Rose 1988:61).

During my research in Northeast Brook, and more particularly after I had left the community and began to write my thesis on the political participation of the women of the LSDA, I realized that I was conceptually labelling these women as political and I had thereby defined the

fundamentalist women in the community, who were not on the municipal council or the LSDA, as non-political. But I gradually began to see these fundamentalist women as having made other kinds of political choices, and that within their submission to and confinement within fundamentalist religion they may have traded one kind of personal freedom for the security of a family life that they could achieve through Pentecostalism or the Apostolic Faith Church.

The Northeast Brook economy is based on a male centred industry in which women have had few opportunities. Such a male dominated industry gives authority and power to men rather than women and gives rise to what can be called a male ethos. Linda Parsons' thesis Passing the Time (1988) focuses on women's lives in an isolated northern industrial town, Labrador City. She describes the ideology in industrial towns that utilize male labour and gives rise to a macho culture "and epitomizes masculine work in a male society" (Parsons 1988:71).

Like the historic model of bush-camp workers, today's IOCC worker is often described as a roughneck: "raw and rather querulous, but above all, affluent" Variations here include the "... union members... strikers and political activists..." the men who won't be lightly reckoned with (Parsons 1988:71).

Parsons describes the women of Labrador City as living under a "macho ethos". While the loggers of Northeast Brook

could not be described as "affluent", they certainly have power and authority over their women; this is earned through their role as hard working, bread-winners. This dominant macho ethos makes it very difficult for a woman to have control over the domestic front when the men are at home. These men are hard working, and if not "saved" often hard drinking, often spending more time and money away from home than they are with their families. Once in the state of grace, however, a man must be a good husband and father. He is not allowed to drink or go out to bars, or participate in any other "worldly" behaviour.

It is not difficult to see why some women agree to their position of submission if it means that their children are going to be provided for, and they are going to know that their husbands are working hard and coming home at the end of the day. Perhaps these women, consciously or not, exchange one sort of personal power for authority at a different level.

One husband explained to me that it was a lot easier for a husband or a wife to be "saved" if their spouse was "saved" also. If you could get your friends converted as well, things were even more straightforward. You couldn't be tempted to have that beer if everyone around you was abstaining. While I was in the field I met a couple who lived across the road. She had a child from a previous marriage, who lived with her father, and now had two

children with her common-law husband. He did not seem able to hold down a job, and was partial to hanging around with a rough crowd who drank and partied a lot. Their relationship seemed very strained and for a while she was out of town visiting her mother. I was not surprised when I found out that she had come back to town and had become "saved". Publicly she maintained that they lived in the same house because of the children but that they did not share a bed. It would seem only a matter of time before he too became "saved" and then he would have to become the provider and give up his sinful ways.

Rose (1988) illustrates a similar negotiation of gender roles and personal power between husband and wife within the framework of fundamentalist sects. She quotes a formerly active feminist:

Our feminist fight had failed us. Oh, there was a time (while in college) when I swore I'd never get married or have children. Even after I started coming to services here and Milk Meetings, I questioned a lot. Mr. --- who led the meetings (for new people interested in the fellowship) didn't like flaky women - and many of the women in the fellowship were flaky. Well, I came in my army fatigues, didn't wear make-up, and would ask a lot of questions about things I didn't know. I've always been outspoken. Well, Mr.--- took me under his wing. That's where I met my husband. So God had different things in mind and He has brought me much happiness.

It may be that the needs and desires of some of these evangelical women are not so different from many of their more feminist or mainstream counterparts, but rather that their means for achieving a satisfying, or at least reasonable life differ. The balance rests in favour of

accommodation rather than resistance. And secular means having failed them, they turned to religious resolutions (Rose 1988:63-64).

Maternal Politics

This was not the only way that women are able to make the patriarchal, Old Testament, brand of fundamentalism work for them personally and politically. In terms of working conditions, the women of Northeast Brook were able to achieve better working conditions for themselves by enforcing their religious duty to observe the sabbath. Women in fundamentalist movements have been able to take leadership and positions of authority in spite of patriarchal ideology that states that only men can preach the word of God.

Elaine Lawless has researched how women come into positions of authority, as preachers and pastors, in Pentecostal congregations, in spite of the fundamentalist doctrine that a women's place is in the home, subservient to her husband. Those women who preach are able to justify their actions through the manipulation of women's traditional role of wife and mother and the belief that they have been chosen by God to do these things.

Importantly, Sister Anna couches all of her travels and visits as "God's plan," which, while appearing to be a constriction and a denial of her own creative capabilities, actually provides for

her freedom. The "call to preach" is an available strategy, perhaps the only strategy available to women in this milieu, to become independent-independent enough to leave their husbands and babies and travel far distances and stay away from home for weeks at a time. Anna did that when she was younger. In the early days of her ministry she would leave her husband and take her young children with her to travel all over the state preaching children's crusades, then later preaching adult revivals that lasted sometimes one week, sometimes three or four. Finally, initiating her life as **pastor**, she took her three children and left her husband working in Kansas City and took the pastorate in Millerville, a tiny town in central Missouri. Widowed several years ago, Sister Anna recently remarried. Now, this husband must sit at home long hours while his wife travels all over the county continuing her work as pastor of the church. (Lawless 1988:xx)

These women were able to do this through the manipulation of their accepted and expected role of mother, care-giver, nurturer, and wife within the strict gender roles of fundamentalism. Their maternal roles are extended from the home and family to the congregational level.

Most important to the members of a congregation with a woman pastor is the perception of that woman as "Mother" to the congregation. When group members are asked to say why they think a particular woman is a good pastor, they will answer: "She takes good care of us," or "She's just like a mother; she cares for everybody." Women pastors themselves recognize the importance of acting out the role of symbolic mother to their congregations:

Women have a special gift of compassion, don't you think? A real caring, loving compassion. Maybe it's because God make us mothers, you know. We know how to comfort our babies, you know, when they're little, and they need attention. And I think it's a special love God puts into the heart

of a mother, and gives her such tender love for her family, and then, naturally, why couldn't he use that tender love that he put there to begin with, you know, he made the Mamas. He made them Mamas, you know, and he put that love in their hearts to be Mamas, and so it is a special love so why can't he use that love out of a woman to relate to the people, that need encouragement from him? (Lawless 1988:146-147)

These women must be loving and tough, but they must deny that they have or seek equal footing with men. The "Mother" of the church must not be confused with or made the equivalent of being the "Father" of a church. This is due largely to the maintenance of a strict hierarchical power structure in the home and in the community, a hierarchy that is expected to prevail in the religious context as well, even with a female at the helm. The forceful role of men in the homes, recognized by the believers as God-given, is mirrored in the context of religion: even when a woman is the pastor, much of the organization of the service is determined by males, and the governing body of the church is made up of male deacons. The women know that their position must not suggest an attempt to usurp what the congregation believes to be the God-given authority of men. (Lawless 1988:152)

Similarly, the women of the LSDA have been able to use their role as mothers and nurturers to gain authority and power in their own communities because of the symbolic and separate gender roles in rural Newfoundland and the cultural dominance of fundamentalism in Northeast Brook. This strategy of maternal politics explains the rise and reign of the women of the LSDA. They have gained control of a rural development association, typically dominated by men elsewhere in Newfoundland. Northeast Brook is culturally a fundamentalist religious community. The community can be

seen as an extension of the fundamentalist congregation, which had accepted a female pastor to preach for thirteen years, and over time the whole community became women-led for a particular period. The mayor during the last eight years of Walker's ministry was also a woman and the executive of the LSDA was filled with women. Although not all residents are fundamentalists in Northeast Brook, the fundamentalists have politically, economically, and culturally imposed their morality, values, and opinions on the whole community. They have ensured that there is no bar in the community, and they control what other kinds of social and public activities and facilities are acceptable within Northeast Brook. They also impose a dress code and mode of behaviour on a considerable portion of the total population of the community. While non-fundamentalist women may wear what they like, public opinion and censure is directed against women who wear clothing that is considered immoral by fundamentalists. Any woman who wears shorts in public is soon made to feel uncomfortable by male inhabitants; and even teenage girls control each other by criticizing someone who wears inappropriate clothing, calling each other insulting names, or telling them they are too fat to wear skimpy clothing.

Lawless' research describes the women pastors of her research and how women's maternal imagery, caring,

listening, and expressiveness, enable them to become preachers, in spite of biblical tradition.

Traditional "motherly" images include caring, compassion, empathy, the ability to be a good listener, cheerfulness, understanding, loving, and comforting, and most of these capabilities are offered as positive attributes of the woman pastor and are often offered in contradiction to the attributes of male pastors, who are more often characterized as fine leaders or strict disciplinarians (Lawless 1988:148).

Research in Newfoundland has demonstrated the particularly "expressive" nature of women in Newfoundland and how this enables women to do and say things that would be prohibited to a man. Davis' (1988) work on the active and passive roles of women in a fishing community concentrates on the "expressive" role of women in the occupational identity and fishery ethos of the community of Grey Rock Harbour. Davis maintains that while women's material role in the fishery may have changed, women's expressive role has been enhanced with "the cultural forces of localism and traditionalism..."(Davis 1988:214). Davis uses Parson's (1951:49) distinction between instrumental and expressive roles. "Expressive roles are concerned with nurturance plus the emotional aspects of nurturant tasks" (Davis 1988:214). Davis argues that women's expressive roles enable women to have power and authority within the community.

Here women have parleyed an apparently passive role into the construction of a gender ideology which has been used to establish a coherent and

powerful position for women in this tightly bound community (Davis 1988:227).

Within the social relations of Newfoundland families women, as mothers, achieve authority, skills, and a central symbolic role in the family which Davis has suggested is the most meaningful unit of the social structure in rural Newfoundland. Mollie O'Neil's thesis on Memorial University freshmen describes the central position of mothers in the families of her subjects.

When it became clear that some students were interpreting parental influence as maternal influence, they were asked why they perceived their mothers' influence as the more salient and what was the nature of the influence of their fathers. The common reply was that both parents influenced them. However it was the mother who talked with the student most about the future and how it should be dealt with. Students saw much more of their mothers than their fathers and tended to interpret the opinion of the mother as including that of the father.

This pattern is a product of the traditional family pattern in Newfoundland. Because many men are away from home for long periods at a time, the mother has emerged as the central figure in the home. Whereas previously, fathers spent months at sea or at logging camps, they now go to Labrador or some industrial town to find work. The loggers and fishermen have become part-time industrial workers but are still away from home for long periods of time, leaving the mother to raise the family. While this is not the case in all parts of the province, the centuries of female centred households has left its mark (O'Neil 1977:142-143).

Women's increased authority through their roles as mothers is reflected in the literature dealing with the

process whereby participants are recruited into formal politics. For the most part this literature has argued that women do not participate at the level of formal politics because it is incompatible with their life experiences (Brodie 1985). Women are shown, through the absence of women in politics, that it is a male domain and that their roles as homemakers and caregivers are incompatible with the world of politics. In practical terms, women are inhibited from participating in politics because of the demands and constraints of the domestic sphere. It does not provide women with the skills that are seen as necessary requirements for public life. Women receive little financial reward or prestige for their role with the domestic sphere, and their confinement to this sphere limits opportunities for formation of the social contacts necessary for a political career (Brodie 1985:7-8). But other research has indicated that in certain contexts, women make use of the skills they acquire through their maternal roles which gives them an advantage over their male counterparts when it comes to participation in a public arena.

Daley's research (1984) on a farm women's association in Newfoundland found that women were more successful and efficient than men in forming an association which addresses the issues of farming in Newfoundland and provides visibility for farmers. The women were successful because men did not have time for such an organization. Farming took

up all of their time. The only farmers who had time for this sort of organizational activity were the larger and more successful farmers who did not represent the interests of the smaller farmers; so it was left to the wives of these farmers to represent the needs and concerns of the smaller farming households.

Her research indicated that both men and women felt that women have more experience than men in organizations and public speaking, because of their experience with their children's teachers, doctors, and other community service groups. Informants also expressed the idea that women were much more likely to share their problems and concerns than men were, and that women are generally less confrontational than men.

Kopinak's (1985) research on women's participation in municipal politics in a Canadian city reveals some interesting trends. Her data, collected over seventeen years, support her hypothesis that women win elections that they contest more often than men do at the municipal level, that they are incumbents more often than men, and that as non-incumbents they are more successful than male non-incumbents. However, her research indicates that when women do participate in municipal politics they do so in terms of traditional sex roles. Her data indicate that women came principally from the helping professions, such as nursing and teaching, and through involvement in voluntary

associations which are people oriented. She also found that women were more successful during periods of reform i.e. welfare politics, and that, once in office, women tend to be concentrated on school boards and men on the public utilities committees. This supports the hypothesis that women's participation in public office is often an extension of their domestic or gender roles. Kopinak concludes that "women are drawn into elected office to humanize the polity by performing tasks in public which they have traditionally carried out in the home" (Kopinak 1985:407).

This maternal role is also seen to enable women in some fishing communities authority in realms that are not immediately identified with the traditional maternal domain. Clark's research on the Gloucester Fisherman's Wives Association (Clark 1988) provides another example of how women use their gender ideology to gain authority in political spheres. The women who are members of this association are Sicilian and hold traditional cultural ideals about the role of women as wives and mothers whose place is in the domestic sphere, and that the public sphere is a male domain.

The GFWA, then, appears to present a paradox for several reasons. The literature indicates that men's integration in the public domain precedes women's and that men, not women, are usually articulate in the public sphere (Nelson 1979; Tinker and Bransen 1976; Rosaldo and Lamphere 1974). Further, the gender role norms in the Sicilian cultural tradition clearly confine women

to running the household and raising the children. It is the men of the family who manage the external affairs. The honor of the family is linked to female chastity, fidelity and motherhood, all of which are better safeguarded in the domestic domain (Dolci 1981; Cornelison 1976; Giovannini 1981). Of course, the actual behavior of men and women is tempered by the demands of daily life. However, options for women to participate directly in economic and political affairs in the public domain are quite restricted (Giovannini 1981). (Clark 1988:265)

Because of the nature of their husband's work these women had to take over some of the external jobs of their husbands who did not have the time, "they were not familiar with meeting procedures, and frequently, the men were not comfortable speaking English." (Clark 1988:269). This supports Daley's (1984) research mentioned earlier.

The GFWA women were concerned about making officials at local, state and federal government levels aware of fishermen's problems, such as the lack of limits on imported fish, the curtailment of foreign fishing off the American coast, the imposition of a 200 mile limit to extend the territorial waters of the United States, pollution control, opposition to proposed oil drilling on the Georges's Bank and the promotion of under utilized fish species. They worked on these issues as a political lobby group and were successful as a "economic marketing agent for the industry" (Clark 1988:265)

Clark's life stories of two women active in the association point out the factors that led to their participation in the GFWA.

Rose and Maria stand out in the GWFA for their initiative and activism. A combination of factors in their family background seems to enhance their autonomy and to account for their leadership roles in the organization. These factors include their position as eldest daughter, decision-making and managerial responsibility for the household and family finances, strong family networks, their role as onshore agents in the family fishing business, their command of the English language, and their ability to exploit a flexible schedule (Clark 1988:277-278).

These women, and also Clark, see their participation in the GWFA as part of their job as wife and mother.

They define their work in the GWFA as a necessary element in fulfilling the nurturing and sustaining mandate of the mother/wife/daughter role. The women are acting in new ways to achieve the same end-the well-being of their families and the preservation of their way of life for future generations (Clark 1988:27).

Clark concludes that:

Thus, while participation in the GFWA cannot be seen as a transformation of the social roles of fishermen's wives in Gloucester, it does represent an expansion of the traditional mother/wife/daughter role (Clark 1988:278).

This extension of the domestic sphere and traditional gender roles into the political arena can be seen as a political act although Clark does not interpret it as such.

In a study called "Women's Involvement in Political Life" the researchers describe the "searching for a framework broad enough to capture the diversity of Canadian women's participation in political life, we were led to consider the view that there may be distinctive women's political cultures " (CRIA 1986:4).

In 1975, York University researcher Thelma McCormack first argued that:

Women live in a different political culture from men, a culture based on differences in political socialization... differences in political opportunity structures, and the way in which the media of communication define each of them. Together, and reinforcing each other, these add up to a female design for political living that is dissimilar from that of the male (CRIA 1986:4).

This separate and/or distinct political culture of women, argues Christiansen-Ruffman, is related to women's work, concerns, the family and the community within which it is located. These concerns become frequently labelled as "community service" or "motherhood" issues by the mainstream political establishment and very often by the social scientists and policy planners who study them.

In my analysis I put women's " political culture" and work in a voluntary association firmly into the political

domain. The LSDA while being a voluntary association is also an elected body that is responsible for economic and social policies of a region. The women of the LSDA are an example of the "latent power of the organized women of Newfoundland" (Porter 1985b) realized in the context of a rural development association. Their rise to political positions is a result of their voluntary and community service "motherhood" activities, which is demonstrated in their lifestories, and their political decisions, as women and mothers, and is reflected in the history of the association.

Historically, women's groups in Northeast Brook were church orientated. Because of the domination of the church there were no dart leagues, Bingo, or Lionettes. Women formed committees that were 'service' or politically goal oriented. Women of Northeast Brook formed a Recreation Committee, a Committee on Improving Medical Facilities, the Roads committee, and the Women's Committee. These committees were all formed to lobby government for facilities and services for their community. These women were able to achieve these positions of power and decision-making in a male dominated society through their ability to manoeuvre within the confines and gender role boundaries of patriarchal structures and by making use of their roles as care-takers and nurturers, as defined by the community, within a political context. This is maternal politics in action.

Symbolic Gender Roles and Language

The women of the LSDA were able to use their gender roles, and life experience as wives and mothers, to achieve positions of authority and power by emphasizing their maternal roles. This is also done at a sub-conscious level, through the use of metaphors that involve mother/child, husband/wife imagery in their day to day management of events. The language and symbolism used by the women of the LSDA illustrates the maternal discourse they practice. They describe the difficulties which the LSDA experienced with the NDC in terms of maternal analogies "Like having a baby and watching someone else raise it." They also described the negotiation process as "marriage counselling" and they refused to sit back and watch the area resources be "raped" by big contractors. This symbolic identification with maternal imagery is often reflected in the political decisions that they make, as we have discussed in other chapters.

One particular incident illustrates dramatically the reality of maternal politics. In the winter of 1987 the LSDA executive decided to take a stand against the government re-establishing a winter hunt of moose. During the winter moose cows are heavily pregnant, and they live in "pens" together: the moose trample down an area of snow, so that the cows can move around more easily; they become easy targets for

hunters, who are actually killing not one moose but two, if not three. The women of the LSDA were against winter hunting because they felt that it was poor resource management. They also had strong feelings against the slaughter of pregnant, and helpless, cows. One woman told me that she used to go out with her husband moose-hunting, until she watched him kill and gut a pregnant cow. The cow was full of milk and the destruction of a mother and child disgusted her, so that she was now strongly opposed to the idea of a winter hunt, as were all the women of the LSDA.

This gender role symbolism, as expressed in language and imagery, is also reflected in the social interaction between men and women. It occurred to me while living in Northeast Brook, and afterwards thinking about the relationship between men and women in that community, that for a large part, men and women live in separate spheres and/or domains and that they come together in social circles and in the domestic sphere: home. Men work and play with each other as do women, it could be said, but what they share or have in common are sexual relationships. It seems that the language of communication, and the bridge to each other, is sexual. Often the pattern of interaction between men and women who are friends begins with sexual joking, which is initiated by men but responded and replied to by the women. There is a sort of ritualized and symbolic exchange: a bowing to gender relationships, which must be

acknowledged, before beginning the business of friendship, negotiation, politics, or whatever. This kind of relationship between most men and women seemed to be the basis or the preamble to any interaction.

In the course of trailing along with Anita, Ruth, and Violet, I noticed that they had a way of managing the men they had to do business with. Most men frequently reduced the level of interaction to flirting or some kind of sexual joking. When three of us went onto the construction site of the wood chip plant to discuss the labour problems someone called out to the foreman "Boss, there's some girls here to see you." The boss yelled back "Good, I haven't had my tail yet this week!" Anita and Ruth, who both knew the foreman, joked back with him for a few minutes then manoeuvred him into his office where they got down to business and said what they had to say.

I often saw men and women flirt sexually with each other with or without their spouses in quite explicit ways. Men often invited me to their houses to be "interviewed" with many winks and laughs to the amusement of their wives, brothers, and sisters-in-law. If a woman's husband was out of town for a while she was frequently teased about her 'muscle not getting exercised'. While this may be interpreted as sexual harassment, which in my view it sometimes was, it was also an acknowledgement or perception that sex and sexual relationships were the common ground

the symbolic gender roles of rural Newfoundland. This use of symbolic language and imagery can be seen as part of women's "political culture" and their resistance to the strict code of patriarchy which clothes the public structure of rural communities. This patriarchy provides Newfoundland women with the tool to taking more control over their communities: through the work, language and imagery of motherhood these women have determined the means to achieving their political agendas.

Sarah Ruddick, in her book Maternal Thinking: Toward a Politics of Peace 1989 describes how she, as a philosopher, came to see the thought processes of mothers as being a philosophical discourse that is as legitimate as any other.

However disenchanted I became with Reason, it did not occur to me that there was an intellectual life that had anything to do with mothering. I "thought" only when I had time to myself, put my children out of my mind, and did philosophy (Ruddick 1988:11).

In the past, women who have criticized prevailing ideals of reason or failed to measure up to them have been called irrational. Would it be possible to reverse this judgment, finding fault not in women but in the ideals? Or, more daringly, were there alternative ideals of reason that might derive from women's work and experiences, ideals more appropriate to responsibility and love?.... Suppose, as Margaret Anderson suggests, that culture as men have created it "is assumed to present the entire and only truth.... (Then) women's culture... is invisible, silenced, trivialized, and wholly ignored." Could it be that "women are even now thinking in ways which traditional intellection denies, decries or is unable to grasp," as Adrienne Rich asked in 1976? (Ruddick 1988:9).

between men and women. It could be seen as a sophisticated understanding of the essential nature of male/female relationships. Men and women, husbands and wives, have a primary sexual relationship with each other.

In Newfoundland the sexual division of labour has been extreme (see Porter 1982 and 1983, and Benoit 1982). Men and women have historically lived separate work lives. Men have fished, either inshore or offshore, or they have gone into the lumber camps, while women have toiled in the home, to feed, clothe, and reproduce the family. While modernization has changed many things, including the technology involved in the fishery and the nature of the fishery itself, men and women still live in separate spheres. This separation gives rise to separate spheres of authority and control which are gender defined, such as the kitchen which operates both as the working domain of women and as the public meeting place in the community, over which women have primary control, even if this control is hidden under the serving of and catering to men (Porter 1983 and Wadel 1973). Even today, at a party in Newfoundland, most often the women will be in one room and the men in another or they will have separated into same sex groups within the same room. Married women visit and associate with each other and they attend functions with each other as do men.

The symbolic language, and imagery of the women of the LSDA is a reflection of strict sexual division of labour and

She explains how the language and work of mothering, like that of any other practice, shapes the thought processes of the practitioner.

Could this "chattering," so unlike the philosophy in which I was trained, be "thinking"? Did I, did we, through endless telephone calls and late night coffees, create themes of a "discourse"? Could what we thought and the way we thought be put to use?

I began to answer these questions by providing a respectable conceptual context in which the idea of maternal thinking made sense. My initial attempt to develop distinctions and a vocabulary for maternal thinking, devise a very general description of maternal work in terms of the demands to which the worker responds. These demands shape, and are in turn shaped by, the metaphysical attitudes, cognitive capacities, and identification of virtues that make up maternal thinking (Ruddick 1988:11).

Ruddick goes on to make the argument that maternal thinking is a valuable perspective from which peace politics could be developed and militarism be judged.

Ruddick's ideas about the difference between male "Reason" and the creation and evolution of a maternal discourse can be transferred into the political arena. Maternal discourse as applied to political processes can be demonstrated in the history, political goals and practices of the LSDA. "Maternal thinking" gives birth to maternal politics.

The executive of the LSDA put their maternal thinking into a political context in terms of the economic development of their region, the choices and strategies

chosen in terms of development, providing jobs for women who have no other source of income (to do their job of feeding, clothing, nurturing and protecting their children), providing alternate resource development, developing hiring practices which take account of family income and expenses, and helping women with lower incomes than their husbands achieve better U.I.C. Their policy of providing better resources for families, like skiing, liquor control, birth control and drug addiction information for the children of the region are also part of the maternal politics practised by the women of the LDSA.

These maternal concerns have shaped the projects and activities undertaken by the LDSA. They made use of the strict division of gender roles to gain authority within unclear spheres, such as, new bureaucratic and governmental organizations (RDAs) which in rural areas many men have no experience with and have not learned appropriate methods of dealing with professionals and bureaucrats as Daley's (1986) and Clark's (1988) research indicated. These women learned skills through their work as mothers that gave them advantages when it came to becoming involved in RDAs.

Northeast Brook is a man's town. Dominated by macho culture, and set in a hunting and fishing paradise, the community provides few activities for women outside the home. It does not seem unreasonable or unlikely, therefore, that women would turn to the political arena, through service

groups and committees to get services and facilities for themselves and their families. Men, generally have to react to these encroachments into their domains, for example through sexual harassment or physical abuse, as a lever to keep women in their own spheres and out of male domains. Symbolically men have to appear to dominate the public arena.

While Davis' research portrayed women's associations as accommodative and nurturant, other research has illuminated the political nature of these "expressive" organizations. Neis' (1988) research on Burin demonstrates how these service orientated organizations can be transformed and motivated to take on political goals and strategies in times of crisis.

If we see politics as the working out of relationships within a given power structure, as Randall (1987) suggest, then there is no doubt that actions and activities of the women of the LSDA are political. Through their roles in a voluntary association, these women have had a major role in the allocation of resources and the development of local industries, developed a hiring process to include financial positions of wives to husbands, provided work for community projects that are family centred, provided better opportunities for their children through birth control information and the tightening of their access to alcohol, provided resources for single parent families, developed

industries which provide jobs for both men and women, and even better electrical services for the region.

The LSDA women act as a team: they recruited each other because they were friends or because they saw women who were sympathetic to their goals and the problems of women in the region. They also made use of their friendships to cement and reinforce their political network. This is one of the critical strategies of maternal politics, together with co-opting friends, utilizing the extended kinship network and developing political goals which nurture the family and attempt to minimize the stresses and strains on family life (e.g. excessive alcohol consumption). These women made use of their political experience and knowledge to provide better opportunities for themselves and they worked their own goals and aspirations into the network of family service. They put their families first and worked their own needs around their primary responsibilities.

The women of Northeast Brook have extended their roles as wives and mother onto the political arena and into leadership positions in the community through their strategy of maternal politics. The strict sexual division of labour and separate symbolic gender roles of men and women in Newfoundland provides women with clear, well defined and central roles in the family as wives and mothers. These women must care for, provide for, feed, clothe, and nurture the other members of the family group. On top of these

responsibilities, Newfoundland women have often had to take over the symbolic gender roles of men, who are often absent from home for long periods fishing, logging, or working on the mainland for their "stamps". Benoit's (1982) Davis' (1988) and Wadel's (1973) research demonstrates the pride and self-esteem women achieve through the fulfillment of their symbolic and gender roles as "good" women and as hard workers.

In the modern context of rural Newfoundland I suggest that the same "good" women/mothers have been able to extend these same nurturing and caretaking roles to the community level through voluntary associations, charity work, sitting on school boards, lobbying for clean water and better roads and banning liquor from community recreational centers. It is precisely because of their roles as wives and mothers that women have achieved positions of authority and decision-making in these communities, though they are dominated by strict fundamentalists with patriarchal expectations of gender roles and behaviour. As mothers, they are responsible for the growth and survival of their children and families. Some of these goals can be easier achieved through women's participation in public decision-making structures, as mayors, committee members, and as lobbyists. These public roles and involvement can be legitimated through the ideological extension of symbolic gender roles of women onto the public domain. Mothers taking

care of the family, mothers making sure their children have clean water, that they have safe school buildings, that the roads are paved, that their husbands have well paid jobs to provide for their children and so on. The "legitimate" role of mother in a patriarchal system can be easily extended to the community level of decision-making and soon stretched to include regional socio-economic issues and projects. The community of Northeast Brook legitimates women's political participation as a symbolic extension of the patriarchal view of women as mothers.

Others (Clark 1988 and Davis 1979) have argued, as we have seen above, that this political participation is non-political because the essential roles of women have not been altered but only extended. It is important to understand however that this extension of women's traditional gender roles, as negotiated within the community, is the means by which Northeast Brook culturally legitimizes the rupture of symbolic gender roles by these women. The fact remains, however, that these women have changed the nature of their gender roles and in some ways have redefined these symbolic gender roles to include political agendas and strategies. This has been possible because their activities can be represented as an extension of their traditional gender roles.

Within the fundamentalist culture of the community of Northeast Brook it may be easier for women's goals and

ideals to be realized than it is for men's. They are are in many ways closer to the fundamentalist ideology of the primacy of the family unit, the importance of mothers, abstinence from alcohol and so on. It is easier for most women to fit into Newfoundland and fundamentalist ideals of the appropriate gender roles than it is for men who have two competing ideals, the tough macho lumberjack and/or the fundamentalist father figure who is both strict, loving and primarily the provider. Because of the geographical isolation of Northeast Brook the primary role of men as providers has been difficult and at times impossible. The history of Northeast Brook is dotted with economic crisis and collapse and this has made it extremely difficult for men to live up to their symbolic gender roles as providers of the family. Because of these failures women have been able to manoeuver between the separate symbolic spheres of men and women and take positions of authority in the religious communities, the municipal council, in the work force, and on the LSDA. As Wadel spoke of Squid Cove wives "taking charge" of their families when their husbands became unemployed, Northeast Brook women were given the chance to "take charge" of their community with the economic, religious, and civic failure of the male leadership.

Feminists or "Real Women"?

As a feminist I kept asking myself how did these women of the LSDA, who make use of their symbolic gender roles as defined by patriarchy and fundamentalism, fit into feminist theory. Although in some ways their behavior and attitudes seemed to reflect feminist ideals and strategies I could not help but realize that these women held some attitudes and opinions that would classify them as "anti-feminists" by some. They were opposed to some basic tenants of feminism and they were totally committed to putting their family interests first. They seemed to be somewhere outside the realm of feminism and anti-feminism.

Some feminists have described women who are anti-abortion/pro-life, and pro-family as anti-feminists. Marshall (1988) and Eichler's (1988) articles on the pro-family movement describe supporters of the "patriarchal family movement", which has its social and political roots in the anti-abortion movement and fundamentalism, as "virulently anti-feminist" (Eichler 1988:415). But is this an overly simplistic approach to the subtle degrees of personal choice and political spectrum of attitudes of women who inhabit isolated and traditional cultural communities? Perhaps it would be more appropriate to talk about degrees or types of feminism rather than putting the analysis into a feminist/anti-feminist dichotomy. Clark's (1988) article on

Gloucester Women's Association sees that these women have provided themselves with independence but they have extended their traditional gender roles and not changed the nature of those roles.

The women of Lawless' (1988) research, the Pentecostal preachers, have been able to live their lives differently from what is usually expected of women, but they do not see themselves as being liberated or working toward a change in the status quo. They are firmly entrenched in the hierarchical relationships between the sexes in the home and the pulpit or they would not last long in the role of pastor.

Sister Anna staunchly denies any "feminist" leanings. To acknowledge any desire to be considered a "liberated" woman would be to castigate herself in her own community. She does not have to fight for liberation; she is in many ways liberated. But, what does this statement mean in terms of her everyday life? Anna is not the usual housewife; she is rarely at home to perform "housewifely" duties, though somehow she manages to get this work done as well. She alone determines whom she will visit on a given day, what activities need attention, what meetings she must attend. She answers to no one except God, she says. In essence, she is self-employed; of course, she says she is doing "God's work". This is a crucial point that must be comprehended in order to understand her role and her own manipulation of that role (Lawless 1988:xix-xx).

While the women preachers of this study decry the feminist movement and deny that they have chosen a strong, feminist stance against the dictums of their world, they have, nevertheless, clearly chosen for themselves an alternative lifestyle,

even against the wishes of husbands, family, and friends (Lawless 1988:7).

Maroney (1983) points out the tensions between middle-class academic feminists and working-class women who have been alienated by the feminist ideology which calls for free abortion, destruction of the patriarchal family, and the liberation of women's sexuality.

A starting-point for the necessary work of correction is to realize that the women's movement of the sixties was ideologically limited by its restricted social base -- specifically the absence of significant numbers of working class and unionized women. If its analysis of culture and sexuality was strong, its understanding of the state and class politics was not. Formulated as a call to 'smash the family', feminist analysis could not explain why working class women as well as men have fought to defend the possibility of family life. Thus, sixties theory, produced by a particular contradictory dynamic of class and sex struggle, was often age-or class-biased and too abstract to serve as a basis for policy formation. All the same, it did contain crucial insights not easily available to working-class activists.

Workplace-based struggles do not generate an insistence on the positively liberating aspects of eroticism or on the need to challenge the family as an institution. On the contrary, as contemporary capitalist developments undermine family stability, and as the fall-out from the 'disco-Goodbar' commodification of sexuality and from rising rates of social violence produces a climate of fear and uncertainty, one reaction is to defend it (Maroney 1983:68).

Luxton's (1986) work on wives' committees during a strike in Sudbury also documents working-class women's alienation from hard-liner feminists.

One on-going tension between committee members was how 'political' the group should be. Some members particularly those with previous experience in women's liberation groups, had a vision of building a strong feminist organization that would provide political leadership in the community not only during the strike but afterwards. Others were tied closely to the traditional ladies' auxiliary concept and were appalled by the political orientation of the former group.

This tension crystallized on International Women's Day (March 8) in March 1979 when a bus load of "Wives" drove to Toronto to join the International Women's Day rally and demonstration. The group sang at the rally and then marched as a contingent in the demonstration. While most of them enjoyed the opportunity to build more support for the strike, some of the women were extremely upset by the militancy of the demonstration itself. Some of the slogans, especially the demands for free abortion, offended some of them. They were frightened by the presence of lesbians and communists. When they returned to Sudbury some of them launched a serious red and lesbian baiting attack against other members of the committee. As a result, some members retreated from the more political issues and concentrated their efforts on providing services (Luxton 1986:74-75).

Maroney (1983) points out the difference in focus of the working-class wave of feminism, which is orientated toward issues of non-traditional jobs for women, equal pay and other work related issues, and the mainstream feminism which, reflecting its middle-class and academic roots, has been more concerned with access to abortion and lesbian rights.

On their other side, feminist peers outside the labour movement often expect that a maximal programme for women's liberation can and should be propagated without modification on the trade union arena and that any failure to do so amounts to a

sell-out of women's interests. The task has been complicated by the existence of real resistance among rank-and-file women (let alone men) to sexual and cultural issues 'expressed in feminist jargon' -- particularly to abortion and lesbian rights (Maroney 1983:58).

By the end of the seventies, working-class feminism in Canada had become a distinct current in the women's movement. In contrast to the university-based feminism of the sixties, it was rooted in the workplace and oriented, first of all, to the practical achievements of more concrete and, hence, more limited goals. It had its own outlook on what feminism should be: 'Of course jobs are a feminist issue: and equal pay and training. Getting women into non-traditional jobs is important right now, because of what will happen with tech change. Of course, in my union when they think they're getting down to the nitty-gritty real feminist issues, the men always ask "How's the day care in your town?" -- the whole motherhood thing. They don't want to talk about sexual harassment or anything to do with sex. After all, it's not just cross-class, it's workers harassing workers. But unions give you power, and they educate you. It's the only way to unite the working class, through unions and working together' (Maroney 1983:54).

Perhaps we should look at the women's movement as a continuum, and consider degrees and types of participation in it, rather than considering it in the familiar binary categories: public/private, domestic/political, feminist/anti-feminist, middle-class/working-class, straight/lesbian and so on.

The women of the LSDA would not identify themselves as feminists, although they actively work toward goals and strategies that others would see as being sympathetic to feminist concerns. Decisions as to where their families

would settle was in most cases out of their control. Both Anita and Ruth would not have chosen to settle in their communities which they perceived as limited in terms of educational facilities, training and recreational facilities for children; but their commitment to family solidarity and their support of their husbands' concerns and career strategies came first. Both women have used voluntary association work as a means of giving themselves more control over their environment, if a somewhat third-handed control. These women may have preferred to live in less isolated communities with more access to recreational and resource services but their husbands' interests determined where they live. However, through their involvement in the LSDA they can develop projects and policies in the region to improve the quality of life for themselves and their children i.e. ski trails, control of substance abuse, better jobs for women, improved roads and so on.

Feminist research and politics should be able to accommodate the ordinary woman, the common woman who does not have the luxury of debating her sexuality, who does not know anything about materialist approach to women's oppression, and who is not quite sure she is oppressed at all. Is there a place for women who value their roles as wives and mothers, which are centrally important to them, but who also want recognition for their work outside the home? They want to be paid fairly for their work, they want

the opportunity to work at whatever they want to if they can do the job. They want good childcare, and the respect of their husbands, brothers, lovers, sons, employers, and co-workers. They work to improve the quality of life for their families and their communities, through service and volunteer work. They do not want to live in fear of harassment, assault, rape, or beatings from husbands, employers, friends or strangers.

Have academic researchers devalued the work of women who are non-political, "anti-feminist", by not analyzing the work of these women in a political framework? By defining this community work as service orientated, expressive rather than instrumental? Because these activities are outside male big "P" politics have we denied the political nature and counter culture of Newfoundland women's resistance to male symbolic and actualized power?

Endnotes

1. The women I met in Northeast Brook and the relationships between us were like those I had known early with other Newfoundland women and against which I had measured the ethnographies of Faris, Firestone and Matthews. Perhaps it is not fair to compare my experience of these women in the mid 1970's in a relatively urban community with the rural experiences of Faris and Firestone in the 1960's but their comments, which were not sensitive to the issues of gender and feminism, had painted Newfoundland women as submissive and second class citizens. These monographs were community studies focusing on social relations but concentrated on male activities, i.e. fishing crew

organization and recruitment, inheritance patterns and symbolic interaction. One wonders how accurate a representation of Newfoundland communities were presented when they seemed to have so little interest or sensitivity to half of the population and the social networks of a community.

2. In Newfoundland the first Pentecostal missionary was a woman, Alice Belle Garrigus, who came to Newfoundland at the age of fifty-two from the United States and founded the Bethesda Mission in St. John's in 1910. Women seem to have been particularly active in early fundamentalist movements during the early part of the century.

Catherine Mumford Booth, wife of William Booth, was a co-founder of the Salvation Army in 1861, and her daughter, Catherine Booth-Clibborn was responsible for the European expansion of the Army. However, she and her husband, formerly a Quaker from Ireland, were to disassociate themselves from the Army and they became evangelical preachers. Their daughter, Victoria Booth-Clibborn Demarest was described as a

veritable twentieth century marvel, she was an accomplished pianist, composer (of over 100 hymns), author (of more than 8 books), linguist (speaking four languages), playwright, monologist, and evangelist-preacher (in fourteen countries) par excellence (Janes 1983:191).

Victoria and her husband were invited to Newfoundland in 1919 to tour the province's Methodist churches and conduct a crusade in which hundreds of Newfoundlanders were converted and "saved" in a pentecostal manner.

It was a woman, the Rev. Florence L. Crawford, who founded the Apostolic Faith Church and whose son, Rev. R. Robert Crawford, became the General Overseer. In Newfoundland and the States, women have ministered, and the Northeast Brook congregation was presided over by the Rev. Dolly Golston Walker for fourteen years.

Appendix A

LIST OF LSDA ACTIVITIES SINCE 1978

- DECIDED THAT A QUICK FREEZE PLANT SHOULD BE ESTABLISHED FOR NORTHEAST COAST.
- SUPPORT OF THE NORTHEAST BROOK CONCERNED CITIZEN'S COMMITTEE PROPOSAL FOR A PULP MILL.
- PROPOSAL FOR THE RENOVATION OF COMMUNITY STAGE.
- BRIEF PREPARED CONCERNING THE CONDITION OF THE ROADS IN THE AREA TO BE SENT TO GOVERNMENT OFFICIALS.
- GRANT REQUESTED AND GRANTED FOR THE ESTABLISHMENT OF THE LABRADOR SEA HANDICRAFT OPERATION.
- PROPOSAL FOR A PATROL BOAT BUILDING PROJECT AND A SLIPWAY WERE ACCEPTED BY THE ASSOCIATION.
- MEMBERS OF BOARD OF DIRECTORS TO ATTEND CONFERENCE AND GATHER INFORMATION ABOUT TMP PLANT AND THE POSSIBILITY OF THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A COOPERATIVE CREDIT UNION.
- DISCUSSED THE FEASIBILITY OF FURTHER FISHERIES DEVELOPMENT FOR THEIR REGION, BROUGHT RECOMMENDATIONS TO KIRBY TASK FORCE.
- PROPOSAL FOR SEA PLANE BASE AT BURNT VILLAGE SUPPORTED AND BROUGHT FORWARD BY LSDA.
- CANADA WORKS APPROVE SLIP WAY FOR NORTHEAST BROOK, \$30,000.00 VALUE.
- PROPOSAL BROUGHT TO LSDA BY THE PILIER BAY SUB-COMMITTEE FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THREE PHASE POWER FOR FUTURE FISH PROCESSING.
- PROPOSAL BY IRISH BAY SUB-COMMITTEE TO UPGRADE COMMUNITY STAGE.
- INFORMATION CONCERNING RHAP "AID FOR HOME REPAIRS" DISTRIBUTED THROUGH DIRECTORS.

-DISCUSSIONS OF A REGIONAL QUESTIONNAIRE/JOB APPLICATION BE SENT OUT TO ALL HOUSEHOLDS IN THE REGION INFORMING THEM OF POSSIBILITIES OF JOBS IN THE LOGGING INDUSTRY.

-NORTHEAST BROOK SUB-COMMITTEE MEMBERS DECIDE TO MAKE CRAB PLANT DEVELOPMENT A PRIORITY.

-RECEIVED \$24,580.00 FOR UPGRADING OF COMMUNITY STAGE IN IRISH BAY.

-HIRED STUDENTS UNDER A YOUNG CANADA WORKS PROGRAMME TO DO COMMUNITY PROFILES OF EACH COMMUNITY MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATION.

-NORTHEAST BROOK SUB-COMMITTEE HAS SOIL TESTED FOR GARDEN ALLOTMENT.

-ADVERTIZEMENT OF COURSES FOR FISHERMEN GIVEN BY FISHERIES COLLEGE.

-REIDVILLE SUB-COMMITTEE REQUESTS MONIES FOR THE UPGRADING AND MAINTAINANCE OF TOWN CEMETARY.

-FUNDS APPLIED FOR A LOADING AND UNLOADING FACILITY IN PILIER BAY.

-GEAR HOLDING UNIT AT FLAMARDS COVE PROPOSAL SUBMITTED.

-LOCAL KNITTED GOODS ARE SENT TO A HALIFAX CRAFT SHOW THROUGH THE CRAFT SECTION OF RAND.

-A WILDLIFE SEMINAR IS SPONSORED BY LSDA AND HELD IN NORTHEAST BROOK.

-THE COORDINATOR OF LSDA IS SENT TO ST. JOHN'S TO WORK OUT DIFFICULTIES ASSOCIATION IS HAVING WITH SOME PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT DEPARTMENTS.

-PROPOSAL RECEIVED FROM THE NORTHEAST BROOK WOMEN'S COMMITTEE REGARDING A GILLNET PROJECT DEVELOPMENT.

-SENT LETTER OF SUPPORT TO HUMBER VALLEY ASSOCIATION IN THEIR ATTEMPT TO PREVENT TERRA TRANSPORT FROM PULLING OUT OF THE AREA.

-LETTER OF SUPPORT FOR A BIRD SANTUARY IN NORTHEAST BROOK.

-MAKE APPLICATION FOR WHARF EXTENSION AND BREASTWORK IN FLAMARDS COVE.

-LSDA DECIDES TO SUPPORT SEALERS COMMITTEE.

-LSDA WRITES LETTER PROTESTING THE ALGAMATION OF REGIONAL SCHOOL BOARDS BECAUSE LOCAL PEOPLE WANTED MORE INPUT AND CONTROL OF THEIR LOCAL SCHOOLS AND THEY FELT THAT A LARGER ALMAGULATION WOULD BE DETRIMENTAL TO LOCAL CONCERNS.

-LSDA DECIDED IT WOULD LOOK INTO COMPLAINTS ABOUT THE LACK OF MEDICAL SERVICES FOR RESIDENTS OF PILIER BAY AND THE POOR CONDITIONS OF LOCAL ROADS AND THE SAFETY HAZARDS OF TRUCKING LOGS AND FISH ON THESE ROADS.

-THE ASSOCIATION DECIDED THAT THEY WOULD APPLY FOR FUNDING FOR WATER AND SEWER FOR IRISH BAY, AND FOR BUILDING OF A ROAD FROM BURNT VILLAGE THAT WOULD REDUCE TRAVELLING TIME FOR RESIDENTS OF THE REGION TO THE REGIONAL SERVICE CENTER AND THE LOCAL AIRPORT OF THE REGION BY MORE THAN HALF.

-DECIDED TO APPROACH THE LOCAL BRANCH OF THE SCOTIA BANK TO OPEN FIVE DAYS A WEEK INSTEAD OF TWO.

-A SEMINAR WAS HELD WITH ASSOCIATION EXECUTIVE MEMBERS AND OFFICIALS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF FISHERIES AND OCEAN ABOUT A CRAB FISHERY.

-LSDA HIRES A CONSULTING FIRM TO DO A FEASIBILITY STUDY FOR A WOODCHIP PLANT IN THE AREA.

-MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE ATTEND WILDLIFE MANAGEMENT AND COOPERATIVE SEMINARS.

-LSDA RECIEVES FUNDING FOR WILDLIFE ENHANCEMENT PROJECT.

-LSDA DECIDES TO APPROACH DFO ABOUT SUPPLEMENTARY CRAB LICENCES.

-THE ASSOCIATION DECIDES TO TRY AND FIND A BUYER FOR THE BURNT VILLAGE FISH PLANT (WHICH IS OPERATED BY THE ASSOCIATION AND THE FISHERMEN'S COMMITTEE) WHO WOULD INTRODUCE SECONDARY PROCESSING TO INCREASE JOBS IN THE COMMUNITY.

-WOODCHIP SEMINAR HELD WITH CONSULTANTS AND MEMBERS OF THE DEPARTMENT OF MINES AND ENERGY RESOURCES.

-LSDA DECIDES TO FIGHT THE LION'S CLUB APPLICATION FOR A LIQUOR LICENSE.

-REQUESTS FOR FUNDING OF PROPOSALS FOR A STUDY CONCERNING TOURISM IN THE AREA, A WILDLIFE COUNT, AND TO VISIT OTHER

ASSOCIATIONS WHICH ARE DOING LONG-TERM PLANNING FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF LOCAL INDUSTRIES I.E. MUSSEL FARMING, FOX FARMING, AND PEAT MOSS.

-WRITES LETTER TO PROVINCIAL GOVERNMENT REQUESTING MORE WARDENS TO PROTECT THE STREAMS AND RIVERS FROM POACHERS.

-EXECUTIVE DRAWS UP LETTER SUGGESTING A REORGANIZATION OF THE REGIONAL VOCATIONAL SCHOOL TOWARD MARINE SKILLS AND THE SCIENCES TO COORDINATE WITH THE FUTURE DEVELOPMENT OF THE FISHERY IN THIS AREA.

-APPLIED FOR FUNDING FOR THE TRAINING OF WILDLIFE GUIDES UNDER NEW PROVINCIAL PROGRAMME.

-SELECTED NAMES OF LOCAL YOUTHS TO ATTEND NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON YOUTH IN WINNIPEG.

-PROPOSAL FOR A STUDY OF THE FEASIBILITY OF AN EIDER DUCK INDUSTRY FOR BURNT VILLAGE.

-TWO LOCAL PEOPLE SENT TO ATTEND A PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE FOCUSING ON YOUTH AND WOMEN ENTERING SMALL BUSINESSES.

-MET WITH GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVES CONCERNING FORESTRY ENHANCEMENT AND SILVICULTURE PROGRAM (F.E.S.P.)

-MEETING WITH INTERESTED PARTIES ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF FORMING A REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION THAT WOULD OPERATE AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL BUT AT A COMMUNITY BASE TO PROMOT THE INTERESTS OF RURAL NEWFOUNDLAND.

-PROPOSAL TO CLEAR A SKI TRAIL AND BUILD A SKI CHALET FOR AREA OF BURNT VILLAGE.

-PROPOSAL OF NORTHEAST BROOK SUB-COMMITTEE TO BUILD AN EXTENSION TO CHIMNEY BAY SEAFOOD PLANT FOR THE PROCESSING OF OTHER SPECIES.

-RECEIVED INFORMATION AND MET PEOPLE INVOLVED WITH A DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION IN NOVA SCOTIA.

-SUPPORTED AN APPLICATION BY A RESIDENT FOR FUNDING FOR A GREEN HOUSE TO BE USED AS PART OF A SOD FARM OPERATION.

-WROTE LETTERS TO GOVERNMENT COMPLAINING ABOUT THE LACK OF DFO ENFORCEMENT AND THE SHIPPING OF LOCALLY CAUGHT FISH TO PROCESSES OUTSIDE OF THE REGION.

-EXECUTIVE MEMBERS ATTEND TELECONFERENCE FOR SINGLE MOTHERS.

-DISCUSSED IDEA OF BUILDING A GREENHOUSE NEAR THE WOODCHIP PLANT AND PIPE STEAM TO GREEN HOUSE, AND THE POSSIBLILY OF ESTABLISHING A FINANCE COMMITTEE AS A SUB-COMMITTEE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

-DECISION MADE THAT PROJECTS SHOULD BE PRIORIZED NOT AT THE COMMUNITY LEVEL BUT AT THE REGIONAL LEVEL, AND THAT THE LSDA WOULD STRIKE A HIRING COMMITTEE TO DEAL WITH THE HIRING OF PROJECTS, IT WAS ALSO DECIDED THAT EXECUTIVE MEMBERS SHOULD RECEIVE MORE TRAINING IN PARLIAMENTARY PROCEEDURES.

Appendix B

LSDA PRESIDENT'S REPORT

SINCE THE ELECTION OF OUR LOCAL COMMUNITY COMMITTEES, RUTH AND I SAT DOWN AND DISCUSSED THE RESULTS. WE STILL HAVE A NUMBER OF PEOPLE IN OUR AREA INTERESTED IN OUR DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION AND THE STRONGEST SUPPORTERS ARE HERE AGAIN TONIGHT FOR OUR ANNUAL MEETING. YOU KNOW THERE IS SECURITY IN SEEING FAMILIAR FACES AND IT MAKES ME FEEL GOOD TO SEE A GROUP THAT HAS WORKED SO WELL IN THE PAST WANT TO CONTINUE FOR THE NEXT 2 YEARS. I WISH EVERYONE LOTS OF LUCK.

YOU KNOW FOR YEARS WE HAVE SAT AROUND A TABLE IN ONE OF OUR COMMUNITIES AND HAVE DISCUSSED OUR COMMUNITY'S SITUATION AND HAVE PROVIDED MORAL SUPPORT AND ENCOURAGEMENT TO EACH OTHER WHEN IT WAS NEEDED. WE HAVE BEEN PATIENT LOTS OF TIME WITH GOVERNMENT WHETHER IT WAS THE PROVINCIAL OR FEDERAL AND WHEN WE WERE TOLD THAT THERE WAS NO HOPE FOR OUR PROJECT WE CONTINUED TO LOOK FOR HELP. IF WE HAVE LEARNED ONE GOOD LESSON WHEN DEALING WITH GOVERNMENT THAT LESSON IN MY MIND IS HOW TO BE PATIENT. CERTAINLY IT IS MORE THAN PATIENCE IN MY OPINION THAT MAKES THINGS WORK, IT'S HARD WORK, DEDICATION AND COMMITMENT TO OURSELVES AND OUR COMMUNITIES. THROUGH LOCAL LEADERSHIP WE PROVIDE AN ORGANIZED WAY FOR OUR PEOPLE TO GET INVOLVED IN ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL DEVELOPMENT OF OUR AREA AND NOW OUR NORTHERN REGION THROUGH OUR PRESENT VENTURE, THE NORTHERN DEVELOPMENT CORPORATION.

THERE IS ONE THING OUR PEOPLE IN OUR AREA CANNOT SAY THAT WE HAVE BECOME SO WRAPPED UP IN OUR OWN FAMILIES THAT WE FORGOT ABOUT OUR NEIGHBOURS. LOTS OF TIMES I KNOW I HAVE PUT MY FAMILY SECOND TO THE PROJECT THAT I AM WORKING ON OR THE SEMINAR THAT I MUST ATTEND TO REPRESENT OUR AREA. BEING A VOLUNTEER REQUIRES TAKING ABUSE AND RECEIVING COMPLIMENTS PROBABLY ALL AT THE SAME TIME FROM THE SAME PERSON. JUST THINK WHAT VERSATILE PEOPLE WE HAVE BECOME.

AS WE ALL KNOW PEOPLE DO NOT BECOME A PART OF A COMMUNITY BY LIVING TOGETHER BUT RATHER BY SHARING INTEREST AND ENGAGING IN ACTIVITIES TO FURTHER THE WELFARE OF THE COMMUNITY. I FEEL THE STRONGEST BONDS BETWEEN PEOPLE IS THE FEELING OF HAVING COMMON PROBLEMS, COMMON VALUES, AND COMMON HOPES. THIS WE ALL HAVE AND THAT'S WHY WE ARE HERE AGAIN TONIGHT.

IN THE PAST YEAR SEVERAL OF US HAVE ATTENDED SEMINARS AT CORNER BROOK, GANDER, ST. JOHN'S WHEREVER REQUIRED ON THE ROYAL COMMISSIONS REPORT ON EMPLOYMENT & UNEMPLOYMENT,

WOODCHIP, FORESTRY, ENERGY, MEETINGS FOR OUR DEVELOPMENT CORP. AT MOOSE POINT AND OUR LOCAL MEETINGS. LIKE RUTH AND MYSELF, VIOLET AND MYSELF AND FRED WE WENT TO CAPE BRETON, MONCTON AND SPAIN. NONE OF THIS WAS EVER DONE FOR OUR OWN PERSONAL GAINS BUT FOR THE BETTERMENT OF OUR AREA. WE MAY BE SLOW IN OUR PROGRESS BUT WE ARE PROGRESSING OR SO I THINK.

WE HAVE A PROJECT TAKING PLACE AT THE PRESENT TIME IN CAPE DAUMALEN AND SOON IN BURNT VILLAGE. VIOLET AND I ARE TAKING CARE OF THE PROJECT THAT WAS SPONSORED BY THE ECONOMIC DEV. COMMITTEE OF NORTHEAST BROOK. IF THERE IS A PROJECT ON THE GO IT SEEMS THAT ONE OF OUR MEMBERS IS INVOLVED. GROUPS IN THE COMMUNITY DEPEND ON US TO HELP SOLVE THEIR PROBLEMS AND WE ALWAYS TRY IF IT IS AT ALL REASONABLE.

OUR 2 YOUNG CANADA WORKS - CHALLENGE 87 PROJECTS FOR IRISH BAY AND REIDVILLE HAVE BEEN APPROVED AND SOME OF OUR YOUTH WILL HAVE A BIT OF WORK THIS SUMMER. LAST SUMMER WE HAD 2 CHALLENGE 86 PROJECTS IN THE SAME 2 COMMUNITIES AND AT THAT TIME THE YOUNG ADULTS DID UP THEIR PLAYGROUNDS. OUR TRAINING PROJECT FOR HUNTING AND FISHING GUIDES WAS A SUCCESS AND JUST RECENTLY RUTH WAS TOLD BY MR. LEN RICHELLE THAT THEY WILL BE USING THE SAME FORMULA IN THE BAY ST. GEORGE COMMUNITY COLLEGE THAT WE DEVELOPED AS IT WORKED OUT SO WELL. I JUST WISH THAT WHERE OUR DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION WAS SO INVOLVED IN THIS TYPE OF DEVELOPMENT FOR NFLD. & LABRADOR THAT WE WOULD HAVE BEEN SELECTED AS ONE OF THE GROUPS TO BE INTERVIEWED BUT THAT WAS NOT SO. WE ARE THE INITIAL DEVELOPERS FOR THIS TYPE OF TRAINING FOR OUR PROVINCE.

WE HAVE SPONSORED SEVERAL PROJECTS WITH THE DEPT. OF SOCIAL SERVICES AND AT THE PRESENT TIME WE HAVE WOMEN BEING TRAINED IN QUALITY CONTROL FOR OUR HANDICRAFTS TO KNIT CROSS COUNTRY SKI OUTFITS. WE ARE DEVELOPING A MARKET FOR APPLIQUE IN CALIFORNIA. WE DID NUMEROUS REPAIRS UNDER OUR SPECIAL RESPONSE PROJECTS THAT TOOK PLACE IN ALL OF THE COMMUNITIES EXCEPT PILIER BAY. WE HAVE TAKEN OVER THE COMMUNITY STAGE AT CROUSE, AND HAVE NOW STARTED LOOKING FOR WAYS TO DEVELOP IT INTO SOMETHING GOOD FOR THE PEOPLE OF THAT COMMUNITY. THEY AND FLAMARDS COVE ARE BADLY IN NEED OF A WHARF. FLAMARDS COVE HAS BEEN TRYING FOR THE PAST 4 YEARS. WE WILL KEEP TRYING NO MATTER WHAT AND IF FLAMARDS COVE IS TO SURVIVE WE MUST HAVE THAT WHARF.

WELL, IT'S TIME FOR ME TO CLOSE. IT'S BEEN NICE WORKING WITH EACH AND EVERYONE AND I LOOK FORWARD TO WORKING WITH THE NEW MEMBERS WHO HAVE DECIDED TO JOIN US TONIGHT. I HAVE TO TELL YOU, IT'S A REAL CHALLENGE.

I CONGRATULATE OUR ASSOCIATION FOR THE WORK IT'S DOING AND HOPE WILL CONTINUE TO DO. WE HAVE BEEN ACTIVE AND MAKING OUR OWN DECISION WHETHER EVERYONE IN GOVERNMENTS OR OUR COMMUNITIES AGREE WITH EVERYTHING WE ARE DOING. THERE ARE 2 SORTS OF WELL MEANING PEOPLE WORKING TOWARD THE SAME OBJECTIVE. THERE ARE THOSE WHO BELIEVE THAT COMMUNITY PROBLEMS CAN AND SHOULD BE SOLVED BY PERSUASION AND NEGOTIATIONS. THIS IS THE DEMOCRATIC WAY. OTHERS THINK THAT PROBLEMS CAN BE SOLVED BY IMPOSING LAWS. THEY ARE THE PEOPLE WHO OFTEN DISMISS A PROBLEM BY SAYING "LET SOMEONE ELSE DO IT." THIS ATTITUDE RESULTS IN A FORM OF DICTATORSHIP OF WHICH WE HAVE VARYING DEGREES IN MOST OF OUR COMMUNITIES. WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN IMPROVING THIS ATTITUDE. OUR MAIN PURPOSE BEHIND EVERY ASPECT OF OUR DEVELOPMENT IS TO SEEK GOODNESS OF LIFE FOR PEOPLE AND WE WILL CERTAINLY SEE A PRODUCTIVE DEVELOPMENT ASSOCIATION.

THANK YOU.

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