

**The Post-Moratorium Condition:
Contemporary Interactions between Tourism and the
Surplus Population of Labour in a Rural Newfoundland Town**

by

David Stephen Cooney

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

Department of Anthropology
Memorial University of Newfoundland

May 2012

St. John's

Newfoundland

ABSTRACT

Newfoundland's cod moratorium was an ecological, social and economic shock so grand that its reverberations continue to be felt today. Seventeen years after the fishery collapse, many rural residents maintain their struggle to find meaningful and stable work, and as a result, poverty remains a pervasive issue across the province. To mitigate these negative effects, all three levels of government, in cooperation with local organisations, have promoted and developed a tourism industry. While this tertiary sector has no doubt brought economic relief to the countryside, questions remain surrounding its benefits and drawbacks. Based on three months of participant observation, interviewing and a literature review, the following dissertation provides a grounded study of Bonavista, a northeastern town that was devastated by the cod collapse and has turned to tourism for support. It focuses on the relationship between residents who continue to struggle as a result of the cod moratorium, and the newfound tourism sector that was developed to help deal with the surplus population of labour. The results show that the provincial and federal governments are significantly involved in the funding of tourism, while many of the workers that this funding employs have become dependant on this type of work to survive.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I thank my parents, Deborah and Geoffrey Cooney. You provided me with an excellent childhood, a structured environment to grow up in, and all the love and support a son could ask for. This dissertation is dedicated to you. To my grandparents, Elizabeth and Frank Bauer, and Emilie and Gustav Vols, I have learned so much from each and every one of you. To my sister, Heather, brother-in-law, Michael, and three beautiful nieces Madison, Janessa and Makayla, spending time with you brightens my day, and I have enjoyed every summer spent with you in the Okanagan. My cousin Vanessa, an incredible science teacher, and P.J., a doctoral student in epidemiology at the University of Calgary, you have always welcomed me into your home. Also, thank you to my Uncle Dan and Aunt Dorothea for your constant hospitality and support.

I am thankful for the wonderful colleagues that I met along the way, particularly Samantha Breslin, Dianne West, Gregory Gan, Tracy Winters, Sol Porta and Brian Pritchard. To my good friends: Cropster for always being there, Banks for all those walks around the forests, beaches and streets of Vancouver, Rob for the great Education year, and Lukman for showing me how it is done. A special thanks to my best friend, David Fontaine and his partner Heather, both of your friendships are dear to me. To Geoff, Mason, Mona and Dr. Heller, you were always hospitable and supportive, especially throughout my formative years.

The department of Anthropology has been of tremendous assistance. Each and every faculty and staff member provided assistance in their own way. Special thanks to my seminar professors, Wayne Fife, Kathleen Gordon, August Carbonella and Rex Clark.

You challenged me to think critically, introduced me to new material and generated engaging and thoughtful discussion in your insightful courses. Reade Davis was helpful in choosing an appropriate field location and kindly reviewed my funding proposals. To Rex Clark especially. Your wisdom, knowledge and good-humoured nature are well appreciated features of an overall excellent character. I am fortunate to have had you as my advisor and will never forget all the helpful and kind words that you have provided me with over the past few years.

I appreciate the support provided by the Social Science Humanities Research Council in the form of the Joseph R. Bombardier Master's Research Grant. Memorial University was also generous with its funding, provision of work space, and abundant resources. The staff at the Queen Elizabeth II Library and Centre for Newfoundland Studies were always helpful. To the people of Bonavista, I appreciate your hospitality and willingness to talk with me about a range of topics. There are many individuals in particular who were integral to this study, and I thank them for participating.

To my partner, Meighen. Your companionship, compassion and encouragement provided great support along the way. When we met I had yet to be accepted into the program, and as I write this we have been married more than one year, having shared countless adventures together. Through life's seemingly insurmountable setbacks and then timely breakthroughs, you have stood by me with nothing but strength and kindness. Thank you for everything.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Abstract	ii
Acknowledgements	iii
Table of Contents	v
List of Tables	vii
List of Figures	viii
List of Abbreviations and Symbols	ix
List of Appendices	x
CHAPTER ONE:	
Introduction, Methods and Theory	1
1.1 – Methodological Considerations	4
1.1.1 – Getting Started	4
1.1.2 – Library/Archival Research	6
1.1.3 – Participant Observation	8
1.1.4 – Interviews	10
1.1.5 – Confidentiality	12
1.2 – Theoretical Considerations	13
1.2.1 – Class as a Diachronic Construct	13
CHAPTER TWO:	
Setting the Scene	17
2.1 – An Historical Note	18
2.1.1 – The Early Fishery and Beyond	19
2.1.2 – Modernisation and the Capitalist-Intensive Fishery	26
2.2 – The Social Setting	31
2.2.1 – Shifting Population Dynamics	31
2.2.2 – Temporary Work Abroad	37
2.2.3 – Rise of the Crab Fishery	42
2.2.4 – Local Economy, Unemployment and Poverty	49
2.3 – Summation	55

CHAPTER THREE:

Tourism and the Formation of Marginal Workers	57
3.1 – Reintroduction to the Town	59
3.1.1 – Contemporary Bonavista Tourism	63
3.2 – Establishment of Tourism	70
3.2.1 – Cabot and the Queen: 1997 as the Year for Tourism	74
3.2.2 – The Financial Legacy of The Matthew	82
3.2.3 – BHS/BHTF and the Engineering of Tourism	88
3.2.4 – Funding the Projects.....	94
3.2.5 – Applying Workers’ Perspectives	102
3.3 – The Bonavista Projects.....	107
3.3.1 – Job Creation Partnerships.....	108
3.3.2 – Community Enhancement Employment Projects ...	113
3.3.3 – Make-Work as a Career	116
3.4 – Summation	125

CHAPTER FOUR:

The Make-Work Complex and Its Ulterior Effects.....	128
4.1 – The Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex.....	128
4.2 – The Complex(’s) Ulterior Effects	132
4.3 – Summation	144

CHAPTER FIVE:

Conclusion: A Million Dollar Question for Survival.....	146
---	-----

REFERENCES CITED	152
------------------------	-----

APPENDIX A: RELEVANT MAPS	170
---------------------------------	-----

LIST OF TABLES

Table 2.1 – Bonavista Outmigration by the Numbers.....	32
Table 2.2 – Youth Departure.....	34
Table 3.1 – BHTF and BHS Projects Funded by ACOA.....	95

LIST OF FIGURES

Figure 2.1 – Country Acres Subdivision	48
Figure 2.2 – Bonavista Industry in 2006	50
Figure 3.1 – Local Districts	60
Figure 3.2 – Abandoned House on Roper Street	62
Figure 3.3 – Transcription of Job Posting Outside Federal Building	103
Figure 4.1 – Bonavista’s Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex	128
Figure 4.2 – Luxury Boat in Bonavista Harbour	135

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND SYMBOLS

- ACOA: Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency
- ATV: All-terrain Vehicle
- BHS: Bonavista Historical Society
- BHTF: Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation
- CBC: Canadian Broadcasting Corporation
- CEEP: Community Enhancement Employment Project
- CFA: Come From Away
- EI: Employment Insurance
- FPI: Fishery Products International
- FRAM: Fisheries Restructuring Alternative Measures
- HPIP: Heritage Properties Investment Program
- JCP: Job Creation Partnership
- NCARP: Northern Cod Adjustment and Retraining Program
- NHL: National Hockey League
- NHSC: National Historic Site of Canada
- NL: Newfoundland and Labrador
- OCI: Ocean Choice International
- TAGS: The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy

LIST OF APPENDECIES

Appendix A: Relevant Maps	170
---------------------------------	-----

Chapter One: Introduction, Methods and Theory

WHEN Federal Fisheries Minister John Crosbie arrives in Newfoundland on Canada Day, he's looking for a joyous Confederation celebration. Instead, he's met by a furious crowd of fishermen, plant workers and their families. The group is angry because tomorrow Crosbie will place a moratorium on fishing Atlantic cod, which represents their livelihood. That means no more work for at least 20,000 inshore fishery workers. The industry has supported rural Newfoundlanders for more than 400 years. And the province's infrastructure relies on it — everyone from truck drivers to grocery store owners will be affected. The fishermen believe the huge decline in cod off the Grand Banks of Newfoundland is not their fault and blame government mismanagement. Crosbie disagrees, shouting: "I didn't take the fish from the God damned waters" [Canadian Broadcasting Corporation's (CBC) *The National*, July 2, 1992].

The above quotation demonstrates the momentous nature of the cod moratorium, and the intensity of the confrontations that resulted from it. Indeed, the magnitude of the protests matched the reality of the situation, as the cod fishery collapse engendered the "largest industrial layoff in Canadian history," a massive economic crisis that dislocated tens of thousands of rural fishery workers from the labour force (Sider 2003:32). Not only did the stoppage represent economic and ecological turmoil, it signaled the destruction of a meaningful way of life precious to many Newfoundlanders (Finlayson 1998:4).

The closure of the Newfoundland cod fishery has been characterised as a disaster, bringing unparalleled devastation to many people who live and work in the province's rural towns and villages (Andersen and Steele et al. 1992; Palmer and Sinclair 1997; Sinclair 2002). Not only does this assessment characterise the past seventeen years, it relates to the present and foreseeable future as well. Rural poverty remains a widely recognised problem, and the provincial government continues to engage publicly with poverty reduction initiatives (Newfoundland and Labrador 2006b; 2007; 2008; 2009;

2010c). Despite their efforts, rural outports continue to deal with economic instability and a dearth of local work opportunities.

To compensate for the fishery's loss, many towns and villages have developed a tourism industry with the hopes that it will provide some form of economic relief. The timing of tourism's rise, having gained prominence after the cod collapse, raises interesting questions concerning its role in post-moratorium Newfoundland. For instance, is tourism a temporary or permanent solution to the region's economic problems? Do dislocated workers benefit from the industry? How will it affect rural Newfoundland's culture and identity? Although intriguing, detailed answers to these and similar questions are beyond the scope of this study. Rather, my dissertation focuses broadly on the relationship between the tourism sector and those who work it for a living.

The study takes place in Bonavista, a northeastern town located on the edge of the Bonavista peninsula.¹ Its history is inextricably linked to the cod fishery, first organised around merchant capital and then the capitalist-intensive system. Right up until the moratorium, Bonavista was a bustling outport town that was supported by the cod fishery. Afterwards, it became a fishing wasteland, an economically depressed area that was littered with abandoned homes and overturned boats. Fortunately, a crab fishery became established and provided some stability, although it was not enough to help all residents in need. To compensate, tourism has been promoted and developed as an alternative industry. Based on Bonavista's historic past and present-day heritage appeal, tourism has become an important economic stimulus for both the town and its residents.

¹ See Appendix A for relevant maps.

The provincial and federal governments support tourism through the funding of publicity campaigns and make-work projects. In fact, millions of federal and provincial tax dollars have been invested locally over the past 17 years. This money is used to construct, renovate, service and maintain this burgeoning tertiary sector, activities which create jobs that are desperately needed and quickly filled. With this new social context in mind, the following study focuses on the relationship between underemployed residents and the tourism sector, as my main research question asks: what is the significance of Bonavista's growing tourism/heritage industry for the surplus population of workers left jobless after the cod moratorium?

The following section discusses methodological and theoretical considerations, while the remainder of this thesis is divided into three main parts. Chapter 2 sets the scene, providing a brief historical note and analysis of the town's contemporary socio-economic context. Chapter 3 approaches the research question head on. It describes the establishment of tourism, discusses the role of local organisations involved in its development, and then looks at its impact on underemployed residents who depend on it for their survival. The fourth chapter provides a more generalised analysis of the data in chapter 3, and highlights some of tourism's most significant aftereffects.

1.1 – Methodological Considerations

1.1.1 – Getting Started

Having grown up in Vancouver, British Columbia, my decision to attend Memorial University meant living on the opposite side of Canada for the first time, a prospect that I looked forward to. Newfoundland seemed like a good place to conduct my studies, since I was intrigued by the province's history and culture as an undergraduate student. Of particular interest was the collapse of the cod fishery, and I hoped to incorporate the enormity of this economic and social event into my research. To me, it seemed that the magnitude of this ecological disaster and its repercussions have often been overlooked by mainstream society, swept under the collective rug of Canadian consciousness. This general interest set my broadest and most basic research parameters.

My research focus narrowed through consultations with my thesis advisor, Rex Clark, and department professor, Reade Davis, after which I decided to concentrate on the state of rural Newfoundland 17 years after the moratorium. My earliest focus concerned the divisions of wealth that have appeared in rural locales since the moratorium began. Through further consultations with department professors and colleagues, Bonavista was chosen as a suitable location to conduct my research. It has a deep historical connection with the cod fishery, and its population was hit particularly hard by the moratorium. Over time, my concentration shifted to emphasise the interplay between former fishery workers and the tourism sector that employs them.

My first task regarding fieldwork was to establish residency. This happened during a preliminary visit in May, 2009 while I was staying at a local bed and breakfast.

Upon learning of my research intent, the proprietors took it upon themselves to call around town and generate a list of potential rental homes. Through their generosity and social connections, I ended up renting a saltbox house that was centrally located in town, ideal for my study.

I was accompanied by my partner, a primary school teacher, as I started fieldwork in June. With time off during the summer, she was by my side and kept busy by taking three distance-education courses at Memorial University. Although the majority of my research was conducted individually, I enjoyed my partner's company when attending social functions and when interacting with other married couples.

Unsure how to establish contacts and become involved upon arrival, my plan was simple: go for lots of walks, attend as many local events as possible, and visit every tourism site that Bonavista has to offer. This tactic proved successful early on. The first Saturday after arrival, a high school art show was held in the Youth Centre located in the bottom of the Federal Building. Although unrelated to my topic, it was an opportunity to interact with residents. As it happened, I met two Bonavistans who showed an interest in my research and offered to meet again. Through them I met other residents, and from these people I came into contact with even more town members, many of whom went on to become research participants. One such participant informed me that a youth soccer association had been recently established and needed volunteers. A soccer player myself, this was the perfect opportunity to engage in a local activity that would further establish my presence in town, and in a small way, give something back.

Attending the art show was the stimulus needed to start my fieldwork on the right track. It gave me an early boost of confidence, allowed me to meet people who helped me develop further contacts, and got me involved in a volunteer position. As part of the soccer association, I coached my own team in the Under Ten Division, held practices for the entire division and refereed games played in the older divisions. Although not integral in terms of my final results, this position was instrumental to my fieldwork experience as a whole.

1.1.2 – Library/Archival Research

An advantage to working in Bonavista is that there is a considerable body of scholarship on the area, including literature assembled by scholars in related departments (Bruce 1999; Cadigan 2001; Feltham 1992; Neis 1999; Ommer 2002; Power 2005; Prowse 2002; Renouf et al. 2003; Rodgers 2000; Sinclair 1995; 1999; 2002; Sinclair and Ommer 2006; Sinclair and Squires et al. 1999; Smith 1997a; Sveinbjornsdotter 2001; Sweeney 2004). Bonavista's post-moratorium period has also been discussed by Sider (2003) in his book *Between History and Tomorrow: The Making and Breaking of Everyday Life in Rural Newfoundland*, however, his analysis was framed in the context of a much larger study and did not examine the area in detail.

The Queen Elizabeth II Library at Memorial University was useful through its extensive collection of books and documents that relate to the town and region. Of particular assistance was the Centre for Newfoundland Studies, which in addition to housing countless relevant scholarly articles and books, also has a Bonavista 'community folder.' The folder consists of hundreds of newspaper clippings, articles and pamphlets

relating to historical and contemporary aspects of the town. The Bonavista Memorial Library was helpful, as it contained a few obscure books concerning Bonavista that were otherwise unavailable or difficult to obtain. In addition, the librarian, Brenda Wilton, kindly provided me with their 'cod moratorium' folder, a file filled with popular articles and newspaper clippings that relate to Bonavista and the fishery stoppage. Her mother, the former librarian, lent me a rare, locally produced book that provides insight into the cultural history and folklore of Bonavista: H.J. Reader's 1968 *Newfoundland Wit, Humor and Folklore*.

Archival research helped me gain an appreciation for Bonavista's deep and complex history, which enhanced my understanding of its present-day heritage appeal. The Bonavista Archives, a small depository located in the Courthouse building, stores information concerning the town, including architectural plans, audiotapes, business ledgers, church records, historical fonds, indentures, interviews, photographs and postcards, among others. Particularly useful were the Bonavista Historical Fonds, which include interviews conducted in the 1980s, newspaper articles dating from the 19th century to present, student essays, letters, old photographs and town census data. I am thankful to the archivist who recommended and lent me two books that were valuable sources of information on the area's early history: Whiffen's 1993 *Prime Berth*, and Reverend Charles Lench's 1919 *The Story of Methodism in Bonavista*; the archivist also

recommended other books published through local presses which discuss various aspects of Bonavista history (Cook 1999; Little 2006; Whiffen 1997a).²

1.1.3 – Participant Observation

Participant observation was my primary research tool. Living in Bonavista for an extended period of time was the best way to learn about the interaction between the tourism sector and former fishery workers. Although the interview process produced the bulk of my data, unstructured conversations provided information that I was unable to gain in more formal, one on one sessions. For instance, no interview that I conducted could match what I learned through my daily interactions with Patrick, an older fellow who was hired to paint a nearby house over the summer. As a former fishery worker who lost his job after the moratorium, Patrick was unable to adjust to the post-moratorium economy; he ended up on income support and became dependant on alcohol to ease the pain. After hospitalization forced an ultimatum between sobriety or death, Patrick chose the former and has worked odd jobs in the summertime ever since. Interacting with him on a daily basis, exchanging conversation, pleasantries, and small gifts (fresh trout in return for rhubarb pie) and simply by watching him work, I learned a lot. The most important understanding realised through my interactions with Patrick is how the effects of an economic event that took place 17 years ago are still being felt today, experienced through the daily lives of many Bonavista residents.

² Although these books are locally produced and lack scholarly credentials, they nonetheless provide a 'cultural' perspective, and in many cases led me in the direction of valuable academic sources.

Participant observation consisted of my integration within town and interaction with residents throughout my three month stay in the field. This meant taking lots of walks, attending local events like church rummage sales, garage sales, fish and brewis lunches, and celebrations such as Canada Day and Bonavista Days, sharing dinner with residents and volunteering. Every night I would record all the important sights, sounds, smells and scenarios that interested me or that I thought significant in my field-journal. Daily participant observation was important because it generated a large body of data to analyse later on. It also acted as a form of scaffolding that let me build up to the more intensive interview process. Daily experiences with residents establish a certain level of trust and understanding, feelings that are beneficial when wanting to conduct more formalised one-on-one interviews later on.

With regards to the extent that I was able to integrate locally throughout my three months of study, I can state with utmost confidence that I maintained my identity as an 'outsider' in the eyes of local residents at all times. This is not to say that my stay was a bust in terms of data obtained. Rather, in the process of acquiring said data I did not become anyone's adopted or symbolic son, grandson, nephew, brother, or any other kin relation. In a telling discussion that focused on outsiders moving into town, one resident stated that these people are referred to as CFAs which means 'Come From Away.' She was quick to note that I am a CFA and that there is no way this will change, as I am and always will be from out of town.

The above points to a central dilemma of the brief fieldwork process associated with shorter studies, like many conducted as partial requirement of a master's degree. Just

as one has acquired a significant set of social contacts and finally begins to feel comfortable, fieldwork ends and it is time to return home. Aware of this limitation in advance, I was happy to volunteer with the soccer association because it accelerated the research process. Becoming involved with a local group exposed me to a cross section of residents that I may not have come into contact with otherwise, and more importantly, helped establish my credibility as a researcher who was willing to put time back into the place that he was researching within. Based on my own experience, establishing oneself in a volunteer position early on can help overcome some of the limitations associated with the short-term fieldwork process.

1.1.4 – Interviews

Interviews were important to my research process. Private conversations between myself and research participants enabled me to focus on the stories, knowledge and perspectives of certain residents in greater detail than is allowed through informal, day-to-day conversations. Through the interview process research participants provided their personal views, descriptions, experiences, thoughts and feelings regarding the restructuring effort. It permitted me to gain insight into the ways they and their families have been affected by this process, and how they continue to be impacted in the present day.

The types of data that my interview schedule elicits include: descriptions of social relations and town life prior to the fishery collapse; individual and family experiences resulting from the moratorium; factors contributing to decisions to either find work abroad or stay in Bonavista and search for work locally; the long-term effects of the

restructuring on the livelihood of participants and their families; and personal thoughts concerning the positive/negative benefits of restructuring on the town and townspeople alike. The schedule also provides an opportunity for participants to raise issues important to them, and to discuss anything that I may have overlooked.

The interviews used open-ended semi-structured formats, and were conducted in settings of the interviewees' choice. This usually ended up being at a local restaurant or in the privacy of the participants' own homes. A home interview provides two advantages: it places the participants at ease in the comfort of their familiar surroundings, and it "allows the researcher to observe informants' households and any specific elements that might contribute to an understanding of their stories" (deGelder 2004:37).

I pursued interviews with former fishery workers on income support, current crab fishers, those employed in the tourism sector, residents engaged in government subsidised work, wealthy outsiders, successful business owners and members of the municipal government, among others. By the end of my fieldwork I had interviewed sixteen residents in total. The interviews varied in duration, the shortest being forty five minutes and the longest lasting over ninety minutes. On a few occasions I conducted follow-up interviews to clarify significant points and delve deeper into particular topics of interest.

Although interviews produced the bulk of my data, I sometimes noticed their limitations as a research method. For instance, I knew a former fishery worker, Janice, with whom I had many informal conversations. Janice was animated and talkative, always providing plenty of details regarding her life before and after the fishery collapse.

After building a modest relationship with her, I asked for an interview and she happily agreed. However, upon placing a recorder in front of her and sitting down for a one-on-one conversation, Janice immediately became withdrawn and shy. This situation also happened in reverse, as some participants who acted reserved in an informal environment became talkative and outgoing when placed in a private interview setting. It is for this reason that I am glad to have conducted interviews and participant observation, since the two forms complemented each other as research tools.

1.1.5 – Confidentiality

Throughout the research process I have taken issues of privacy and confidentiality seriously. To protect the privacy of research participants, pseudonyms are used throughout my dissertation. Two exceptions exist: when the participants elect to use their real names, and when participants act in the capacity of public figures or have expressed their opinions/views in a public forum. In some instances using a pseudonym was not enough, since the possibility remained that other details or facts could identify the person in question. To maintain anonymity in these instances certain details of peoples' lives have been altered, with general descriptions provided in place of detailed information. Details were only altered in instances where neglecting to do so could allow others (particularly those with local knowledge) to identify the participant. Such changes may include the location of someone's home or number of children they have. Any alteration that has been made remains minor, and does not affect the integrity of the research results.

1.2 – Theoretical Considerations

1.2.1 – Class as a Diachronic Construct

A significant segment of the empirical data gathered emphasises the state of dislocated fishery workers, particularly those who were unable to readjust and remain reliant on the tourism sector as a result. To analyse these data it is useful to make use of a theoretical concept that can focus on the relationship between residents and the productive process, notably how these relationships have changed over time. In light of this, the concept of class is utilised as the main theoretical tool to organise the data set, suitable because it focuses on individuals' economic relations to the productive process over time, and is cognisant of the wider social and economic forces that facilitate the formation of these relations.

In *Keywords*, Raymond Williams (1976) notes that class is an “obviously difficult word, both in its range of meanings and in its complexity in that particular meaning where it describes a social division” (Williams 1976:51). Noam Chomsky (1997) states that the political discourse surrounding terms such as class is so debased that it becomes difficult to use them at all, and “that’s part of the point – to make it impossible to talk” (Chomsky 1997:61). The *Dictionary of Anthropology* 1997 cites class as “one of the most powerful concepts available” that is the “least uniform in its meaning and use” (Smith 1997c:62). While it is true the term has many associations, this should not dissuade researchers from wading through the requisite muck in order to harness the term’s “tremendous analytical power” (Merrifield 1999:32). The key is to avoid getting bogged

down in the plethora of analytical and philosophical analyses that have been written over the years. To accomplish this task, I describe exactly how the term is used below.

In accordance with the thoughts of E.P. Thompson, class is regarded as a fluid rather than static concept; this means that instead of viewing the term as a “structure” or “category,” class is regarded as an “*historical phenomenon*” that is “derived from the observation of the social process over time” (Thompson 1968:133; 1978:147). Thus, although the concept remains a “description of fundamental economic relationships,” it refers to individuals’ relationships to the productive process through time (Williams 1976:66).³ As it relates to my research, this means that to comprehend the current situation of marginal workers in Bonavista, it is necessary to understand the process whereby these residents, who were formerly engaged with the productive process, became superfluous.

Similar to many other capitalist-intensive towns based on single-resource extraction, Bonavista was characterised by “short-term prosperity followed by hardship”

³ The temporal perspective of class was formulated as a response to the static vision of the term which views it as either a “social or economic category” or “relative social position” (Williams 1976:69). Although able to provide unique insights into class structures, such analyses are limited in time and space. Furthermore, a static conception makes the term more compatible with structural-functionalist theories that see class as necessary to the overall functioning of the social system, or what O’Laughlin calls the “maintenance of systemic compatibility” (O’Laughlin 1975:347). To enhance the applicability of the term, Thompson (1978) argues that class cannot be reduced to “theorized models” or expressed through “vulgar terms,” and that it should instead be considered an “historical category” (Thompson 1978:148). Continuing in this vein, Aronowitz (2003) argues for a “historicity of class” that “opposes views of class and class structure as always already present in the same configuration across periods, era, and epochs” (Aronowitz 2003:41).

(Forcese 1997:60). As the capitalist fishery expanded the demand for labour rose. At its height it is said that anyone who wanted a job could get one, and high school students were leaving school early to work in the factories or on the boats. Unfortunately, the elevated dependence on the exploitation of a single resource proved devastating when the cod collapsed and these workers became displaced. Consequently, the once ebbing reserve army of labour swelled with unparalleled ferocity.

The depletion of the cod stock was a major economic blow that displaced the majority of Bonavista's residents from the workforce. These were petty capitalists who owned their own fishing enterprises and sometimes hired their own labour, wage-labourers who worked these enterprises or wage-labourers who worked in the fish processing facilities. Then there were those indirectly connected, truck drivers, small business owners, even babysitters. While government adjustment programs helped many recover, reeducate and relocate in order to reconnect to the productive process, others were simply unable to adjust. Many of these were older workers who could not retrain or relocate abroad for age-related reasons, and who have become dependant on the tourism industry to survive.

As described above, class formation can be viewed as an historical process. As such, it is useful in explaining how a marginalised formation of workers came to be over an extended period of time. In addition, the term can provide insight into the present-day class formation process, that is, help explain the various factors that maintain these residents within an economically tenuous state. Altogether, class formation provides a

framework to understand how the situation came to be, and how the situation continues to reproduce itself in the present day.

Chapter 2: Setting the Scene

Just as it is necessary to describe what methodological and theoretical tools have been used to obtain and then organise the data, it is also important to locate the analysis within its local-historic and contemporary socio-economic contexts. The former is informative because it shows how Bonavista got to where it is today, and provides the background necessary to understand its present-day heritage appeal. The latter provides a general overview of Bonavista seventeen years after the moratorium, noting the most significant social and economic trends that have impacted the town and its residents. Rather than focus on tourism, this section shows the wider social and economic contexts that tourism has been developed within.

The following chapter is divided into two parts: the first presents a brief historical note about Bonavista's past, while the second provides an updated account of the town's current socio-economic context. Together, they construct a framework from which to build a more detailed analysis concerning the rise of tourism, an industry that has provided work for the surplus population of labour left jobless after the moratorium.

2.1 – An Historical Note

As I am now, so must you be
Therefore prepare to follow me
As you are now, so once was I
Therefore prepare your self to die

The above quotation appears on a gravestone from the Church of England cemetery in Bonavista. Attributed to William Dare, it dates to 1725 and is one of the oldest known headstones in Newfoundland. The pinkish tablet is framed with an ornamental design and crowned with an angel-winged skull, both etched in bas-relief.⁴ As a curious example of memento mori, the warning or reminder of death, this monument is said to be one of the two great mysteries of Bonavista, the second being the unidentified corpses that have been periodically unearthed in the boggy Mockbeggar region of town (Forbes 1964:4; Tocque 1844:13; Wicks 1963:4).

The two great mysteries indicate that Bonavista has a deep history that is both engaging and absorbing. Indeed, it is one of North America's oldest European settlements, and as such, has collected a vast array of interesting stories, institutions and traditions over time. The area's history continues to bear a physical imprint on local geography, whether it be through the countless heritage structures that dot the town, or the myriad of less apparent idiosyncrasies, including concave earthen dents that indicate where root cellars used to be, or the concrete remains of the former Anglican Church that are strewn around Old Day's Pond.

⁴ The gravestone is stored in the Church of England's basement for safekeeping, and a concrete marker lies in the cemetery on the spot where the original stone used to be.

Despite its historical significance as one of North America's earliest European settlements, Bonavista lacks a definitive written history. Although it would be fascinating to examine the entirety of Bonavista's past, the following chapter provides a brief historical note that supports the research question at hand; by doing so it acts as a footing on which to develop the main analysis that examines the relationship between marginal former fishery workers and tourism. To do so, it describes the town's economic development, focusing on how the organisation of the fishery has changed from pre-settlement to the present-day. It highlights two main points. First, that Bonavista's past is inextricably linked to the fishery, and that the depletion of the cod stocks provided an acutely devastating blow to the local economy and townspeople, many of whom were dislocated from their occupation as a result. Second, that Bonavista's extensive past is responsible for its contemporary heritage appeal, an important 'resource' that underwrites the tourism sector.

2.1.1 – The Early Fishery and Beyond

The first European settlement unearthed in Newfoundland dates roughly to the year 1000 A.D., and is located at L'Anse aux Meadows on the northernmost tip of the island's Northern Peninsula. This Norse settlement was occupied for only a brief period of time, and after its inhabitants left it would take approximately 500 years for Europeans to visit the island again. This feat was arguably accomplished by John Cabot in 1497, who on behalf of the English crown not only found new land, but plenty of codfish to boot.

The second European 'discovery' of the island had more of an impact than the first, since from this point forth North Atlantic cod became a powerful commodity that attracted fishers from many European seafaring nations. High in protein and low in saturated fats, cod provides a considerable amount of nutrition per portion.⁵ If 'made' properly salt cod can be preserved for long periods of time, even under humid conditions. As a result of its resilient properties, the product became particularly valuable to the burgeoning Caribbean and South American slave plantations and colonies, as well as the traditional salt cod markets in Europe and the Mediterranean (Ryan 1986:236).

While England may have been first to discover the abundant resource, by 1577 all the great "fishing nations of Europe, in particular Portugal, France, Spain, Biscay (Basques)" knew of the fishery (Rose 2007:191). To procure the resource, each country prosecuted a migratory fishery whereby they would set sail in the spring, fish off the coast throughout the summer, and then return home before the harsh fall weather set in. Unlike its competitors who possessed sufficient quantities of salt to cure the cod onboard their ships, the English lacked these reserves and required a different method. They established temporary residence on the island, and by harnessing the curing power of the sun and ocean breeze, employed a seaside drying technique that utilised much less salt.

From West Country to Newfoundland, the migratory fishery was financed and organised by English merchants. Every spring ships and their crews set sail to the island,

⁵ A 180g fillet of cod contains 41.1 grams of protein. It is a very good source of Vitamin B6, Vitamin B12, Vitamin D, Phosphorus, Selenium, and acts as a moderate anti-inflammatory.

established seasonal residence as they fished and cured cod over the summer, and then returned with their catch in the fall. Over time, temporary migration began to take place as a few crewmembers from each ship would overwinter for one or two seasons. Overwintering enabled merchants to maintain equipment and protect good fishing spots, allowing for an earlier start to the fishery the following spring. Permanent migration began when many of those who overwintered decided to stay, and either had their families sent across to join them, or started new families on the island.

Bonavista was an attractive site to early fishers for several reasons. Although it lacked a natural harbour, the area was low lying and much of the local coastline provided easy access to the sea. The generally flat terrain provided space to salt and dry cod, as well as tend gardens and build dwellings. Nearby woodlands supplied timber for carpentry and fuel. Although the site became a British settlement, some suggest that French migratory workers were present in the 16th and early 17th centuries, conjecture evidenced by the discovery of a coin embossed with a fleur-de-lys on one side, and the face of a young boy with the date '1619' on the other in the Mockbeggar region of town (Heath 1968:23). While the extent that the site was utilised early on by the French remains unclear, what is known is that the English found the site appealing and began visiting sometime during the 17th century.

It is difficult to say when Bonavista was first settled permanently. A letter written in 1764 by a prominent Carbonear merchant provides insight. The correspondence notes that "uncle Mr. John Walcome was the first man child born [at Bonavista] who was 80 years old when he dyed and has been dead upwards of 30 years;" this statement dates the

birth of Bonavista's first resident to 1654, the year considered by popular sources, many residents, and the Bonavista Museum as the official date that Bonavista was settled (Bonavista Archives 2010; Whiffen 1993:16).

Although no verifiable settlement date exists, what is known is that once settled, Bonavista grew quickly. In 1675 Bonavista was the second largest settlement on the island, and by 1677 it had "sixteen plantations" and resembled "some of the older, smaller out-harbors of the south Avalon" (Handcock 1989:40; Pope 2004:317). While grounded inhabitants were present, the migratory fishery remained dominant as the two coexisted for some time. In fact, many early residents worked the fishery for a few years before returning home or relocating to another part of the island. Over time the population became more sedentary. During the latter half of the 1700s, the "first large wave of Bonavista's permanent settlers begin to take up residence" (Bradley 1994b:18). Due to this vast in-migration of men, women and children, many Bonavistans today can trace their names back to the Church of England Register from 1786 to 1805 (Bradley 1994b:18).⁶

As the fishery became permanently settled in Bonavista and across the island, an island-based system of merchant capital increasingly came to organise the fishery. Sider (2003) describes merchant capital as a social relationship between merchant and fisher that operated around the manufacture and sale of salt cod. The merchant would advance

⁶ These names include: "Abbott, Moulard, Hicks, Harris, Little, Keats, Skiffington, Rolls, Pardy, Shirran, Brown, Paul, Ford, Templeman, Linthorne, Fisher, Miffen, Groves, Ryan, Butler, Bradley, Lander, Hayward, Hayley, Dunn, Fleming, Way, Baker, Ryder, Faulkner, Marsh, Etsell, Keel" (Bradley 1994b:18).

production and consumption goods to the fisher in the spring in exchange for the entirety of the fisher's catch at the season's end (Sider 2003:132). Since the credit received by fishers at the year's end was often inadequate, many practiced subsistence agriculture to help subsidise their household economy.

Sweeney (2004) adds that merchant capital was more than an exchange of consumption and production goods for salt cod, since he argues that the system's success lay in "capturing as much as possible of the informal economy" (Sweeney 2004:136). Through an analysis of transaction records from the Bonavista based merchant firms of Ryan and Templeton from 1889-1891, Sweeney shows how credit was used to ensure that the "maximum amount of total economic activity in the community passed through their books," extending their firm's business to "include all the myriad debts, obligations and exchanges of the informal economy" (Sweeney 2004:136). Bradley supports this perspective, noting how in Bonavista "it was only at the Ryan's and other firms that the necessities of life could be purchased," including "vital foodstuffs such as flour, molasses, beef, pork and butter, as well as the cottons and wools for making clothes, kerosene oil for light, sole leather for shoes, [and] building materials..."(Bradley 1994b:75).⁷

⁷ This discussion raises an important question: how does merchant capital fit within the framework of an expanding capitalist system? Sider states that both the fish sold and supplies imported were paid for in world market prices, and from these transactions controlled by the merchant, a great sum of wealth was acquired. This wealth was converted into capital and invested in productive organisations outside of Newfoundland, mostly in Canada, Britain and the United States (Sider 2003:304). In this sense, merchant capital is an "instance, fairly common in the hinterlands of advanced industrial regions, of capital-formation-at-a-distance;" while the internal logic of

Many merchants came and went throughout Bonavista's history, including notables such as: James Saint, William Alexander, Philip Templeman and Joseph Swyers. Perhaps the most prominent, however, remains James Ryan. His mercantile business, James Ryan Ltd., came to dominate the town in the late 19th century. Originating as a public house in the Bayley's Cove section of town, the firm moved to the inner harbour and became the dominant enterprise in town. It continued to expand, establishing stores in nearby King's Cove and Trinity, and in 1910 the firm moved its headquarters to Water Street in St. John's. The Ryan firm remains significant not only because it played such an important role in Bonavista's past, but because the mercantile complex still exists in its original location today, having been refurbished into a national historic site (Harris and Strowbridge 1988).

With merchant capital firmly entrenched after the fishery became permanently based, Bonavista continued to grow and expand. As the population increased more family dwellings were built. Consequently, it did not take long before the most prominent building locations (close to the shoreline) became filled, so that younger generations and newcomers had to build their homes further and further inland. As each new household vied for a spot that offered the best access to the sea, sufficient space to cure their catch, and perhaps soil that could support a small garden, houses were built wherever these needs were best met. This resulted in an irregular settlement pattern, with some dwellings clustered close together and others placed further apart (Bradley 1994a:4). This

merchant capital is not capitalist in its own relations of production, it exists within and is "fully part of the world capitalist system" (Sider 2003:304).

asymmetrical housing arrangement made the construction of a vast array of roads necessary to connect everyone to the centre of town, resulting in “an abundance of narrow lanes” that “intersect and run in every direction from this area” (Bradley 1994a:4). Noted as being “medieval” in design, this unique physical geography continues to characterise the town to this day (Bradley 1994a:4).

In the latter half of the 19th century Bonavista experienced growth in its population. In 1869 the town had 2617 residents. By 1884 the population increased to 3463 and by 1891 was at 3551 (Census of Newfoundland and Labrador 1869; 1884; 1891). Due to the “extensive growth in...[Bonavista’s] population and culture” between 1857 and 1911, the “bulk of the traditional housing stock at Bonavista,” along with “most of the existing traditional commercial, institutional, fraternal, [and] government” buildings were constructed during this time (Bradley 1997:44). For example, an article from the 1899 edition of the Daily News notes that the “new Court House at Bonavista is rapidly approaching completion,” a building described as the “handsomest and most substantial building of its kind in the Colony” (Daily News 1899). Across the street, the Loyal Orange Lodge was built a few years later in 1907. Notable for its four-storey dome, the wooden structure sits directly across from the courthouse. These are but two of the many historic buildings that dot the landscape today, all of which contribute to Bonavista’s visibly deep history. This rich architectural past, in tandem with the town’s irregular household patterning and winding streets, both remain important attributes today. These features contribute greatly to Bonavista’s heritage appeal, which in turn drives the tourism sector that has become so prominent since the cod fishery collapse. In

a sense, the labour and work that was put into these buildings over a century ago continue to yield economic benefits today.

2.1.2 – Modernisation and the Capitalist-Intensive Fishery

The mid-twentieth century marked notable change in Bonavista and Newfoundland as a whole. The union with Canada on March 31, 1949 introduced social benefits that were previously unknown, and set in motion changes to the fisheries policy that would have a significant impact on the town and province's future. Apart from Confederation, the island was in the midst of a social and economic transformation. These changes are best summarised by Wright (1997) who notes that "merchant capital in the fishery gave way to industrial capital," as the "inshore household fishing society based on merchant credit was transformed into a cash based economy" (Wright 1997:728). Rather than organise production around the family-based fishery, rural residents "went to work at frozen fish processing plants, or on offshore trawlers owned by the fishing corporations" (Wright 1997:728). Over time, the family relations that formerly organised the fishery were replaced by the wage-labour relationship.

Bonavista "was one of the first fishing communities in that area to undergo 'modernisation'" (Wright 1995:1). The establishment of Bonavista Cold Storage, the first groundfish freezing plant on the northeast coast, started in the 1930s. With \$20,000 in capital, a group of local shareholders (including merchant J.T. Swyers) incorporated the new company (Wright 2002:28). The factory was soon processing five-pound frozen fillet packs for the British Government during the Second World War, as the global conflict created demand for the product (Wright 2002:27). After the war, the Federal

Department of Fisheries agreed to install an artificial dryer on the premises to determine whether traditional drying techniques could be duplicated mechanically. In order to supply the additional fish necessary to complete these trials, Bonavista was chosen by the federal government to begin experimental longlining operations (Templeman and Fleming 1956:1; Wright 1995:1-3).

Tests were carried out from 1950-1953 "using Cape Island-type longliners from Nova Scotia...boats [that] were larger than those typically used in the trap, handline and inshore linetrawl fishery on the east coast of Newfoundland" (Templeman and Fleming 1956:vii). As a result, bountiful deepwater cod fishing grounds were discovered about 18 to 20 nautical miles from Cape Bonavista, and enough information was secured to justify a commercial trial. Many Bonavistans began "longlining either in converted boats or ones expressly built for longline fishing," so that "from three boats in 1951 the local fleet increased to 10 during 1952 and to 14 in 1953" (Templeman and Fleming 1956:vii). Overall, the introduction of longliners, discovery and exploitation of vaster quantities of fish, and establishment of a frozen fish factory altered the relations of production away from a family-based fishery that was predicated upon merchant capital, and towards a capitalist, vertically-integrated industrial fishery that was based upon the wage-labour relationship.

As relations of production changed, new technologies (boat types, nets and fish finding equipment) arose that forever altered the way that cod was fished. The rise of the dragger fleet, both foreign and domestic, transformed fishing beyond comprehension as these ferocious mechanised beasts were able to pursue and kill vast quantities of cod with

astonishing efficiency and skill. Modern fish plants were constructed to process the evermore plentiful raw material, as both the quantity and size of fish harvested during this period were great. Emma, a Bonavista resident, recalls this time:

I seen fish come off draggers in the 80s like that [stretches arms apart to indicate the length of the fish that were caught], huge huge fish, too big to even go through the filleting machines, the cutters would have to take the two sides off it, and would have to have a special skinner to have to suck the skin off their back. But, you know, it changed, and not only cod, like I've seen the change in all species at the plant, turbot and flounder [too], if we could only go back to the way that the turbot used to come off the draggers, huge huge turbot like that [stretches arms apart again].

Emma worked at the Catalina processing plant during the 1970s and 1980s. Located less than 20 kilometers from Bonavista, this factory “hired almost 1,300 local people in the 1980s – just about anyone in the area who wanted a job – and ran two shifts forty-eight weeks a year, at good wages by Newfoundland standards” (Sider 2006:142). Bonavista also had its own, smaller wooden factory during this time. Although it employed fewer workers than the Catalina plant, it was a significant employer nonetheless.

As the fishery expanded, the economy boomed. Living standards rose and modest prosperity was brought to small and large outports across the province. Bonavistans recall this period as a time when nice cars were purchased, new homes were built and old farm roads were repaved. Bonavista's population increased steadily during this time as jobs were readily available. In 1961 the population was recorded at 4186. It increased to 4299 in 1976, again to 4460 in 1981, and peaked at 4605 in 1986 (Sveinbjornsdottir 2001).

However prosperous the fishery had become, it was based on an unsustainable economic model. As the biological resource (cod) surpassed its ecologically sustainable limit due to negative human-based pressures underwritten by the short sighted capitalist

model, a crisis in commodity accumulation occurred as there were no more cod to catch. The first warning signs were sounded by inshore cod fishers, however, it was not until the larger industrial fleets began experiencing similar problems that the issue was taken seriously.

The crisis culminated on July 2, 1992 when Canada's Department of Fisheries and Oceans Minister, John C. Crosbie, "appeared at a press conference in St. John's where he announced the government's decision to impose a moratorium on the Canadian, – chiefly Newfoundland – exploitation of the northern cod stock" (Andersen and Steele et al. 1992:35). As a massive industrial layoff that put 25,000 Newfoundlanders out of work, the fishery collapse was a social and economic shock of unprecedented character (Sider 2003:32). The moratorium devastated Bonavista along with all other seaside towns and villages, as it placed "careers, families, homes and mortgages, businesses and entire communities...in grave danger" (Anderson et al. 1992:36). Emma reflects back on the announcement, noting that:

It wasn't totally unexpected, we knew there was something gonna happen. The shock came after when we realised this is not gonna just be for a year or two, that this was gonna be indefinite. That was when the big shock set in, and then we realised, okay, what was the stop measure last year, I mean this is gonna, something's gonna have to change, because I remember the [last] day we walked into the plant, and, I mean, few people realised that it was gonna be long-term...but other people, I remember one man coming through the plant, he was crying, he was crying when he was coming in, because I think he realised more so than anybody, yeah, this was it.

Another resident likened the moratorium to bereavement, stating that "on the day the moratorium was announced...it was as if everyone in Bonavista had a death in the family" (Jones 1993:47).

The cod collapse had devastating consequences as it wrenched away the livelihood of a large segment of Bonavista's population. With so many residents suddenly out of work and out of demand, the government immediately stepped in and provided compensation. Known as adjustment packages, the first was called The Northern Cod Adjustment and Retraining Program (NCARP), and second named The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (TAGS).⁸ Both programs attempted to alleviate the poverty that accompanied the economic collapse, however, they preached individual initiatives over community solutions, a strategy that forced many residents to relocate and find work abroad (Neis 2000:288).

One year after the moratorium began, an article written in the popular Canadian magazine, *Chatelaine*, focused on the struggles of a Bonavista family hit hard by the moratorium. The story is surprisingly accurate in its assessment of how problems in Bonavista will not be easily resolved:

...the future looks bleak. The fish plant, which employed 600 workers in a good summer, processing mostly northern cod and some crab, will have to close or at least downsize drastically. Young adults will have to find work outside the fishery, and the new jobs won't likely be in Bonavista. It may be increasingly hard to qualify for unemployment insurance benefits, and some people will either leave or have to fall back on welfare or their extended families. Fishing as a career move in this province has never been easy. Now it seems impossible (Jones 1993:48).

The rest of the thesis takes place in this 'bleak future' seventeen years after the cod collapse.

⁸ The fishery stoppage was initially believed to last only two years, and NCARP was designed to provide temporary income support assistance to fishery workers. In 1994, it was determined that the cod stocks were still devastated, and just as a second moratorium was announced, so too was another adjustment plan. Known as TAGS, this program provided income support assistance to former fishery workers who participated in labour market adjustment programs, such as reeducation and job retraining. The plan helped nearly 40,000 workers and ended one year early in mid-1998 (Rose 2007:501).

2.2 – The Social Setting

While the previous section adds historical depth, the following provides a contemporary social and economic breadth. It notes the most significant changes to Bonavista throughout the past seventeen years, including population and demographic shifts, the rise of the crab fishery and the overall stagnation of the general economic landscape. It reserves a focused analysis of tourism for the following chapter, since its principal aim is to detail the wider socioeconomic circumstances tourism has been developed within.

2.2.1 – Shifting Population Dynamics

The history of the fishery “can be portrayed as a long series of crises,” good years of plentiful catches and modest incomes followed by unsuccessful years of empty nets and dire circumstances (Finlayson 1998:6). A common survival strategy during the latter times was to search for work abroad. Conversations with older residents detail countless examples of migration throughout Bonavista’s past. For instance, during the 1930s some residents moved to Boston to work on the railway, others to New York to establish their own small businesses. I talked with a former inshore cod fisher who spent a decade in Toronto, or ‘the jungle’ as he calls it, during the 1960s to work as a brakeman for CN Rail. “The money was good,” he states, “but I hated the city.” Another resident told me about his father spending time as a longshoreman in New Jersey “during the days of Jimmy Hoffa.” Although some residents left permanently and founded new lives abroad, many returned home once the fishery recovered.

The difference between boom and bust cycles of the past and that which affected the fishery in 1992 is that while the former were temporary, the latter has become protracted. Due to the failed economy and lack of suitable alternatives, many residents were forced to move away permanently in search of work abroad. Population statistics in table 2.1 provide insight into the population dynamics as they existed prior to and after the moratorium:

Table 2.1 – Bonavista Outmigration by the Numbers:

Year	Population	Years	Population Growth
1986	4760	1986 - 1991	- 0.6%
1991	4597	1991 - 1996	- 1.5%
1996	4526	1996 - 2001	- 11.2%
2001	4021	2001 - 2006	- 6.4%
2006	3764		

(Statistics Canada 1996; 2001; 2006a; Sveinbjornsdottir 2001).

Since the fishery was already in decline throughout the years leading up to the moratorium, high levels of unemployment were present and 0.6 percent of the population left during this time. Despite the announcement of the moratorium in 1992, only a minor negative growth rate of 1.5 percent exists between 1991 and 1996. Two factors can be attributed to this small outflow of residents. First, the majority of those directly engaged in the fishery were compensated through government adjustment and retraining programs, first NCARP and then TAGS. Through transfer payments and the chance for free education, there was no incentive for many residents to leave. The second factor is that many people believed the fishery would recover in a few years time. Since the moratorium was initially thought to be a temporary measure, many families planned to wait it out, using the compensation packages to help them do so.

While most residents wanted to stay, as the final government readjustment program neared its termination in 1998, many decided it was finally time to go. Faced with the languishing fishery on one hand and a final opportunity to take advantage of the relocation program on the other, numerous residents chose to find work abroad and start life anew. As a result, the town experienced an 11.2 percent negative growth rate, or loss of 505 residents between 1996 and 2001, and another negative growth rate of 6.4 percent, or loss of 285 residents, between 2001 and 2006.

That so many residents waited until the last moment to leave suggests that the majority were hopeful the fishery would return, and left only as a last resort. Anne is a Bonavistan who works for Employment Services, and she has helped hundreds of fishery workers transition through the moratorium. During a private conversation, she remarks that "there was not five people that left this area that wanted to leave, they just did it out of necessity, because it was the only option available to 'em." Ben, a former inshore cod fisher, agrees. He says that in the years following the fishery collapse a lot of residents just "turned around and went away...especially after so many years you see the stocks weren't coming back."

Permanent outmigration is a significant trend since it depletes the town of its tax base and labour force. When it concerns the removal of young residents, outmigration depletes the town of its future as well. Throughout my research I noticed few young people around town. In fact, only on a few occasions were the town's youth made prominent to me. The first was at a community art show hosted by high school students. The second was the Bowdoin Festival, a celebration that the local youth network

volunteered at. The third was through my volunteer work with the soccer association, which drew anywhere from 150 to 200 youth every week from the town and its surrounding areas. Otherwise, there was a noticeable lack of youth and young families around town. My general observations started to make sense when placed within a statistical context. Table 2.2 drawn from Statistic Canada census data provides substance to this trend.

Table 2.2 – Youth Departure

Year	Youth (0-19)	Town Pop.	Youth as Percentage of Population
1986	1545	4760	32.5 %
1991	1400	4597	29.5 %
1996	1200	4526	25.8 %
2001	920	4021	22.2 %
2006	765	3764	19.8 %

(Statistics Canada 1996; 2001; 2006a; Sveinbjornsdottir 2001).

These demographics show a steady decline, as the population of those aged 0-19 has grown by negative 12.7 percent between 1986 and 2006.

The dearth of young people is not lost on local residents. It is even joked about by some residents who quip that Bonavista is turning into a ‘seniors retreat,’ since its population is aging at the same time that its youngest residents are leaving.⁹ Margaret has lived in town her entire life. When asked to describe the main differences today compared to 25 years ago, she responds that there:

⁹ A focus on the intensification of old age facilities is another factor behind this joke. Two notable examples in town are Manor Heights and Luxury Estates. I was told by one resident that if I wanted to make money in Bonavista, I should invest in retirement homes.

Isn't as many young people, and as in like, even kids or say teenagers or that type of thing, there don't seem to be as many, either that or as soon as they get their license they get a car. One time you go through Church Street, I mean, there was times you didn't know if you was gonna get through 'em. That might be exaggerating a bit now, but I mean it was a lot of teenagers on the go, just not now.

Emily, a former fishplant worker, talks about the lack of youth as being a big difference today compared to 25 years ago. She says:

That's a big thing, you don't see as many young people in the area anymore, like, one time back in the 80s, early 80s when I was hanging out with friends and stuff around the harbour, there was just people everywhere, you know teenagers and stuff, and now, you drive down through here and you'll see odd groups here and there, eh. And the high school [Discovery Collegiate], they built the school here for, able to have 700 students, and there's a little over 300 in there now.

While Margaret and Nancy describe the lack of youth as a major difference today when compared to the recent past, Eileen, a youth worker, provides an explanation for this trend.

Eileen notes that older fishery workers were less able and willing to retrain and relocate after the moratorium than their younger counterparts, those who were more mentally prepared to accept change and physically able to handle the new types of work abroad. Her explanation corroborates with research conducted on the issue. For instance, the work of Sinclair, Squires and Downton (1999) on the Bonavista Peninsula suggests that younger residents were most likely to leave because they had "fewer commitments to remaining in the area than older residents" (Sinclair and Squires et al. 1999:323). Ommer (2002) also looks at the youth question in Bonavista. Her findings reveal that young residents are "practical about future expectations," noting that "many understand they will have to leave" and that "about 90 percent plan on a post-secondary education and a

career NOT in the fishery” (Ommer 2002:399). Indeed, education continues to be viewed as a way to escape the town’s dismal economic future. A recent article in *The Packet*, the Peninsula’s local newspaper, notes that “most grads are heading to college and university,” rather than staying home to pursue a career in the fishery (Dean-Simmons 2009:C3).

Although the entirety of the outmigration process is a significant aftereffect of the fishery collapse, the exodus of youth is of particular importance, as Bonavista’s younger generation represents its future well-being. Sider writes that the “most immediate and most visible problem for small communities...is often a marked decline in the number of children...who are its social and economic future” (Sider 2003:312). Certainly, the younger population plays the role of biological reproducer and if they are no longer present to conduct this task, the town suffers a “crisis of social reproduction, an intensifying inability...simply to continue” (Sider 2003:312).

Another concern regarding the departure of youth applies to the fishery. Specifically, who will work the fish plants in the future? With so many young residents leaving for employment abroad, today’s youth do not seem at all interested in harvesting and, to a greater extent, manufacturing seafood. An article in *Food in Canada* magazine entitled “Labour Pains” states that this problem is already occurring in parts of Atlantic Canada, as “seafood processing has become a very hard sell to the younger workers who could replace them [senior workers]” (Hein 2006:26). This problem is starting to emerge in Bonavista too. During my fieldwork, for the first time in a long time, the local processing plant placed advertisements seeking labour to offload crab from the boats.

This is a job usually reserved for the younger population, however there is neither the interest nor the numbers to fill this void.

Outmigration is an important attribute of Bonavista's post-moratorium landscape. While the trend as a whole bears negative consequences, the exodus of the town's youth is of particular concern. Of course, however devastating the permanent loss of residents has become, it is epiphenomenal to the economic devastation that resulted after the cod fishery collapse. While many residents decided to leave for good, others have chosen to leave and come back.

2.2.2 – Temporary Work Abroad

That so many residents were compelled to leave in the years following the moratorium underscores just how stagnant the economy had become. As indicated by outmigration numbers, countless residents have left permanently to find suitable work abroad. Others have found a way to maintain residence in Bonavista, and work abroad for part of the year.¹⁰ Known as seasonal or temporary migration, it occurs when residents leave Bonavista to work in a distant economy for a predetermined and fixed amount of time, only to return during the offseason or when the work is complete.

¹⁰ These residents follow a schedule whereby they work abroad for part of the year, only to return home when the work is finished, and then repeat the cycle. The schedule varies depending on the individual and type of work, as some stay for months at a time (up to half a year) and return home for equally long periods; others follow a cycle that sees them work three weeks away and return for one week at home. In certain cases, both husband and wife find work abroad. They either leave separately so that one can maintain the household and take care of dependants while the other is away, or together, in which case extended family members take care of the younger kin. Thanks to Tracy Winters for her insight into the above topic.

A lot of seasonal work is located in Western Canada's well-paying oil and gas sector, an industry offering incomes that were unheard of in the days of the cod fishery. Due to the physically demanding nature of the labour and travel involved, many younger residents transitioned successfully into this type of work. While the oilfields have provided job opportunities for some time, the global economic downturn that started in 2008 has slowed economic growth in the energy sector. This led to a decreased demand for workers, which has temporarily reversed the flow of migrants from Newfoundland to Western Canada. It is too early to tell what effect this downturn will have on Bonavista, however what is known is that to date, the oil and gas sector has produced unprecedented wealth for some residents.

As a result of residents' abilities to take advantage of the lucrative wages in Alberta's oil and gas sector, a pattern of 'sumptuous consumption,' the purchase and display of expensive-looking goods, has arisen throughout town. Joan, Bonavista resident and former plant worker, notes that the rise in expensive recreational goods is a result of the success of the migratory work in Alberta:

...back in the 80s you didn't see like, a lot of, like expensive skidoos and stuff like that in this area, you, certain people had them certainly, but, now these days, you go ahead and look at those skidoos that are passing by, I mean I haven't had cars as expensive as that in years [laughs], yeah, but that's just, and that's, partly because like people are working in Alberta and there's big money to be made in Alberta as well.

Another resident, John, attributes the influx of expensive looking vehicles to the younger generation who opted for work in Alberta's oil and gas sector immediately following high school. He says that:

We got kids around here now with all the big play toys because most of them still live at home with their parents and they got their big four by four trucks and their skidoos and their ATVs [all-terrain vehicles], you see them going around, trucking around the harbour, you see them big trucks, you know, and they're living at home with their parents.

These residents have large disposable incomes, he says, because they continue to live at home in the offseason where their room and board are paid for by their parents.

It is true that high wages from Alberta's oil and gas sector are helping transform the local landscape. However, not all seasonal work is lucrative. In fact, many Bonavistans working abroad rely on a myriad of low-paying and unskilled positions located across Canada. For instance, I met residents seasonally employed in Ontario who pursued landscaping activities, road construction, warehousing and greenhouse work. I know of two young men employed as residential painters in British Columbia. Other residents work in a Prince Edward Island lobster plant for part of the year, and more relocate temporarily to New Brunswick in order to partake in rockweed harvesting operations. Even those working in Alberta are not necessarily employed in the energy sector. Other men in their late forties work half of the year for the city of Edmonton as pipe layers, road workers and general labourers.

The migratory work arrangement remains a popular choice for many residents because it balances the desire to find stable employment *and* maintain a home in Bonavista. The employment also results in the accrual of insurable work hours that can be used to draw Employment Insurance (EI) benefits during the offseason. However beneficial migratory labour may appear, significant downsides exist as well. The

experience of Margaret and her husband, George, illustrate some of the problems associated with temporary work abroad.

After losing their jobs as a result of the moratorium, they attempted to do whatever it took to stay in town. Both found local jobs in the years that followed, Margaret as a part time office employee, and George as an unskilled labourer with a local construction firm. Unfortunately, these jobs did not provide enough income to maintain the household, and it was decided that Margaret would remain at home and continue with her job, while George would find more profitable work abroad. Although he says the oil patch was enticing, the City of Edmonton offered him a job first, which he accepted on the spot. Margaret discusses some downsides to the arrangement as follows:

But I mean, especially if there's family, you know, you've got family home and it's still hard then, because I mean you've got, well especially with the way George is, he's paying rent out there, and paying his bills up there, plus having to send money home for me to take care of the house here, plus, I mean I know I got income too, but not enough to keep 'er going. So I mean, you, you're making money, but, in the long run when you looks at it, you're not really, you know.

While the jobs abroad have higher remunerative returns than anything at home, the fact that they are located far away comes at a financial cost. Margaret mentions that George must 'pay his bills up there [Alberta],' which refers to money spent on daily necessities of life including rent, transportation, food and entertainment. Thus, although jobs are more plentiful and well-paying abroad, a portion of anything earned is necessarily siphoned off by the foreign economy. Despite this 'migratory-labourer tax,' the arrangement remains preferable when compared to work prospects generated by the local economy at home.

In addition to these financial disadvantages, a physical and mental toll is taken on the labourer who must live and work abroad. One must endure the travel and time spent away from home and family, as well as the physically demanding nature of the work. If one works the oil and gas sector, then health and safety risks are more prevalent. On top of physical dangers, the work abroad is often isolating. A common complaint is what to do on one's day off. Not wanting to spend money on entertainment, and living outside of one's comfort zone, a day off that is normally meant to be rewarding can become lonely and depressing.

Temporary migration, as observed in Bonavista, is a complex issue. It provides opportunities that are not available at home, notably a job and an income. Sometimes the work is lucrative, particularly in the oil and gas sector. In these instances, residents bring this wealth back into Bonavista in the form of home renovations/construction, expensive cars and recreational vehicles. At other times, the work abroad provides a more modest income. In these cases, the worker generates only enough income to reproduce the household at a basic level. Overall, temporary migration benefits the town as a whole. It allows people to maintain a residential base in town and stems permanent outmigration.

The income earned abroad is remitted back into the Bonavista economy and used to help reproduce the household there. Despite the benefits that arise from temporary labour, it is important to remember that this type of work is for the most part, a symptom of an overall depressed economy. While it is true that Bonavista benefits to a degree as a result of remittance dollars, as mentioned by Margaret, the foreign economy takes a large portion of any income earned. Furthermore, the town of Bonavista and province of

Newfoundland have borne the cost of development, in terms of the social and economic expenditures that are necessary to raise a capable, working adult. However, at the present time it is the distant economies, the far away provinces and corporations, who are benefiting most from their labour.

Before moving on to the next topic, it is important to note a migration related trend has started to appear. It involves residents who left the town permanently to find work. Having secured employment abroad, many workers met partners, became married and started families. Rather than settle down away from home, they are returning to Bonavista to raise their families. They remain employed in their previous positions, and have set up migratory work arrangements with their employers. Explanations vary from person to person as to why they returned. A common refrain is that the town is home. Bonavista is where their parents and grandparents live. They have a special connection to this space and place, and want their children to share that. More pragmatic reasons include the fact that houses are significantly cheaper in Bonavista than Alberta (especially the urban centres of Calgary and Edmonton), and Bonavista is considered a safer place to raise a family.

2.2.3 – Rise of the Crab Fishery

The moratorium devastated rural outports across the island. Without cod, the fishing industry became leaner and shifted its focus to more lucrative species, notably snow crab, and to a lesser extent, shrimp. As Fishery Products International (FPI) initiated a downsizing scheme that saw the closure of processing plants across the island, they decided it would be profitable to maintain a crab facility somewhere on the

Bonavista Peninsula. A confrontation ensued between Bonavista and Port Union regarding the location of this plant. Port Union was initially favoured because it had a “modern, under-utilised facility,” although Bonavista was eventually chosen as the site (Dean-Simmons 1993). The decision delivered an economic blow that destabilised the town founded by unionist William Coaker, while simultaneously providing Bonavista with the economic lifeline that feeds its existence to this day.

FPI controlled the Bonavista plant until 2007, when it sold its entire processing arm to Ocean Choice International (OCI), a deal that included processing facilities in Dildo, Marystown, Port aux Choix and Triton (Baird 2007; Rose 2007:535). OCI was originally formed as a parent company for a number of pre-existing Newfoundland seafood businesses in early 2000 (OCI 2010). As a private firm that belongs to the Penney Group, it has received finance capital from the Landsbanki Corporate Finance, an Icelandic bank, and partnered with Visir, a family owned and operated fishing company in Iceland (Canadian Press 2007). Through timely acquisitions and purchases, OCI has become one of the largest seafood firms in Newfoundland. It processes, ships and sells seafood products internationally, and conducts business in over thirty countries, including: the United States, the United Kingdom, Germany, Spain, Japan, China and Vietnam (OCI 2011).

Bonavista’s crab plant brings economic stability through the employment of 220-240 people per season, which usually lasts from May to September. The average wage is \$12.50 per hour, and this workforce is primarily comprised of older residents whose seniority exceeds twenty years of service. Many workers are provided enough work to

maintain eligibility for EI benefits during the offseason. Not only does the plant maintain a significant manufacturing sector, it makes Bonavista a logistically advantageous point of departure for the crab fishery. As a result, many fishing vessels dock in Bonavista's harbour and utilise all the services that are required to prosecute the crab fishery.

Even though the value of crab increased throughout the 1990s and 2000s, plant workers' wages continued to average around twelve dollars per hour. Furthermore, part of the work procedure, the more labour intensive 'hand picking' process, is now conducted by inexpensive labour overseas. This means fewer jobs in Bonavista and fewer residents working at the plant. Dissimilar to these factory workers, boat owners and skippers profited from the boom. As explained by Albert, a long-time factory worker:

Well, like, we, when we were in the crab plant and we still made the same money we always made, but all of a sudden it was, the proportions of who made the profit were changed, and we knew, like, neighbours were making a lot of money on the crab because they're boat owners, and all of a sudden their standard of living went up drastically, and we just stayed the same, so, some people took offense to it and others didn't.

Albert notes how the crab fishery became a lucrative source of income for crab boat owners, while at the same time workers who processed their catch made relatively the same wages as before.

Noting the profitability for boat owners, one former cod fisher who transitioned into the crab fishery states that "we made more money [fishing crab] than we ever did at the cod." Another fisher, Dan, says that those who got into the crab fishery early made a lot of money:

Well, see, the only people that have gotten wealthy, I suppose, are the crab fishermen. Obviously the normal fishery is a fight just to exist. Like, the people who are doing the lobster fishery and the lump fishery, and the turbot fishery, they're species that they make a living at, even shrimp, they make a living, the crab fishery is the one where the people make the profits.

Sider corroborates this point, noting that owners of crab and shrimp boats were earning upwards of \$100,000 dollars per season, "more money than Newfoundland fishers ever dreamed possible" considering that "an income of \$40,000...is still a grand sum out in the countryside" (Sider 2003:39). Indeed, the wealth of the crab fishery was a province-wide phenomenon. Davis (2009) asserts that "unprecedented prosperity" was brought to "those who held crab licenses," adding that the "sudden increase in price meant that these enterprises often increased their yearly income by hundreds of thousands or even millions of dollars" (Davis 2009:142).

The crab fishery can be made even more lucrative through the use of 'trust agreements.' Such transactions enable boat owners, private investors and processing companies to profit from the ventures of multiple enterprises. The Atlantic Fisheries Policy Review describes a trust agreement as a private contract "entered into between the licence holder and a processor or other third party" whereby "these agreements purport to direct the use of the licence (the beneficial interest) by the processor or the other third party" (Atlantic Fisheries Policy Review 2004:4). These legally binding contracts allow "fish processors or other parties to gain control of licences by financing harvesters to purchase enterprises as titular owners" (Canada Senate Committee 2006). Davis states that because processors are unable to purchase licenses outright, trust agreements enable them to "gain control over crab licences through the backdoor and ensure themselves of a

steady supply of crab” (Davis 2009:160). In Bonavista, trust agreements are not discussed openly in public, however I have been told that they definitely exist, and that several local families have profited greatly from them.

Another tacit arrangement exists, also located within a legal grey area. Known as ‘under the table premiums,’ it is the transfer of a cash ‘bonus’ from a processor to a boat owner, with the agreement that the boat owner will sell the entirety of his catch to that processor. The arrangement ties particular boats to particular processors, which results in the latter gaining additional control over the fishery (Sider 2003:39). Herbert, a longtime resident, describes these deals:

But then there’s, and I’ve heard of this through the grapevine, and I mean, you know, I haven’t really seen it, but I know it’s there, it’s a fact, that there’s under the table dealings. Like, for instance, if you are a skipper of a boat, and most case the skippers are the owner, they might have loans, but what I’m saying is they own the boat, so, if FPI says ok, the government says we got to give you a dollar fifty per pound for your crab, and then some other plant will say we got to give you a dollar fifty per pound, but if you come with us we give you fifty cents a pound extra, under the table, no records. So, I know it happens, we gotta be careful what we talk about with that, because I mean, if they are doing that are they paying taxes on it, or are they not? You know what I’m saying, are they evading taxes or not? That I can’t answer. But what I am saying is I know that there are definitely deals being made, they call it under the table.

These deals benefit boat owners as they provide them with a bonus, or additional side income on top of what they already earn as determined by the amount of crab caught and sold. Since crews do not share in this injection of cash, these deals are able to cause tension between the crew and the skipper. However, it has been noted that a few of the more ‘generous’ skippers provide their crew with a portion of the extra profit earned through under the table premiums.

Similar to the wealth generated by those residents working in Western Canada's oil and gas sector, the wealth associated with the crab fishery is changing consumption patterns that are themselves changing the physical geography of the landscape. Martha associates the emergence of expensive items with the crab fishery, remarking that:

...all of a sudden you see someone coming down the street, you say, okay that's a crab owner, because he's driving a you know, 50,000 dollar truck, whereas before he just had a regular pickup. Cause, like you'd see, like a lot of influence in money, more money makes big toys, big trucks and stuff like that, skidoos, bikes, and instead of having a skidoo for the family they all have one each, this kind of thing.

Another way that wealth is changing the physical geography of the landscape is through the construction of modern houses. One resident, Margaret, talks about the new subdivision and the size of the homes located within it. It becomes clear, after listening to her, that the houses are very different than most of those located in town. When asked how Bonavista has changed since the moratorium, she states that:

They're building bigger houses. Because there's a new subdivision, like I heard about it but I didn't even go up there it's on the way towards Newman's Cove, and, well, one of those people that got a new boat built, it was his father in law, got a new house built up there, that's the second house he's built since he's been retired from fishing, and his grandmother got a house built up there. So when my cousin was up a few weeks ago I took her up there, you should see the houses that's goin' up out there [pauses] whoa [exhales] my gosh, I don't know who owns 'em but I wouldn't want to try and heat 'em. These are big houses, unreal, and then the vehicles, well yeah you can tell pretty much, like the big trucks and that who the fishermen are, most of the times.

It is evident from Margaret's statement that the subdivision consists of houses that are considerably different than what many Bonavistans are accustomed to, and that the homes are large and impressive by her standards. Figure 2.1 shows the new subdivision's position relative to Bonavista, close enough to be considered part of the town proper, yet

far enough away that it cannot access the municipal waterworks, instead reliant on a system of artesian wells.



Figure 2.1 – Country Acres Subdivision
(Google Inc. 2009a).

The profitability of the crab fishery has recently decreased. Starting in 2006 the “price paid for crab plunged to a fourteen year low of 92 cents per pound,” which can be attributed to the rebound of Alaskan snow crab and the rise of the Canadian dollar, both of which make it increasingly difficult to export seafood to the American market (Davis 2009:168). Despite this slowdown, Bonavistans who entered the crab fishery early have already accumulated their wealth, many of whom have retired, some as millionaires. Those fishers who entered the crab industry later are finding it more difficult to make such large sums. During my fieldwork, prices for crab were extremely low and fishers were said to be ‘fishing for stamps,’ that is, working enough hours simply to qualify for EI. While remuneration for the time being is minimal, at the very least these boat owners

can continue to build equity on their vessels and reproduce their households in modest comfort.

2.2.4 – Local Economy, Unemployment and Poverty

A major inhibitor to Bonavista's economic recovery is its geographic location/isolation. Formerly an economic advantage due to its close proximity to the cod rich fishing grounds of the Grand Banks, Bonavista's northern position is now a disadvantage when it comes to attracting new businesses. The town is over 100 kilometers away from the island's main transportation route and regional service centre, Clarenville. In a 2006 article entitled "Off the Highway, Off the Radar: Regional 'Hubs' Picking up Most New Jobs," mayor Betty Fitzgerald suggests that the municipality's "location — precisely, its distance from the Trans-Canada Highway — is standing in the way of economic recovery" (CBC 2006). She furthers that towns like Bonavista "are feeling a greater sting from Newfoundland and Labrador's sustained population loss because they cannot lure new employers," a problem attributed to businesses' preference for sites that are close to the island's main transportation route (CBC 2006). The Atlantic Canada Economic Council agrees, having released a report that states how "outmigration has had its biggest drain on rural communities...at a distance from major population centres," criteria that apply directly to Bonavista (Beale 2008:2). The town's geographic isolation may have an adverse affect on the attraction of new business opportunities, but it is still beneficial when it comes to the crab fishery, Bonavista's most important post-cod industry.

The crab fishery has indeed become Bonavista's post-moratorium economic saviour, as it provides a stable industrial backbone in the form of a primary and secondary industry. While it is true that the crab fishery provides fewer jobs than the cod fishery that came before, it nonetheless maintains a productive economic base that generates wealth, provides employment, and supports a significant service sector, including but not limited to a regional hospital, pharmacy, doctor's office, elementary school, high school, college, courthouse, law office, police detachment, library, post office, small department store, telecommunications store, bank, two retirement homes and two grocery stores.

Figure 2.2 details Bonavista's industrial activity in 2006, measuring the number of workers employed in each industry.

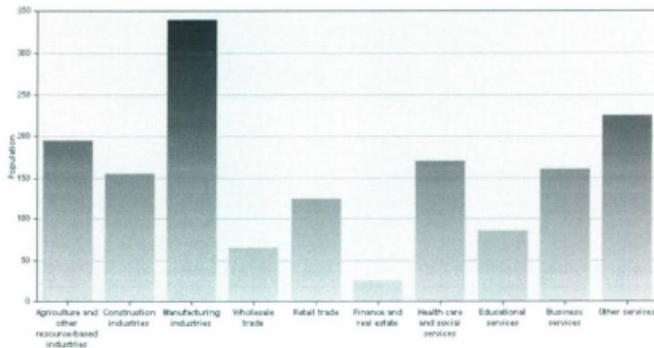


Figure 2.2 – Bonavista Industry in 2006 (Statistics Canada 2006b).

The fishery, acting as the productive base to the economy, employs a significant number of residents. This is noted by the 195 residents working in 'agriculture and other resource-based industries,' the majority associated with the procurement of crab.

Manufacturing industries account for 340 jobs, much of this work being associated with the crab processing sector. The Bonavista crab plant makes up a lot of this labour, although other residents work at the shrimp plant in Port Union, and to a lesser extent the crab plant in Trouty.¹¹ The service sector, characterised by 'retail trade,' 'finances and real estate,' 'health and social services,' 'education' and 'business services,' account for a significant portion of the town's economic base. One area that continue to develop is the health care sector, particularly services associated with elderly patients. Between the regional hospital, a retirement home and long-term care facility, Bonavista has generated 170 jobs in this field, a significant contributor for a small town. A growing segment of the service industry, characterised by 'other services,' is the tourism sector, a topic that is the focus of later chapters (Statistics Canada 2006b).

The data presented above paints an interesting picture, and it reveals that the crab fishery has become the lynchpin of Bonavista's economy. This sector provides employment for many residents, and as a productive economic venture that generates wealth, it also supports an extensive service sector, which itself generates further employment opportunities throughout town. If someone were to pull out the pin that holds the crab fishery together, then the entire structure collapses, since without a productive base, the town cannot afford a service sector. While the tourism sector exists independently, so much of it is premised on the notion of Bonavista as a fishing town, both past and present, that if the fishery crab were to disappear, then it would be

¹¹ The Trouty crab plant was operational when the data in figure 2.2 was collected, however it closed one year later (CBC 2007).

negatively affected as well. Furthermore, tourism mostly exists as a fall back from the fishery, as an economic option for those who cannot find work elsewhere; it was never intended to solve Bonavista's economic problems, but only to add some support.

What the crab fishery has been able to do is provide an economic lifeline, a small productive base that stimulates the economy just enough to give it life. Bonavista's existence is thereby precarious but stable. Even though the fishery, service sector and tourism industry provide enough work to keep the town afloat, they do not generate enough job opportunities to absorb all the surplus labour that exists, evidenced by the high unemployment rates. For instance, the last federal census recorded Bonavista's unemployment rate was at 28 percent, 9 per cent higher than the provincial average, and 21 percent higher than the national average (Statistics Canada 2006a). When work can be found, the remuneration is not up to par. To exemplify, the average gross income for every man, woman and child in 2006 was \$17,900, while the personal income per capita was \$12,400 (Newfoundland and Labrador 2006a). As would be expected with such low numbers, many residents require some form of government support at some point throughout the year. In 2008, 545 Bonavistans (13.8 percent) received Income Support Assistance (welfare income), while the number of residents who collected Employment Insurance was 1,250, or 59 percent of the population (Newfoundland and Labrador 2006a).¹²

¹² Social assistance, also known as income support, helps low income residents reproduce their household at the most basic level. It is intended to help them meet the basic necessities of life, including food, shelter and clothing.

The provincial government is aware of the above issues and has developed a number of programs and strategies to alleviate this poverty. One such plan, the province-wide Poverty Reduction program, targets the young and the aged as those “most vulnerable to poverty” (Newfoundland and Labrador 2010c). In Bonavista, both of these demographics remain at high risk to experience poverty, and local strategies have been put in place to help those who suffer the most.

In a local newspaper article from 2007, councilman Hedley Butler notes that “if a kid is hungry in this day and age, it shouldn't be,” furthering that he has seen it with his own eyes, and that he thinks “everybody here has seen it” (Button 2007:C1). Indeed, the town's economic hardship affects the youth particularly hard. During 2008, 135 people aged 0-17 lived in families that received Income Support (Newfoundland and Labrador 2006a). In a conversation with one teacher from the local high school, she notes that student poverty is a major concern. Hunger, she says, inhibits student success, as a number of students come to school in the morning without enough to eat. To address the youth problem as a whole, the province has funded the Bonavista Area Youth Network (BAYNet). In addition to providing young residents with a space to socialise after school and on weekends, the organisation promotes a “variety of programs and services” that allow youth to “better plan a career, find employment and access recreation” (Newfoundland and Labrador 2007). Even in my short time in Bonavista, I noticed how BAYNet was able to positively engage a section of young people in town.

As previously mentioned, older residents are also amongst those most vulnerable to poverty. After the moratorium, former fishery workers were urged to retrain and

relocate in order to find new work. The transition was easier for younger residents who were less intimidated by the prospect of reeducating, and who were more physically able to handle relocation and physical work abroad. For older residents the situation was much harder. Many had low education levels, and found the twin prospects of reeducation and relocation very daunting. Too old to retrain and relocate, too young to retire, many were forced to stay and contend with the languishing economy.

Aware of the situation of older rural residents who were unable to transition successfully following the moratorium, the provincial government has designed programs specifically to help them. One such program is the Targeted Initiative for Older Workers (TIOW). It was established to “provide support for unemployed workers aged 55-64” who were “affected by significant downsizing or closures” (Barker 2009). In 2009, TIOW trained and employed 14 Bonavista adults over a 24 week period. The work involved the renovation of a heritage building owned by a local organisation committed to the restoration of Bonavista’s heritage sector. The older workers “repaired and re-shingled the roof, installed new windows and a door, replaced the old clapboard...and painted the exterior” (Barker 2009). Many other older workers have found work in government make-work projects, notably Community Enhancement Employment Projects (CEEP) and Job Creation Partnerships (JCP). The nature of these projects are discussed in detail in the following chapter.

2.3 – Summation

The previous two sections provide a framework on which to build a more narrowed analysis of tourism. The brief historical note informs the research question in two ways. First, it reveals the town's close connection to the cod fishery throughout its existence, which provides an understanding as to why the cod fishery collapse was considered to be so devastating. Not only was an entire occupation made superfluous overnight, but an entire population lost its historical connection to the fishery. Second, the section shows how Bonavista's extensive past has resulted in the establishment of a physical history that remains very much intact today. This heritage appeal is significant because it forms the basis of Bonavista's tourism sector, an important part of the post-moratorium economy.

The description of Bonavista's social setting provides a general analysis of the post-moratorium landscape, and describes the broader social context that tourism has been developed within. It shows that Bonavista was devastated as a result of the cod collapse, and that significant outward migration ensued as a result, in both a temporary and permanent form. Although government sponsored adjustment programs helped many former fishery workers reeducate and relocate, there existed a segment who were unable to do so, many of whom were older residents. Even today, seventeen years later, the local economy is characterised by high unemployment, low income averages and in many cases, poverty. While the general economic landscape remains grim for many residents, others have done quite well since the moratorium. Migratory workers who found jobs in the lucrative oil and gas sector, as well as crab fishers who were able to take advantage of

the formerly high crab prices, have both benefited from the post-moratorium economy. Even though the fishery does not produce as much wealth as before the cod closure, it still maintains a productive economic base that provides jobs and supports a service sector that provides another layer of jobs, and a variety of useful services for residents to take advantage of. While integral to the economy, the fishery and consequent service sector do not generate enough economic activity to support the town on their own. To compensate, the tourism sector, based on the town's heritage appeal and historic character, has been developed to create employment and stimulate local economic activity.

The next chapter discusses the establishment of Bonavista's tourism industry. It focuses on residents who have been negatively affected by the cod moratorium and have relied on the tourism sector ever since. It shows that these residents have become reliant on tourism to reproduce their livelihood, and that tourism is causing lasting and significant changes to the town's social and physical makeup.

Chapter 3: Tourism and the Formation of Marginal Workers

Thomas says that native Newfoundlander's are becoming more aware of their surroundings and reevaluating what is around them. He notes that whales used to be a nuisance because they would tear fishing nets and smell up the place, but now they are being relooked at as magnets for tourism. Icebergs are the same. They used to be considered nuisances because they would destroy fishing equipment and were hazardous, they are now seen in better light because they bring in tourists who flock to them for their natural beauty. Another example is the Skerwink Trail in Trinity East. The hiking path used to skirt inland away from the coastline, since fishermen and their families used to want to get away from the sea when taking a nature hike, but now with the advent of tourism as an economic alternative, the trail has been reconfigured to run along the coastline, which appeals more to the tourists who visit the area for vacations and time off. Thomas calls this the "rediscovery of Newfoundland culture."
[Fieldnotes: Dinner with Thomas on June 10, 2009].

Thomas's background working in Bonavista's tourism sector gives him keen insight into the subject at hand. He notes how Bonavistans and Newfoundlanders are changing the way they perceive their surroundings as a result of tourism's rise in prominence. Natural phenomena formerly regarded with dismay due to their incompatibility with the fishery are now celebrated because they appeal to outsiders and benefit tourism. Even the physical geography of the landscape is changing to accommodate outside interest, as evidenced by the Skerwink Trail which has literally bent to the whim of outsiders who prefer a route that runs parallel to the coastline.

I was sitting across from Thomas in Skipper's Restaurant as he recounted the rise of tourism in Bonavista following the moratorium.¹³ Skipper's café, as it is locally known, provides a comfortable dining experience for tourists throughout the summer

¹³ Formerly owned by merchants Philip Templeman and Joseph T. Swyers, respectively, the building remains in the Swyers family to this day. It was restored in 1997 for the Cabot 500 celebrations, and then transformed into a hotel and restaurant in 2005 (Harbour Quarters Inn 2010). Although open year round, it benefits greatly from the summer tourist trade, an increasingly important economic sector in town.

months. A nautical theme decorates the establishment, including a polished wood barometer, early era diving mask and wooden box with the words 'Genuine NAFEL Salt Codfish' written across it in black lettering. Dark hand-sawn planks line the floor, and old style barrels support natural pine tables. Spacious windows overlook the harbour and refract the incoming sunlight ever so slightly; should the light become a distraction, tan blinds extend downward to block the rays while maintaining the ocean view. At this time in the early evening the glass barrier delivers a stunning view of the inner harbour and outer ocean. The blue and red hulls of berthed fishing boats contribute a bit of colour, as the perpetual motion of the waves provides movement and direction to the scene. I am told that in certain months whales can be seen swimming amongst the icebergs that dot the bay. This is all part of the new tourist experience.

The following chapter provides an overview of tourism. First, it reintroduces readers to the town, describes the tourist scene in the summer of 2009, briefly locates tourism's historical trajectory, and then emphasises 1997 as the year that jumpstarted tourism. Secondly, it analyses the interaction between tourism and the surplus population of workers left jobless after the moratorium. It does this by assessing the role of local organisations that utilise government make-work programs to develop the tourism sector, and focuses on the perspective of those workers who build the industry as part of the government make-work labour force.

3.1 – Reintroduction to the Town

Situated atop the northern edge of the Bonavista Peninsula on Newfoundland's northeast coast lies Bonavista. The west side of town is nestled against the bay, while to the east lies low vegetation and pasture until one meets the other side of the headland. To the south are vast expanses of small woodlands and barrens broken up by hundreds of ponds or small lakes, many of which are fished for trout throughout the summer. The north encompasses meadow and pasture, contained on either side by rigid coastline that recedes inward until it forms a singularity that is the cape's outermost point. A tiny island not thirty meters away supports a puffin colony; the annual arrival of these hole-nesting auks remains a harbinger of warmer weather to come, and is a favoured topic of conversation amongst the local population.

Elliston (formerly Bird Island Cove) is a short drive away to the southeast, while the village of King's Cove lies across the Bay to the southwest, the dim glow of its lights visible across the water on dark nights. The tiny village of Spillars Cove sits only a few kilometers away; with a population of 121, it is widely considered a subdivision of Bonavista proper. Clarenville is the commercial district of the region and the closest service centre. It is located on the isthmus that connects the Avalon and Bonavista Peninsulas. Located 109 kilometers to the southwest, it takes just over an hour to drive there. Clarenville is considered the midpoint between Bonavista and the urban capital of the province, St. John's, which is located 299 kilometers to the southeast, a three to three and a half hour drive.

As noted in figure 3.1, Bonavista can be divided into seven districts, or “boroughs,” as some locals call them:

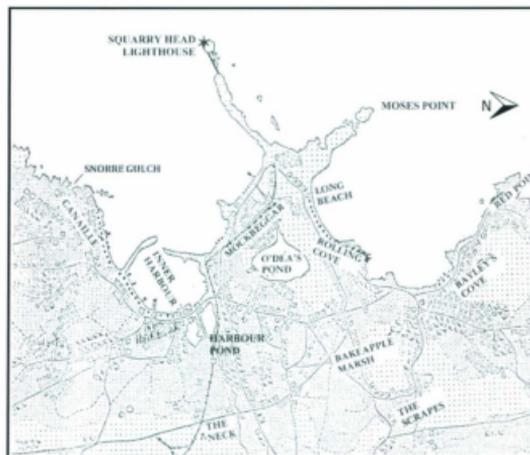


Figure 3.1 – Local Districts (Little 2006:237).

These districts are named: Bayley’s Cove, Canaille, Mockbeggar, The Neck, Red Point, Rolling Cove, and The Scrapes. The town spreads out from north to south, and although a few parts are densely populated, the town as a whole is not; this openness is exaggerated where marshland and ponds make up part of the landscape. In some areas there is enough room to raise small farm animals, including ducks, chickens, rabbits and sheep.¹⁴ The town remains unorthodox in both the placement of its houses and the arrangement of its roads, all predicated on the historic pattern of obtaining land and building of homes as close to the waterfront as possible (Bradley 1994a). This historic trend gives Bonavista its

¹⁴ A number of local inhabitants also tend gardens that usually consist of vegetable and root crops.

longitudinal feel, as the town's length along the coastline (3.5 km) extends twice as far as its width across (1.5 kilometers). Since so much of the town is exposed to the water, areas that lack the natural protection of cliffs or banks are reinforced with thin poles cut from nearby forests.

Bonavista is a nice place to spend the summer. Upon visiting the area one will quickly notice why it has drawn a stream of tourists since the late 1990s. The temperature is neither cool nor hot, the scenery is magnificent and the moist ocean air feels therapeutic. There are a lot of historic sites to see in town, including old saltbox homes, stores, fishing sheds, merchant complexes and more. At the end of the peninsula is the Provincial Bonavista Lighthouse, while a community pasture lies between the lighthouse and the town. If visitors are not charmed at the sight of horses and sheep grazing to the backdrop of rocky cliffs, crashing waves, and open ocean, then they will surely enjoy The Dungeon. Located near the abandoned village of Lance Cove, this natural phenomenon is a wide circular opening in the earth 35 meters across and 15 meters deep. More than a mere sinkhole, The Dungeon is a geographic wonder as its substructure connects to the Atlantic ocean through two naturally formed sea caves. The ebb and flow of the ocean draws water inward and outward as naturally and consistently as one takes a breath, and just as a person's temper increases the flow of air to and from their lungs, the ferocious storms that periodically hit the coast cause the most extraordinary surge of waves in and out of the Dungeon's caverns.

While the town is attractive and can be described as pleasant and quaint, a feeling of "sadness fills the air," as noted by one tourist with whom I spoke. Such impressions of

melancholy are not lost on town members. The minutes from a meeting held by a local organisation (dedicated to the development and promotion of Bonavista's heritage sites) note that a sense of "loss and abandonment" can be felt as one approaches the "old CN train station" near the inner pond (BHTF 2009a). Their statement is justifiable, as the train on display is rusting, the area is overgrown with vegetation, and numerous abandoned boats are located nearby; beaten, weathered and some overturned, these formerly productive fishing vessels remain a somber reminder of the cod fishery's dominant past. Similar feelings of 'loss and abandonment' are emitted by the rundown fishing rooms, fractured sheds, empty nets, rusting crab traps, broken lobster pots, and abandoned and vacant houses that dot the town. The abandoned houses are a particularly striking reminder of the economic depression that followed the moratorium. Walking throughout town, one notices many dilapidated saltbox structures with crumbling foundations, chipped paint, boarded doors and broken windows, as revealed in figure 3.2:



Figure 3.2 – Abandoned House on Roper Street, June 14, 2009.
Photo by Author.

Empty houses are a noticeable feature of the landscape, and a complete town census conducted in the spring of 2009 records 177 vacant and abandoned houses throughout town, symbols of the permanent outmigration that followed the moratorium (Municipal Census 2009).

Bonavista embodies an interesting dichotomy. On the one hand the town is beautiful, with a stunning natural geography and visibly deep historical roots. On the other hand, it remains an area devastated by economic collapse, a fact evidenced by the numerous rundown homes, boats and sheds that are located around the town. In some ways, just as Bonavista's quaintness and historical appeal draw tourists in, so does its economic devastation. I often noticed tourists congregating around rusted crab traps and lobster pots, taking pictures of rundown saltbox homes and overturned boats. In many ways, these remnants of a different past are part of the tourist attraction, since they represent how the fishery used to be organised, and remain symbols of the fact that massive industrial collapse can occur in an advanced capitalist country.

3.1.1 – Contemporary Bonavista Tourism

The tourist season is restricted to the late spring, summer and early fall months, as most historic sites, tourist attractions, and some restaurants close for the winter. As one town councilman states: "that's a big thing, we wish that we could do something during the winter months, you know, so, I don't know if there's something we could do or not." When asked about future considerations, he says that: "there's ideas like skidooning, like a trail from Bonavista to Clarendville, and on the way, on the trail you could go into the lodge or something like that, right, I don't know if it will ever materialise or not."

Another prospect is storm watching. The town's proximity to the open ocean produces some spectacular views during the winter, with waves breaking against the shoreline with tremendous force.¹⁵

I was made aware of what the tourism sector has to offer during a preliminary visit in mid-May, 2009. Waking up in a local bed and breakfast, I was treated to a breakfast with my choice of over twenty types of homemade jams and jellies. As I prepared to venture out for my first day on the town, the owner took me aside and produced a local map. Spreading it across the washing machine located in the entranceway closet, she noted the following points of interest: Cape Bonavista Lighthouse, Memorial United Church, Garrick Theatre, St. Joseph's Roman Catholic Church, Courthouse, Bonavista Archives, Loyal Orange Lodge, Ryan Premises National Historic Site, Bonavista Museum, Matthew Legacy Site, Mockbeggar Plantation, White Rock Lookout, Visitor Information Office and Old Day's Pond Boardwalk (BHTF 2009b).¹⁶ The town website lists even more attractions, such as the: Carriage Gun, Whipping Post, White Rock Murals, Alexander Bridge House, J.T. Swyers Company and natural phenomena including puffins, whales, icebergs and scenic coastline (Town of Bonavista 2010c). On top of these, Bonavista boasts over 1000 historic pre-First World

¹⁵ This is an area that British Columbia tourism promotes with recent success, as one travel guide notes that "for the past five years, winter vacationers from around the world have...flock[ed] to the picturesque fishing villages of Ucluelet and Tofino to go storm watching" (Olson 2007:292; TravelBC 2010).

¹⁶ This map was produced as a joint project between the Town of Bonavista and the Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation. It can be obtained at Bonavista's Municipal Hall, as well as other locations around town.

War properties; apart from Newfoundland's capital of St. John's, Bonavista has more registered heritage structures than any other place in the province.¹⁷

The biggest tourist draws are the Ryan Premises and the Cape Bonavista Lighthouse, while the Mockbeggar Plantation and Matthew Legacy are popular to a lesser extent. The Ryan Premises is the restored mercantile complex of the James Ryan merchant firm. Administered by the federal government, it is a National Historic Site of Canada (NHSC). Its purpose is to "provide visitors with a remarkable sense of history" and "appreciate the national historic significance of the east coast fisheries" (Parks Canada 2007:3). The Cape Bonavista Lighthouse is a striped red and white two-storey lookout that sits on the northernmost edge of the peninsula. Under provincial jurisdiction, it was restored to its 1870 appearance so that the "living quarters have been furnished and decorated as they would have appeared...when the lightkeeper and his family lived there" (Town of Bonavista 2010a). The Mockbeggar Plantation, also a provincial site, promotes itself as possibly the "oldest identifiable fishery plantation in existence on the island of Newfoundland" (Town of Bonavista 2010b). Unlike the previous three attractions, The Matthew Legacy is neither a heritage nor an historical site. Rather, it is a newly built replica of John Cabot's ship, The Matthew, that sailed from Bristol to North America in 1497.

Concerning accommodations, visitors have three types of overnight options while staying in town. The bed and breakfasts are the least expensive, most of which cost less

¹⁷ Even though numerous buildings were destroyed before the interest in tourism surged, many are present in town today; while some have been beautifully restored, others remain "derelict and endangered" (Button 2008a:C1).

than \$100.00 per night. The Harbour Quarters Inn is the local hotel. Owned and operated by the well-known Swyers family (descendants from the Swyers merchant firm), it is a four star accommodation located at the centre of the harbour. The Elizabeth J. Cottages offer the most 'luxurious' and expensive overnight experience. These four and a half star accommodations consist of two private cottages located in the southwestern corner of town. Despite the array of choices, not all tourists stay overnight. Many are day-trippers who either drive themselves in or arrive on the bus-tours that frequent the town. The bus-tours encourage their clients to visit two sites in particular: The Matthew Legacy and Skipper's Restaurant. This is because whenever the buses arrive around meal time, they park in front of the restaurant, and any other time of day they park near the Matthew Legacy complex.

Whether tourists arrive by bus or car, most remain recognisable due to their lack of local dialect, noticeable foreign dialect/accent, unfamiliar appearance and markers such as cameras, maps, hats, backpacks, bags and fanny packs. In cases where such identifiers are missing, many remain distinguishable through their hesitant body language and tentative walk. At times their slow and timid forward motion resembles an awkward dance, as though they want to explore the town, yet do not feel the freedom to walk down the street as if it were their own. This can be attributed to the transitional nature of the town – not fully fishery, not fully tourism. It is as though some tourists understand the town remains a place where people continue to work, live and in many cases, struggle to survive, and that their presence might be considered an intrusion in the daily lives of

residents. The local/tourist dichotomy is exemplified with a description of two major celebrations held throughout the summer: The Bowdoin Festival and Bonavista Days.

There were a number of events and functions during the summer of 2009, including but not exclusive to: a high school art show, church rummage sale, Discovery Days, and Canada Day celebration. The two biggest events of the summer, however, were the Bowdoin Festival and Bonavista Days. The Bowdoin Festival was publicised in a glossy and aesthetically appealing booklet, and was backed by the provincial government. Bonavista Days was advertised on a large black and white spread in *The Packet* newspaper, supported by the municipal government and local groups.

The Bowdoin Festival was a province-wide celebration surrounding the life of Arctic explorer, Bob Bartlett, and his ship, the Bowdoin. Throughout the summer of 2009 the arctic schooner, operated by Maine's Maritime Academy, toured the island and stopped at various ports. Each visit consisted of a multi-day celebration, complete with music, games, dramatic presentations and a museum exhibit. The event was extremely successful in Bonavista.

The Bowdoin's arrival was an exciting occasion. The onlookers, residents and tourists alike, were huddled up and down the main wharf; many congregated on the viewing platform as more sat on the huge rocks that reinforce the breakwater. Once the ship came into view, it approached quickly and was soon close to shore. Turning sharply towards the inner harbour, you could hear the call of the captain followed by the loud blast of a gun that sent a ripple through the crowd. As the boat eased past the local crab boats, it docked next to The Matthew, fitting since the event was locally dubbed: The

Bowdoin meets The Matthew. When the mayor officially spoke to the crowd, she sounded excited and enthusiastic, focusing attention on the attendance of two National Hockey League players (NHL) who had arrived on the boat.¹⁸ After the event many locals mentioned how impressed they were with the attendance.

The entertainment was located in the private dockside area of The Matthew Legacy Complex, complete with seating and a stage. The event had nonstop performances, including five live music shows from four different groups and two dramatic presentations. The Orange Hall hosted a Bob Bartlett exhibit, presented by graduate students from the Folklore and Archaeology departments at Memorial University. There were events for children, such as magic shows, clowns and even a bouncy castle. Public sailings of the ship were accessible through a draw, and for those not fortunate enough to set sail around the harbour, public boardings were available.

Bonavista Days provided a different atmosphere and tone. The events revolved around locally produced activities, such as a fish and brewis lunch, garden party, steak dinner at the fire hall, fireworks and a concert at Cabot Stadium. Each occasion was well attended and good times were shared by those involved. Despite this, the entire production lacked the flair and excitement of the Bowdoin Festival. An example is the garden party, an afternoon event held outside of the Orange Hall. The occasion was quaint and provided a good social atmosphere. The children were entertained by the games and two large swings, the adults socialised, while the music from a live four

¹⁸ It was rumoured that Michael Ryder of the Boston Bruins would arrive on the boat, however it turned out to be Adam Pardy, who plays for the Calgary Flames, and Andrew Sweetland, then a hockey prospect of the Florida Panthers.

person band blasted from large speakers. Multiple booths were set up to host entertainment, games and food, yet they were hastily constructed, crooked and unpainted. One booth was occupied by a woman selling magnetic bracelets, her wares arranged on a collapsible table in an otherwise empty space. Although the small area was filled with locals, the attendance paled in comparison to the Bowdoin's arrival. While the Bowdoin festival utilised the exclusive stage located in The Matthew Complex for its live concerts, the band that played the garden party performed on the back of a flatbed truck. Overall, Bonavista Days entailed activities that were well attended by local residents and fun for the family. However, it lacked the polished touch of the Bowdoin affair – that certain level of professionalism that was introduced with the Cabot 500 celebrations in 1997, and continues today with events like the Bowdoin.

Bonavista Days is representative of the local celebrations of the past when the fishery was at its height. The very first Bonavista Days took place in 1975, drew large crowds, and was very popular. This period marked the heyday of the capitalist-intensive fishery and a time of local expansion. However, since the fishery has waned and the town has been devastated by outmigration, Bonavista Days has lost its former glory. As tourism has increased, events that cater to visitors, such as the Bowdoin, have gained in popularity and attendance. Whereas Bonavista Days was founded to celebrate the economic sector of the fishery, and has diminished in correlation with the fishery's demise, events like the Bowdoin continue to grow as they promote the economic sector of tourism, an economic sector that is on the rise. In this way, the dual and opposing

character of Bonavista Days and the Bowdoin Festival is representative of a town in transition.

3.2 – Establishment of Tourism

While tourism developed exponentially after the moratorium, the sector was present beforehand. Reverend Charles Lench considers the town's tourism potential in 1919, noting that Bonavista's scenery is good and the town "would make a very popular summer resort for the tire people of the city," since "leaving St. John's by the noon train, brings the passengers to Bonavista by 2:30 am and by noon on alternate days of the week" (Lench 1985:16). Nearly half a decade later, an article in the May 26, 1964 edition of the *Western Star* discusses the town's "tourist possibilities." It first criticises Bonavista by saying that its "social life has not grown proportionally with the church," and then mentions that hopefully this "weakness will be remedied in the near future, so that we may have something to offer and entice tourist trade, apart from the rugged scenery" (Forbes 1964:4). A story in the 1979 edition of *The Rounder* has a solution in mind. The article mentions that for tourism growth to occur, emphasis needs to be placed on the area's "deeply embedded" history, adding that "steps have been taken in this regard, namely, the restoration of the historic lighthouse on the Cape at a cost of about \$400,000" (The Rounder 1979).

The early 1980s saw groundwork laid for the expansion of a heritage based tourism sector. In 1980 the Mockbeggar Plantation was donated by the prominent Bradley family to the province, who financed restoration under the Canada/Newfoundland Tourism Agreement (Newfoundland and Labrador 1980). Around

the same time, a grassroots museum was founded from a collection of historic artifacts assembled by librarian Jack Miles. The museum was located in an old store on Marguerite Linthorne's property, who took on the role of "curator, collector and caretaker" (Button 2008b:B1). The Bonavista Historical Society (BHS) originated in 1984. As a nonprofit organisation, the group's mandate includes the collection of primary data that contribute to the history of the area, and provides public access to this information (Bonavista Archives 2010). The group has since played a significant role in the promotion of a tourism based economy, a fact discussed in detail later on.

By the late-1980s both upper levels of government began to subsidise the tourism sector through the funding of heritage based projects. In 1987 the federal government provided \$60,000 to upgrade the exterior of the Loyal Orange Lodge (Evening Telegram 1987:24). One year later Bonavista was selected over Trinity, Carbonear and Fogo Island as the location of a national historic site to commemorate the entire East Coast fishery (Harris and Strowbridge 1988). The deciding factor was the Ryan Premises, former mercantile complex of James Ryan Ltd.¹⁹ This site was chosen because it was well maintained, easily accessible, and believed to embody the town's past and history of the salt cod fishery. Later that year the provincial government provided \$10,000 to finish the restoration of the Cape Bonavista Lighthouse, and granted the Mockbeggar Plantation \$10,000 so that it could be restored as an historic attraction (Ryan 1989a:12; 1989b:A7). The government's investments appear to have paid off by the decade's end, as an article

¹⁹ At the time of the announcement the government did not own the property and had not yet arranged to purchase it (Harris and Strowbridge 1988).

published in the September 16, 1989 edition of *The Evening Telegram* is entitled: "tourist season deemed success, some attractions to remain open," and goes on to suggest that up to 13,000 tourists have visited the town so far that year (Ryan 1989b:A7).

The BHS became involved in the development of tourism in 1990, and despite its nomenclature, decided to focus on the area's natural geography rather than its deep history. The group undertook a three phase beautification effort of The Dungeon, a natural curiosity located in Dungeon Provincial Park. With \$28,504 of government funding to complete the first phase, work took place over the summer and fall of 1990, employing seven residents for seven weeks (Ryan 1990a). The workers constructed a wooden boardwalk and viewing platform on the eastern embankment of the pit, engineered to provide visitors with a safe place from which to view the giant sinkhole (Ryan 1990b). Although a BHS member stated that "some \$450,000 to \$500,000 will be spent over the next few years on the site," funding failed to materialise and the second and third phases were never completed (Ryan 1990a).

In 1994, tourism received a huge financial boost when the federal government granted \$3,000,000 towards the restoration of the Ryan Premises. The money would help restore the site and transform it into an interpretation centre that would document the history of the East coast, Labrador, International Fisheries and the sealing industry. The project provided local construction jobs to those hired by Chard's Construction, a Bonavistan firm that won the initial contract and two more worth \$1,700,000 in 1996 (Murphy 1996:15). Owner Monty Chard said the work "will be a major boost to the local economy, providing work for 30 residents" (Murphy 1996:15). The site was scheduled to

be finished in time for the 500th anniversary celebration of John Cabot's transatlantic voyage, an important event that is discussed in the following section (Ryan 1994).

In 1998 members of the town council established a committee to gauge the prospect of establishing a golf course on Cape Bonavista. It was believed that golf would encourage tourism by keeping visitors in town longer, and would contribute to the local economy through the provision of an estimated 15-20 seasonal jobs (Barker 1998:A10). Committee member David Hiscock noted that the biggest obstacle was the expropriation of land necessary to fit a course in the area, citing that the terrain needed to be near the shore, so that "golfers [could] see icebergs and whales" (Barker 1998:A10). Though golf never materialised on the peninsula, soon after the Cape Bonavista lighthouse received \$600,000 for restoration work on the building's dome, foundation, roof and exterior (Newfoundland and Labrador 2000). Considered "the top attraction among the Provincial Historic Sites in the province, it boasted an annual visitation of more than 15,000" persons two years later, and continues to draw steady numbers to this day (Newfoundland and Labrador 2000).

Bonavista became involved in the development of tourism at a different level in 2007, when the Bonavista Institute for Cultural Tourism was introduced at the Bonavista Campus of the College of the North Atlantic. The program was funded by the federal and provincial governments, who invested a total of \$1,107,800 into the program. The Institute's purpose is to professionalise the tourism industry and "help tourism operators and cultural providers" develop and deliver a "world-class cultural experience to visitors" (Northern Pen 2007:10). The fact that Bonavista's post-secondary institution is

promoting a tourism-based curriculum reflects back on the town, since part of the program's credibility is based on the notion that Bonavista itself has become a tourist 'destination,' a town that has successfully transformed its historic past into a resource that can generate economic gains.

3.2.1 – Cabot and the Queen: 1997 as the Year for Tourism

Residents consistently mention 1997 as *the* year that tourism got started. On June 24 of that year, Bonavista played host to a major publicity event that garnered international attention and attracted tens of thousands of visitors. The spectacle was based around the notion that 500 years earlier John Cabot made landfall at Bonavista. To celebrate, a Bristol built replica of John Cabot's ship, *The Matthew*, set sail from Bristol, England and arrived in Bonavista on June 24, 1997 amid fanfare and celebration. To heighten the significance of the occasion, Queen Elizabeth II and Prince Phillip were in attendance, along with other national dignitaries such as the Irish Prime Minister, Newfoundland and Labrador Premier Brian Tobin, Lieutenant Governor Dr. Max House, and Alberta Premier Ralph Klein (Newfoundland and Labrador 1997a:17).²⁰

Local organisations initially promoted the idea. As early as the 1980s, a band of residents formed the Old Bonavista 500 Committee to prepare for the anniversary. The group was eventually replaced by VISTA 97, an organisation "responsible for most of the Cabot Anniversary events on the Headland" (Smith 1997a:143). Despite local

²⁰ The Irish Prime Minister was invited because John Cabot made his final stop at an Irish port before crossing the Atlantic. Ralph Klein was in attendance as representative of the Canadian provinces and territories.

involvement through all stages, the event was largely orchestrated at a provincial and federal level. Liberal "Prime Minister Jean Chretien...declared the anniversary 'an event of national historic significance' and...committed federal funds to develop and market the year-long celebrations" (Smyth 1995:G10). At the provincial level, the John Cabot 500th Anniversary 1997 Celebrations Corporation was established in 1995 with a mandate to coordinate and plan events around the island (Smith 1997a:146). The corporation was later restructured, its name changed to the Cabot 500 Celebrations Committee, and its control brought under the Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation (Smith 1997a:146).²¹ While the Cabot festivities were held across the entire island, the main celebration was located in Bonavista.

Preparations for the three-day celebration injected cash and jobs into the local economy, as significant upgrades were required for the town to host such a big event. For example, to support the increased water traffic, the provincial government paid \$250,000 to build temporary floating docks in Bonavista and Trinity Bays. The province also funded the paving of roads in and around Bonavista, including the "road from Ryan's Premises to the Cape Bonavista Lighthouse" and the "rugged 10.5 kilometer section of Highway 235 between Keels and King's Cove" (Benson 1997a:5; Evening Telegram

²¹ This decision drew controversy and a lawsuit, and the entire matter is confusing. The provincial government said that the Cabot 500 Corporation was dissolved in 1995 in favour of a crown corporation and several employees were abruptly dismissed. However, the Cabot 500 Corporation was in fact not dissolved, and the dismissed employees were replaced. This drew a lawsuit on behalf of seven of the dismissed workers against the government, which they won (Bennett 1999:4).

1996:6). In 1996 a \$1,235,000 project was announced under the Canada/Newfoundland Agreement on Economic Renewal to upgrade Cabot Stadium in "preparation for the 1997 Cabot 500 anniversary celebrations," improvements that were "part of an overall federal/provincial strategy to develop the province's tourism potential" (Newfoundland and Labrador 1996:23).

Local and provincial newspaper articles indicate the excitement and buildup to the occasion, as a quick scan of the headlines reveals the scale of the event: "Cabot committee up to parking challenge," "Securing The Matthew landfall: RCMP and volunteer committee take on big job," "Police move in for 500th anniversary celebrations," "Bonavista counting down to June 24th," "Bonavista prepared for visitor influx, but drivers warned to plan ahead" and "Volunteers prepare for 30,000 visitors" (Barker 1997:6; Benson 1997a:A5; Dean-Simmons 1997:3; Evening Telegram 1997; Hebbard 1997b:3; Norman 1997:B7).

The affair drew advance interest as local accommodations were booked solid long before the event. For instance, three months before the celebration one bed and breakfast owner noted how she had already "turned away enough people to fill two hotels" (Macafee 1997:2). In fact, there was so much demand for lodging that two outlying municipalities, Clarenville and Gander, were granting temporary bed and breakfast licenses to residents who agreed to take people in over the three-day period (Smith 1997b:1).

The event attracted thousands of outsiders into Bonavista, as "estimates of the number...varied widely, from a conservative 15,000 to a probably exaggerated 40,000,"

while the most accepted number is somewhere around 30 thousand (Belec 1997:4; Taylor 1997:A1). The global media picked up the story, as over 150 representatives of the press from provincial, national and international levels indicated their presence. This included CBC French and English television, CTV's Canada AM, German TV3, RAI Italian radio and the BBC (Benson 1997a:5; Norman 1997:B7). Major North American newspapers like *The Vancouver Sun*, *The Toronto Star*, *The Globe and Mail*, *The Washington Post* and *The New York Times* covered the event as a feature story (Cox 1997:A1; DePalma 1997:A4; Hamilton 1997:A3; Schneider 1997:A23; Taylor 1997:A1). An article in the *Evening Telegram*, St. John's daily newspaper, discusses the media frenzy. It notes that at the same time "Newfoundland got national and international exposure," Bonavista "received widespread radio and television coverage and will surely be featured in future editions of travel magazines" (Boswell 1997:11).

Despite the overwhelming support received by all three levels of government as well as residents and tourists alike, several criticisms surrounded the event. For instance, a critical account of the taxpayer spending is detailed in the *Globe and Mail* article: "All aboard the Cabot gravy train." The column reports that "federal taxpayers will shell out a minimum of \$10 million for the Cabot celebrations and related events in Newfoundland," and that the province of "Newfoundland is contributing another \$9.1 million for such activities as renting the \$2 million Matthew replica and mounting dozens of Cabot-related concerts and galas" (McKenna and Rubin 1997:D2).²² The criticism takes on an historic

²² The Royal visit, including the Queen's RCMP detail and helicopter trip from St. John's to Bonavista, reportedly cost upwards of 200 thousand dollars (Benson 1997b:1).

tone when it mentions that “there’s no evidence Cabot, né Giovanni Caboto of Genoa, ever clapped eyes on what is now Newfoundland, let alone walked ashore -- and Newfoundland officials know it,” furthering that “this rewriting of history is costing taxpayers a minimum of \$20 million” (McKenna and Rubin 1997:D2).²³

A write-up in the *Toronto Star* entitled “Party on the Rock Haunted by Despair” discusses the socio-economic problems concealed by the celebration, citing “the island’s appalling 21 per cent unemployment rate” as an example (Walkom 1997:A1). Another piece in the *Globe and Mail* notes that the “celebrations could not mask the concern about the future of northeastern Newfoundland, where fishing towns have seen hundreds of people leave for the mainland after the cod stocks were depleted” (Cox 1997:A1). A separate *Globe and Mail* headline reads that the “View’s Not so Good from Cabot’s Landing.” It interviews Bonavistan Ray Reid, who when questioned about the Cabot 500 celebrations, remarks that he is “more worried about how people are going to live” afterwards than about “those three days” (Gray 1997:1).

Among the voices of opposition were aboriginal groups. For example, Daniel Ashini, Director of Rights and the Environment for the Innu Nation notes that “Cabot arrived here and believed aboriginal people were savages who needed to be taught the

²³ Minister of Tourism, Culture and Recreation Sandra C. Kelly responded to this article in “Cabot Celebrations,” in *The Globe and Mail*. She states that “within Newfoundland, there is open debate as to where Cabot actually landed, but the fact is he did make a landfall on this side of the Atlantic...[and] it was Cabot’s arrival which ultimately led to the evolution of modern-day North America, and in particular the country we call Canada” (Kelly 1997:A18).

European way of life and colonised," furthering that "nothing has changed" since "our people are still not self-governing, [and] their land is still being exploited by hydro, mining and forest companies" (Daily News 1997:9). The Assembly of First Nations' Chief Ovide Mercredi stated that the "celebrations overlooked Indians' suffering after Cabot's discovery" (Burns 2000:152). As a form of protest, Mercredi led "roughly 50 aboriginals from across Canada in a ceremony to honor the Beothuks on the eve of the 500th anniversary of Cabot's arrival in the New World" (Cleary 1997:3). One protestor held a sign that read "It Should Be Remembrance Day for Native People," the words written around a picture of Desmasduit, the last of the Beothuk (Bergman 1997:27).

Despite these criticisms, when writing about the result of Cabot 500 celebrations, the *New York Times* notes that the "gamble appears to have paid off for this province...and especially for Bonavista" (DePalma 1997:A4). The provincial government agrees, touting the Cabot 500 celebrations as a success. An official news release states that "as a result of the international and national *publicity* which Cabot 500 generated, and the raised awareness of Newfoundland and Labrador as a tourism destination, Cabot 500 will be a springboard for long-term tourism development" (Newfoundland and Labrador 1997b; emphasis added).

As noted above, the provincial government uses the word 'publicity' to denote the intense media focus that Bonavista and Newfoundland received as a result of the Cabot 500 celebrations. Berger (1985) describes publicity as a "kind of philosophical system...[that] explains everything in its own terms...[and] interprets the world" (Berger 1985:149). Indeed, publicity is a powerful tool, and it was used artfully by the federal and

provincial governments to 'interpret the world' in their own terms during the Cabot celebrations.

First and foremost, the entire production can be regarded as a government sponsored pageant used to reinforce the importance of European exploration vis-à-vis the 'evolution' of civilised Western culture and society in North America. For instance, the attendance of a British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, did more than draw huge crowds and provide an air of legitimacy to the event. Her pronouncement that Cabot's landfall "represents the geographical and intellectual beginning of modern North America" reinforces hegemonic norms by framing Europe as a "neutral and ageless essence able to function, in turn, as stage for 'the preparations,' as background for 'the voyage,' and as supportive cast in this noble epic" (Taylor 1997:A1; Trouillot 1995:114). While the celebration magnifies the contribution of Europeans, it simultaneously minimises the experience of the Beothuk, reinforcing the longstanding narrative of European supremacy and Aboriginal unimportance. It is for this reason that Aboriginal groups protested the event.

While the event reinforced European dominance on a grand scale, it had more pragmatic and localised effects that benefited the tourism industry. Both the premise of the event and the publicity that it received generated a 'historical moment,' transforming "what happened into that which is said to have happened" (Trouillot 1995:113).²⁴ While it is a widely recognised fact that Cabot made landfall somewhere across the Atlantic in

²⁴ Trouillot's *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, reevaluates the landing of Christopher Columbus in the Caribbean among other historical 'moments.'

1497, the exact location remains a topic of dispute. Peter E. Pope's (1997) *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot* notes six such possibilities, including Bonavista, Labrador, Cape Breton Island, Maine, Southern Nova Scotia and the Strait of Belle Isle as possible landfall sites (Pope 1997). Despite scholarly research that suggests otherwise, by virtue of throwing a grand celebration attended by such dignified guests for the 500th anniversary of John Cabot's landfall *in* Bonavista, the promoters who financed the operation asserted strongly and publicly that Bonavista *was* the site of Cabot's landfall.

The association of Bonavista with the site of John Cabot's landfall was an economic windfall for the town. It projected to the world that Bonavista was more than a fishing town with deep historical roots, it was North America's 'geographical and intellectual beginning.' The creation of an historical moment, and subsequent assertion that this moment was monumental to the European expansion overseas and the history of North America, provides outsiders with a reason to visit the town, to come, see and experience this history for themselves.

The 1997 Cabot celebrations funneled millions of federal and provincial tax dollars into a multi-day celebration. This stimulus benefited the local tourism sector in several ways. First, the injection of cash in preparation for the event upgraded local infrastructure, such as roads, and public venues, like Cabot stadium. More importantly, the celebration itself generated intense international media exposure. As described above, due to Bonavista's tangible association with the landfall site of John Cabot and abstract affiliation with the 'intellectual' beginning of North America, this exposure put the town 'on the map' as an important historic site.

3.2.2 – The Financial Legacy of The Matthew

The centerpiece of the Cabot 500 celebrations was a modern replica of The Matthew, the ship that John Cabot used to sail across the Atlantic. Built in Britain, the replica caravel was rented for \$2 million by the Cabot Committee, and was returned to its rightful owners in Bristol, England, after the festivities were complete. To construct a permanent legacy of the Cabot 500 celebrations, some town members decided to build a Matthew replica of their own. According to project manager David Gullage, “some proposals were tossed around and it was eventually decided that a replica of The Matthew, based on our own design, our own plans, our own research, would be the way to go” (Whiffen 1997b:2). Bonavista mayor, Dave Tremblett supported the idea, stating that the ship “will complement the town’s existing historic sites and attract tourists for 1997 and beyond” (Vaughan-Jackson 1996:6).

Not everyone supported the idea. An article in the *Evening Telegram* says that Shane O’Dea, Heritage Canada board member, “lambasted [the] government’s decisions to provide \$2 million in funding for construction of a replica of Cabot’s ship The Matthew in Bonavista,” furthering that O’Dea likened it and the building of another project to the creation of “Disney-style attractions” (Vaughan-Jackson 1996).²⁵ O’Dea’s objection comes from the contradictory goals of the Matthew Legacy Project and Heritage Canada. Whereas the former intends to create history for the purposes of establishing a tourist attraction, the latter is concerned with preserving history that is

²⁵ The other project was the rebuilding of the John Bingley Garland house in Trinity, originally built around 1819 (Vaughan-Jackson 1996).

authentic and verifiable. There is nothing historical about the replica ship, since not only is it an anachronism, it is an historical inaccuracy, as Bonavista remains one of many potential landfall sites.

Initial funding of \$1,300,000 was provided through the Canada-Newfoundland Economic Renewal Program. One million went towards the construction of the full scale model, while the additional \$300,000 was used to pay for the event, or public occasion surrounding the ship's launch (Barker 1996:7). Another \$500,000 was issued by the Human Resources Development Centre, the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency, the Department of Tourism and the Economic Renewal Agreement to construct a specialised building for the ship. Equipped with a jacking system and boat cradle, the complex was designed to house the boat during the offseason and safeguard it from the harsh effects of the North Atlantic winter (Barker 1999:1; Whiffen 1997b:2).

Project manager Brad Penney discussed the long-term viability of the project in 1997. He states that the "management side tells me that the only way this thing can make money, so that you and I as taxpayers don't have to pay money to keep this thing maintained and operating on a yearly basis would be to turn it into a tour boat and offer tourists a unique sailing experience" (Whiffen 1997b:2). Unfortunately, The Matthew Legacy Committee was unable to locate affordable insurance to operate a harbour tour, while the cost of a motor also made the idea prohibitively expensive. Consequently, The Matthew has remained a dockside attraction; tourists climb aboard via gangplank and tour the boat as it floats safely tied to their privatised pier.

The Matthew has met varied success as a tourist attraction. I met many residents who were critical of the project. One such resident, Sarah, finds fault with the board who runs it:

The Matthew is struggling, there is a lot of resistance to it, they don't have a five or a ten year plan. They spent 500,000 dollars on it [The Matthew complex] and hired that group, which is not doing a very good job.

What group is that?

The Matthew Board. It is poorly run.

Another resident, Margaret, is critical of tourism in general, however, the brunt of her criticism focuses squarely on The Matthew Legacy. She says that:

It seems like to me, it seems like here in Bonavista, it's tourism and heritage, that's all they're worrying about here in Bonavista, that's the impression I get anyway, the way I take it. I mean, the majority of the people can't live on that, there's not enough of that here to keep the community going, you know. It's just like that place down there [points across the harbour to a large building]

The Matthew Complex?

Hmmm.

What are your thoughts about The Matthew?

I'm [pause] well I'm surprised they're able to keep it afloat, cause I mean with the upkeep and everything. But, they have got their core workers, but, there's only, 4 maybe, 4 or 5 maybe, and the rest, when they start up in the summertime they're just JCPs, and what have you got when you're finished? Nothing.

First, when they opened first you could get your unemployment after, and they've cut that out, but, I don't like it because it blocks the harbour view for some people.

It's a big building.

It is, yeah, the money that was spent on that, could they have done something better? Right.

Margaret mentions that the town cannot be maintained on tourism and heritage alone, noting that most residents cannot live on the type of work that this sector produces. She refers to 'JCPs,' the Job Creation Partnership program, as part of the problem. These jobs are low-paying, temporary and uninsurable. Margaret points out the fact that the Matthew Legacy relies on JCP labour to exist. She then mentions that she is 'surprised' the attraction is able to stay 'afloat,' and like many others, wonders whether the money could have been better spent. Needless to say, her confidence in the tourism sector's ability to provide economic relief is quite low.

Less than one year after these comments were recorded, The Matthew committee revealed that since its construction, the ship had been neither cared for nor stored properly throughout the winter months. David Hiscock, board member, notes that the "floorboards were never taken up those first few years, so any water between the floor and the keel stayed there and assisted in it rotting and causing mould" (Barker 2010b:A27). A second problem existed due to the improper method of storage. Despite having spent \$500,000 to construct a specialised building with a jack and cradle system to raise the ship above water during the winter months, no layer was installed between the water and the ship. With nothing to stop moisture and condensation from coming into contact with the exterior paneling, it deteriorated over time. Hiscock explains that "with the ocean for a floor there was nothing but condensation on the ship," furthering that the

solution, an easily installed ventilation system, “was a simple preventative measure that should have been done in the beginning” (Barker 2010b:A27).

The committee estimates the damage to be worth \$750,000 (The Telegram 2010b:A10). If this money is not received, the site cannot open for the 2011 tourist season and beyond (CBC 2010c). Without garnering any help from the province, the committee has appealed to the federal and senatorial level for aid. Hiscock suggests that the “only way to ensure the future operation of The Matthew” is for it to be “designated a provincial historic site” (Barker 2010a:A17). To make matters worse, The Matthew Board revealed that it needed an immediate injection of \$10,000 for new rigging before the 2010 season began (CBC 2010a). Funding for the ropes was provided by the Department of Innovation, Trade and Rural Development, while the Job Creation Partnership program was utilised to subsidise the labour costs associated with the installation (CBC 2010b; The Telegram 2010b:A10). The problems do not stop there, as operators estimate a \$45,000 shortfall for the upcoming year, and maintain that a “wooden ship like The Matthew needs constant maintenance” with estimates “that it could cost \$200,000 annually to keep it ship-shape” (Barker 2010a:A17).

In comparison, the Matthew of Bristol, the replica ship that was rented for the Cabot celebration, offers a wider variety of services. The Bristol Matthew is more than a floating dockside attraction, it is a motorised and modern vessel that can sail great distances. This enables it to host a “whole range of private charters including wedding receptions, birthdays, anniversary celebrations, wakes and leaving do’s,” as well as “conduct harbour tours and offshore sailing cruises around the British Isles and the

Mainland Europe” (Matthew of Bristol 2010). The sailing capability is significant. It means that the ship does not need visitors to *come* to it, as it can *go* to visitors, and it often does, regularly taking “part in seafaring festivals and events both in the UK and Europe” (Evening Post 2009). Another factor contributing to Bristol Matthew’s success is its ability to draw media attention. The caravel recently sailed to Falmouth, England and was put on public display; dressed up as the Dawn Treader from C.S. Lewis’ The Chronicles of Narnia series, it gained exposure through its promotion of the upcoming film *The Voyage of the Dawn Treader* (Toseland 2010).

The Bonavista Matthew pales in comparison. Its historical accuracy is questionable, and it provides only a few year round jobs; the remainder are organised under the JCP program – government funded, low-paying and temporary with no chance of advancement. Mismanaged from the start, it is losing money and literally rotting. Without a motor, it remains a floating display, and its presence in the water has come at a great cost due to poor storage and maintenance techniques. Faced with a burdensome \$750,000 renovation cost, both the provincial and federal governments are unwilling to fund a solution that will fix the mistakes that have been made by the Matthew Legacy Committee. Lacking the money necessary to repair the damage, the board says it cannot open for the 2011 season, and even estimates future losses for the site if it does open. That being said, the financial legacy of The Matthew is yet to be determined, although at the present moment it does not look good.

Despite its uncertain future, the Matthew Legacy Project has generated countless employment opportunities throughout the post-moratorium period. The construction,

maintenance and servicing of this attraction has been funded primarily by the federal and provincial governments. As such, the Matthew project represents the transfer of funds from the government to marginal workers who need the employment to survive. Of course, the transfer is not direct, since it moves through the Matthew Legacy Committee, who manages the workforce under the guidelines of the JCP make-work program.

3.2.3 – BHS/BHTF and the Engineering of Tourism

The Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation (BHTF) has supported local heritage development since its establishment in 1998. The Foundation emerged under direction of the Bonavista Historical Society (BHS), and exists in connection with the BHS to this day. As mentioned previously, the BHS was involved in the promotion of tourism through its implementation of the Dungeon beautification project in the late 1980s. Shortly thereafter, it organised to protect and promote Bonavista's history and heritage structures. In a 1993 article entitled "Bonavista Wants to Become Main Tourism Attraction," founding BHS member and former BHTF Chairperson Gordon Bradley states that: "we want to preserve the history so that it will generate economic benefits" (Benson 1999:3).²⁶ The group published a proposal in 1994 regarding heritage conservation. The document suggests that "preserving the architectural heritage of Newfoundland's outport communities can contribute to their economic renewal," emphasising how a "community's architectural landscape is a resource which can

²⁶ Before the interest in tourism developed, numerous heritage buildings were destroyed, including the Old Anglican Church, a beautiful concrete building that dominated the Bonavista skyline, as well as other sites, such as a cooperage, an iron/metal smith, and numerous fishing rooms and sheds.

generate a measure of economic development” (Bradley 1994a:5; underline original). Potential benefits include the: attraction of tourists, investment in hotels, bed and breakfasts, restaurants and other related services, and “making Bonavista, according to tourism industry parlance, a ‘destination’” (Bradley 1994a:5). The proposal states that while tourism cannot act as a “panacea” to solve all of the town’s economic woes, it can contribute to its future stability. The article ends by calling for a public forum to discuss the matter further.

On Saturday, June 4th, 1994 the BHS hosted a public forum that was titled: “Heritage Conservation and the Architectural Landscape of Bonavista.” It included presentations such as “The Economic Value of Heritage Conservation to a Community: The Annapolis Royal Experience,” “The Newfoundland Perspective: Potential Economic Benefits of Heritage Conservation on the Historic North East Coast,” as well as talks on architectural landscape, historic buildings and restoration. The forum proved successful and underwrote a heritage conservation plan entitled the Historic Townscape Project (HTP), a unique concept that intended to promote the entire town as a heritage district (Hebbard 1997a:4). The BHS lobbied government funding agencies to secure the financing necessary to construct an official master plan. In 1997 they received \$50,000 from the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) for this purpose (Hebbard 1997a:4).²⁷

²⁷ ACOA is an office of the federal government. It helps fund the economic ventures of businesses and organisations in the Atlantic provinces, with an intent to increase employment and income levels in rural towns and villages.

The BHS hired Frederick Hann Associates (landscape architect), Beaton Sheppard Associates (architect), and Canning and Pitt Associates (socio-economic planner) to generate ideas for a management plan, which resulted in the establishment of the BHTF (Hebbard 1997a:4). While the BHS still maintains ownership over the heritage structures, the BHTF manages the properties and restores them as funding becomes available. The Foundation's responsibilities are to: manage, protect and develop the town's heritage resources, oversee the implementation of the Historic Townscape Project, apply and manage government subsidies and funding, and manage the workforce necessary to complete the restoration work; today, there are fourteen buildings in their care, including the: Bridge House, James Ryan Tenement House, Keough Premises and Garrick Theatre (Bonavista Archives 2010). Regarding its internal structure, the BHTF is a nonprofit organisation with twenty members on its board. For everyday matters the office staff makes the decisions. For more significant issues the board gathers to discuss its options, and only voting board members have a say in the final decision. The Foundation works closely with the Town Council, and there are a few members who straddle both organisations.

The Foundation maintains that all upgrades and beautification projects are meant for the enjoyment of local residents and visitors. Gordon Bradley stresses that the "Foundation does not see tourism development as its primary goal, nor does it believe that Bonavista should set out to preserve its history solely for that purpose" (Barker 2007a:28). Despite this statement, the town's tourism potential is not lost on him or the BHTF. Four years earlier Bradley stated that "heritage tourism is one of the few

economic bright lights in the coastal villages of Newfoundland,” and that “you can’t underestimate the value of a cultural landscape from a tourism point of view because people like to visit whole communities, not just (historic) sites” (Procter 2004:1).

Mark is a Bonavista resident with connections to the local government and the BHTF. He is well informed and enjoys talking about the town. When asked about the relation between the BHTF and tourism, he remarks:

There has to be tie-ins and the [Bonavista] Historic Townscape Foundation is all about tourism. Why are we trying to save our old houses and restoring everything the way it used to be? To attract tourists.

Like The Matthew and the Ryan Premises, and, everything else. So, they’re trying to preserve history, which in effect really is for tourist purposes, like any museum would be. It’s almost like the town, or the centre part of town is gonna be one big museum, and you always gonna have some modern mix in there, but, we have probably the most historic structures of any town in rural Newfoundland. But I mean, you understand what I’m saying right, that’s the story and they like history but history is only good, really for tourists, you know, because they want to see how the people lived and how people, what they did and how they did it, how tough they had to be to survive, I mean that’s what the history is all about.

So they’re enhancing tourism. Without that tourism would be way down, cause we’re doing good, but I mean tourism is a boom in July and August, there’s probably 150-200 jobs, 150 jobs for sure, but they’re only 2-3 months of the year.

Mark blurs the lines between the BHTF and tourism more than his official counterparts. He believes that the Foundation and tourism have a direct connection, with the former actively promoting the development of the latter. In his own words, Mark notes that the BHTF is ‘enhancing tourism’ through the restoration of historic buildings, work that generates most of its employment throughout the summer months.

To understand more about the work being done by the BHTF, I set up an interview with one of their members. We met in the BHTF office, located on the second floor of the Federal Building. The room is spacious, with two desks at the front and a row of nicely padded chairs to the back. A large window lets natural light pour in, and in the distance one can spot the Anglican Graveyard. I entered the room and sat down next to a man who was inquiring about a JCP position.

The following excerpt is drawn from an interview with Jane, an employee of the BHTF. Below, Jane responds to my question regarding the role of the BHTF in

Bonavista:

Well, for the residents its provided a lot of job opportunities, even though its top-up, but as well, it has also provided training, because a lot of these workers who go out on these projects, they're not skilled in carpentry, so as well they get to learn the techniques of the, ok, for instance, cedar shingles, like how they're put on, how they're stained, and this type of thing. So they're actually receiving training that they can take to other jobs, plus the employment. Also, like in the business community, a lot of the money, where possible, the money is spent locally, which encourages business. For the community itself, well, it provides homeowners with the opportunity to do work on their homes, restore it, and it brings in tourists.

Like, we had a planning charette, it was called there a few weeks ago, for Harbour Front Development, and [pause], Bonavista has one of the best heritage districts in the province when it comes to the amount of restoration and the style and architecture of the properties, that was stated, stated I think, the architects who came here. So, I mean, it brings in a lot of tourists which of course, then like the bed and breakfasts do well, the restaurants do well.

Is tourism a very big part of what you are doing here, then?

Yes, definitely, and especially with the visitor information office. We're trying to promote the town and promote all the sites, plus the region as a matter of fact, from Trinity from right on down we try to promote everything, and, the visitor information office, this is the third or fourth year we've had that one open and every year there's an increase in visitors to the area. I think last year we saw close to 4500 people just at that office alone.

Jane discusses the benefits of BHTF inspired work. She notes that it helps residents through the provision of employment and job training. Through the creation of work, most of which is construction, beautification and renovation based, the Foundation supports local businesses. For instance, many of the building supplies and tools are purchased locally. Homeowners have benefited through programs such as the Heritage Properties and Investment Program (HPIP), which is what Jane refers to when she states that the BHTF 'provides homeowners with the opportunity to do work on their homes.' Jane's discussion of the BHTF's role in Bonavista inevitably turns to tourism, as she describes the area's heritage appeal. When asked specifically whether tourism is an important part of her organisation's work, she affirms enthusiastically that it is, noting how the BHTF intends to promote tourism in not only the town, but wider region as well.

3.2.4 – Funding the Projects

Soon after its formation, the BHTF discovered a unique method to gather funding. Rather than seek capital through the less financially rewarding yet more traditional channels associated with heritage departments, the Foundation started to access lucrative programs that had been established to help former fishery workers and others who were negatively affected by the cod fishery collapse. An article entitled “Preserving Roots: A Newfoundland Fishing Town’s Innovative Solution” details the method, noting how the BHTF “went to the Atlantic Canada Opportunity Agency’s (ACOA) Fisheries Restructuring Alternative Measures (FRAM) fund for financial assistance,” an account that “was set up to provide compensation for people suffering from the cod fishery moratorium in effect since 1992” (Procter 2004).

To maintain eligibility in relation to the program’s funding guidelines, the Foundation established a “unique preservation model which stipulates local labour and locally made products...shall be used in the restoration of the town’s buildings” (Procter 2004). The organisation’s strategy of targeting funds set up for dislocated fishery workers has paid dividends. Eleven years after its establishment the BHTF has obtained more than \$4.5 million in ACOA funding alone (Button 2009:B1). Table 3.1 provides an overview of BHTF projects funded by ACOA since 1999. The sum total equals \$4,452,704; if one adds ACOA dollars provided to the BHS, the amount increases to \$4,553,019 (ACOA 2010).

Table 3.1 – BHTF and BHS Projects Funded by ACOA

Client Name	Project Description	Program Type	Public Access Date	ACOA Funding
BHTF	Prepare a geographic survey for areas for tender	Business Development Program	1999-03-08	\$15,000
BHTF	Historic Church Street Project	Strategic Regional Initiatives	1999-05-23	\$105,200
BHTF	Implement historic properties investment and landscaping	Strategic Economic Plans	2000-11-18	\$240,000
BHTF	Tourism infrastructure improvements on Church St.	Strategic Economic Plans	2001-01-26	\$1,549,866
BHTF	Implement the Historic Properties Investment Program	AIP – Strategic Community Investment Fund	2002-12-06	\$675,265
BHTF	Complete restoration of Keough Shop/Office Building	AIP – Strategic Community Investment Fund	2003-03-24	\$120,684
BHTF	COD-SCIF Restoration projects on Church Street	AIP – SCIF – Short Term Adjustment Initiative	2003-11-04	\$571,150
BHTF	Restore the exterior façade of the U.C. Central School	AIP – SCIF – Short Term Adjustment Initiative	2004-12-04	\$204,733
BHTF	Develop a multi-use tourism facility	ICP – Pro-active Investments	2008-06-21	\$700,000
BHTF	Phase I – Harbourfront development	ICF – Community Adjustment Fund (CAF)	2009-10-26	\$270,806
BHS	Develop a master plan for the Bonavista Historic District	Community Economic Development	1997-11-02	\$58,921
BHS	Repatriate historical books owned by F. Gordon Bradley	Cultural and Heritage Industries	2002-10-18	\$23,786
BHS	Prepare a detailed record of the historic Bridge House	Cultural and Heritage Industries	2003-07-27	\$17,608

(ACOA 2010).

One of the earliest project's sponsored by the BHTF was HPIP. Initial funding of \$300,000 dollars was provided by ACOA under the FRAM program in 2000 (Barker 2000:B3; Benson 1999:3; Procter 2004). The plan stimulated private investment in the restoration of historic homes through the provision of “financial incentives for owners of heritage properties” for the purpose of having them “restore the exterior of their properties to their original condition and configurations” (ACOA 2002). Homeowners

were provided with subsidies that covered fifty to seventy percent (up to a maximum of \$25,000) of the upgrading costs, as long as they agreed to “maintain the structure according to HPIP standards, into perpetuity” (Dean-Simmons 2008:A12). The program attracted \$78,000 in private investment through eleven restoration projects, which used “local labour and products such as traditional doors, windows, clapboard siding and roofing” (Barker 2004:B1; Dean-Simmons 2008:A12; Procter 2004). For instance, resident Keith Hewitt received \$36,000 worth of renovations by investing only \$11,000, obtaining \$25,000 in HPIP subsidies to replace the clapboard, windows, front door, roof shingles, front porch and veranda on his 19th-century house (Procter 2004). Due to the positive results from the initial homeowners’ investments, in 2003 the BHTF secured a two year \$500,000 grant, again through FRAM, to refurbish heritage buildings (ACOA 2002; Procter 2004). Similar guidelines applied as a maximum of \$25,000 could be utilised by each project, and eleven properties were restored this way, including the “Roman Catholic Church, the United Church Central School and the Tenement House” (Procter 2004).

Although HPIP was eventually cancelled, it was a successful program while in existence. Among those who benefitted were owners of heritage homes with enough disposable income to afford the renovations, and thereby take advantage of the renovation credits. Local businesses that sold the necessary building supplies gained through increased sale of materials, while the program provided work to struggling residents and former fishery workers, those who actually performed the upgrades. Another benefactor

was the BHTF itself. The program stimulated private investment in the development of their 'heritage district,' thereby increasing the historic and aesthetic appeal of the town. These measures are not without further consequence, as they help transform Bonavista's landscape into a resource that can support tourism, and thereby stimulate economic activity.

The BHTF's next project that followed HPIP was the Townscape Improvement Initiative. Financed federally through ACOA's FRAM fund, the idea was to "highlight and add to the conservation of the [town's] historic properties" by creating an attractive main street area that provides visitors and residents with a place to socialise and congregate – to eat, drink, shop (Benson 1999:3; Procter 2004). Initial upgrades were located within the Church Street area, ideal because it is considered Bonavista's "social and institutional hub" (Benson 1999:3). The BHTF improved pedestrian access, renovated the exterior of the Town Hall, and relocated parking spaces from the front to the back of the Federal Building; this created space for landscaping improvements in the front, complete with vegetation, flowers, benches and a public bulletin board (Barker 2007a:28; The Packet 2006:B2). Church Street was returned to two way traffic, while curbs, gutters and sidewalks were installed (Barker 2000:B3). Most recently, the BHTF has begun the restoration of two buildings located within the proposed 'heritage district,' the Orange Hall and the Garrick Theatre.

The Orange Hall, or Royal Orange Lodge as it is otherwise known, is an 103 year old building that sits across from the courthouse near the inner harbour. The ground level is an open area with a kitchen in the back. The second floor is a spectacular and ornate

meeting room of the Orange Order, complete with hardwood finishing, British regalia and a prominent picture of a young and attractive Queen Elizabeth II; vaulted ceilings provide room for a great white arch with the maxim 'FEAR GOD HONOUR THE QUEEN' written across it. Currently, the hall is used for local events, meetings and social gatherings. The plan is to refurbish the building and transform it into a location that draws visitors as well.

In 2007 the BHTF received government funding to restore the roof, and used previously purchased and painted shingles to complete the job (Barker 2007b). In 2009 the Foundation was granted funding to continue work on the building. The financial contribution was enough to employ twelve local residents under the JCP program for 52 weeks. The workers replaced the clapboard on the exterior of the building and renovated the tower, while on the inside they performed various upgrades as well. Once finished, the plan is to move the Bonavista museum into the basement of the Orange Hall. Currently, the museum exists as an exhibit at the Ryan Premises. Moving it to the Lodge will provide the museum with more space to display its many artifacts, it will also create another venue for tourists to visit while in town, which itself provides another revenue stream for the BHTF.

Dissimilar to most buildings cared for by the BHTF, the Orange Hall is not owned by the BHS. Rather, it remains under the control of the Bonavista chapter of the Loyal Orange Order, of which there remains less than two dozen members; after they pass away, control transfers back to the larger fraternal organisation. One Foundation member told me that he fears the possibility of the Royal Orange institution regaining control of

the building and selling it to the highest bidder, who could privatise the structure and turn it into a hotel, restaurant, or something else that may restrict public access. Though the following was never communicated to me, by investing government money into the restoration of the Lodge now, and by moving the Bonavista museum into the basement, the BHTF gains consideration and leverage for future claims surrounding the structure's use and ownership once the Bonavista chapter disappears.

The Garrick Theater is located on Church Street, and its restoration is also part of the BHTF's Townscape Improvement plan. The theatre was first opened by John Bradley with help from his father, Gordon F. Bradley, on December 25, 1945; it was named after London's Garrick Theatre, and was once considered a cultural and social centre of town (The Garrick Theater 2010). Business decreased throughout the 1990s, and the theatre closed at the turn of the century. It was donated by the Bradley family to the BHS in 2003, at which point the BHTF, led by Gordon Bradley, promptly began restoration work on it. Funding was provided by ACOA "under its program to assist fishermen and plant workers" who were negatively affected by the cod fishery closure (Barker 2003:B1; Garrick Theater 2010).

Once it became clear to government funding agencies that the BHTF intended to reopen the theatre, they declined aid over concern that the Garrick would run in direct competition with Trinity's Rising Tide Theatre. They stated that although "aspects of the Garrick Theatre might be eligible under its programs, it had the potential to negatively impact other theatre operations on the Bonavista Peninsula and, therefore could not be supported" (Barker 2006b:B3). Considered a setback only, the BHTF started a local

petition and a public campaign entitled: 'Let's Stage a Comeback.' These initiatives generated significant support and led to a Memorandum of Agreement between the Garrick Theatre and the Rising Tide Theatre, consensus which enabled government funding for the project (Barker 2006b:B3; Button 2008d:A1). In the summer of 2008 the federal government announced \$700,000 for the project through ACOA, while the provincial government added \$400,000 of its own (Button 2008c:B1). As part of the deal, the BHTF was responsible for raising \$210,000. To do so, they organised a commemorative seat purchase plan, whereby businesses or individuals could purchase a balcony seat for \$1,000 or an auditorium seat for \$500 (The Packet 2008:B2).

During the summer of 2009, twelve local residents were employed by the BHTF to renovate the Garrick, all under the JCP program. In July of that year the Foundation held an open house to show the progress completed to date. Upon entering, one could smell the renovation through a mixture of paint, plaster and sawdust. The drywall looked fresh and crisp, while the size of the theater seemed impressive, although the absence of seats exaggerated the feeling of space. While touring the basement I noticed that the furnace looked unusually complex. It was soon explained to me that this was a geothermal heating system. The project manager added that without this technology, the theater would have to close for the winter due to exorbitant costs associated with traditional heating technologies, and this would result in a loss of clientele that would have to be regained in the summertime. Despite high startup costs, he says the system will pay for itself over time by allowing the theatre to operate year round.

The theater's year round operability is important for Bonavista's tourism sector, which is currently missing a wintertime activity for visitors. It also generates a nighttime activity, which will help satisfy the common complaint that there is a dearth of recreational evening activities, save for the local bar. The theatre has the potential to host a variety events on top of film showings, such as lectures and musical concerts. In this way, it can be considered a significant addition to Bonavista's tourism sector.

The BHTF's most recent project is the Harbour Front Development, a plan that will see upgrades continue beyond the Church Street area. Funding was secured in 2009 from the provincial government, who provided \$54,820 under the Regional/Sectoral Diversification Fund (RSDF), while the Canadian government granted \$270,806 from the Community Adjustment Fund, part of the federal Economic Action Plan that is managed by ACOA (ACOA 2009; The Packet 2009:C3). The first phase of the project includes: upgrades to the BHTF office, renovations to the exterior of two heritage homes, the transformation of the Ryder House into a ticket booth for the Garrick Theater, the landscaping of a laneway up to the Bonavista museum, and the planting of gardens at the Orange Hall and Bridgehouse (Button 2009:B1; The Packet 2009:C3).

Details of the Harbour Front project are discussed by Jane, the previously mentioned BHTF employee:

It's called Harbour Front Development, and there umm, that takes it from the Ryan Premises, right on down to Mockbeggar, as well, out through Coster Street, out on Station Road, I'm not sure if you are aware where that's to, just past the fish plant there, out in that area, is just in that general loop.

So we're trying to do some upgrades, the Bridgehouse is included in that project as well, but also, like they're trying to link everything from the Ryan Premises right on down to Mockbeggar, like, possible with a new boardwalk or some sort of walking trail that would connect everything so that visitors could go right around the loop.

Also, there's a few other projects too, I'm not sure if you know, right next to the visitor office if you've seen that run-down shop, that's part of it, that's gonna be restored. We're hoping to have a new office for the Townscape, a lot of laneways are gonna be done, new fencing, we had to get new parking for the Garrick. Just a whole list of stuff that comes under, that's just in the planning stages right now.

Just as the earlier project reinvigorated Bonavista's main street, the Harbour Front project extends these upgrades to the inner harbour area. With wide gravel shoulders, lack of pedestrian access and overgrown fields located nearby, this part of town currently exudes an industrial feel; of course, the multi-level wooden crab plant only enhances this experience, particularly seeing that it looks rundown and in need of a fresh coat of paint. The plan intends to beautify laneways, fences and historic buildings in order to make the area more aesthetically appealing. It also aims to improve pedestrian access, as the creation of a walking path facilitates foot traffic and presents visitors with an easy and safe way to view and move around the inner harbour area.

3.2.5 – Applying Workers' Perspectives

As part of the Harbour Front Development, the BHTF applied for government funding to start four new projects in the fall of 2009. With approval, this work will add 50 to 60 temporary jobs to the local economy. During the summer of 2009, these potential work opportunities were already being advertised on the bulletin board located outside of the Federal Building. Figure 3.3 provides a transcription of the job posting:

BONAVISTA HISTORIC TOWNSCAPE FOUNDATION INC.
EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITIES

PENDING FUNDING APPROVAL - The Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation is Seeking Applications for the Following Positions:

Foreman - \$14.00 / hr

Carpenters - \$12.50 / hr

Labourers - \$10.00 / hr

Applicants will require experience and knowledge in heritage carpentry, supervisory skills, communication, record keeping, and time-managements skills; must be knowledgeable in health and safety regulations and willing to work on scaffolding at heights. Experience with landscaping and gardening would be an asset. Valid First Aid and/or another safety training is also an asset. Applicants must provide their own tools and safety equipment.

Please apply in writing to the following on or before: **Wednesday, August 5, 2009 5 P.M.**

Mail to:

Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation Inc.
P.O. Box 10
2nd Floor, Federal Building
Bonavista, NL A0C 1B0
Fax: (709) 468-7253

or

Deliver Personally to:

Bonavista Court House
Archives Office, 1st Floor

Figure 3.3 – Transcription of Job Posting Outside Federal Building.

The job advertisement reveals the rates of pay and conditions of employment. While unskilled workers make \$10.00 per hour, those with carpentry skills make an additional \$2.50 per hour. Those persons lucky enough to become a foreman will have their wage increased by another \$1.50 per hour. The job posting also notes that only those with access to their own tools and safety equipment are eligible to apply, a requirement that restricts access from residents who are without these goods. Two examples below provide

insight into the perspective of potential workers who were applying for these positions. Both instances occurred on the same day in August, 2009 at the Bonavista Archives. As part of the BHTF, the archives doubled as the drop-off point for resumes and applications, and it was here that I met many residents who were applying for this work.

Sitting in the cramped office at the head of a long table, I was scanning page after page of historical documents to my computer. The monotony of this task was broken by two middle-aged women who entered the room with resumes in hand. One lady, Mary, caught my attention because she seemed quite nervous. Mary approached the front of the room and stated that some information was missing on her resume, and then promptly asked the archive employee if she could write it in for her, an unusual request that made me ponder the extent of her reading and writing skills. The employee declined, at which point Mary hastily dropped her keys beside my computer, placed her resume on the curved **cover** of my scanner (which by no means represents an ideal place to write) and quickly jotted down a few lines of information. Once finished, she handed her resume to the employee and left in such a rush that she forgot her keys. Half a minute later I noticed the keys to my right, picked them up and ran out the door after her. Mary and her friend had not gone far, in fact they were standing right outside the building, each smoking a cigarette. It was not until I handed the keys over to Mary's slightly shaking hand that she realised they were left inside.

I went back in the building, jotted notes about my experience with Mary, and then went back to work scanning page after page of archive documents. One hour later the

door opened again and another middle-aged woman, this one tall and slender, entered the office. I immediately recognised her as Isabelle, the mother of a young soccer player. As a coach for the local soccer association, I held a few practices for the entire division. Following practice one night, John, Isabelle's husband, invited my partner and I to their house for dinner. Happy to attend, we got in our car and followed John and his daughter Alice, to their house. As we pulled onto their dirt driveway, I immediately questioned myself as to how this house had previously escaped my attention.

The dwelling was small, with part of its exterior unfinished and covered with thick plastic in place of clapboard. Its positioning on a large and open property accentuates its diminutive stature. Although impoverished looking from first sight, the home does not give off a neglected feel, but rather that of an underfunded renovation. My initial impression as well as my interactions with Isabelle and her family are detailed in an excerpt from my fieldnotes below:

We arrived at their home, which was a very small and run-down building, although located in a beautiful location on the oceanfront, and the property itself was quite large, maybe a quarter acre in size. We played soccer for awhile outside and then John invited us in to sit down while dinner was being made. The house was very cramped and looked rough around the edges. When you walk inside, there is a small boot room with a dual washer/dryer and you then enter the kitchen. The light blue walls and ceiling are somewhat warped. The ground is uneven and covered in old, brown carpet. An old wood stove used for heating is situated awkwardly one foot out from the wall, blocking part of the centre of the kitchen. The countertops have a single sink installed, with a small deep fryer, a coffee maker and an old microwave next to a white fridge.

Moving past this cramped kitchen into the living room, a large, flat screen TV is hooked to a Nintendo Wii and a computer tower. John connects his computer tower to his television through a cable, enabling him to view media from his computer onto his TV. By then downloading media through torrents on the internet, his family can enjoy free media for the single cost of a high speed internet connection. The living room also serves as Alice's bedroom and is adorned with children's posters and pictures of school friends. The rooms down the hall include a storage room, a bathroom and another bedroom.

Although obviously poverty stricken from first sight and in need of many repairs, the overall feel of the house once inside is bustling and cheerful. No one seems to have a designated space of their own but instead share every room. We met John's wife, Isabelle, a nice-looking woman with shoulder length dark hair who wore a black t-shirt and black track pants. She was quiet at first, just listening to the conversation, although she talked a lot more as the night went on. Isabelle later mentioned that they bought the property about five years ago for seventeen thousand dollars and put another eight thousand into it. She explained that they would like to put in more but "the money dried up." The reason they were able to "rent to own" the house is because the previous owner is a friend of Isabelle's father.

I found out that Isabelle is currently looking for a job around town but has also applied for a work camp position in Fort McMurray. She explained that she would be away for nine months and work in a three weeks on, one week off pattern. When asked if she has tried to find work locally, she mentioned that there are not many opportunities, and that although she'll continue to apply for local positions as they come up, she has already been turned down from many jobs.

When Isabelle entered the archives – those cramped quarters filled with church records, old photographs and historical documents – I saw more than just another resident applying to work on a government make-work project. Instead, I saw an acquaintance whose back-story I knew, understood, and sympathised with. Because I was given the opportunity, however brief, to learn about Isabelle's life, family and living conditions, I understood that her resume represented more than an opportunity for low wage work; rather, it symbolised the ability to remain in town with her family, and more importantly,

to not have to migrate temporarily to Alberta by herself for the purpose of finding employment.

When Isabelle left the archives, having dropped off her resume, I thought about all of the other people who had come and gone that day. What were their backstories, and what would landing this job mean to them? Although precise answers to these questions were unobtainable that day, the steady inflow of older residents in search of work reinforced my belief that these make-work projects, all of which were closely related to the tourism sector, are integral to the lives of many Bonavistans who continue to suffer in the wake of the cod fishery collapse. Mary and Isabelle were but two of the many residents who have become reliant of this type of low-wage work to survive.

3.3 – The Bonavista Projects

I know some people think work projects are a waste of money but not in my opinion. *Every project in our town has added to our tourism potential.* Whether it was work on the replica of John Cabot's ship, (Matthew) restoration of the old CN train, landscaping, the boardwalk around Old Days Pond or any of the other projects, they have all contributed to the improvement of our town (Barker 2006a:A4; emphasis added).

In the above quotation Bonavista mayor, Betty Fitzgerald, makes a direct connection between government make-work projects and tourism, noting that 'every project' has added to the town's 'tourism potential.' The two main types of make-work initiatives prevalent today are the Job Creation Partnerships (JCP) program and the Community Enhancement Employment Project (CEEP). Both are government sponsored programs that are designed to create work opportunities for underemployed and unemployed residents. The following section breaks down the structure of these two programs, shows how they are utilised by some organisations in town, and then focuses on the residents who depend on them to survive.

3.3.1 – Job Creation Partnerships

JCP projects are conducted as a partnership between the federal government and local organisations, including nonprofit groups, municipal governments, educational and public health institutions and local businesses (The Packet 2010; Williamson 2007:312).²⁸ The local group provides the space and work assignment, the government provides the funding for the labour. To be eligible for program funding, any proposed project must meet two basic requirements: they must address local needs, and provide unemployed workers with “opportunities to gain work experience” (The Packet 2010; Williamson 2007:312). The type of work conducted varies from project to project, however in the past it has included the maintenance of local facilities, beautification of public spaces, staffing of businesses or local groups, and the building, renovation and maintenance of tourism/heritage structures (Newfoundland and Labrador 2010b; The Packet 2010; The Telegram 2010a). While JCPs can be used for all sorts of purposes, in Bonavista, a significant number have directly and indirectly facilitated the development of tourism.

Technically speaking, the program is open to persons who currently have a valid EI claim, who have had their claim terminated in the past three years, or who have received benefits before taking a parental or maternity leave. Residents can work no more

²⁸ During my fieldwork the JCP program was administered by the Federal government under Service Canada. On November 2, 2009 control was transferred to the provincial government. While certain changes will be made, it was widely thought that the program would stay the same for the first few years. A few others thought the transfer meant the end of the JCP program altogether, however this is all local hearsay and conjecture.

than three JCP projects in a row, after which they must re-enter the labour market to earn enough hours to re-qualify for EI; once they have earned enough work hours to re-qualify, they become eligible to work under the JCP program again (Newfoundland and Labrador 2009). Every project requires a beginning and end date which cannot exceed a period of 52 consecutive weeks. If a project is less than 52 weeks in duration and split into two parts, the worker must reapply for the second half and is not assured the position.

JCPs are important for many underemployed residents. It provides them with work, income, job training and a sense of fulfillment, and in some cases they develop job skills. Indeed, I met many JCP workers who said they were happy to go to work in the morning, which for them involved the upgrading and restoration of local historical sites. Although JCP work is well-appreciated, certain drawbacks exist. Janice is a Bonavista resident who manages a local youth group. She utilises the JCP program to help support the day-to-day functioning of her organisation. Having sponsored many JCP programs before, she is frank in her appraisal of the program's advantages and disadvantages:

It is wonderful for nonprofit or community organisations who need employment, as the government provides the workers and the organisation provides the space, however it is not great at all for the labourers. This is because to get EI you need hours [385] or weeks [14], and if you accept a JCP program then the hours that you work cannot be used as insurable hours, so that toward the end of the JCP you cannot get EI.

Janice distinguishes the benefactors of the JCP program as the 'community organisations who need employment,' since they receive labour that is paid for by the government, as long as they meet the program's criteria. On the other hand, the labourers do not benefit

as much, since they receive EI top-up for pay, and the hours that they do work cannot be applied to future employment insurance payments.

Lysenko (2010) corroborates Janice's perspective regarding the downsides of the program. She states in a working paper that "participation in these projects offers very little financial incentive in the form of a limited EI – top-up payment and will not help an individual to qualify towards their next EI claim" (Lysenko 2010:22). She furthers that some "concerns raised...regarding the effectiveness of this program" entail the fact that employers selected "participants not according to the clients' needs in terms of increasing their employability, but rather by picking the most skilled workers available" (Lysenko 2010:22). Indeed, if some former fishery workers have made a 'career' out of these projects, one wonders about the effectiveness of the job training that it provides. Rather than act as a medium to help transition the dislocated worker from unemployment to work in the private sector, it has acted as a crutch to help residents reproduce their household at the most basic level.

Dissimilar to the FRAM program which was aimed directly at dislocated fishery workers, the JCP program is open to all unemployed and underemployed residents. Some of these workers are younger, although the majority are middle-aged or those who were directly affected by the moratorium and who continue to suffer today. While JCPs are used by a variety of organisations in town, many are allocated to groups that use the labour to stimulate the tourism sector. For instance, the BHTF utilises the program to obtain the labour necessary to renovate and repair old heritage sites and turn them into

new attractions, while the Matthew Legacy Committee has relied heavily on JCP labour to fund its tourist attraction.

The type of project work varies. For instance, one resident told me about her husband's experience working on a JCP project for the BHS. She notes that the "Bonavista Historical Society needed a lot of artifacts cleaned up, and they were going to hire those displaced fish plant workers to extend their EI," and that "he got a project for, I think, it was ten weeks, and they had to wear masks because you couldn't be around dust, and everything like that." A government news release from 2003 notes that the "Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation Inc. will receive up to \$5,274 to provide seven persons with eight weeks work experience in renovations to the Alexander Bridge House" (Newfoundland and Labrador 2003). Even today, the Foundation continues to draw labour from the program. During my fieldwork, 24 workers were employed by the BHTF through two JCP projects. Twelve were renovating the Orange Hall, the other twelve working to restore the Garrick Theater.

My conversation with Mark, who earlier discussed the association between the BHTF and tourism, also highlights the connection between the BHTF and the JCP program. In the following excerpt, he describes the Foundation's close relationship with the projects:

The Bonavista Historic Townscape Project, are they a big employer of the JCPs?

Yeah, they're huge when it comes to JCPs and even some with hours, like, I venture to say there probably are 50 people on, and those 50 people a lot of them have been there for years, right. But then again if you didn't have them whose gonna do the work? You know, and they're doing some good work. The theater is gonna be beautiful, some of the older houses are restored, the Orange Hall.

It takes longer to do it because they're not professionals like carpenter professionals and they're not contractors doing it. They're doing it slowly, but it needs getting done and its getting, like the shingles of the roof of Orange Hall, like that's a painstaking thing, right so, who else is gonna do it but someone like that? If a contractor did that he'd slap it on in two or three days and next year it be all leaking probably, so they're taking their time. They take pride in their work and it's a job, you know, so they're not in any rush.

According to Mark, the BHTF and JCP program are tightly bound entities, as the Foundation utilises the program to provide a significant part of its labour force. Mark notes that although the work pace remains slow, that the quality of the work remains high.

The Matthew Legacy committee also uses the JCP program to staff many of its positions. In fact, the construction of the Mathew Legacy complex, the building used to store the ship during the winter, was built using JCP labour, as were various other facilities located on the site (Newfoundland and Labrador 2003). Even the tour guides are hired under the JCP program (Newfoundland and Labrador 2003). Upon taking a tour of The Matthew Legacy for the first time in the summer of 2009, I learned that the young tour guide, Sandra, was hired under the JCP program, as were many of the other workers

who staffed the site.²⁹ When The Matthew Legacy recently received \$10,000 to purchase badly needed ropes, the “committee also received a Job Creation Program (JCP) from Service Canada” which was “used to hire a couple of people to install the new rigging” (Clarkson 2010).

3.3.2 – Community Enhancement Employment Projects

Community Enhancement Employment Projects (CEEP) are the second form of government make-work prominent in the post-moratorium era.³⁰ These are provincially funded, short-term work opportunities that provide residents with extra income and assist with employment insurance eligibility. Residents who take advantage of this program are usually fish plant workers and tourism sector workers, both of whom work in seasonal industries that sometimes leave residents in need of additional insurable hours at the end of the work season. Wareham says that the purpose of the CEEP is to “provide underemployed persons with supplementary work to top up their regular employment with enough hours to be eligible for Employment Insurance” (Wareham 2008).

To qualify for the work, the applicant must be unemployed and unsuccessful at attaining enough insurable hours to qualify for full EI benefits. The applicant must be made eligible for EI benefits after CEEP employment, and cannot work more than 420

²⁹ Later that summer I met Sandra as she was working a job in the seasonal-tourism service sector. She said that she every year she quits her JCP position once this job becomes available. Sandra makes a living by jumping from government make work projects to this private sector position every year. The private sector work does not generate enough hours for her to receive full EI payments in the offseason, so she uses JCP work to top-up her earnings during this time.

³⁰ Also referred to as Community Enhancement Projects (CEP).

insurable hours; individuals requiring more than 420 hours before the start of CEEP work cannot be hired. In this way, the CEEP program intends to help workers who need additional hours to qualify for full EI benefits at the end of their seasonal industry (Newfoundland and Labrador 2010a).

Regarding the funding process, the province allocates 'x' amount of dollars each year for the program. Applications are accepted from towns, regional municipalities, community/economic development organisations and other nonprofit groups, who submit their respective proposals (Newfoundland and Labrador 2010a; The Telegram 2010a). For example, in 2009 the provincial government allocated \$4.5 million to the CEEP program, which "funded a total of 298 projects in rural communities throughout the province," eighty percent of which was spent on "municipal facilities, buildings owned by voluntary groups and projects which targeted heritage buildings or tourist-related facilities" (The Telegram 2010a).

Jane explains how the CEEP program operates in Bonavista. She notes that these projects are usually used to 'top up' fish plant workers who, at the end of the processing season, have not earned enough hours to qualify for full EI benefits. Despite this, anyone requiring insurable hours is considered for the work. She continues:

... what usually happens, when the fish plant closes down over there, umm, and a lot of the local people, they'll put their names on the list at the town hall and put down their required hours so they get what they need for EI. So what we have to do, we'll apply for a certain project under the program and we'll get the list of names and usually the guidelines for work, you have to take people that want the least number of hours, so that you can get as many people through the system and qualify for EI as possible, that's the way that works, but that's only once per year, usually, during the fall.

In the instance described above, the town council acts as caregiver to those in need of extra hours, dividing them amongst residents in what they consider to be the most equitable method available. By queuing residents from least to most hours required, the town ensures that the most number of workers in need receive the hours necessary to draw maximum benefits during the offseason. Thus, unlike JCP work that tops up EI recipients to the maximum amount of attainable EI earnings, CEEP work provides employment that allows workers to access EI during the offseason.³¹

The program guidelines stipulate that while many proposals are welcome, projects that develop worker skills and generate continuous employment are preferred. The guidelines also note that the work should relate to health and safety benefits, tourism and economic development, improvement to municipal infrastructure or community services. In Bonavista, many CEEP projects have the potential to benefit tourism in various ways. Some are directly involved through the maintenance and renovation of heritage sites. Others are indirect in how they benefit tourism. For example, projects that beautify and maintain the town (planting gardens, mending fences, and painting buildings) are necessary to keep the town looking nice and in good shape. Nonetheless, these changes also make certain areas more appealing to visitors, particularly when it comes to beautification efforts.

³¹ To clarify, if worker 'x' works 350 hours and is then laid off for the offseason, she is eligible to apply for CEEP work. Say she receives an additional 40 hours through this CEEP work, she now has 390 hours banked and can use this to apply for EI. Since EI maxes out at 420 hours, she can now apply for a JCP program, which will allow her to earn the maximum EI amount through the offseason, although these hours worked cannot be banked for further EI.

3.3.3 – Make-Work as a Career

Both the JCP and CEEP programs are geared towards underemployed and unemployed residents, many of whom were dislocated from their occupation in 1992 after the cod fishery collapse. While younger residents found it easier to transition into a new occupation abroad, some of the middle-aged and senior fishery workers found the prospect of relocation unbearable. As a result, they stayed in Bonavista after the government readjustment programs ended, and there were so many of them that it quickly became apparent that some type of work was needed to provide employment. This is where government make-work programs, like the JCP and CEEP programs, became an important employer in town.

The nature and structure of the make-work project is set up to provide only the most basic of necessities for those in need. Its intent is not to build an economic sector that can carry the load and generate meaningful wages and job opportunities, but instead to help the underemployed just get by. In this way, the projects help maintain a cycle of underemployment; rather than provide meaningful economic opportunities that allow one to prosper, they create tenuous economic arrangements that once complete, leave the worker economically stranded. The end result is that the surplus population of labour, many of whom are former fishery workers, have ended up moving from project to project in order to survive.

Mark discusses this trend. He notes how dependant many residents have become on government make-work projects, stating that:

...people now you know, are actually making a career on government programs, there are people who have worked for less ever since the moratorium. They started on the programs and that's a way of life for them now, so they're getting, they're making a career of government programs, they go from one to the other. JCPs are job creation which are really EI top-up. So then they go onto a [CEEP] program, they don't care if it's the minimum wage because if they can go on a program and get 420 hours then they're good for three years, so then they get, they're only getting like 150 dollars a week EI, and then they go on a JCP and tops them up to 400 dollars a week. See, so the, there's people who have, actually, a lot of people who've made that a way of life now.

So, community enhancement projects are insurable, but JCPs are not?

Some of the community enhancement programs are, depends on, JCPs, like job creation programs, they're creating jobs that are otherwise, you're getting your EI anyway, so we're gonna make you work for your money, the only thing we'll give you is the incentive because we'll top up your unemployment. We bring you from what you're getting to say 350 to 400 dollars a week. So, there is an incentive to work there, right. But then again you got to have some project enhancement that makes them qualify for EI, because if you don't then after three years they're not allowed, they don't qualify for JCP, so there are people, who, I venture to say there's people who spent twenty years [working the projects].

Mark talks about the restrictions placed around government projects. Residents are allowed to work a maximum of three JCP projects in a row. After the third, they must reenter the labour market and work enough hours to become eligible for employment insurance in order to work another JCP project. Since insurable work is so difficult to find in town, CEEPs act as a method by which residents can gain insurable hours to qualify for EI, and thereby re-qualify to work on JCPs. Many former fishery workers have transitioned from one government project to the next in order to make their living, periodically crossing over from JCPs to CEEPs at least once every three years to maintain eligibility for JCP work. As noted by Mark, this constant circulation between JCP and

CEEP work allows many to make a 'career' or 'way of life' out of government projects. To gain insight into how this system is lived by residents, the following case study describes how one former fishery worker came to depend of government make-work projects after the moratorium.

I met Frank in early August. Having encountered Joan the previous day, she told me about the work she was doing on the Orange Hall, and suggested that I come by the next morning to meet the entire crew. The Royal Orange Lodge, as it is otherwise known, is an 103 year old building that sits across from the courthouse near the inner harbour. Under repair, scaffolding snakes its way up the old wooden structure, reaching all the way to the top of the four-storey lookout. The renovation is overseen by the BHTF, under the auspices of the Job Creation Partnerships (JCP) program.

As I walked through the door and into the main hall that early morning, I recalled that the last time inside was for a fish and brewis lunch held during Bonavista Days, an annual town event. It was busier then, two long tables set up with room for at least fifty guests. Today looks much different, with tools and lumber in place of tables, chairs and food. Standing alone in the hall, I was approached from behind by a person who told me that some of the workers were upstairs in the tower. I made my way up the square-spiraled flights of stairs, and as I ascended the final set of steps I saw three men leaning against the railing at the top, each with a warm drink in hand. They were socialising before the work day began. As I turned the final flight in a cautious and timid fashion, the huskier man to my left caught my eye, told me to hold on one second while holding up

his index finger, and proceeded to deliver the punch line of a joke he had been in the process of telling. All three laughed together and then turned their attention to me.

Wanting to speak but unable to find the words quickly enough, the fellow to my right was kind enough to break the silence by noting how he had heard that I was interested in learning something about the moratorium. Before I could reply, the man in the middle quipped that I had at least worn the right hat, a bright red baseball cap with a Montreal Canadians logo on the front. To this, the joke teller mentioned that Boston was by far a better team, to which I laughed and noted that both have their strong points.³² I then stated that I would like to know more about the work they are doing on the Orange Hall, as well as everyone's experience after the fishery stoppage. The man on the left shook his head and chuckled shyly, saying that he did not want to partake in an interview. The man on the right, Frank, mentioned that he was heavily involved in the inshore cod fishery before the moratorium, and that he would not mind sharing his experience. He led me back downstairs and we settled in the kitchen, which was full of sawdust, extension cords and tools. He sat opposite me in a chair with a hard plastic back, and started the line of questioning by asking me if it was okay if he lit a cigarette, to which I responded "of course."

³² The Montreal Canadians and Boston Bruins are hockey teams that compete in the National Hockey League (NHL). Hockey is important to Bonavista, as it unofficially boasts the development of more NHL players per capita than any other town in Canada. Both the Montreal Canadians and Boston Bruins have historically been favourite teams in town. They gained further prominence because Bonavista native, Michael Ryder, used to play for the Canadians and currently plays for the Boston Bruins. The Calgary Flames have gained popularity ever since the oil boom attracted many residents to Alberta in search of work, and more recently since 2008 when Bonavistan, Adam Pardy, made the team.

Frank has lived in Bonavista his entire life, and he is currently in his late fifties. He belongs to the demographic that found it challenging to readjust; too old to retrain and relocate, he also found himself staying in Bonavista after the readjustment programs ended. Unlike many of his counterparts, Frank had a basic education, including former carpentry work. These assets provided him a slight advantage in the post-moratorium economy, as he was able to directly enter into a retraining program, which furthered his woodworking skills. This eventually led to a job on a local construction crew, and later, employment with government make-work projects.

Frank fished inshore crab during the 1980s, but was forced to give it up after developing an allergy to the species. From this point forward he transitioned into cod until the stock collapsed in 1992. He explains:

Well, I was crabbing years and years before that too, but I had allergies to the crab so I had to give up crabbing, oh, four or five years before the moratorium went on. So I bought a boat and went inshore [cod] fishing, eh. That's where I end up and that's why I got on the moratorium, eh, because I was inshore fishing and I went and got a license and got my catch.³³

He continues to speak about the effects of the fishery stoppage on his livelihood, saying that "it stopped mine I say right off the bat, eh. I was trying to make a living off the fishery and when the moratorium come, when they said tomorrow you've got to have your gear out of the water, I didn't know where to go after that eh." Similar to most

³³ Frank notes that he was able to get on the 'moratorium,' which by local standards refers to the adjustment packages (NCARP and TAGS), as well as the prohibition on the fishing of cod.

residents who were put out of work, Frank says that his livelihood simply 'stopped' following the fishery stoppage.

After a few years on 'the moratorium,' Frank opted into the early retirement program. The government buyout of his fishing license provided an injection of cash, however he still needed an income to maintain his livelihood. He worked briefly for a local construction company, and after they no longer needed him he found employment on a government make-work project, the construction of The Matthew Legacy complex. The building would store the replica of John Cabot's ship, which was also being crafted in town. Frank put many hours into the project until it was mostly complete.

Since Frank was compensated monetarily through the early retirement program, some residents did not consider him among those truly pushed out of the fishery. As such, they did not believe he should be eligible for make-work projects. Frank explains:

I sold out in '97 see, I bowed out gracefully when they come out with that program, buyout, and I was only here for 5 or 6 years at that time when I bought me license. *That's why people wanted me off that job*, because I have money from my license, and I never stopped working at all. I could always find a job. I was lucky I suppose.

The above quotation is insightful as it reflects some of the intra-class antagonisms prevalent after the moratorium. To explain, in 1997 Frank received compensation through an early retirement and licence buyout program available to eligible fishers. Afterwards he applied for and was accepted to work on a government funded project. During this time other residents were desperately trying to obtain the same type of work, and many objected to his eligibility because as a fisher, he had received additional compensation through the sale of his license. They countered that there were many residents, mostly

plant workers, who did not receive this form of compensation, and who as a result were in greater need of the work. These hard feelings were made public and pressure was placed to remove Frank from the project. As he recalls it:

I was over at The Matthew building that, when that was coming up I was over there. I was lots over there. They were even gonna take me off the job over there, because a lot of people were looking for jobs too and was in the same crunch and I was getting a lot of work there, I even got, I almost got drove out, but I never left, although they protest against me.

Frank was getting a lot of work on the project, and due to mounting opposition from locals who protested his eligibility for the make-work program, he was almost forced out of the job. Although he admits that others needed the work too, he maintains that he was far from well off and needed to earn an income to survive. In the end, despite opposition voiced by town members, Frank kept his job.

When asked whether this type of work has been an important source of income since the cod collapse, Frank responds:

Oh gosh, yes, I been working with them almost all the time, I say almost all the time, eh. Since The Matthew over there and since then I said well, I never stopped, I never take a week off myself, you got to take a break sometime, so I'm lucky that way.

Since working on The Matthew complex, Frank has consistently found employment on government projects, describing himself as 'lucky that way.' His 'luck' has enabled him to earn a living by moving from one temporary make-work project to the next. This income earning method, he says, helps provide a comfortable living for him and his wife:

Where I'm at now I'm comfortable, my wife is working now, it's no big money but we eke out a half decent living in a small town, to which is no big expense and I got me own place and everything like that, eh, so, really I say, the few dollars we get we can live comfortable with our lifestyle, eh, but living in the city I wouldn't do well with living in the city, eh.

Where does your wife work?

She works at [a local restaurant] now she does. She worked at the shops over the years, when we had a youngster and that kinda stuff. Low-paying jobs, eh, like this, together we can make our forty to fifty thousand dollars a year, that keeps me going pretty well.

Frank and his wife, Maureen, live a modest lifestyle. Using the word 'comfortable' to describe their situation may seem like an overstatement to some, it nonetheless defines how they feel, located where they are within the post-moratorium condition. Their self-professed 'pleasant lifestyle' is associated with their own gratefulness at earning enough income to survive and reproduce their household at a basic level. Their work, despite meager compensation, allows them both to remain in Bonavista, which is where they want to be. In comparison to other former fishery workers and residents their age, primarily those who depend on social assistance, they are doing much better.

Throughout the 1980s Frank fished inshore cod while Maureen worked wage-labour for a local business. Both lost their jobs in 1992, Frank because the fishery shut down, and Maureen, because the business that employed her was indirectly impacted by the moratorium, and was forced to close. Frank, unlike many of his peers, had better options and more to offer within the market after the cod collapse. First, as the skipper of a small inshore boat that caught cod, he still held his crab license, and was able to opt into the buyout program which provided an injection of cash. Second, he had a better education, and was able to capitalise on his informal knowledge in carpentry by taking a retraining program in woodworking. These skills allowed him to get a local job in the construction industry, and when that work stopped, he successfully received work on a government project, building The Matthew Legacy complex. He has since moved from

one government project to the next. Maureen, with no formal education and no occupational skill-set, found low pay, part-time work at a local restaurant.

Despite living a self professed 'comfortable' lifestyle, both are located in low wage positions without job security. Maureen's situation is more stable than Frank's, since her job is year round and will continue into the future. Frank is dependant on short-term government projects, none of which last more than 52 weeks at a time. After each project ends he is left jobless and often without employment insurance. Both jobs offer low-pay, lack benefits, and offer little to no chance for advancement. Despite these drawbacks, the work does provide them with a relationship to the productive process, enabling them to claim enough rewards to 'eke out a half decent living' and reproduce their household at a basic level.

Frank's experience reveals how make-work projects have a dual function in Bonavista. On the one hand, they provide residents with much needed work. Although temporary and low paying, these jobs have sustained a generation of fishery workers who lost their jobs in 1992 and continue to suffer today. On the other hand, many of the projects focus on the development of tourism, the beautification of town, and in general the transformation of the physical geography of the landscape in a way that makes it more attractive to visitors and residents alike.

3.4 – Summation

The cod moratorium was an economic catastrophe that dislocated an extensive cross section of Bonavistans from the workforce. In the years that followed, government readjustment programs (NCARP and TAGS) helped many retrain, readjust and relocate to find work abroad. While plenty of residents transitioned successfully, there remained a segment that did not. These were mostly residents who were older when the cod collapse occurred. Too aged to retrain/relocate and too young to fully retire, they stayed in Bonavista and took their chances with the depressed economy. Since a surplus population of labour continued to linger even after the last readjustment program ended, it became apparent that some type of alternative industry was necessary to generate work for this mass of unemployed residents. Tourism was introduced as the economic alternative.

Although tourism was marginally promoted in the years before the cod collapse, the amount of state funding directed towards this industry rose dramatically afterwards. The provincial and federal governments increased funding to heritage structures that served as visitor attractions. Both the Mockbeggar Plantation and Cape Bonavista Lighthouse are provincial government sites that benefit from government funding, and both generate a lot of tourist interest. Perhaps the most prominent attraction is the federally funded Ryan Premises, a former merchant complex transformed into a national historic site. While the provincial and federal heritage sites provide a tourism base, actual venues for outsiders to visit, focus and attention was brought to the local sector as a result of the state subsidised Cabot 500 celebrations. The international event created local work opportunities and placed Bonavista on the map as a tourist destination.

Cabot 500 was followed by two important local initiatives: the Matthew Legacy project, and the BHTF's heritage district plan. The former, a floating replica of John Cabot's ship, has received significant amounts of government funding to date. The latter is much more extensive and involves many different projects, all intended to increase Bonavista's heritage appeal and draw visitors inward. These two local groups, and some others, utilise state funding and make-work initiatives to implement their tourism-related projects.

Although different organisations are involved in the process, the BHTF is at the center of this phenomenon. It was the BHTF who envisioned the establishment of a 'heritage district' to entice tourists, and it was they who speculated that Bonavista's historically significant 'cultural landscape' could be transformed into an economic resource, an industry that could provide support to the languishing fishery. Perhaps more importantly, it was the BHTF who pursued a unique funding mechanism that targeted dollars intended for former fishery workers and underemployed residents, and it was this access to money and labour that enabled them to build their vision of a 'heritage district,' a plan associated with the development of tourism.

The primary intent of the government make-work projects, most notably JCPs and CEEPs, is to provide relevant job training and a small income to underemployed residents. Unfortunately, certain drawbacks are associated with this type of work, including its: low remuneration, short duration and minimal chance for advancement. In some cases, hours worked cannot be banked for future EI claims, meaning that the worker is left with nothing once the work is complete. In other cases, job applicants are

required to utilise their own safety and work gear. Instead of providing residents with the ability to earn a livable wage and prosper, many tourism jobs maintain these workers within a cycle of dependency, which results in many residents making careers out of what are supposed to be temporary work programs. A certain irony exists since by definition, these jobs should help underemployed residents transition into the private sector, but instead, they reproduce the exact same state of economic affairs as they forever give and then take away residents' access to the means of production, and consequently, ability to earn an income and reproduce their household at a basic level. Make-work projects make it difficult for its workers to move beyond the cycle of shifting from one low-paying project to the next, and for some, this becomes their livelihood, the second career of their lives, the fishery being the first.

The next chapter provides a general analysis of the data presented in Chapter 3. It focuses on the relationship between the state and local organisations in the development of tourism, and looks at how this process is reproducing a marginal working class, a segment of the population who is actively building and maintaining a tourism sector that attracts thousands of visitors into town each year, phenomena which has its own significant consequences.

Chapter 4: The Make-Work Complex and Its Ulterior Effects

4.1 – The Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex

As the previous chapter argues, tourism has become an important aspect of Bonavista's post-moratorium landscape. A significant portion of the tourism sector has been underwritten by government funding, some of which takes the form of make-work projects. These projects, sponsored and managed by local organisations, help build, maintain and service the tourism sector. This system, referred to herein as the Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex, is a method of transferring income from the state, through local intermediaries, to underemployed residents in need – many of whom are former fishery workers that were pushed out of their occupation following the moratorium 17 years ago. The Complex, as illustrated in figure 4.1, involves three main parties:

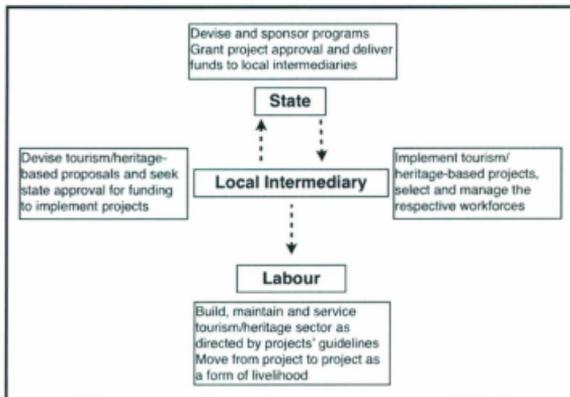


Figure 4.1 – Bonavista's Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex (Figure by Author).

The complex is controlled from above by the state, which refers to the provincial and federal governments. They design the program criteria and decide which projects will be funded. While the state determines program guidelines and selects the projects that qualify for funding, it is the local intermediary who designs the potential projects that are submitted for approval. Thus, although the state has ultimate control over the project approval process, local groups have control over the designs and purpose of each project.

It is important to reaffirm that these funding programs have the ability to service a wide variety of sectors, and in practice they do. However, the reason that the Complex exists in Bonavista is because a significant amount of government funding and projects are utilised in ways that develop and enhance the tourism sector. Whether this means the planting of gardens in a way that increases a certain area's aesthetic appeal during the summertime, or the complete overhaul of an historic building that transforms it into a visitor attraction, some local organisations have merged the prospect of helping underemployed workers through state funding initiatives with the development of a tourism sector, so much so that both have become important employers in town.

The local intermediary plays a dual role in the process. Not only do they come up with potential projects, but if approved by the state, they implement the projects and manage the respective workforces. Workers must be hired under the guidelines of the respective programs, the terms of which usually involve low-pay, short-term contracts with minimal chance for advancement. In the case of JCP projects, income is replaced with EI top-up, transferred directly from the state to the labourer. In the above way, these workers lack a sense of economic stability with regards to their access to the means of

production and subsequent rewards in the form of an income, as they must constantly seek out new work projects to survive.

Two local intermediaries who utilise state funding for the purpose of tourism development are the Matthew Legacy Committee and the BHTF. The former group is heavily reliant on the JCP program, and has utilised it throughout its existence. For instance, workers under the program constructed the Matthew Legacy complex, the building that houses the ship. Even today, JCP employees maintain the ship and service the site as tour-guides. Unlike other attractions that are rooted in local history and can claim to be preserving history at the same time that they are attracting outsiders into town, the Matthew is a tourist site through and through, seeing as it lacks both heritage credentials and a reliable historical basis; its purpose is not to preserve the past, but rather to invent the past for the purposes of drawing outsiders in.

The BHTF is a primary player in the Complex, as the group aims to maintain and develop Bonavista's heritage in a way that creates economic benefits. In their effort to create a 'heritage district,' the Foundation moved beyond the traditional channels of heritage funding, and focused on obtaining funds from programs and initiatives established to help former fishery workers and other underemployed residents. It utilised the FRAM program to fund the HPIP project, among others, and is currently sponsoring two JCP projects in town. The Foundation has successfully combined state income support initiatives with the development of a tourism sector, as the workers that it employs renovate and maintain the various heritage buildings and properties under the BHTF's care. To the detriment of the worker, the work projects offer low pay and are

short in duration. In one case, a BHTF job posting noted that applicants require their own safety equipment and tools. In the case of JCPs, hours accrued cannot be used for future EI claims.

The Complex has been built with funding and labour that was first and foremost intended to aid dislocated fishery workers and underemployed residents. Rather than provide job skills that enable these workers to find work in the private sector, the Complex provides them with just enough work to get by. In some cases, dislocated fishery workers have made a career out of make-work programs, moving from one project to the next in order to survive. In this way, government sponsored work projects act as an informal readjustment package for workers who continue to be disadvantaged by the cod fishery collapse. Rather than a direct transfer of funds from the government to the displaced worker, the Complex entails the distribution of funds to a third party, a local intermediary, who then distributes the income in exchange for work. As it happens in Bonavista, on many occasions the local intermediary designs and oversees projects that facilitate the development of the tourism industry, which itself has become an important seasonal employer in town.

Just as the local intermediaries have become dependant on government funding to promote their tourism/heritage goals, many dislocated fishers and others negatively impacted by the moratorium have become dependant on these work projects to survive. In this way, underemployed residents – the surplus population of labour that continues to be left jobless after the moratorium – have become reliant on the burgeoning tourism/heritage sector, as they are the ones who are building, renovating, maintaining

and servicing it. Tourism, in the form of make-work projects, has become and continues to be integral to the lives of many Bonavistans who continue to suffer in the wake of the cod fishery collapse.

The complex shows how government funding and make-work programs have been directed towards the development of tourism in Bonavista. It also shows how programs first and foremost intended to help underemployed residents have been directed towards the development of tourism and heritage needs. While each project is of short duration, the result of their labour is long lasting, since it builds an industry that will likely be used to employ the next generation of Bonavistans, and it changes the town in various other ways as well. Focusing on the lower part of figure 5.1, one could add an arrow that points away from labour, since the development of a tourism sector puts into process a number of ulterior effects that are consequential to Bonavista's future.

4.2 – The Complex(s) Ulterior Effects

Tourism based make-work projects have become integral to the surplus population of labour left jobless after the moratorium. Even today, 17 years later, they continue to provide work to an underemployed cross section of town, a group that is starting to include the sons and daughters of fishery workers who were directly affected by the cod collapse. As a result of the complex, the relationship between tourism and underemployed workers has become symbiotic – tourism helps the workers through the provision of jobs, the workers help tourism through the use of their labour, which helps build, maintain and service the sector.

Throughout the past 17 years, the tourism sector has grown to the point where it can now attract thousands of visitors into town every year. As discussed previously, the manner by which this sector develops is heavily influenced by local organisations, who design and implement make-work projects that themselves contribute to this sector's growth. While groups like the BHTF, Matthew Legacy Committee and municipal government hold sway over the development of tourism, once visitors are invited in a certain amount of control over the process is lost. Thus, by the very act of building and maintaining a tourism sector, the complex sets in motion a number of ulterior effects, many of which have real consequences for the town's future. Thus, not only is the tourism sector integral to the surplus population of labour through its provision of local work opportunities, but it is also important because the effects of this work are impacting the physical and socio-economic makeup of the town.

As tourism becomes further entrenched in town, the more that Bonavista takes on the character of a bustling and active vacation spot throughout the summer, and a quiet and empty fishing town during the winter. Although summer visitors cannot be considered 'residents' in the normal sense of the term, their presence as part of the town's makeup cannot be ignored. Despite the fact that on an individual basis each tourist's stay may seem insignificant, when taken as an entirety, a tourist-aggregate-mass can be said to remain in town from late spring to early fall. Although made up of different actors, the fact remains that during the summer months the population in real-terms increases due to the influx of outsiders. The more that tourists visit the town year after year, the more they become an intrinsic part of town – necessary and important to its day-to-day functioning,

as well as the maintenance of its precarious economic stability.

Not only is the presence of more and more tourists a change in itself, but as more outsiders enter the town with the intent of consuming its pleasures for a temporary period of time, the more that these people have the ability to affect the town in their own, unique way. For instance, the influx of outsiders changes the physical geography of the landscape. In some instances, this includes the proliferation of recreational and non-recreational vehicles that enter the town during the summertime. Whether it was a Mercedes driving along Campbell Street, a Corvette with Ontario license plates parked at the Matthew Legacy, or the various sailboats and luxury Bayliners tied to the floating docks, the presence of wealthy tourists is symbolically displayed throughout the summer months.³⁴

Regarding the luxury boats, my fieldnotes contain one episode that started while I was driving down Station Road towards the inner harbour, when a glint off the water suddenly caught my eye. Moving closer to the shoreline, it became more and more visible until I finally made it out to be a sporty-looking luxury boat. Keen to investigate, I immediately drove home, parked my car, and walked to the waterfront for a closer look. Stanley, a Bonavista native, was standing nearby. Having never met, I introduced myself and we started to chat. Our conversation progressed to the beautiful scenery of the inner harbour, and settled on the luxury boat, now tied to the dock as shown in figure 4.2:

³⁴ Some of these luxury boats are owned by wealthy residents, among them a retired crab fisher and doctor.



Figure 4.2 – Luxury Boat in Bonavista Harbour.
Photo by Author.

I asked Stanley what he knew about the boat, and he stated that it is a luxury craft that comes equipped with sleeping bunks, showers, and a kitchen, all the necessities needed to stay overnight. He noted that it can be used for touring the island, and that many of these boats come from St. John's and Holyrood, while others have made the trip from as far away as Florida. Stanley added that while these boats were uncommon twenty years ago, with the rise of tourism more and more have been arriving throughout the summer months, adding that sailboats are increasingly common as well.

The influx of expensive cars and luxury boats exemplify some of the temporary changes that tourists bring to town, however, they can have more lasting effects as well. One way that incoming visitors are permanently changing the character of the town is through their decision to purchase property, effectively becoming town residents themselves. A 2006 newspaper article entitled "Bonavista Focusing on the Positive" attributes some of the sixty new housing developments in the past two years to "people

who came as tourists, fell in love with the area and bought or built homes in the town” (Barker 2006a:A4). While some outsiders purchase property to use as a summer home, others have moved in permanently, with a few more even starting their own small businesses.

Outsiders buying property in town was a popular topic of discussion during the summer of 2009, and consequently it was raised in many conversations that I had with residents throughout my stay. For instance, one town councilman stated that “there’s a few people that comes in here buying up property,” suggesting that their interest is due to the fact “they can get cheap property and everything else for summer homes and stuff like that.” While coaching a soccer game, one mother remarked how an American visitor walked up off the street one day and offered her father over 100 thousand dollars for his seaside home. Her father was taken aback and kindly refused the offer. Even online real estate profiles reflect the outside demand for rural Newfoundland homes. The description of a small seaside heritage house notes how the home “would be fantastic for a full time residence or summer home,” while the account of a century-old house suggests that the potential owner can “enjoy all that rural Newfoundland has to offer from super tourist attractions such as The View Golf Resort, approximately 20 minutes away in Princeton to the Rising Tide Theatre, whale watching, sea kayaking, cod fishing, sailing, hiking trails, snowmobiling, quading, icebergs and much more!” (Newfoundland and Labrador Association of Realtors 2009).³⁵

³⁵ 'Quading' refers to the riding of an all-terrain vehicle.

Many Bonavistans welcome outsiders into town, and those who do usually note the positive effects that newcomers bring to the local economy. For instance, when a property is purchased for vacation purposes, the house is commonly renovated, upgraded or rebuilt completely. The new owners often purchase local building supplies and use local labour to conduct the tasks, both of which contribute to the local economy. In the cases where new homeowners refurbish or build their homes according to heritage guidelines, the town's overall heritage appeal increases, which is good for tourism. Moreover, summer residents must still pay year-round property and municipal taxes. Their local tax contribution increases the health of municipal finances, which were in good standing at the time of this study. Lastly, when seasonal residents are in town, they support local businesses like any other resident would – through the purchase of goods and services consumed as part of day-to-day life. As stated by Fran, who grew up in Bonavista and now lives in town with her husband and young child:

...if some mainlander or person from St. John's who makes 200 thousand dollars a year wants to move into the community then that's a good thing since they bring a part of that income into the community by buying local goods at stores or buying local building supplies to renovate their home. They are more than welcome to become involved in the community.

Despite the benefits associated with outsiders moving in, other residents note certain drawbacks to the trend.

For instance, as more outsiders buy property in town and demand for these homes increases, so too does the price. Off the cuff, one municipal councilor stated that houses which used to sell for 20 thousand dollars have quadrupled in price, and now cost upwards of 80 to 100 thousand dollars. He notes that as more outsiders move in, the price

of homes increases, particularly near the waterfront which is the most popular area of town. When discussing the phenomenon of outside investment with John, another municipal councillor, he notes that:

We've been seeing it, not so much in the last couple of years, but over the past years, like probably five or six years ago, there's a lot of people coming in here with bigger bucks, and they bought up, say older houses and did 'em up like they were back in the 1930s and stuff like that right.

So, has that increased property value?

Yes.

Significantly?

Well, to me it did, because, when your talking like an ordinary house, you know, people want 200,000 dollars for houses and things like that, I mean, and a hundred thousand dollars for a lot of 'em older houses. To me it increases property, yes.

Is that problematic for some of the people in town?

Oh yeah, yeah.

How so?

Well, I don't know, how to explain that to you boy, don't know.

Although John is reluctant to discuss the drawbacks associated with rising property values, he does not deny that there is a problem.

High real estate prices can negatively affect lower-income residents, making it more difficult for them to purchase a home. However, those families who were lucky enough to purchase property when real estate prices remained low have benefited from the price-surge. For example, one family agreed to buy a rundown seaside home through a rent-to-buy scheme for \$15,000. Over the years they invested another \$10,000 on do-it-

yourself renovations, and today their property is worth over 60 thousand dollars. They are thinking of selling it in a few years if the value continues to increase.

A second concern regarding the inflow of outsiders is the development of waterfront property. John notes that a clear waterfront is sacred to town dwellers, and that the first thing tourists do when they get to Bonavista is go down to the waterfront and look out to sea. Some locals are afraid that increased seaside expansion will restrict public access to this space. Others mention how the construction of newer, larger homes may block the views of current residents, and possibly alter the waterfront's character and charm.

Tourism initiates a process that is difficult for local forces to control, since by its very premise it invites outsiders in to stay, and as a result some of the visitors enjoy the town so much that they decide to buy in themselves. Indeed, all the people who visit the town have their own particular effect, whether that be large or small. While the majority of visitors' interactions within town are inconsequential, a few have lasting effects. An example of this is one couple from Toronto, who upon visiting the town one day liked it so much that they decided to buy-in and start their own tourism-based business, one built upon the premise of luxury cottages.

I first heard about the business while conversing with a local about the tourism sector. From that point on, time and time again the same business was mentioned by residents as not only an example of tourism, but of tourist success. The Elizabeth J. Cottages are located in the southwest corner of town, resting atop a steep rock face that

overhangs the sea. Recently built on historical designs, one resembles a traditional salt box home, the other constructed with a steep gable roof. The cottages are self-described as “informal, yet elegant boasting two bedrooms, local award winning furniture, [a] ceiling fan, Persian rugs, original local art work and private decks overlooking the ocean” (Elizabeth J. Cottages 2010). Frommer’s travel guide to Newfoundland describes them as an “unexpected slice of luxury at the end of the road...[that] reflect the demand for upscale lodging in far away places” (Hempstead 2010). It continues on to state that “no expense has been spared in the construction and interior design of these two spacious two-bedroom cottages that enjoy an absolute oceanfront setting on the edge of town” (Hempstead 2010). As four and a half star accommodations, the cost per overnight stay is \$274 between May and October, affordable to many of the wealthy outsiders who visit town, and well beyond the reach of many Bonavista residents.

The business was founded by Elizabeth J. and her husband, two former Torontonians who moved to Bonavista almost one decade ago. When asked what drew her to Bonavista, Elizabeth says it was all accidental. Originally wanting to go to Iceland for her birthday, a last minute change of plans led her to Newfoundland instead. She explains as follows:

We ended up in Trinity for a whale watching tour, and everyone said do not go to Bonavista, but naturally I always want to go where the end of the road is, and we came into town and met this guy who showed us all around. It had the ocean and everything that we have looked for, and so we bought property before we left. I had a dream, thought why wait and moved right away.

Thanks to the friendliness of a local who showed her around, Elizabeth found Bonavista to be an ideal location to execute her business, and so she bought property before the end of her first visit.

The cottages are a unique concept because they tailor primarily to a wealthier clientele who are looking for comfort and privacy during their stay. They offer a more 'luxurious' and secluded experience than the Harbour Quarters Inn, and cost a lot more than the local bed and breakfasts. Regarding the high level of comfort afforded to those who stay, Elizabeth J. notes:

I added to the cottages the things that I knew other people wanted. The cottages are filled with items, are 25 feet from the ocean, have natural light in all the rooms except the bathrooms, Persian rugs, window box seats over the ocean, hardwood floors and everything else you could want. There is a mud room, a washer and dryer, all you need to do is walk in and bring food, and everything luxury is at their disposal.³⁶ Everything is theirs. When you walk in nothing is out of place, everything is aesthetically pleasing and it allows people to relax. For us it is important that you don't even see a mark on the wall.

When asked what makes her two cottages different from other overnight accommodations, she responds:

Luxury, a place where they [guests] are independent. Most places were bed and breakfasts, but people don't want b&b's, people do not want that. We attract middle and upper class people, including lots of Newfoundlanders. What we offer is peace and quiet, a chance to be one with nature, a chance to become a human being with nature. We offer a place with no tall buildings, where the whales play outside.

³⁶ Some of the other comforts include: gas fireplaces, full kitchen facilities with dishwasher, local award winning furniture, a queen size sleigh bed, Egyptian cotton sheets and new style quilts, a full bathroom, jacuzzi and luxurious bath towels (Elizabeth J. Cottages 2010).

The key is the cottages. We have so many people who come and stay and state that the Elizabeth Cottages were great, not Bonavista was great. There is not another place to get cottages with Persian rugs. We don't visit, don't call. Our visitors are intelligent people and get on fine by themselves.

One phrase that caught my attention was: 'people...state the Elizabeth J. Cottages were great, not Bonavista was great.' This may come across as boastful at first, however, what the owner suggests is true in many regards. While the state, in accordance with local organisations, has focused on the promotion of the town's heritage and historic sites as its main draw, Elizabeth has taken a different approach. Rather, her business appeals to themes of natural beauty, privacy, and luxury. A successful business venture to date, the cottages have become an attraction within an attraction, and to some visitors are more of a destination than the town itself. In short, the cottages have brought visitors to Bonavista who would otherwise not have come. Indeed, Elizabeth notes that many 'world famous' clients frequent the cottages (Elizabeth J. Cottages 2010). When asked what is meant by 'world famous,' she explains:

We have had actors who are world famous, a couple of singers who are world famous. A lot of well-known people who are high ranking in certain industries...magazine owners, there have been many people in government, high ranking officials from Ottawa. Senators from the United States, a lot of people are internationally known. Apparently we are quite famous on Ottawa [Parliament] Hill.

Apart from 'famous' clients, the cottages attract 'middle' and 'upper class' visitors from Newfoundland, mainland Canada, the United States and many other parts of the world, including Greenland, England, the Netherlands, China and Japan.

The luxury cottages represent the successful engagement between private business and tourism. Conceived and implemented by outside capital via personal investment, they

attract a wealthy clientele who might otherwise not come to town. The business is lauded by many residents who note that it has become a successful tourism operation, and that it benefits the town by attracting outsiders. Despite their function as a symbol of tourism success, the fact remains that among the biggest beneficiaries of tourism are a pair of wealthy outsiders, 'Come From Aways' with the financial means and foresight necessary to invest in and profit from such an enterprise. Not only did Elizabeth have the experience and background to envision how a luxurious seaside retreat could possibly tap a niche tourism market, her pockets were deep enough to cover the initial investment.

The Cottages also show how tourism initiates a process that cannot always be controlled by local interests. In the above case, the sector attracted Elizabeth J. to Bonavista, and it also presented her with an economic opportunity. Following her 'vision,' she immediately bought property and built a luxury overnight tourist attraction, one that has brought many outsider visitors into town. However, the cottage owner's vision of tourism is contrary to that espoused by the BHFT. The intent of the BHFT is to promote tourism through heritage development, that is, the preservation and maintenance of historic structures. The Cottages take another approach by building entirely new structures that are based on historic designs. Some locals close to the heritage restoration effort lament how the cottage owners tore down an old home near the waterfront to build an entirely new home, also based on historically accurate designs. While these buildings do generate that heritage appeal, they lack historical authenticity.

The cottages underline the notion that the tourism sector is a consumptive industry, one that relies on visitors who spend their money in town on goods and

services. Unlike a productive sector that obtains resources and turns them into value added goods, tourism draws wealthy clientele in and encourages them to spend their income in town. Although planned and directed at the local level by various organisations, as the industry matures and expands, it begins to take on a character and momentum of its own.

4.3 – Summation

The Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex describes the process whereby state funds travel through a local intermediary to underemployed residents. The local intermediary utilises the money to implement their previously approved project design, as well as hire the workforce necessary to put the plan into action. The complex thereby has a dual effect. First, it indirectly transfers income from the state to an underemployed working class, all the while maintaining this segment of the population within a tenuous cycle of economic dependence. Second, it directs their labour into projects that directly and indirectly support the growth of the tourism sector.

While the projects are intended to help dislocated fishery workers and other underemployed residents transition into the formal economy, in Bonavista many residents have become dependant on such work to survive. Due to the short-term work arrangements, low pay, lack of benefits and often uninsurable hours, the complex promotes a cycle of dependency amongst the surplus population of labour who work it for a living. Rather than provide sustainable jobs that enable workers to reproduce their household at or above the basic level, government make-work programs provide just

enough economic aid for residents to get by. In this way, Bonavista's marginal working class is made to be continuously dependant on make-work labour to survive.

Not only are tourism-based make-work projects maintaining a class of dependant residents who rely on this work to survive, they are directing this labour to build an industry that actively changes the town. Whether seen as beneficial or not is irrelevant, as the main point is to acknowledge that while labourers work for minimum pay in ways that generally reproduce their basic economic standard of living, their labour is changing the area around them in ways that have direct consequences for their future. Not only does the presence of tourists in the summertime change the social makeup of the town, the impact that the entrance of tourists can have upon the town is considerable, particularly should they decide to buy-in and stay.

CHAPTER 5

Conclusion: A Million Dollar Question for Survival

The title of this dissertation is 'The Post-Moratorium Condition,' yet up until this point the 'condition' has yet to be defined. The term can refer a multitude of ideas, including a "particular state of existence" as well as an "illness or other medical problem" (Oxford 2005). In the case of Bonavista post-moratorium, the 'condition' can refer to both, since throughout the past 17 years the town's state of existence has been characterised by high unemployment, low-average incomes and extensive outmigration (particularly among the youth), attributes of an overall ailing economy (Sider 2003:40; Sinclair 1999:5). The post-moratorium condition, then, can be described as the generally poor state of social and economic affairs that has plagued the rural town since the cod fishery collapse. It is this condition – this economically vulnerable state – that necessitates the establishment of a tourism sector in the first place, since it is the sector that has been selected to help deal with the surplus population of labour that was formed as a result of the cod fishery collapse.

Apart from representing Bonavista's precarious economic circumstances, the post-moratorium condition can also be considered something more abstract – a disbelief in capitalism's ability to manage the cod fishery effectively. After all, what is the legacy of the capitalist-intensive fishery in Bonavista, if not the ecological and social devastation that culminated from its mismanagement of the cod fishery? Once the capitalist model was adopted, new technology and productive relations unleashed fishing practices that could track, catch and process more and more cod than ever before (Palmer and Sinclair 1997; Sinclair and Squires et al. 1999:6). Although environmentally detrimental, the

expansion provided extensive employment opportunities and decent wages throughout the 1960s, 1970s and part of the 1980s (Sveinbjornsdottir 2001:98). As is the way with boom-and-bust cycles, when the resource showed signs of collapse the flow of employment quickly began to ebb, and once cod was commercially extinct, employment almost ceased to exist. As a result, tens of thousands of rural people across the island and a significant number of Bonavistans lost the way of life that had been passed down from generation to generation.

After the cod collapse, processors downsized (sold old equipment to developing nations, outsourced labour abroad) and became more profitable through their engagement with the shellfishery (Power 2005:188). Since crab and shrimp require less labour to process than the cod that came before it, processors had no more need for the expanded workforce that had served them so well before, and the majority of former fishery workers were left jobless. Luckily for some Bonavistans, however, FPI's decision to process crab at the Bonavista plant provided a small manufacturing base and ensured the harbour would be used as a point of departure for crab harvesting. The maintenance of a primary and secondary industry, albeit vastly reduced, remained significant enough to support a local service sector which generated other employment opportunities.

As the fishing industry restructured and became more profitable, the government sponsored readjustment programs, NCARP and TAGS, helped former fishery workers transition into new occupations. Many residents relocated with the assistance of these programs, which were designed to equip former fishery workers with skills that they could take abroad. Although many residents adapted, there remained a segment who were

unable to do so, those who at the time of the stoppage were too young to fully retire yet too old to retrain and relocate abroad. Many had no option but to remain behind and cope with the depressed economy. Since these dislocated residents stayed behind, and because the newfound crab fishery and service sector could not absorb the entire surplus population of labour, some type of alternative industry was required. Tourism was thereafter developed as a supporting industry, and has become a significant source of employment ever since.

Over the past few decades, a notable amount of government funding was pumped into Bonavista's tourism sector. For example, there is the millions spent on the Cabot 500 celebration in 1997, the few million granted to The Matthew Legacy committee for its replica ship, as well as the \$4.5 million provided to the BHTF and BHS. Much of this funding is provided within the context of government make-work programs, intended first and foremost to help dislocated fishery workers and underemployed residents gain an income and valuable work skills. Despite these aims, in Bonavista the funding has resulted in a Tourism/Heritage-State Make-Work Complex, whereby local organisations utilise the projects to develop, maintain and service the tourism sector, and rather than provide work that allows these residents to prosper, it keeps them in a tenuous economic state as they move from short-term project to short-term project. Tourism thereby acts as an informal readjustment program that indirectly transfers government money through local organisations to underemployed residents, many of whom were pushed out of the cod fishery 17 years ago. In this way, tourism has become integral to the surplus population of labour left jobless after the moratorium, since it provides them with

intermittent access to the means of production, allowing underemployed residents to earn an income that is necessary to survive.

Not only has tourism become important through its provision of desperately needed work opportunities, it has become essential because these work opportunities have an immediate and lasting effect upon the very place that these labourers live and work – it actively changes the physical geography of the landscape in a way that attracts visitors and enhances Bonavista's character as a 'destination.' Apart from increasing Bonavista's aesthetic appeal and restoring its heritage buildings, tourism encourages thousands of visitors to enter the town each year, and some decide to stay by purchasing their own property, while a few others even start their own businesses. Over time the former has contributed to the rise of real estate prices, and is changing Bonavista's identity to a busy destination in the summer, and a slumbering fishing town in the winter. Tourism, then, is a catch-22. Without it, many residents would have to endure more difficult economic and social circumstances as there would be fewer job opportunities available. At the same time, most jobs are temporary and remuneratively inadequate. They provide tenuous support for underemployed residents, engendering a situation whereby some residents have become dependant on them to survive.

Although many residents are happy with the tourism sector and the jobs that come with it, others are more critical and question its role in town. One long-time resident, Margaret, suggests that if the same millions had been invested in a more productive venture, that something better could have been done. She refrained from specifying what this productive venture could be, however, there is at least one local who has a proposal

in mind. On May 21, 2009, “Marlon from Bonavista” called the CBC’s Fisheries Broadcast to speak with provincial Fisheries Minister, Tom Hedderson. At the end of their dialogue, Marlon poses one final question, the nature of which caught the host and the minister off guard:

Marlon: One more question to the Minister.

Tom Hedderson: Not a problem, you’re not leaving me today on the side of the road today, are ya? [laughs].

M: Okay, if an application came to you from an association of independent producers for a license would you issue them a processing license?

T.H.: An independent? I didn’t get that.

M: An independent group of fishermen.

T.H.: To give them a processing license?

M: Yes.

John Furlong: For what?

M: For all species.

T.H. For all species, well again, that’s [laughs], that’s a million dollar question, there right. The only thing there is, of course, you would have to go through an app...

JF: I’ll have to get you to hold the phone Marlon.

JF: I’m gonna have to get you to hold the line, we’re gonna break for news, so why don’t we take Marlon down and ask him if he wants to hold, but, umm, we’ll pick that up after the news. We’re speaking with Fisheries Minister, Mr. Tom Hedderson, my guest in the studio, still a half an hour, we’ll take your calls at...

M: [Tries to speak overtop of John Furlong who is cutting to the news] I know it’s a million dollar question, Minister, but it’s also about, *it’s a million dollar question for survival*.

T.H: [Heard chuckling in the background].

[The Fisheries Broadcast, May 21, 2009: 28:35 – 29:17; emphasis added].

When the Broadcast came back from its twenty minute break, Marlon was no longer on the line and John Furlong seamlessly moved to the next caller. Although it would have been satisfying to hear Hedderson’s full response, what remains relevant is that the

question was raised in the first place, as it represents an alternative vision of the fishery, and an alternative vision of fishing towns like Bonavista.

The entire exchange is intriguing. Marlon asks whether the Minister would ever allow an independent group of fishermen to own and operate a processing facility. Mr. Hedderson seeks clarification and then begins to answer the question, at which point the host, John Furlong, interrupts him and transitions into a newsbreak. As the host takes over, Marlon does not give up talking and can be heard in the background, altering the Minister's 'million dollar question' remark by stating that it is a 'million dollar question *for survival.*'

When I first listened to this segment on the radio I did not hear Marlon's final response because while audible, it was so overpowered by the host that it seemed like unintelligible background noise. It was after hearing the podcast one year later that I picked up on that despondent voice in the background, and bit by bit transcribed it. Listening and re-listening to his final phrase – a million dollar question for survival – became a crystalising moment. Despite the introduction of tourism, an industry introduced to soften the moratorium's blow, survival, the act of continuing to live despite difficult circumstances, is what many Bonavistans continue to experience as part of the post-moratorium condition today. While it remains to be seen if an investment by independent fishers into the productive fishing industry is the right answer to the million dollar question for survival, what is clear is that the investment of government funds into the tourism sector is not.

REFERENCES CITED

- Andersen, D.H. Steele and J.M. Green
1992 The Managed Commercial Annihilation of Northern Cod. *Newfoundland Studies* 8(1):34-68.
- Aronowitz, Stanley
2003 *How Class Works: Power and Social Movement*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA)
2002 Historic Townscape Foundation Received Funding for Historic Investment Properties Program, Bonavista. ACOA news release, September 26. <http://mediaroom.acoa-apeca.gc.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?2080>, accessed July 25, 2010.
2009 Canada's Economic Action Plan to Help Restore Bonavista Historic Properties. ACOA news release, August 27. <http://mediaroom.acoa-apeca.gc.ca/e/media/press/press.shtml?4490>, accessed July 25, 2010.
2010 ACOA's Project Information Site. <http://pub.acoa-apeca.gc.ca/atip/e/content/List.asp>, accessed November 22, 2010.
- Atlantic Fisheries Policy Review
2004 Public Consultations: Preserving the Independence of the Inshore Fleet in Canada's Atlantic Fisheries. Discussion Document. Ottawa: Fisheries and Oceans Canada.
- Baird, Moira
2007 End of FPI Era: Fish Company Sells Assets, Switches Gears. *Western Star*, October 24. <http://www.thewesternstar.com/index.cfm?sid=73588&sc=26>, accessed April 19, 2009.
- Barker, Anne
1996 Bonavista Will Get a Matthew Replica of Its Very Own. *Express*, July 3: 7.
1997 Securing The Matthew Landfall. *Express*, May 7: 6.
1998 Bonavista Looks at Establishing Golf Course. *Packet*, July 20: A10.
1999 Matthew Legacy Project Moves Forward. *Pilot*, April 21: 1.

- 2000 Bonavista Townscape Gets \$1.5 Million. Packet, October 30: B3.
- 2003 Theatre Under Restoration. Packet, September 29: B1.
- 2004 Manning Award Recognizes Work of Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation. Packet, March 29: B1.
- 2006a Bonavista Focusing on the Positive. Packet, December 11: A4.
- 2006b Hedderson Tours the Garrick. Packet, June 5: B3.
- 2007a Heritage Group Injecting New Economic Life into Bonavista. Business Forecast Supplement to Northern Pen, March 8: 28.
- 2007b Plans Underway to Restore Bonavista's Alexander Chapel. Packet, July 3: B2.
- 2009 New Graduates Proving Learning Continues at Any Age. Packet.
<http://www.thepacket.ca/index.cfm?sid=238173&sc=420>, accessed April 29, 2010.
- 2010a Matthew May Have to Sit Out the Season: Legacy Group Wants Provincial Designation. Packet, February 11: A17.
- 2010b Seeking Senator's Help: Committee Makes Last-Ditch Effort to Keep The Matthew Afloat. Packet, May 8: A27.
- Beale, Elizabeth
- 2008 As Labour Markets Tighten, Will Outmigration Trends Reverse in Atlantic Canada? Commentary. Halifax: Atlantic Provinces Economic Council.
<http://www.apec-econ.ca/publications/view/?do-load=1&publication.id=161&site.page.id=103005&search-form.theme=Labour%20Markets%20%26%20Education>, accessed April 24, 2010.
- Belec, Bonnie
- 1997 Rain, Drizzle and Crowds: Bonavista Full to the Brim. Evening Telegram, June 25: 4.
- Bennett, Bernie
- 1999 Wells Never Happy with Cabot Corp. Setup: Former Chairman. Telegram, April 13: 4.

- Benson, Bob
- 1997a Bonavista Counting Down to June 24th. Evening Telegram, May 25: A5.
 - 1997b Royal Tab Was at Least \$200,000. Evening Telegram, June 29: 1, 2.
 - 1999 Bonavista Wants to Become Main Tourist Attraction. Telegram, June 20: 3.
- Berger, John
- 1985 Ways of Seeing. London: British Broadcasting Corporation.
- Bergman, Brian
- 1997 500 Years and Counting. Macleans, July 7: 26-29.
- Bonavista Archives
- N.d. Bonavista Historical Society. http://sites.google.com/site/Bonavista_archives/home/bonavista-historical-society, accessed June 23, 2010.
- Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation (BHTF)
- 2009a Harbourfront Development: Bonavista Planning Charette, June 16, 2009. Unpublished Report, Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation.
 - 2009b Town of Bonavista. Unpublished Map, Town of Bonavista and Bonavista Historic Townscape Foundation.
- Boswell, Peter
- 1997 More to Tourism than One Good Season. Evening Telegram, June 28: 11.
- Bradley, David Gordon
- 1994a Proposal for a Public Forum Entitled: Heritage Conservation and the Architectural Landscape of Bonavista. Unpublished Proposal, Centre for Newfoundland Studies, Memorial University.
 - 1994b Smugglers, Schemers, Scoundrels and Sleeveens: An Analysis of Merchant-Client Relations at Bonavista, Newfoundland, 1875-1895. M.A. dissertation, Department of History, Memorial University.
 - 1997 The Deep Roots of Bonavista. Legion Magazine, January/February: 42-45.
- Bruce, David and Patricia Gadsden
- 1999 Quality of Life in Rural and Small Town Newfoundland. Sackville: Rural and Small Town Programme, Mount Allison University.

Burns, George

- 2000 Inclusiveness and Relevance in First Nations/Public Education System Schooling: It's All About Praxis of Aboriginal Self-Determination in the Tuition Agreement Education Field. *Canadian Journal of Native Studies* XX(1):139-180.

Button, Laura

- 2007 More Meal Times than Meals. Packet, November 13: C1.
- 2008a Derelict and Endangered – Bridge House ‘Neglected Too Long’ – Bradley. Packet, May 12: C1.
- 2008b In a Sorry State. Telegram, May 17: F1.
- 2008c Spotlight on 1.1 Million: Federal and Provincial Funds Announced for Garrick Theater. Packet, July 2: B1.
- 2008d Theatres Agree to Be Good Neighbours. Packet, June 9: A1.
- 2009 Bonavista Not Forgotten by ACOA Dollars. Packet, September 3: B1.

Cadigan, Sean T.

- 2001 The Moral Economy of Retrenchment and Regeneration in the History of Rural Newfoundland. *In* Retrenchment and Regeneration in Rural Newfoundland. R. Byron, ed. Pp. 14-42. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

Canada Senate Committee

- 2006 The Atlantic Snow Crab Fishery. Interim Report on the Committee's Study of the Federal Government's New and Emerging Policy Framework for Managing Canada's Fisheries and Oceans. Ottawa: Standing Senate Committee on Fisheries and Oceans.

Canadian Broadcasting Corporation (CBC)

- 1992 Cod Moratorium Protested. *The National*, July 2. CBC Digital Archives. http://archives.cbc.ca/economy_business/natural_resources/clips/1081/, accessed June 10, 2010.
- 2006 Off the Highway, Off the Radar: Regional 'Hubs' Picking Up Most New Jobs. CBC News, October 2. <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2006/10/02/bonavista-population.html>, accessed April 12, 2010.

- 2007 Get on with Fishery Downsizing, N.L. Told. CBC News, November 10. <http://www.cbc.ca/news/business/story/2007/11/09/plants-downsize.html>, accessed June 10, 2010.
- 2010a Is The Matthew Worth Saving?: Heritage Advocate: Replica Needs \$750,000 in Repairs. CBC News, May 12, 2010. <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2010/05/12/nl-matthew-saved-512.html>, accessed June 14, 2010.
- 2010b Matthew Replica Gets \$10k Reprieve. CBC News, June 9, 2010. <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2010/06/09/nl-matthew-money-609.html>, accessed June 14, 2010.
- 2010c Matthew Replica Needs \$750,000: Bonavista Group Says Without Money the Tourist Attraction Will Close. CBC News, May 11 2010. <http://www.cbc.ca/canada/newfoundland-labrador/story/2010/05/11/nl-matthew-money-511.html>, accessed June 14, 2010.

Canadian Press

- 2007 High Liner, Ocean Choice Buy FPI, Future of U.S. Plants to be Reviewed. August 24. <http://ca.news.finance.yahoo.com/print%2Fs%2F24082007%2F2%2Fbiz-finance-high-liner-ocean-choice-buy-fpi-future-u.html>, accessed April 28, 2010.

Census of Newfoundland and Labrador

- 1869 Electoral District of Bonavista Bay. Archived material, Bonavista Archives, Bonavista, Newfoundland.
- 1884 District of Bonavista Bay. Archived material, Bonavista Archives, Bonavista, Newfoundland.
- 1891 Electoral District of Bonavista. Archived material, Bonavista Archives, Bonavista, Newfoundland.

Chomsky, Noam

- 1997 Class Warfare: Interviewed by David Barsamian. Vancouver: New Star Books.

Clarkson, Mallory

- 2010 Mending the Ropes. Packet, June 17. <http://www.thepacket.ca/News/2010-06-17/article-1431539/Mending-the-ropes/1>, accessed November 25, 2010.

- Cleary, Ryan
 1997 Cabot is Symbol of Oppression: Mercredi. Evening Telegram, June 25: 3.
- Cook, Clayton D.
 1999 The Bonavista Peninsula of Days Gone By. St. Johns, NL: Jeff Blackwood and Associates.
- Cox, Kevin
 1997 Queen Greets Matthew and Crew: Thousands Watch Replica Reach Land. Globe and Mail, June 25: A1.
- Daily News
 1899 Court House Bonavista Nearing Completion and Other News from Keels and Kings Cove. March 10.
 1997 Natives Offer Darker Version of Explorer Cabot's Arrival. June 13: 9.
- Davis, Reade
 2009 Compromising Situations: Participation and Politics in the Sustainable Development of Canada's Oceans. Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.
- Dean-Simmons, Barbara
 1993 Less Cod May Mean Consolidation; One Plant for Bonavista Peninsula. Packet, July 13.
 1997 Police Move in for 500th Anniversary Celebrations. Packet, June 23: 3.
 2008 Bonavista's Economy Benefiting through Preservation and Restoration. Beacon, October 16: A12.
 2009 Into the Future: Most Grads are Heading to College and University. Packet, June 18: C3.
- deGelder, Christine Mettje
 2004 After Apartheid: 'Contradictory Consciousness' among White South African Immigrants to Canada. M.A. dissertation, Department of Anthropology, Memorial University.
- DePalma, Anthony
 1997 Canada Honors Its Birthplace, but Where is It, Eh? New York Times, June 25: A4.

Ekaterina Lysenko, Kelly Vodden

- 2010 Labour Market Development in Newfoundland and Labrador: Regional Challenges and Active Solutions. A Rural-Urban Interactions Project. Unpublished Working Paper. Memorial University, Department of Geography. http://www.nlreda.ca/system/filestore/Reports/External/Labour_Mkt_Devt_Lysenko_and_Vodden.pdf, accessed November 24, 2010.

Elizabeth J. Cottages

- N.d. Cottage Amenities. Online Brochure. <http://www.elizabethcottages.com/self-catered-cottages-amenities/>, accessed July 21, 2010.

Evening Post

- 2009 Marion's Memories: Stepping Back in Time on Board The Matthew. Evening Post. August 11.

Evening Telegram

- 1987 LOA Hall. Evening Telegram, May 8: 24.
- 1996 Feds to Fund Floating Docks for Cabot Fête. Evening Telegram, June 28: 6.
- 1997 Bonavista Prepared for Visitor Influx, but Drivers Warned to Plan Ahead. Evening Telegram, June 10: 4.

Feltham, John

- 1992 Bonavista Bay Revisited. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publishing.

Finlayson, Alan Christopher

- 1998 Fishing for Truth. A Sociological Analysis of Northern Cod Stock Assessments from 1977 – 1990. St. John's: ISER.

Fisheries Broadcast

- 2009 Interview with Tom Hedderson. CBC Radio One. Podcast audio, May 21, <feed://www.cbc.ca/podcasting/includes/nlfisheries.xml>.

Forbes, Lloyd A.

- 1964 Town of Bonavista Has Had Long Honourable History. Western Star, May 26: 4.

Forcese, Dennis

- 1997 The Canadian Class Structure. Toronto: McGraw-Hill Ryerson Limited.

Garrick Theater

- 2010 History of the Garrick Theater. <http://www.garricktheatre.ca/index.html>, accessed July 25, 2010.

Google Inc.

- 2009a Country Acres Subdivision. Google Earth (Version 4.3.7284.3916 beta) [Software]. Accessed September 3, 2009.
- 2009b Town of Bonavista. Google Maps. <http://maps.google.ca>, accessed April 4, 2009.
- 2010a Bonavista Peninsula North. Google Maps. <http://maps.google.ca>, accessed October, 2010.
- 2010b Northern Edge of Bonavista Peninsula. Google Maps. <http://maps.google.ca>, accessed October, 2010.

Gray, John

- 1997 View's Not So Good from Cabot's Landing. *Globe and Mail*, February 18: 1.

Hamilton, Graeme

- 1997 30,000 Join the Queen for Island's Celebrations: A Replica of John Cabot's Ship Arrived in Bonavista, Nfld., Retracing his Route from Bristol, England in 1497. *Vancouver Sun*, June 25: A3.

Handcock, Gordon W.

- 1989 So Long as There Comes no Women: Origins of English Settlement in Newfoundland. *St. John's: Breakwater Books*.

Harbour Quarters Inn

- N.d. Our History. <http://www.harbourquarters.com/History.html>, accessed May 6, 2010.

Harris, Michael and Linda Strowbridge

- 1988 Federal Government Chooses Bonavista to Commemorate Fishery. *Sunday Express*, April 24: 1, 2.

Heath, H.M.

- 1968 The 'William' under Walkham's Bridge. *Newfoundland Quarterly* 66(2):23.

- Hebbard, G.
 1997a ACOA Will Fund New Vision for Bonavista History Project. Evening Telegram, October 16: 4.
 1997b Cabot Committee Up to Parking Challenge. Evening Telegram, May 5: 3.
- Hein, Treena
 2006 Labour Pains. Food in Canada, November/December: 26-29.
- Hempstead, Andrew
 2010 Frommers Newfoundland and Labrador. Ontario: John Wiley and Sons Canada.
- Jones, Deborah
 1993 The Butlers of Bonavista: Down but Not Out. Chatelaine Magazine, May: 47-49, 118.
- Kelly, Sandra C.
 1997 Cabot Celebrations. Globe and Mail, June 24: A18.
- Lench, Charles
 1985 The Story of Methodism in Bonavista. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications.
- Little, Lewis
 2006 Through My Grandfather's Eyes: A View of Bonavista from Bygone Times. Newfoundland: XX Press.
- Macafee, Michelle
 1997 Excitement Building in Bonavista. Canadian Press, May 12: 2.
- Matthew of Bristol
 N.d. Matthew of Bristol. <http://www.matthew.co.uk/index.php>, accessed August 20, 2010.
- McKenna, Barrie and Ken Rubin
 1997 All Aboard the Cabot Gravy Train! No One Knows for Sure if the Ambitious Italian-Born Giovanni Caboto Set Foot in Newfoundland, but that Hasn't Stopped Governments from Using Tax Money to Support a Possible Non-Event. Globe and Mail, June 14: D2.
- Merrifield, Andy
 1999 Class Formation, Capital Accumulation, and the Downsizing of America. Monthly Review 51(5):32-43.

Municipal Census

2009 Unpublished Municipal Census. Town of Bonavista.

Murphy, John

1996 Bonavista Property to Get \$1.7 Million Facelift. Evening Telegram, August 22: 15.

Neis, Barbara

1999 Familial and Social Patriarchy in the Newfoundland Fishing Industry. *In* Fishing Places, Fishing People. D. Newell and R. Ommer, eds. Pp. 32-54. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.

2000 In the Eye of the Storm: Research, Activism and Teaching Within the Newfoundland Fishery Crisis. *Women's Studies International Forum* 23(3):287-298.

Newfoundland and Labrador Association of Realtors

2009 MLS: 145009. <http://www.realtor.ca/propertyDetails.aspx?propertyId=8425126>, accessed June 24, 2009.

Newfoundland and Labrador, Government

1980 News release, December 1, 1980. Department of Culture, Recreation and Youth.

1996 Funding Confirmed for Cabot Stadium. *Week in Review*, August 19-25:23. <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/1996/exec/0823n03.htm>, accessed June 16, 2010.

1997a Royal Visit to Highlight Bonavista Landfall Ceremony. *Week in Review*, June 16-22:17.

1997b Tourism Summit Focuses on Cabot 500 Year. News release, November 13. Department of Tourism, Culture and Recreation. <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/1997/tcr/1113n05.htm>, accessed June 14, 2010.

2000 Minister Announces Funding to Restore Bonavista Lighthouse Provincial Historic Site. *Week in Review*, April 3-9.

2003 Governments of Canada and Newfoundland and Labrador Fund 10 Job Creation Partnerships Projects in Newfoundland and Labrador Communities. News release, July 8. <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/www.psc.gov.nl.ca/releases/2003/youth/0708n05.htm>, accessed November 25, 2010.

- 2006a Community Accounts: Bonavista. Employment and Working Conditions. <http://www.communityaccounts.ca/>, accessed April 20, 2010.
- 2006b The Right Choices: Reducing Poverty; Increasing Self Reliance. News release, March 30. Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment. <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2006/hrle/0330n08.htm>, accessed November 7, 2010.
- 2007 Community Youth Network Makes Landfall in Bonavista. News release, August 6. Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment, <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2007/hrle/0806n03.htm>, accessed April 20, 2010.
- 2008 Newfoundland and Labrador Continues to Invest to Lead the Country in Poverty Reduction Initiatives. News release April 29. <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2008/exec/0429n07.htm>, accessed June 29, 2010.
- 2009 Human Resources, Labour and Employment: Job Creation Partnerships. <http://www.hrle.gov.nl.ca/hrle/lmda/pdf/JobCreationPartnershipsFactSheet.pdf>, accessed December 5, 2009.
- 2010a Community Enhancement Employment Program. Department of Municipal Affairs. http://www.ma.gov.nl.ca/ma/emp_support/ceep.html, accessed June 29, 2010.
- 2010b Seven Job Creation Partnership Projects Benefit Residents of Bonavista South. News release, May 26, 2010. Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment, <http://www.releases.gov.nl.ca/releases/2010/hrle/0526n04.htm>, accessed November 25, 2010.
- 2010c Poverty Reduction. Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment. <http://www.hrle.gov.nl.ca/hrle/poverty/index.html>, accessed April 30, 2010.

Norman, Linda

- 1997 Volunteers Prepare for 30,000 Visitors. Packet, June 23: B7.

Northern Pen

- 2007 Tourism Institute Planned for Bonavista. Northern Pen, November 19: 10

Ocean Choice International (OCI)

- N.d. Who Are We? Ocean Choice International. <http://www.oceanchoice.com/WhoAreWe.htm>, accessed May 4, 2010.

- N.d. Find Your Rep. Ocean Choice International. <http://www.oceanchoice.com/find-your-rep>, accessed October 23, 2011.
- O'Laughlin, Bridget
1975 Marxist Approaches in Anthropology. *Annual Review of Anthropology* 4:341-370.
- Olson, Donald
2007 *Frommer's Vancouver and Victoria*. New Jersey: Wiley Publishing.
- Ommer, Rosemary
2002 After the Moratorium. *Labour/Le Travail* 50:395-400.
- Oxford Dictionary
2005 Condition. In *New Oxford American Dictionary*. 2nd ed. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Packet
2006 Local Historian Handed 2006 Heritage Award. June 12: B2.
2008 Donations Coming in for Garrick Theatre. December 24: B2.
2009 Townscape Foundation Gets Provincial Funding. December 10: C3.
2010 Job Creation Projects to Benefit Bonavista South Residents. <http://www.thepacket.ca/News/2010-05-27/article-1430609/Job-creation-projects-to-benefit-Bonavista-South-residents/1>, accessed November 25, 2010.
- Palmer, Craig and Peter Sinclair
1997 *When the Fish Are Gone: Ecological Disaster and Fishers in Northwest Newfoundland*. Halifax: Fernwood Publishing.
- Parks Canada
2007 Ryan Premises National Historic Site of Canada. Management Plan. Library and Archives Canada. <http://publications.gc.ca/site/eng/299510/publication.html>, accessed June 10, 2010.
- Pope, Peter E.
1997 *The Many Landfalls of John Cabot*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
2004 *Fish into Wine: The Newfoundland Plantation in the Seventeenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

- Power, N.G.
2005 What Do They Call a Fisherman? Men, Gender and Restructuring in the Newfoundland Fishery. St. John's: ISER.
- Procter, Don
2004 Preserving Roots: A Newfoundland Fishing Town's Innovative Solution. Heritage Magazine, Spring. http://www.heritagecanada.org/eng/news/archived/spring2004/preserving_roots.html, accessed April 23, 2010.
- Prowse, D.W.
2002 A History of Newfoundland. Canada: Boulder Publications.
- Reader, H.J.
1968 Newfoundland Wit, Humor and Folklore. Corner Brook: Self Published.
- Renouf, M.A. and Trevor Bell
2003 Prehistoric Cultures, Reconstructed Coasts: Maritime Archaic Indian Site Distribution in Newfoundland. World Archaeology (35)3:350-370.
- Rodgers, Theresa Heath
2000 Work, Household Economy and Social Welfare: The Transition from Traditional to Modern Lifestyles in Bonavista. M.A. dissertation, Department of History, Memorial University.
- Rose, George A.
2007 Cod: The Ecological History of the North Atlantic Fisheries. St. John's: Breakwater Press.
- Rounder
1979 The Bonavista Peninsula: A Glimpse of Its History. March.
- Ryan, Sam
1989a Much-Needed Facelift for Historic Lighthouse. Evening Telegram, June 17: 12.
1989b Tourist Season Deemed Success, Some Attractions to Remain Open. Packet, September 17: A7.
1990a First Phase of Work on 'The Dungeon' Completed. Evening Telegram, November 10: 4A.
1990b Historical Society Has Plans in Place for Improvements to Bonavista's Dungeon. Evening Telegram, August 18: 53.

- 1994 Historic Bonavista Building to Get \$3 Million Makeover. Evening Telegram, July 30: 31.
- Ryan, Shannon
- 1986 Fish Out of Water: The Newfoundland Saltfish Trade 1814-1914. Breakwater Press: St. John's.
- Schneider, Howard
- 1997 In Canada's Eyes, and Institutions, She's Queen for More than a Day. Washington Post, June 25: A23.
- Sider, Gerald
- 2003 Between History and Tomorrow: The Making and Breaking of Everyday Life in Rural Newfoundland. Peterborough, ON: Broadview Press.
- 2006 Between Silences and Culture: A Partisan Anthropology. *In* Silence, the Currency of Power. Maria-Luisa Achino-Loeb, ed. Pp. 141-157. New York: Berghahn.
- Sinclair, Peter
- 1995 Social Characteristics of the People of Bonavista and the Isthmus of Avalon: A Summary of the General Social Survey. St. John's: Eco-Research Program, Memorial University.
- 1999 Household Labour is Doing Gender: The Sexual Division of Labour on the Bonavista Peninsula, Newfoundland. Paper presented at the MacNutt Lecture, Saint John and Fredericton, October 19-20.
- 2002 Leaving and Staying: Bonavista Residents Adjust to the Moratorium. *In* The Resilient Outport. Rosemary E. Ommer, ed. Pp. 289-318. St. John's: ISER.
- Sinclair, Peter with Heather Squires and Lynn Downton
- 1999 A Future Without Fish? Constructing Social Life on Newfoundland's Bonavista Peninsula after the Cod Moratorium. *In* Fishing Places, Fishing People: Traditions and Issues in Canadian Small-Scale Fisheries. Dianne Newell and Rosemary E. Ommer, eds. Pp 321-339. Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- Sinclair, Peter and Rosemary Ommer, eds.
- 2006 Power and Restructuring: Canada's Coastal Society and Environment. Montreal: McGill-Queen's University Press.

- Smith, Brent T.
 1997a Community Economic Development on the Bonavista Headland, Newfoundland: Perception and Practice. M.A. dissertation, Department of Geography, Memorial University.
- Smith, Jennifer
 1997b No Room at the Inn, but Campers in Luck. Sunday Telegram, June 15: 1.
- Smith, Raymond T.
 1997c Class. *In* The Dictionary of Anthropology. Thomas Barfield, ed. Pp. 62-63. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.
- Smyth, Mitchell
 1995 Newfoundland Set for 500th Anniversary. Toronto Star, November 25: G10.
- Statistics Canada
 1996 Community Profile: Town of Bonavista, Newfoundland and Labrador.
<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/Profil/Details/details1.cfm?SEARCH=BE GINS&ID=1686&PSGC=10&SGC=1007023&DataType=1&LANG=E&Province=All&PlaceName=Bonavista&CMA=0&CSDNAME=Bonavista &A=&TypeNAmeE=Town>, accessed April 10, 2010.
- 2001 Community Profile: Town of Bonavista, Newfoundland and Labrador.
<http://www12.statcan.ca/english/Profil01/CP01/Details/Page.cfm?Lang=E &Geo1=CSD&Code1=1007023&Geo2=PR&Code2=10&Data=Count&Se archText=Bonavista&SearchType=Begins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Cust om=>, accessed, April 14, 2010.
- 2006a Community Profile: Town of Bonavista, Newfoundland and Labrador.
<http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/details/page.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=1007023&Geo2=PR &Code2=10&Data=Count&SearchText=Bonavista&SearchType=Begins &SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=>, accessed, April 14, 2010.
- 2006b Labour Force Activity: Town of Bonavista, Newfoundland and Labrador.
http://www12.statcan.ca/census-recensement/2006/dp-pd/prof/92-591/details/page_Figure.cfm?Lang=E&Geo1=CSD&Code1=1007023&Ge o2=PR&Code2=10&Data=Count&SearchText=Bonavista&SearchType=Be gins&SearchPR=01&B1=All&Custom=&Profile=23000&Sex=Total, accessed April 14, 2010.

Sveinbjornsdottir, Emilia Dagny

- 2001 Community Economic Development in Newfoundland. A Comparative Study of the Isthmus of Avalon and the Bonavista Headland. M.A. dissertation, Department of Geography, Memorial University.

Sweeney, Robert C.H.

- 2004 Accounting for Change: Understanding Merchant Credit Strategies in Outport Newfoundland. *In* How Deep is the Ocean. James E. Candow and Carol Corbin, eds. Pp.121-138. Sydney: University College of Cape Breton.

Taylor, Bill

- 1997 Cabot Fever Swamps Remote Fishing Village. Toronto Star, June 25: A1.

Telegram

- 2010a Applications Being Accepted from Groups for Community Enhancement Projects. June 23. <http://thetelegram.com/index.cfm?sid=344569&sc=79>, accessed July 29, 2010.

- 2010b New Rigging for Matthew Will Have Replica in Ship Shape. June 19: A10.

Templeman, Wilfred and A.M. Fleming

- 1956 The Bonavista Longlining Experiment, 1950-1953. Bulletin No. 109. Ottawa: Fisheries Research Board of Canada, Biological Station, St. John's, Newfoundland, Fisheries Research Board of Canada.

Thompson, E.P.

- 1968 The Making of the English Working Class. *In* Class. Patrick Joyce, ed. Pp. 131-133. New York: Oxford University Press.
- 1978 Eighteenth Century English Society: Class Struggle Without Class. *Social History* 3(2):133-165.

Tocque, Philip

- 1844 Wandering Thoughts or Solitary Hours. London: Thomas Richardson and Son.

Toseland, James

- 2010 Falmouth Museum Houses Ship for Hollywood Blockbuster. Falmouth Packet. http://www.falmouthpacket.co.uk/news/8336053.Falmouth_museum_houses_ship_for_Hollywood_blockbuster/, accessed August 15, 2010.

- Town of Bonavista
 2010a Cape Bonavista Lighthouse. Brochure.
- 2010b Mockbeggar Plantation or Room. Brochure.
- N.d. Our Attractions. <http://www.bonavista.net/ourattractions.php>, accessed June 19, 2010.
- TravelBC
 N.d. Winter Activities: Storm Watching. <http://www.travel.bc.ca/features/storm-watching/>, accessed June 23, 2010.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolph
 1995 Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Vaughan-Jackson, Mark
 1996 Mayor 'Saw Red' after Attack on Towns' Heritage Projects. Evening Telegram, July 6: 6.
- Walkom, Thomas
 1997 Party on Rock Haunted by Despair. Toronto Star, June 21: A1.
- Wareham, Stacey
 2008 Exploring the Health Impacts of Workers Participating in the Community Enhancement Employee Support Program: A Community-Based, Participatory Action Approach. Rural Centre, Pilot Project Funding. http://www.theruralcentre.com/?page_id=1040, accessed June 29, 2010.
- Whiffen, Bruce
 1993 Prime Berth: An Account of Bonavista's Early Years. St. John's: Harry Cuff Publications Limited.
- Whiffen, Glen
 1997a Bonavista: 500 Years of Legends, Heroes and Traditions. Newfoundland: Self published.
- 1997b Bonavista's Own Legacy of Cabot 500. Evening Telegram, September 29: 2.
- Wicks, Gordon
 1963 History of Bonavista. Bonavista Historical Society Historical Fonds 5.0. Bonavista Archives, Bonavista, Newfoundland.

Wijayawardhana, Duleepa

1999a Map of the Bonavista and Avalon Peninsulas: Some Towns and Bays. http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon_fullmap.html, accessed April 11, 2011.

1999b Map of the Island of Newfoundland: Some Towns and Geographical Landmarks. http://www.heritage.nf.ca/avalon_fullmap.html, accessed April 11, 2011.

Williams, Raymond

1976 *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Williamson, Ian

2007 *Your Guide to Government Financial Assistance for Business in Newfoundland and Labrador: 2007-2008 Edition*. Toronto: Productive Publications.

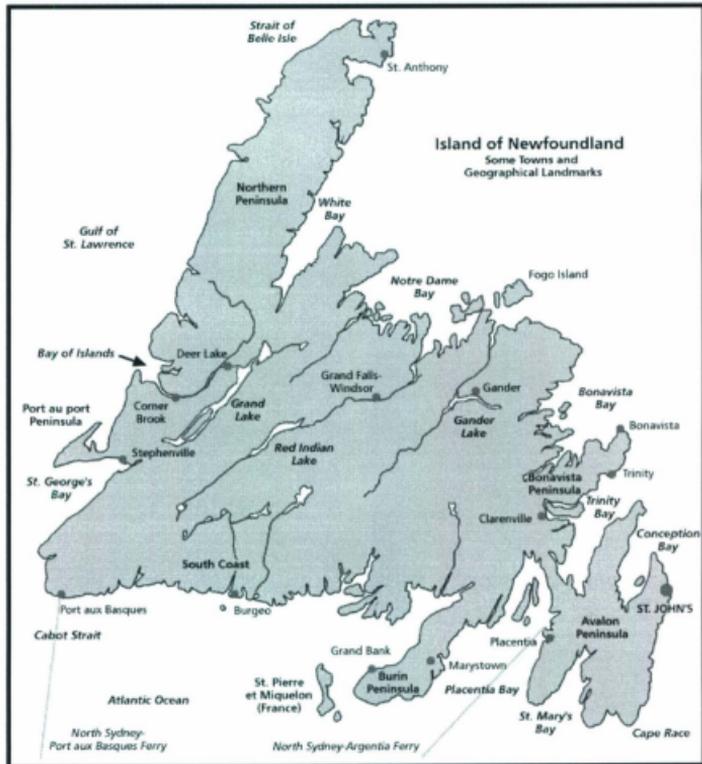
Wright, Miriam

1995 *Fishers, Scientists, the State and their Responses to Declines in the Bonavista Fishery, 1957-1964*. Eco-Research Program. St. John's: Memorial University.

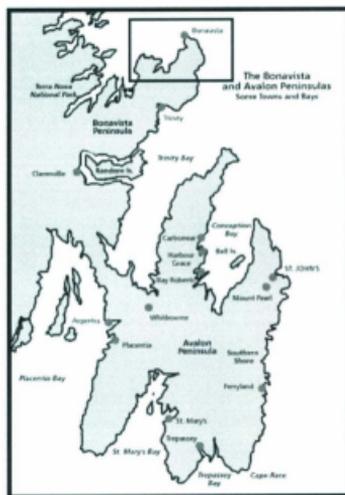
1997 *Frozen Fish Companies, the State, and Fisheries Development in Newfoundland, 1940-1966*. *Business and Economic History* 26(2): 727-737.

2002 *A Fishery for Modern Times: The State and the Industrialization of the Newfoundland Fishery, 1934-1968*. New York: Oxford University Press.

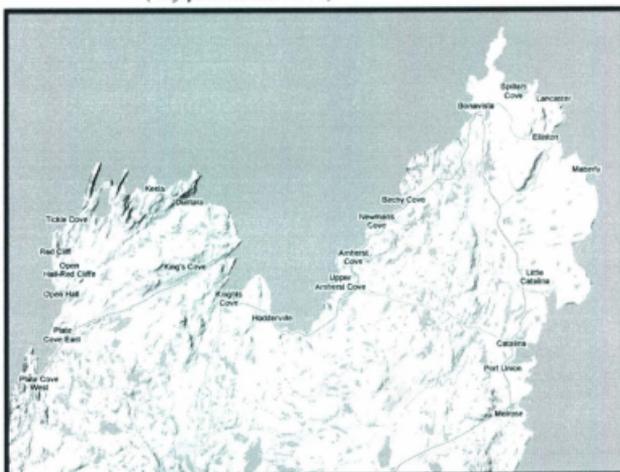
APPENDIX A: RELEVANT MAPS



The Island of Newfoundland (Wijayawardhana 1999b).



Map of Bonavista and Avalon Peninsulas (Wijayawardhana 1999a).



Bonavista Peninsula North (Google Inc. 2010a).

