

POLITICAL CULTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
IN THE HARBOUR BRETON AREA

CENTRE FOR NEWFOUNDLAND STUDIES

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POLITICAL CULTURE AND COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT
IN THE HARBOUR BRETON AREA

A Dissertation
Presented to
the Department of Political Science
Memorial University of Newfoundland

In Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree
Master of Arts

by

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April 1973

ABSTRACT

A number of studies have suggested that Newfoundlanders have generally been unwilling to participate in self-help community activities. This dissertation examines the above contention by comparing the attitudes of "Activists" (those who have been involved in self-help community activities) and "Non-Participants" (those who have not been involved) in three south coast communities. From September to December 1972, 75 respondents in Harbour Breton, Belleoram and English Harbour West were interviewed in depth, using an open-ended interview schedule, and 144 questionnaires were administered to high school students.

This dissertation contends that Activists and Non-Participants have generally distinct political cultures; the attitudes, beliefs and values of the great majority of Non-Participants not being conducive to community development. As a result, the small minority of Activists do not receive either sufficient cooperation or enough constructive criticism to maximize development. Members of the younger generation, who are most likely to contribute to self-help activities, are unlikely to remain in the Harbour Breton Area. Consequently, it is essential that some of the older Non-Participants change their attitudes and become more active while others lend greater support to the Activists.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I am deeply indebted to my supervisor, Professor Mark Graesser, whose advice, insights and constructive criticism helped shape the manuscript. His encouragement enabled me to overcome the feelings of uncertainty which were so frequent during the evolution of this study.

I also owe an inestimateable debt to the people of Harbour Breton, Belleoram and English Harbour West. Without their help and cooperation this dissertation could not have been written. Their warmth, hospitality, and at times tolerance, were greatly appreciated.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION: CIVIC ATTITUDES AND COMMUNITY

DEVELOPMENT IN NEWFOUNDLAND

/Newfoundlanders/ will subscribe the earth for a man who has fallen through the rickety bridge, but do nothing at all about mending the bridge. Every man can build his own house, his own boat: but he won't build a parish council. They have all the crafts except the political.¹

A. THE PROBLEM: NON-PARTICIPANT ORIENTATIONS TO LOCAL DEVELOPMENT

Throughout the years the Newfoundland outport-based fishing society has produced men who, while being stereotyped as courageous in facing the perils of the sea, have been observed to be lethargic when it comes to self-help community activities. This lack of citizen participation in community and political affairs has long been one of the biggest problems facing the development of rural Newfoundland. Historically this characteristic has been evident in the lack of community and regional self-help organizations concerned with improving local social and economic conditions.

The Newfoundland Royal Commission of 1933 criticized the "credit system" and the paternalistic political system arguing that both had caused the Newfoundland people to become increasingly dependent on those in authority. Their approach to politics was ". . . to look to the Government for everything and do as little as possible to provide for their own

¹A. P. Herbert, Independent Member (London, 1951), p. 257.

requirements."² However, in a seemingly paradoxical fashion, this same Royal Commission recommended that the province have a "rest from politics," and that a commission of government be established.³ This "dictatorship" of six men, three of them outsiders, was accepted in characteristic fashion by Newfoundlanders; for the most part, they remained silent about the loss of their heritage of self-government. In assessing their reaction to the Royal Commission's recommendations one might well conclude that after one hundred years of representative government, Newfoundlanders lacked the confidence and initiative to manage their own political affairs. As Neary's descriptive metaphor imparts, democracy in Newfoundland has historically been a "frail transplant."⁴ Governments in Newfoundland have been particularly paternalistic and have even gone so far as to foster a paternalistic attitude in Newfoundland cooperatives, which have been controlled by the government since the 1930's.⁵ Even so, from 1940 to 1965, the failure rate of the 240 cooperative organizations has been just under 25 percent.⁶

The established churches also provided a strong authoritarian influence in Newfoundland, for it was religious-based organizations that

²Great Britain, The Report of the Newfoundland Royal Commission (London, 1933), p. 83.

³Ibid., pp. 201-202.

⁴Peter Neary, "Democracy in Newfoundland: A Comment," Journal of Canadian Studies, IV, No. I (1969), p. 37.

⁵Donald Snowden, The Cooperative Movement in Newfoundland. An ARDA Study of Cooperative Organization From the Viewpoint of Industrial and Social Development. Distributed by the Extension Service, Memorial University of Newfoundland (1965), pp. 9-10.

⁶Ibid., p. 55.

provided the only supra-familial group activity that most rural Newfoundlanders were familiar with. These served to fill some of the vacuum left by the absence of any form of local government. However, these groups with their restricted membership and clerical leadership met the social but not the economic needs of Newfoundlanders. These early associations with their hierarchical structures did not foster a self-help type attitude. As Noel points out, groups such as the Benevolent Irish Society and the Orange Lodge served mostly to maintain the sectarian status quo.⁷

Crosbie, in accounting for the late development of local self-government in Newfoundland, lists as one of the reasons the fact that the provincial government had to ". . . act as evangelist and persuade the people to accept the formation of town and community councils."⁸ It was not until 1942 that the first "effective" legislation was passed for the incorporation of towns throughout the province. Since direct taxation was anathema to many Newfoundlanders, it was decided that a special Act would be passed for each community that indicated its wish to be incorporated, and each such Act would provide for the form of taxation preferred by the applicant. This idea then had to be "sold" to the people through an educational campaign, which eventually led to a "boom" in municipal development, but only when coupled with the promise of lucrative loans and grants.⁹ Between 1942 and 1949 there were 23 local governments and between

⁷S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto, 1971), p. 22.

⁸John C. Crosbie, "Local Government in Newfoundland," Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science, XXII, No. 3 (1956), p. 33.

⁹See Ibid., pp. 332-346, and J. C. Crosbie "The Boom in Municipal Development" in Smallwood, The Book of Newfoundland, 4 (1967), pp. 405-413.

1949 and 1972, 240 more local governments were formed.¹⁰ The institutional framework was started for the island's further political and community development.

Community development philosophy basically stresses participation and local initiative on the part of the people of a community in their cooperative attempts, possibly with government assistance to better their economic and social conditions.¹¹ Thus, it provides "grass roots planning," which further ensures that programmes are in line with the norms and needs of their community or area. However, community development does not occur until people within the community believe that improvement is possible and decide to take initiative. They must feel a "sense of community,"¹² a sense that they belong, and a desire to actively participate in adopting goals for the improvement of their town or settlement. They must become involved in the politics of the community, "politics" here being used in the broad anthropological sense as referring to "the events which are involved in the determination and implementation of public goals and/or the differential distribution and use of power within the group or groups

¹⁰Government of Newfoundland and Labrador: Department of Municipal Affairs Registry of Incorporated Areas.

¹¹Peter Du Sautory lists a number of definitions of community development given by various organizations and individuals from the United Nations definitions to one given by a university professor. The above definition is an extraction of points of consensus shown in these definitions. See Peter Du Sautory, The Organization of a Community Development Program (London, 1967), pp. 122-123.

¹²A "Community" is viewed here as having geographical boundaries but also a relationship to the larger environment. Parsons defines community as "a collectivity of actors having a limited territory as the base for carrying out the greatest share of their daily activities." See Talcott Parsons, The Social System (Glencoe, 1968), p. 1.

concerned with the goals being considered."¹³

The fact that Newfoundland in recent years has seen a substantial increase in the number of local governments and community-oriented organizations does not necessarily mean a substantial increase in community activity by the people. Active participation by the people in local level politics is not necessarily a corollary of the establishment of institutions and organizations. Snowden, writing of the consequences of economic problems, lack of education, and isolation in rural developing areas, states that there is not only a lack of knowledge and experience on the part of the people to overcome, but also apathy, "the great wall of inertia."¹⁴ This has been particularly hard to overcome because paternalism and patronage were continued by former premier J. R. Smallwood,¹⁵ often implying that even with the existence of local government institutions there was little need for collective community decisions.

A number of recent studies have alluded directly or indirectly to the non-participant and dependency syndromes among rural Newfoundlanders. Both Firestone and Faris found in their community studies that an egalitarian ethos existed, due in large part to attempt to avoid conflict within the community with authority coming from the "outside." Firestone found in his study of communities on the Straits of Bell Isle that formalities of position within the community would "make for the isolation of social

¹³ Marc J. Swartz, Local-Level Politics: Social and Cultural Perspectives (Chicago, 1968), p. 1.

¹⁴ Snowden, op. cit., p. 11.

¹⁵ Cato Wadel, Marginal Adaptations and Modernization in Newfoundland (St. John's, 1969), pp. 146-150.

distance."¹⁶ Thus leadership within the community is restrained. Faris observed in Cat Harbour on the Northeast Coast that people did not get involved in hierarchical structures imposed on the community by outside institutions, such as the Federation of Fishermen Governing Committee, simply because making decisions involving others is contrary to the traditions of the community.¹⁷ Fred Evans, who has carried out extensive development work in rural Newfoundland, gives supportive evidence to the "egalitarian stress" in outports, where he believes that the taboos and customs that were established to avoid social conflict have caused local leadership to suffer, as leadership implied decisions and decisions meant conflict. The one exception he cites is a community merchant who was tolerated because he was considered as being "outside" the social structure of the community.¹⁸ Cohen found in his study of "Focaltown" on the Northeast Coast, that the merchant who for years provided authority in the town was challenged and overtaken first politically and then commercially by community immigrants, not people from within the community.¹⁹

The people with the authority, usually considered "outsiders" in

¹⁶ Melvin M. Firestone, Brothers and Rivals: Patriclocality in Savage Cove (St. John's, 1967), p. 112.

¹⁷ J. Faris, Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement (St. John's, 1966), p. 133.

¹⁸ F. J. Evans, "The Challenge and Conflict of Change: A Social and Economic Report on Rural Newfoundland Part II," available in the Rural Development Authority Library, Confederation Building (St. John's, 1961), pp. 5-6.

¹⁹ Anthony P. Cohen, "The Managers of Myths: A Study of Elite Conflict and Political Development in a Newfoundland Community" (presented to the colloquium on Community Aspects of Political Development, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971), p. 17.

outport communities, were traditionally the merchant, clergyman and teacher. Various accounts indicate that there existed in the Newfoundland outport a small elite consisting of people occupying these roles and who provided the authority for the egalitarian community.²⁰ Stiles, however, takes exception to the belief that the merchant was always the de facto holder of authority in the community. He gives an example of a Southwest Coast community in which there was no local fish merchant for the first thirty years of settlement. As a result, the fishermen developed an independent attitude, selling fish themselves to outside markets. After a fish merchant arrived, these fishermen still remained independent and did not enable him to attain the authority that it is widely believed that the Newfoundland merchant enjoys.²¹ Szwed shows how attempts were often made by those in authority to maintain the status quo. In his study of the Codroy Valley on Newfoundland's West Coast, he reports that when people questioned some educational concepts, the priest, speaking from the pulpit, told them not to concern themselves with things better left up to others.²² This authoritarianism is reflected in the submissiveness of a man commenting on the possibility of organizing a committee for a cooperative. He believed that it wouldn't

²⁰ See John F. Szwed, Private Cultures and Public Imagery: Interpersonal Relations in a Newfoundland Peasant Society (St. John's, 1966), pp. 162-163; Harold Horwood, Tomorrow Will Be Sunday (New York, 1966), p. 9; Tom Philbrook, Fishermen, Logger, Merchant, Miner: Social Change and Industrialization in Three Newfoundland Communities (St. John's, 1966), p. 74.

²¹ Geoff Stiles, "Committees, Politics and Leaders: Some Reflections on the Heterogeneity of the Newfoundland Outport," paper presented to the colloquium on Community Aspects of Political Development, Institute of Social and Economic Research (St. John's, March 1971).

²² Szwed, op. cit., p. 163.

do any good, for "all a man can do is get by the best he can and hope that someday they /the government/ will take some interest."²³ To get involved in community activities is often attributed to self-interest in the Codroy Valley.²⁴ DeWitt found that people felt the same way about their town councillors on Fogo Island.²⁵ However, Cohen found that the Focaltown Town Council, established in 1945, had been legitimized by the people. They regarded the traditional community leaders' activities as being altruistic, while their critics were seen as being ambitious for political or economic self-interest.²⁶ But Cohen also found that people in Focaltown were shown to place community activity well behind the family in place of importance.²⁷ He concluded in his study that "The values of deference to authority, reluctance to lead, and disinclination to organize, have rendered the population docile, submissive and individualistic."²⁸ Cohen later goes further and attributes Smallwood's success in large part to his understanding of the political culture of the island -- a culture that he believes is changing due to the impact of modernization.²⁹ The opening up of roads and spread of the news media, especially television, has introduced urban North

²³Ibid., p. 161.

²⁴Ibid., p. 137.

²⁵R. L. Dewitt, Public Policy and Community Protest: The Fogo Case (St. John's Institute of Social and Economic Research, 1969), p. 43.

²⁶Cohen, op. cit., pp. 97-98.

²⁷Ibid., pp. 101-102.

²⁸Ibid., p. 107.

²⁹Ibid., p. 118.

American values to the private world of the Newfoundlander. However, this does not necessarily mean rapid acceptance of ideas contrary to traditional norms. Szwed has shown that modernization and the ideas that go with it are often resisted by Newfoundlanders, their attitudes basically remaining unchanged.³⁰

This dissertation attempts to examine in greater detail than previous Newfoundland studies the political culture, and more particularly participant-oriented attitudes, of people residing in three Newfoundland South Coast communities: Harbour Breton, Belleoram and English Harbour West. It is hypothesized that people's social and political attitudes, beliefs and values play a large part in determining their degree of involvement in community affairs.

B. THE POLITICAL CULTURE APPROACH

Social scientists generally agree that culture is closely connected to the social heritage, ideals and values, patterns or organizations and adjustments toward problems that various groups of people have evolved, but differ on which aspects they emphasize.³¹ For the purposes of this study, culture will be viewed as certain patterns of values and beliefs which have been acquired by a group of people through socialization processes.

Political culture is an important aspect of the more general culture, for a person's political beliefs, while often of minor importance

³⁰ Szwed, op. cit.

³¹ Kroeber and Kluckhohn have examined 164 definitions of culture as presented by social scientists and divide them into six major groups: enumeratively descriptive, historical, normative, psychological, structural and genetic. See A. L. Kroeber and Clyde Kluckhohn, Culture: A Critical Review of Concepts and Definitions (Cambridge, XLVII, No. I, 1952), pp. 43-71.

to himself, are part of his total belief system. Since politics, as I refer to it in this study, involves the expression of people's collective values, a political culture approach to community development would be one in which people's attitudes toward politics in general and their perceived role, if any, in this process is emphasized. Verba clarifies the term political culture this way:

Political culture . . . refers to all politically relevant orientations, whether of a cognitive, evaluative or expressive sort. It refers to the orientations of all the members of a political system; and it refers to orientations to all aspects of politics.³²

As political culture forms a link between the happenings in politics and the behavior of individuals in reaction to these events, it links micropolitical attitudes with macropolitical behavior. It combines the micropolitical, psychological approach with the macropolitical or group approach as used by sociologists. By combining an aggregate of individual reactions toward politics, political culture facilitates understanding of community behavior. For example, if people have little sense of community identity, are mistrustful of governmental institutions, and feel impotent when it comes to community affairs, it is likely that they will not be active in cooperative community activities. The opposite should be true for positive attitudes toward government and community. Consequently a "political culture approach" can be useful in helping to explain why people get involved in politics and also the extent of community development that has taken place. However, I wish to emphasize that while political orientations are a significant factor in determining the degree of community

³²Sidney Verba, "Comparative Political Culture" in Lucian W. Pye and Sidney Verba (eds.), Political Culture and Political Development (Princeton, 1969), p. 518.

development in Newfoundland outports, other related non-political factors, such as the history and economic resources are also important.

C. THE CASE STUDY REPORTED HERE

I made a short "exploratory trip" to Harbour Breton by Coastal boat in September 1971 to acquaint myself with the proposed area for future research. Four field trips were made to the area from September through December, 1972, by car over the newly-constructed road. A total of eight weeks were spent in the communities of Harbour Breton, Belleoram and English Harbour West.

During these visits seventy-five people were interviewed concerning their political attitudes, beliefs and values. A semi-structured and largely open-ended set of questions was asked in an attempt to balance uniformity with spontaneity (see Appendices A and B). These interviews lasted on the average slightly over one hour, with extremes of twenty minutes to four hours, largely depending on the respondent's knowledge and interest in politics and the rapport established in the interview. Nine additional people were interviewed primarily as informants; although they were sometimes asked several attitudinal questions their remarks were not included in the quantitative analysis. These included several teachers, clergymen and other informants who supplied information on traditional roles of their position in the community, historical or other specialized aspects of the area. This source of information was supplemented by a total of 144 questionnaires which were administered to high school students at English Harbour West and Harbour Breton (see Appendix C).

It is the argument of this dissertation that there exists in the Harbour Breton Area a dual political culture. The "Non-Participants," or

those who have never involved themselves in activities conducive to community development, have a fairly distinct pattern of political attitudes, beliefs and values from that of the "Activists," or those who have participated in community affairs. The Activists, while more informed and generally better educated than the Non-Participants, do not get the active support of the latter which is necessary for a more productive effort.

Chapter II examines the setting and historical background of the three communities to show more clearly their peculiarities. Chapter III provides the social and institutional background to community participation in these communities: occupational strata, traditional leadership roles, local associations and municipal institutions and makes an important behavioral distinction between Activists and Non-Participants. Chapter IV presents profiles of Activists and Non-Participants, "bringing to life" these abstract categories. Chapter V examines people's perceptions and evaluations of political problems and institutions: their awareness of community and provincial problems; their perceptions and evaluations of federal, provincial and local governments; and their political party identity. Chapter VI investigates several attitudes, beliefs and values to see if they are held by Non-Participants and Activists: social trust, conflict avoidance, egalitarianism and "individual" and "community" efficacy are examined. Chapter VII presents perceptions and attitudes toward local power and leadership, and Chapter VIII provides a conclusion to the thesis.

CHAPTER II

THE HARBOUR BRETON AREA:

THE COMMUNITIES OF HARBOUR BRETON, BELLEORAM

AND ENGLISH HARBOUR WEST

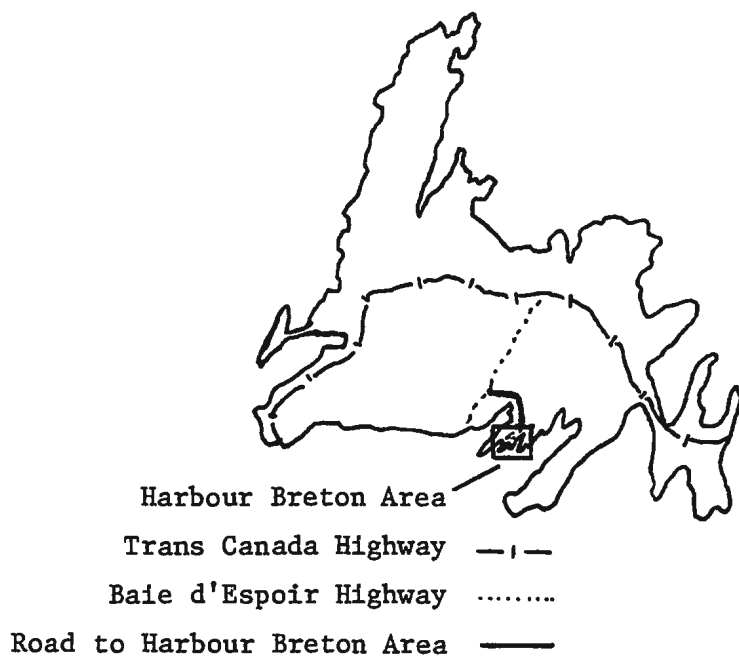
A. THE SETTING

The town of Harbour Breton is one of the larger settlements on the South Coast of Newfoundland (see Map I). A new road sign at the entrance to the community puts the population of Harbour Breton at 2,600. The town itself is near the southeastern end of a peninsula which extends ten miles into Fortune Bay, situated on both sides of a well-protected and ice-free harbour about two miles from the entrance of the main Northeast Arm and surrounded to the North and South by hills that rise precipitously from sea level. Since 1969 a new subdivision has been created on the gently sloping land at the West end of the harbour, approximately one-half mile from the main town (see Map II). The households there are predominantly occupied by families who have relocated from nearby settlements, for Harbour Breton has been designated since 1965 as a "receiving community" under Newfoundland's Resettlement Programme. By far the greatest number of people living in this subdivision have come from the resettled or "sending" communities of Jersey Harbour, Sagona Island, Little Bay West, Grole and Miller's Passage (see Map III).

Harbour Breton, with its excellent harbour, central location, modern fish plant, cottage hospital, magistrate's office, R.C.M.P. detach-

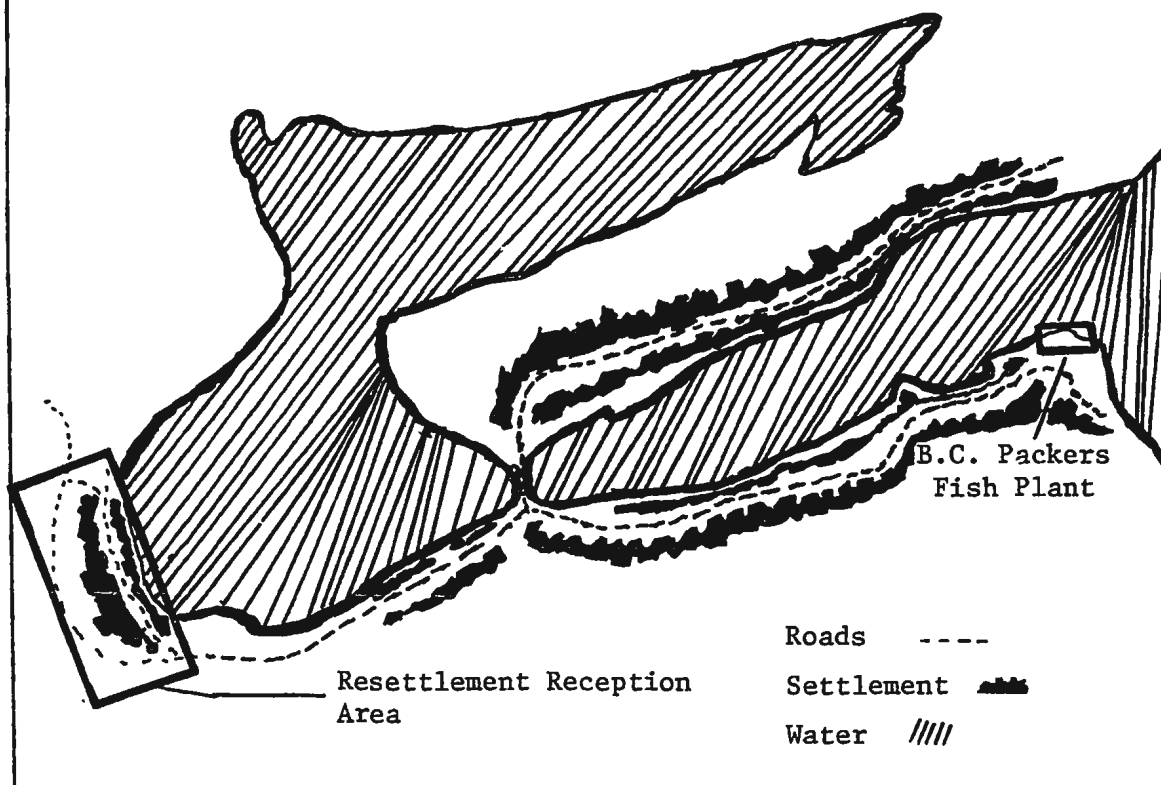
MAP I

NEWFOUNDLAND

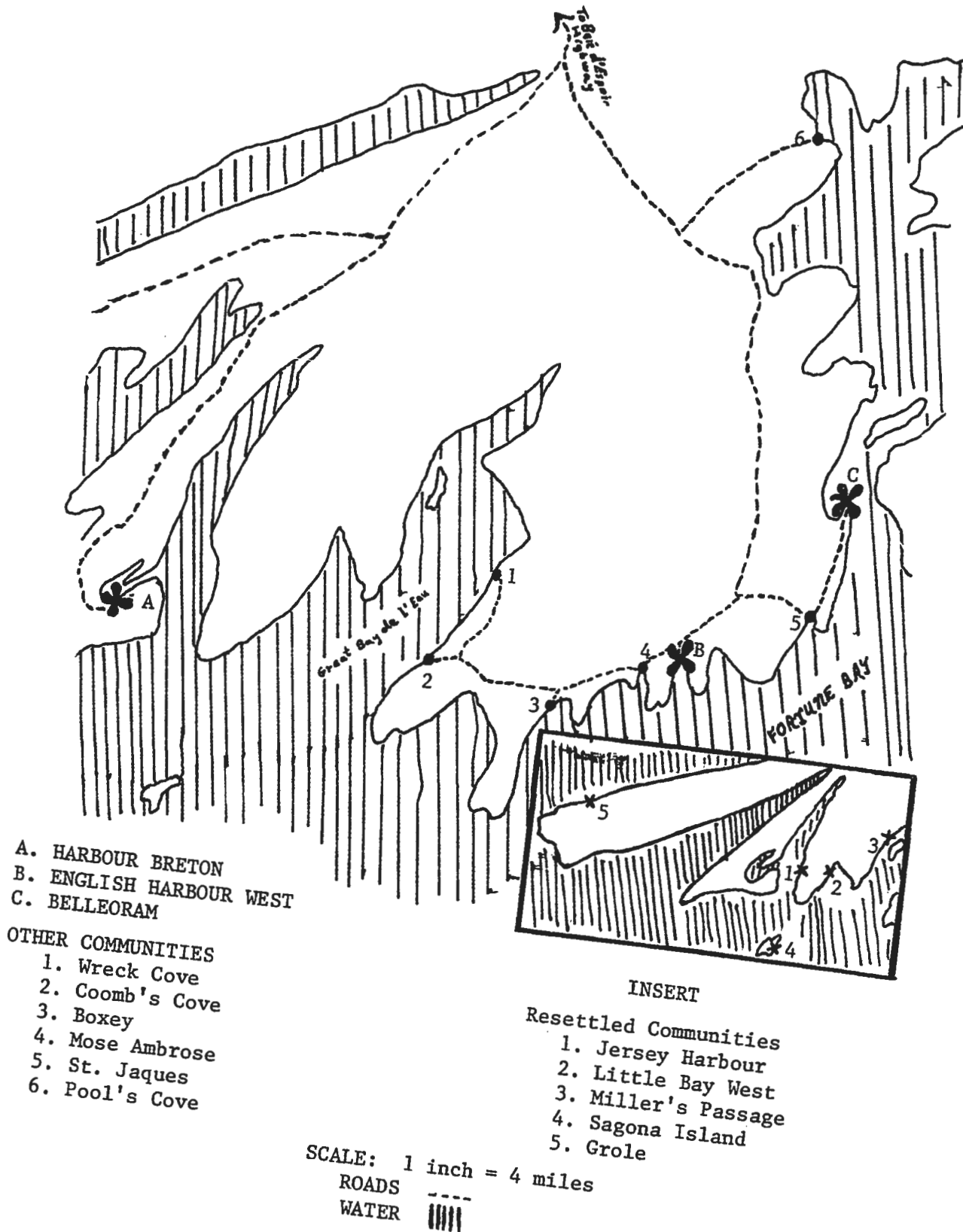


MAP II

HARBOUR BRETON



THE HARBOUR BRETON AREA



ment, welfare office, water and sewage facilities and town council, has for years been the administrative and service center for the Hermitage Bay - Fortune Bay area. At first glance it would appear to be the natural choice for a "growth center." However, in one way the choice of Harbour Breton as a receiving center has been an anomaly in planned resettlement: until 1970, Harbour Breton was not connected to any other settlement by road. In that year a road connected the town to the eight communities from Wreck Cove to Pool's Cove. Travel to and from Harbour Breton was restricted to the Canadian National Coastal boat service until late 1972 when the town was connected by road with the Trans Canada Highway, 160 miles and three hours distant. In effect, the people who resettled to Harbour Breton were as physically isolated as they had been in their former communities.

Belleoram and English Harbour West are both almost 60 miles from Harbour Breton by road. It takes approximately one and one-half hours to drive from Harbour Breton to each of these communities by car. They both lie on the western shore of Fortune Bay approximately nine miles apart, Belleoram being slightly farther up the Bay. They are both much smaller communities than Harbour Breton. Belleoram has a population of 530 (1971 census), while English Harbour West contains 393 people. There is little suitable land for expansion in either area, especially in Belleoram, which is characterized by very rugged landscape. Both fishing communities have good ice-free harbours with little fog. Belleoram is protected by a long beach that juts well out and in effect adds an extension to the harbour. In English Harbour West, the harbour, while less deep than the Belleoram harbour, regularly accommodates Canadian National coastal boats.

Belleoram has a town council, a water and sewage system, and a doctor who serves the area. Aside from fishing, the only source of employ-

ment in the community are a few small stores. A small number of men still prosecute the inshore fishery and many are constrained to go fishing in Lunenburg or work seasonally on the Great Lakes. Many of those who remain home receive some form of social assistance payments.

English Harbour West, which only recently acquired municipal government, has no water and sewage system. However a local merchant permanently employs about 40 people and has employed up to 110 people at peak periods in the summer months. Most of these people are employed in the newly renovated supermarket, hardware store, at construction work around the area, driving buses or working on the merchant's boats. There is little need for many to move out of this community to seek permanent employment.

In 1949 a road was built to connect Belleoram, St. Jacques, English Harbour West, Mose Ambrose, Boxey, Coomb's Cove, and Wreck Cove. The community of Pool's Cove was connected to this road in 1969 and these communities were linked with the Harbour Breton road in 1970. Whenever the "Harbour Breton Area" is referred to in this thesis, it will mean these nine communities, Belleoram, English Harbour West and Harbour Breton being representative of the Area.

B. ORIGINS OF SETTLEMENT IN THE HARBOUR BRETON AREA

1. Early Newfoundland Settlement

Prolific cod fishing grounds in adjacent waters off her coast had possibly interested the English in the island of Newfoundland even before Cabot's voyage in 1497; Bristol merchants may have discovered the island

as early as 1480.¹ However, it was not until the late 1570's, almost a century later, that English fishing activity in Newfoundland was undertaken on a large scale.² Other nations, especially the French, had been prosecuting the Newfoundland fishery since shortly after the island's discovery and continued to send large fleets.³ However, by the end of the sixteenth century Newfoundland was still ". . . a no man's land claimed halfheartedly and illegally by Spanish, Portuguese, Basques, French and English and frequented by fishermen of all these nations who worked without rivalry."⁴

English attempts to colonize the island progressed slowly. Even though settlements had been established under a series of charters beginning in 1610, by 1660 the Newfoundland population did not exceed 1,100 people.⁵ These people settled only along the eastern shore, mainly from Cape Bonavista to Trepassey.⁶ Britain's policy at this time was to oppose permanent settlement in Newfoundland. She viewed the English fishing industry as important both economically (in the interests of the influential

¹Gillian T. Cell, English Enterprise in Newfoundland, 1577-1660 (Toronto, 1969), p. 1.

²Ibid., p. 22.

³Agnes M. Field, "The Development of Government in Newfoundland, 1638-1713" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of London, 1924), p. 25.

⁴Ibid., pp. 30-31.

⁵Keith Matthews, "A History of the West of England - Newfoundland Fishery" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Oxford University, 1968), p. 172.

⁶Ibid., pp. 184-185.

West country merchants) and as a training ground for naval seamen.⁷

2. French Settlement

The French, who had used the island as a base for a transient fishery for over 150 years, settled in Placentia in 1662. The passing of another decade saw the French south coast fishery extended to St. Pierre.⁸ It is therefore likely that the French were familiar with the Harbour Breton Area by the mid-1670's. The first direct evidence of French settlement in the Harbour Breton Area was given by Captain Tavernor in his second Survey of the South Coast in 1718. He referred to both Belleoram and Harbour Breton as having been settled by the French. A Frenchman named Belorm had lived in Belleoram (Bandalore) for twenty years. In Harbour Breton, Captain Tavernor, spotted a planter's house and reported that the French, apparently Bretons, had fished there twenty years earlier.

. . . at Bandalore is a large Beech and several houses that belong to Mons. Belorm . . . who hath visited in that place 20 years, successively one after the other . . . loops his fishery the summer at St. Peters (St. Pierre) because there is no codfishing at Bandalore, nor St. Jacques, but in the Mo. of September October and November and at that time no great quantity. . . . Harbour Breton is very Rugged Mountainous Land, in that harbour is a good Beech, a planters house, and stage. The french report is about twenty years since they used to fish there in the months of february March and Aprill.⁹

French settlement at this time was declining in Fortune Bay. With the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713 the French were to give up all settlement

⁷ A. H. McIntock, The Establishment of Constitutional Government in Newfoundland, 1783-1832 (London, 1941), pp. 4-8.

⁸ Ibid., pp. 184-185.

⁹ C. O. 194/232 "Survey of Captain Tavernor 1718," Maritime History Project, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

rights in Newfoundland, with the exception of Placentia where those who were willing to become British subjects could still keep their land.¹⁰

3. English Settlement

It seems ironic that while the French were permitted to settle in Placentia, the English had no settlement rights in Newfoundland. "Illegal settlement" had meant that no official census was taken until 1836. This, coupled with a lack of primary source material has made it difficult to date the origins of English settlement in the Harbour Breton Area. However, it is unlikely that permanent English settlement was begun in the area before 1763.¹¹ The Treaty of Paris in 1763 gave St. Pierre to the French. The Poole and Jersey merchants residing at St. Pierre were forced to quit the island and developed a thriving fishery in Fortune Bay.¹² The firm of John Clarke and Thomas Young had a large operation at St. Pierre and after the Treaty of Paris they moved their operations to Harbour Breton. They were joined by William Waldren of Poole and formed the firm of Waldren,

¹⁰D. W. Prowse, History of Newfoundland (London, 1895), p. 276.

¹¹Prowse briefly mentions Belleoram in connection with a murder in 1759 at St. Pierre, ". . . then in possession of the Grandys of Belleoram and other English families." However, primary source material was not provided to substantiate this allusion to settlement in Belleoram. See ibid., 305, 567-568. An interview with Allan Jensen (Belleoram, October 1972) revealed that one of the first English settlers to Belleoram was John Cluett, his great-grandfather. The fact that a John Cluett was one of the first settlers is supported by Dominix, who also stated that John Grandy had immigrated from St. Peter's (St. Pierre) at approximately the same time. See Arthur Dominix, "The History of Belleoram" (mimeographed, Newfoundland Room, Memorial University Library), pp. 12-13. Lovell's Directory of 1871 lists John Cluett Sr. as a planter, making settlement before 1800 impossible according to tradition. See Lovell's Province of Newfoundland Directory for 1871 (Montreal, 1871), pp. 226-227.

¹²Matthews, op. cit., p. 410.

Clarke and Young, making Harbour Breton the merchantile center of Fortune Bay.¹³ It is unlikely that this firm survived beyond the early 1790's; both Young and Clarke had died by then and their property was taken over by Spurrier.¹⁴

As the fishery began to develop on Newfoundland's south coast, Robert Newman and Sons decided that a good future awaited the supply trade to resident fishermen and shifted much of their operation away from St. John's. In 1784 they moved to St. Lawrence, in 1793 to Burin and Little Bay and in the last years of the eighteenth century continued a westward expansion as far as Hermitage Bay, including branches in nine settlements, one of them Harbour Breton.¹⁵ By 1800, Harbour Breton was the most active among Newman's posts.¹⁶ Although Harbour Breton was not originally founded by the Newman company, it was largely developed through their operations. It has been referred to as a "company town," because Newman's later built churches, schools and other public structures and imported their workers from England.¹⁷ However the population of permanent settlers grew slowly

¹³Interview with Dr. Keith Matthews, Memorial University of Newfoundland, February 1973.

¹⁴Keith Matthews, "The West Country Merchants in Newfoundland" (lecture presented to the Newfoundland Historical Society, 1968), p. 8.

¹⁵Margaret Chang, "Robert Newman and Company: A Study in the Newfoundland Trade, 1780-1806" (History 689B Graduate Studies paper, Newfoundland Room, Memorial University of Newfoundland, 1971).

¹⁶A talk with Mrs. Chang (February 1973) revealed that she had come across evidence to substantiate this in entries made to the various accounts in the company ledgers.

¹⁷Canada, Department of Mines and Technical Services, "Newfoundland Settlement Survey: Harbour Breton" (mimeographed, Ottawa, 1953), p. 15.

and according to the first official census taken in 1836,¹⁸ the "capital of Fortune Bay" had only 149 people, one more than the population of Belleoram, which was probably not settled by the English before 1800. English Harbour West, probably the last of these three communities to be settled, contained a mere 19 inhabitants in 1836.

The majority of immigrants came to Newfoundland from Western England and Southwestern Ireland, the greatest influx between 1811 and 1815.¹⁹ By 1836 settlement in Newfoundland was no longer discouraged and the stage was set for growth in the three south coast communities studied here.

C. THE COMMUNITIES FROM 1836 to 1972²⁰

1. Harbour Breton

Of the 149 people living at Harbour Breton in 1836, there were 132 Anglicans and 17 Roman Catholics. Both denominations increased, and by 1869 there were two churches and two schools in the community. Harbour Breton clergymen served neighbouring settlements containing members of their denominations.

Harbour Breton was often referred to as "the capital of Fortune Bay." The community which was centered around Newman's establishment flourished as a mercantile center. Archbishop Howley's description of

¹⁸Newfoundland Archives, Census of Newfoundland, 1836.

¹⁹Matthews, "A History of the West of England - Newfoundland Fishery," p. 420.

²⁰Whenever population or fishery statistics for a particular year are reported and not individually documented, they have been obtained from the Newfoundland Census Returns for that year.

Harbour Breton shows the importance of Newman's activity:

Every spring their ships came out directly from Poole, Exmouth, Plymouth & C. bringing all that was necessary for the summer's "voyage," not omitting the youngsters, that is all the men required for the summer's work. All of them were sent "home" again in the fall. The "Big House," supplied all the wants of the dealers throughout the Bay and neighbouring coast.²¹

Newman & Company operated a number of Grand Bank fishing schooners and bought fish from the Fortune Bay area which they packed for export. Large warehouses were also built to store port wine which was thought to mature better in the Newfoundland climate. However, through mismanagement the company declined and in 1902 ceased its operations in Harbour Breton.²²

Job Brothers bought Newman's premises and carried on a business until 1913 when they sold the enterprise to Boutliers, a Halifax firm. After about ten years of operation they in turn sold to Gordon Pew & Company of Gloucester, who sold to Hugh Coady of Harbour Breton in the late 1920's.²³ After Job Brothers departed, there was a marked decline in the value of fish products exported from Harbour Breton, mostly because fewer vessels prosecuted the bank fishery. In 1911 nine vessels were engaged in the bank fishery with the total value of Harbour Breton fish products being \$85,445. By 1921 however, no vessels were going to the Grand Banks and the value of fish products was only \$15,240. This dropped to \$11,538 by 1935. The end of the Grand Banks fishery and a decline in the inshore fishery

²¹Archbishop Howley, "The Late Archbishop Howley's Newfoundland Name-Lore," in The Newfoundland Quarterly, 1901), p. 130.

²²Ottawa, Newfoundland Settlement Survey: Harbour Breton, p. 15.

²³Interview with George Washington Porter, St. John's, February 1973. Mr. Porter, a man in his mid-seventies, spent almost all his life in Harbour Breton.

meant a subsequent decline in population. From 1921 to 1935 the population decreased from 725 to 689. A cottage hospital was then built in the community, and the population increased to 803 by 1945. However, Harbour Breton was no longer a major fishing center; after Newman and Company declined in the late nineteenth century, local fishermen often left home to work for the Lunenburg, Nova Scotia, schooner fleet on the Grand Banks. These men were away from January to October, which certainly was not ideal for fostering community spirit.

In 1959, in an effort to stimulate the economy of the area, Harbour Breton was selected by the provincial government as the site for a fish processing plant. The South Coast Commission of 1957 had shown the precarious state of the South Coast economy and emphasized the large number of small, static, and declining communities.²⁴ A town council, established in 1958, brought a water and sewage system. British Columbia Packers then bought virtually all the old Newman premises and started a fish processing plant and later a herring reduction plant. This fish plant, which was completed in the early 1960's, has provided a stable source of employment, reducing the outward migration and encouraging immigration from nearby declining communities. Since 1965, when the town was designated as a "growth center," 696 resettlers have moved to Harbour Breton from 28 communities, almost all of them in the Fortune Bay - Hermitage Bay area.²⁵

²⁴Government of Newfoundland and Labrador, The South Coast Commission (1957).

²⁵Most of these people moved from Jersey Harbour (148), Grole (139), Sagona Island (110), Miller's Passage (81) and Little Bay West (46) making a total of 524 people who have moved from these five communities. Statistics Federal - Provincial Resettlement Program (completed to April 30th 1972).

Resettlers now compose more than one-quarter of the total population of the town (see Figure 2.1, Comparative Population Trends). Most of these people resettled from Anglican communities; consequently an estimated two-thirds of the population are now Anglicans.²⁶

The economy of Harbour Breton is dependent upon British Columbia Packers, which employs approximately 250 people in the fish plant and on three trawlers. The inshore fishermen sell their fish to the plant. Although the hospital and other service employers such as stores, schools and government employ a large number of people, it remains that the economy of Harbour Breton rests on the productivity of the fish plant. The fish plant in turn is dependent upon the supply of herring and ground fish -- cod, redfish, flounder and sole.

2. Belleoram

In 1836 Belleoram contained 148 inhabitants, almost all of whom were Anglicans.²⁷ By 1845 the population had risen to 200 people and an Anglican church and school had both been built by William Cluett, a local merchant, at his own expense.²⁸

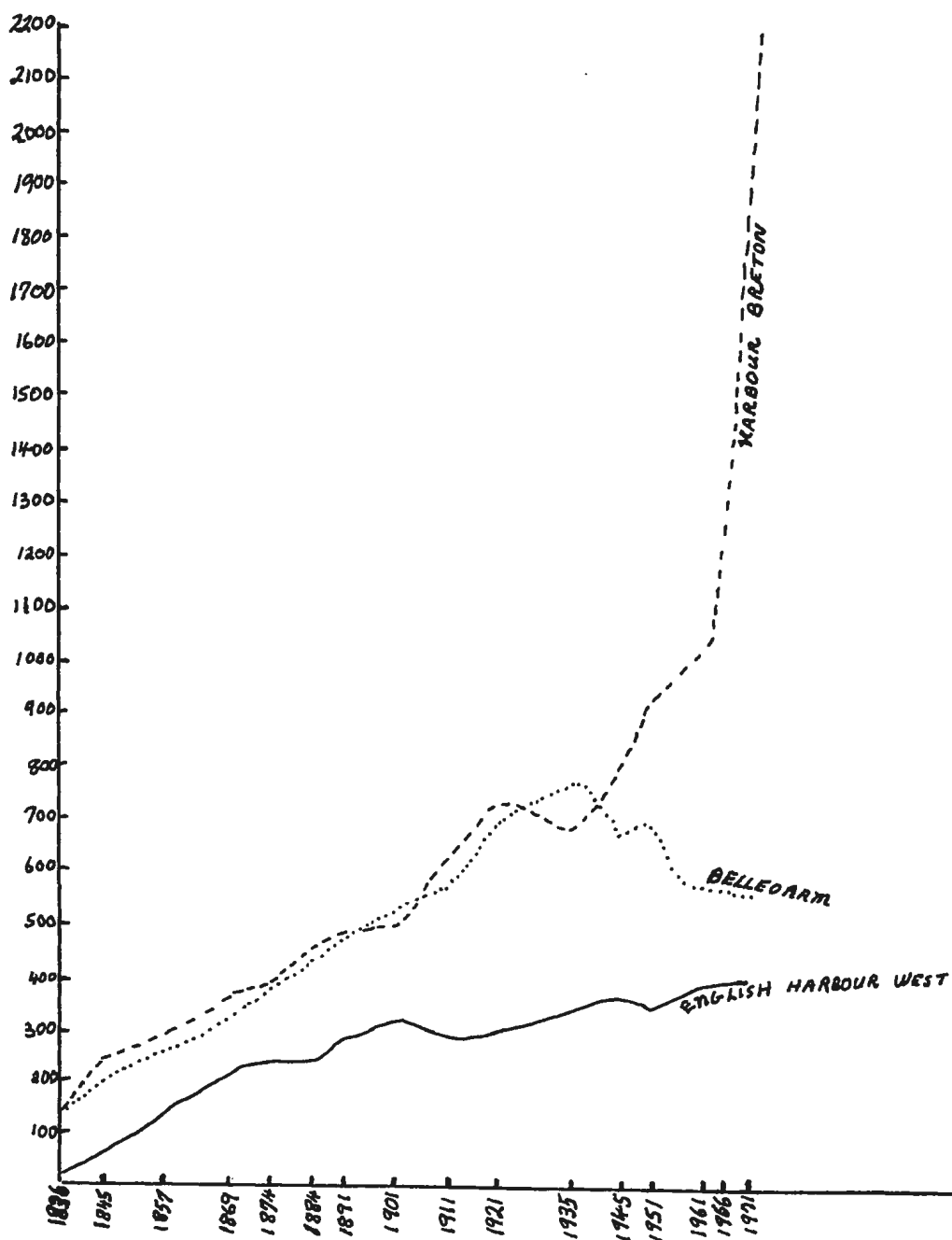
²⁶ A religious breakdown for the community of Harbour Breton is not available in the Canadian Census reports. The Newfoundland Census Returns for 1945 show that of a population of 803 there were 502 Anglicans and 301 Roman Catholics.

²⁷ In 1836 there were 22 Catholics in Belleoram. However this figure remained relatively constant until the last decade of the nineteenth century when the remaining Catholics left. A Congregational element was introduced by Harvey & Company workers in the early twentieth century. There were never any more than twenty adherents to this faith in Belleoram. This denomination ceased to exist in Belleoram shortly after Harvey & Company terminated operations there in the late 1930's. Since that time Belleoram has been entirely Anglican.

²⁸ J. M. Fudge, The Late Captain J. M. Fudge: His Life Story as a Fisherman and Businessman (Moncton, 1960), p. 5.

FIGURE 2.1

POPULATION GRAPH OF HARBOUR BRETON, BELLEORAM AND ENGLISH
HARBOUR WEST FROM 1836 TO 1971, BASED ON
NEWFOUNDLAND AND CANADIAN CENSUS RETURNS



Belleoram, like many other Fortune Bay communities was deeply involved in the herring fishery in its early years of settlement. A lucrative trade developed between the Fortune Bay communities and American and French vessels: bait was supplied to the Americans and French in exchange for gold and provisions. This was a large operation while it lasted; it was estimated that forty to fifty thousand pounds of gold circulated annually throughout the Bay.²⁹ However, the passing of the Bait Act in 1884, prohibiting the selling of bait to foreign fishing fleets, brought this trade to a stop and caused much hardship among the local inhabitants. By 1887 the Act was rigidly enforced and the practice of selling herring to foreign fishing fleets ceased altogether in the 1890's.

In 1891 John Penney & Sons built a herring store on the beach at Belleoram where they began to export split herring. However from 1900 to 1910 the herring industry declined and collapsed because of poor markets.³⁰ Also in the late nineteenth century the lobster fishery was developed in Belleoram. The 1891 census shows that two lobster factories employed 29 men and 6 women. This peaked to eleven factories employing 28 men and 11 women in 1900. There remained a small lobster industry in Belleoram up until the 1930's when Maritime Packers at English Harbour West began to buy fresh lobsters and the practice of canning lobsters ceased.³¹

An upswing in economic conditions came with the arrival in the 1890's of Harvey & Company, a St. John's firm, who bought a small store

²⁹Conrad Telawney Fitzgerald Jr., The Albatross (Bristol, 1935), p. 99.

³⁰Dominix, op. cit., pp. 22-27.

³¹Ibid., p. 6.

from John Penney & Sons, added a large fish store and a salt store and set up operations in Belleoram. They soon had vessels operating out of Belleoram that fished for cod on the Grand Banks. At their peak, Harvey & Company had seven vessels operating out of Belleoram, making the town a more important fishing center than Harbour Breton. For instance, the census returns of 1921 show that the total value of Belleoram's fish products the previous year was \$147,338 compared with only \$15,240 for Harbour Breton in the same year. In Belleoram, Harvey & Company had the biggest individually-owned fleet of banking vessels in Newfoundland, with crews totalling more than 150 fishermen. At that time they operated the most modern type of steam trawlers and had a plant equipped with a modern system for the artificial drying of codfish.³² This boom proved to be short-lived, however. In 1937 the firm ceased operating in Belleoram because of the decline in fish markets and because they could not collect the large debt owed by the many smaller merchants in Fortune Bay.³³ The withdrawal of Harvey & Company meant that many men had to seek employment elsewhere, as they had been doing for years in Harbour Breton. Like Harbour Breton men, many went to Nova Scotia to join the Lunenburg fishing fleets. Since that time the population of Belleoram has declined substantially, dropping from 753 in 1935 to 530 by 1971 (see Figure 2.1).

The departure of the Harvey operations was a blow from which Belleoram never recovered. W. G. Nott, who managed Harvey & Company from the early 1920's, obtained control of stores and two fishing vessels

³²"Harvey & Company," in A. B. Perlin, ed., The Story of Newfoundland (St. John's, 1959), p. 158.

³³Dominix, op. cit., p. 19.

formerly owned by the firm. These vessels took part in the Bank fishery until 1949 when they could not obtain a crew.³⁴ The firm is still in existence, but employs only a couple of people. In the 1940's, Crosbie & Company expressed interest in establishing a fish dehydrating plant at Belleoram, and purchased some of Harvey & Company's premises. Chesley Crosbie used his influence to arrange for the tiny community to have a town council, hoping that council funds would pay for most of the high cost piping of necessary fresh water to the plant. A small turnout of people voted for incorporation and in July 1946 Belleoram had one of the first town councils in the province. True to Crosbie's plan, a water and sewage system was soon built, partly from an \$85,000 fund from the Commission of Government. However, the plant was never completed because one of Crosbie's ships carrying machinery for the plant was lost off St. Lawrence. Enough machinery could not be salvaged to make continuation of the plant feasible.³⁵ Crosbie & Company had paid out less than two thousand dollars in wages to Belleoram residents during their few months of flirtation with the community.³⁶ The men who had lingered on in Belleoram hoping for a secure income from the plant and a revitalized economy had their hopes drowned with the sinking of Crosbie's ship. No other industry has since established there. Many people have been forced to move to the mainland to seek permanent employment. Of those families that remain, approximately half are relying on welfare payments (see Table 3.1).

³⁴Ibid., p. 19.

³⁵Information supplied by four Belleoram informants.

³⁶Crosbie & Company Time Book, in possession of Mr. Reginald Bond of Belleoram.

3. English Harbour West

In 1836 English Harbour West had a mere four families for a total of nineteen inhabitants, thirteen Protestants and six Roman Catholics. Although both denominations grew in numbers,³⁷ shortly after the turn of the twentieth century the Catholic families started to move to St. Jacques about five miles away, probably because a central Catholic church and school had been constructed there.³⁸ Today English Harbour West, like Belleoram, consists only of Anglicans.

It is likely that English Harbour West in its early years developed from the inshore and herring (bait) fishery. The herring fishery declined in the 1890's and the lobster fishery began to be developed. By 1901 there were fifteen lobster factories employing 42 men and 8 women. However by 1911 this declined to two lobster factories employing 4 men and 3 women. The lobster fishery has been operating in English Harbour West on a small scale ever since. Several vessels also usually prosecuted the Labrador fishery. However it was the bank fishery around which English Harbour West developed, largely the result of initiative taken by Jerry Petite & Sons Ltd.

In 1902 Captain Jerry Petite of the neighbouring community of Mose Ambrose purchased a small general trading store in English Harbour West which formerly belonged to one Richard Marshall. Captain Petite had been

³⁷In 1901 of 305 inhabitants, 112 were Roman Catholics who had their own school and church. However, by 1911 the Catholic population of English Harbour West had declined to 71; it continued to show a decrease in later census returns.

³⁸This information was supplied by several English Harbour West informants.

engaged in bank fishing in his own vessel, and soon built up a fish exporting business. During the First World War, when fish prices soared to their peak, he expanded the business. From 1914 to 1936 the Petite business owned four bankers and a trading vessel and conducted a canning factory in Back Cove just beyond the harbour where lobster and salmon were canned for export.³⁹ Most of the fish taken from the banking vessels was cured at English Harbour West. The bank fishery in English Harbour West while not as successful as that of Belleoram, nevertheless flourished. For example, in 1935 the value of English Harbour's products based almost entirely on the bank fishery was \$37,891 compared with only \$11,538 for Harbour Breton. In 1936 the business was given to Captain Jerry Petite's two sons, Jim and Howard, who managed the business until 1947.⁴⁰ In the late forties they sold several of their banking vessels.⁴¹ Jim withdrew from the business in 1947 and sold his shares to Howard, who moved to Toronto and secured the services of several different managers to run the declining business until 1953. In that year, Gordon Petite, the nephew of Captain Jerry Petite, secured a loan and bought shares from Howard Petite, his cousin. Gordon Petite had previously managed his own business in Mose Ambrose, where he had purchased salt fish from the local fishermen. In English Harbour West

³⁹"J. Petite & Sons Ltd." in Atlantic Guardian (November 1948), pp. 45-46.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 47.

⁴¹Clifford Shirley & Sons operated a business in the early 1940's and had two "trading" vessels of 25 and 40 tons. However they dealt mainly in drygoods and groceries during their operation. The firm was managed by various members of the family until it ceased operations in the late 1960's. This information was supplied by several English Harbour West informants.

he began to collect fish from the fishermen on a much larger scale than he had done in Mose Ambrose. When Gordon Petite took over the business the firm employed nine people. Today it has expanded to such an extent that it employs a permanent staff of 40 and at peak periods has employed up to 110 people. The firm presently owns six boats: the Stephenville, a large freight ship which is chartered to Canadian National; three "coasters" (boats which carry goods), one of which is sometimes chartered to private individuals; a "trader" which supplies goods to isolated places; and a passenger boat. The firm still purchases lobsters off local fishermen, is involved in construction products and has a large supermarket and general store.⁴² Today the economy of English Harbour West and to a certain extent the neighbouring communities in the area are dependent upon the Petite enterprise.

⁴²Interview with Gordon Petite, October 1972.

CHAPTER III

INDIVIDUAL INVOLVEMENT IN POLITICS: MODES AND CONSTRAINTS

This chapter outlines the social and institutional background to community participation in the Harbour Breton Area -- occupational patterns, traditional leadership roles, local associations, and municipal institutions. This description of the social and governmental setting is essential to the analysis of cultural orientations which forms the bulk of the thesis. The chapter concludes by defining "Activists" and "Non-Participants" in the communities studied, a behavioral distinction which is subsequently related to differing patterns of attitudes.

A. OCCUPATIONAL STRATA

The vast majority of workers living in the Harbour Breton Area are employed as wage labourers with occupations usually related to the catching and processing of fish or the provision of goods and services. I estimate that only from five to ten percent of the working force in the Area are in "high status" occupations such as managerial, supervisory or professional positions. The vast majority of the people work at unskilled or semi-skilled occupations; only fifteen to twenty percent of the population can be termed "middle-class." The small number of "high status" occupations in these communities leave few roles for the aspiring student to emulate. Consequently, the great majority of high school students who have pursued a post-secondary education have studied education and in the

case of Harbour Breton, a number of girls have become nurses.

1. Harbour Breton

In the town of Harbour Breton itself, British Columbia Packers' fish plant and its three trawlers employ approximately 250 people, while there are about 90 inshore fishermen who sell their catch to the plant.¹ This means that more than half of the working population is employed either in the catching or processing of fish.² The great majority of B. C. Packers employees are in unskilled or semi-skilled occupations, such as cutting, trimming and packaging of fish, maintenance and other labour-related jobs. There are fewer than one dozen managerial or supervisory positions in the plant, most of them filled by outsiders.

A large number of men work on herring seiners which supply herring to the fish plants on the South Coast. The service employers, such as the cottage hospital, stores, schools, a bank and government administrative services, employ almost all the remaining workers. The range of employment opportunities in the community is therefore limited; some men still go to the mainland to work, especially to Nova Scotia with the Lunenburg fishing fleet, others work on the "Lake boats" or other seasonal labor in Ontario. Consequently these workers are away from the community for most of the

¹Provincial Planning Office, Department of Municipal Affairs, "Preliminary Report of the Harbour Breton Municipal Plan 1970-1980," 1970, p. 2. This information was verified in an interview with Mr. Gregory, manager of B. C. Packers plant in Harbour Breton.

²By the end of 1972 the population of Harbour Breton was 2,600 and the "Preliminary Report of the Harbour Breton Municipal Plan" lists the average family at 5.1 which would mean that by 1972 there were about 500 families living in the community with the fishing industry employing 340 of these.

year. Because of few employment opportunities and temporary layoffs due to poor herring catches, a large number of men are forced to rely on Short Term Assistance (see Table 3.1). The majority of working women are employed by the fish plant as packagers and others are employed in stores. However, only sixteen percent of the labour force is composed of women.³

The high status occupations are composed of professional and administrative positions in the fish plant, hospital, government services, schools, business and churches. Many of these professional and technical positions such as doctors, teachers and technicians have to be filled by "outsiders." There has been a high turnover rate in these positions because it has been difficult to attract outside qualified personnel to an isolated area, lacking facilities for entertainment.

2. Belleoram

About half of the working population in Belleoram are away from home for most of the year, fishing, working with Canadian National or on the Lake boats in Ontario. Only about a dozen men still regularly prosecute the inshore fishery. A few others find other local employment such as working for the Department of Highways or for Gordon Petite in English Harbour West. Temporary employment is offered by federal winter works programs which involve upgrading roads or the cleaning up of the town. Several people own small, family-run stores and a few people work at the local bank. There are also five or six teachers, a resident doctor, and a clergyman. Having no industry, fishing, or other employment to turn to, most people who do not seasonally migrate are welfare recipients. Conse-

³Ibid., p. 3.

TABLE 3.1

AVERAGE NUMBER OF RECIPIENTS OF SHORT TERM AND LONG TERM ASSISTANCE*
IN HARBOUR BRETON, BELLEORAM AND ENGLISH HARBOUR WEST FOR THE
PERIOD JULY TO SEPTEMBER 1972 AS COMPARED WITH THE
POTENTIAL MALE WORKING FORCE

	Harbour Breton	Belleoram	English Harbour West
Population	2,600	530	393
Number of adult males aged 20-65	450	80	95
Average number of S.T.A. recipients: July-Nov.	57	19	3
S.T.A. recipients as per- cent of potential work force (adult males)	13%	24%	3%
Recipients of L.T.A. excluding widows and those who receive a supplement to their Old Age Pension	34	19	12
Total number of male welfare recipients of working age	91	38	15
Male welfare recipients as percent of potential work force	20%	48%	16%

*People receiving Short Term Assistance are those who cannot find employment or are temporarily laid off work. Recipients of Long Term Assistance are those who for health or other reasons cannot work, and these include widows. Welfare statistics were obtained from the Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation, Harbour Breton. Age distribution statistics for Harbour Breton and Belleoram were obtained from Census of Canada, 1971. Those figures for English Harbour West were obtained from DREE Population Characteristics for Unincorporated Communities in Newfoundland and Labrador (1971).

quently, the per capita short term welfare rate is much higher than in Harbour Breton or English Harbour West with the winter months in all three communities showing a substantial increase.

3. English Harbour West

In English Harbour West, most people are employed doing manual labour or clerical work for Gordon Petite in his supermarket, shop, on his boats and buses, or in construction projects. There are about a dozen inshore fishermen and several federal government employees at the post office, lighthouse, and power plant. High status occupations in English Harbour West are confined to Gordon Petite, the superintendent and supervisor of the Integrated School Board, and a few resident teachers.

B. TRADITIONAL INFORMAL LEADERSHIP: THE ROLE OF THE TEACHER, CLERGYMAN AND MERCHANT

A role is "a pattern of behavior associated with a distinctive social position."⁴ Roles are often independent of formally assigned (e.g. occupational) positions and express the demands and needs of the particular environment in which one lives and works. Factors such as size, location, economic conditions and religious makeup of a community shape the roles of a particular individual living and working there.

Isolation and poor education by the great majority of the people, facilitated a broad role for the teacher, merchant, and clergyman in the Harbour Breton Area. The material which follows describes the role expectations for these three positions in the past, while the Harbour Breton

⁴L. Broom and P. Selznick, Principles of Sociology (New York, 1955), p. 18.

Area was isolated. This has been changing, but residual attitudes conditioned by these traditional roles are still present among some members in each community.

The teacher and clergyman served as what I term "administrative functionaries." That is, besides their regular work of teaching and holding church services they both were called upon to fill out unemployment insurance forms, administer wills, write letters for people, and in some cases even survey lands. The merchant, because of his economic importance in the community, while often lacking an education, had such a high community status that when important decisions were to be made he had a great deal of influence.⁵

The male teacher was often a surrogate clergyman; in both Anglican and Roman Catholic religions, he would serve as lay-reader in the church.⁶ In the Anglican church, besides holding Sunday School and lay-reading, teachers also occasionally baptized children and buried the dead. The teacher was often expected to organize socials, and to a certain extent this still goes on. He was the most suitable person for the "master of ceremonies" role if his personality at all fitted the requirements of such a role. The teacher was also sometimes called upon to be a Justice of the Peace.

⁵The information in this section of the chapter was obtained from interviews with a number of people including six Anglicans who are or were formerly teachers, one Roman Catholic and two Anglican clergymen, and four merchants.

⁶As none of my Roman Catholic respondents was a teacher, I cannot go into more detail on the role of the Catholic teacher. However, I received the impression from several Roman Catholic respondents that the Roman Catholic teacher's role was not so inclusive as that of the Anglican teacher, at least not in Harbour Breton, which was the residence of the Roman Catholic priest who served the area.

The clergyman also served as an "administrative functionary" while he was in the community. Traditionally, the clergymen of both denominations had higher status than the teachers, and they were often asked advice on how to solve personal problems relating to government. However the coming of more specialized roles and institutions have decreased dependency on the clergy in secular matters. The Roman Catholic priest in Harbour Breton is of this opinion:

Since the town council and the welfare officer came, /approximately fifteen years ago/ a lot of problems that were taken care of by the priest in the past are now handled by having access to these people. The people see other ways and means of solving problems.

The status of the clergymen of both denominations is now declining substantially. One former Anglican teacher living in English Harbour West summed up the declining importance of the clergyman and teacher this way:

The clergy had a much higher position in the community /than the teacher/ but not any more. Up until five years ago people flocked to church. The clergy really haven't redefined their role . . . where they stand in the community. Up until two years ago, a clergyman was the Chairman of the Board. You /a teacher/ had to assure them that you would be a lay-reader, hold Sunday School and take part in community affairs. Now that this has changed a vacuum has been created. The Anglican church has depended a lot upon the lay-reader. However most teachers are now refusing to lay-read.

With such roles, the teacher and clergyman had potential to be leaders in the community. However this was usually dependent upon the personality of each. They were among the few people in the community who had a good education, and therefore assumed the tasks of negotiating agreements and acting as a liaison between the community and the outside world. They both exercised a restricted leadership role, being leaders usually only in the context of their broad occupational roles, but not in community decision-making. Both were transient outsiders and usually neither would spend a long period of time working in one community. Even if the clergyman

was stationed in a community for a number of years very little time was spent in that one community, as he was often away ministering to people in other settlements in Fortune and Hermitage Bays. Consequently the leadership role of the teacher and clergyman was usually not institutionalized through permanent residence to include a broad range of power and influence in community decision-making. One former teacher who taught in Harbour Breton for almost thirty years reported that only when a teacher spent a long time in a place would he acquire a lot of influence. While some teachers have been involved in community politics and provincial politics, only one clergyman ever served on a town council, that being in Belleoram for a duration of less than a year. The clergy have never campaigned or taken a partisan stand in provincial or federal elections. Today it would do little good if they did, as only three of fifty-one respondents asked this question claimed that they would take a clergyman's advice if he advised them on how to vote.

The other person who acted as a liaison between the community and the outside world was the merchant.⁷ Of the three positions, the merchant was usually the only permanent resident, and according to the size of his business, controlled the flow of money and goods in and out of the community. It was generally agreed by my informants that the merchant had more power and influence than either teachers or clergy. One teacher describes the merchant's political influence in the community this way:

⁷In Harbour Breton the magistrate and the doctor also sometimes served as "administrative functionaries," and also were at times community leaders. In a 1971 town council byelection in Harbour Breton a doctor was elected to council, but served less than one year as he took up a post elsewhere. At the time this study was conducted Harbour Breton was without a magistrate.

The businessman was the center. The businessman would go along with the provincial or federal candidate and then the people would go along with the candidate. The people trusted the businessman to tell them what they needed.

One Harbour Breton community Activist describes the basis of community power that the merchant formerly possessed, and to a certain extent still holds:

I would say, and it's proven out here in Harbour Breton, that the people figure you're nothing if you're not rich. In those small places the dominant figure in the community controlled the purse strings. . . . They are not influential in the sense that they can convince people to do things, but influential in the sense that people feel that the businessman can tell people things because he is more successful than others.

The informal type of leadership mentioned above is playing a diminishing role in communities in the Harbour Breton Area. The potential for formal group activity will next be examined: the number and type of associations that are available for a person to join, and the type of people who join these groups.

C. VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

1. Church-Based Societies

Traditionally the only voluntary associations in the Harbour Breton Area were church-based societies; that is, societies in which membership is restricted by sex and religious affiliation. Today, for Anglican men in Harbour Breton there is the United Fisherman Lodge, and in both Anglican communities of English Harbour West and Belleoram there is a Loyal Orange Association Lodge. In each of these communities there also exists an Anglican Church Women's Association. In Harbour Breton, the Catholic counterparts of these Protestant Societies are the now defunct Holy Name Society for Catholic men and St. Anne's Sodality, open to all married

Catholic women.

Up until ten to fifteen years ago the church and these associated societies and their lodges, including the defunct S.U.F. lodge in Belleoram, were the center of social life in these communities. The lodges were most active in the winter months from October to April, when many men had returned home from fishing, and were the scene of dances, socials, and the annual Christmas "time" which included a parade. The societies often collected money for their respective churches. Today, however, they no longer play an important role in providing community activities, and the Master of the L.O.A. or president of women's societies no longer enjoys the prestige that formerly accompanied these positions. In recent years the Anglican Synod opened the formerly exclusive A.C.W.A. to any member of the community regardless of religious denomination, removing much of its appeal. Resettlers in Harbour Breton are less active in the A.C.W.A. and S.U.F., saying they "don't seem to fit in" or "it's not the same as back home." Of those Societies that remain, all are losing out in competition with television, other forms of entertainment, and in Harbour Breton, the Lions Club. The few remaining active members no longer meet on a regular basis. In all communities there has been an accompanying decline in church attendance among the Anglicans, but not among Catholics.⁸ This is especially true among the young people, and is most evident in Belleoram. At most, church-based societies only meet the social and not the economic

⁸The Anglican clergyman at Harbour Breton and Belleoram informed me that average Sunday church attendance at Harbour Breton is approximately 200 people, while in English Harbour West about 100 and in Belleoram only about 65 people attend. I was informed by the Roman Catholic priest in Harbour Breton that nearly all Catholics there still attend church regularly.

needs of members. Now even the "fellowship" function seems better met by "open" self-help groups which encourage membership from both religions. In Harbour Breton this is serving to break down the traditional "religious barrier."

2. Community Self-Help Associations

The South Coast Regional Development Association was formed in 1970 to improve social and economic conditions on the South Coast. Its strategy is to bring together the nine communities in the Harbour Breton Area (stretching from Harbour Breton to Pool's Cove) in a cooperative attempt to develop the region. Membership in S.C.R.D.A. is open to all individuals on the South Coast over seventeen years of age. There are more than one hundred members in S.C.R.D.A. representing all communities except English Harbour West. In an effort to make S.C.R.D.A. known to the people of the Area, a now-defunct monthly newsletter, The Coaster, was sold at 10¢ a copy. It contained news of various community-oriented groups, a "letters to the editor" section, editorials and other general news.

One of S.C.R.D.A.'s biggest achievements so far has been to organize the Local Improvement District and the Town Councils of Belleoram and Harbour Breton and the community council of Pool's Cove into one joint council, which has not as yet been named. By representing the whole area, the bargaining power of the new joint council is much greater than individual community efforts. The Association takes credit for influencing the provincial government to establish the proposed multi-purpose fish plant to be built somewhere in the St. Jacques-Belleoram area, and for the establishment of a proposed provincial park three miles from Pool's Cove at a cost of \$289,000. It obtained a grant of \$10,000 from the provincial

government for operating expenses, and is using this money to establish three regional picnic sites which would serve all communities in the area. It also plans to extend to the other side of Connaigre Bay, to the communities of Hermitage, Dawson's Cove, Seal Cove, and Pass Island.

There are presently about a dozen active members in S.C.R.D.A. Its president is a young Harbour Breton businessman who has completed an accounting course from the College of Trade and Technology in St. John's. Its other active members from Harbour Breton are all "white collar" workers. Its active representative from Belleoram is a university student who also headed up the Opportunities for Youth Project and the Recreation Committee in that community.

a. Harbour Breton. In Harbour Breton, besides S.C.R.D.A., there are two other community-oriented associations, the Recreation Committee and the Lions Club. During the summer of 1972 an Opportunities for Youth Project was in operation. This project was carried out by seven high school and university students from the community who received an \$8,500 grant for the creation of a youth center and organized an indoor sports program for the youth of the community. Also the Roman Catholic Parish received a Local Initiative Program grant of \$20,727 for renovations to remodel the old school for a teacher's residence, repairs to the cemetery ground and repairs to the high school grounds.

The Harbour Breton Recreation Committee was formed in 1971 and has about a dozen members. It applied for and received a \$24,570 Local Initiative Program grant to construct a playground for Harbour Breton and received a \$37,000 provincial grant, in conjunction with the Harbour Breton Town Council to build an outdoor ice rink, to be paid in equal installments over

a five-year period. The Harbour Breton Recreation Committee has as its chairman a purchasing agent, and consists of two teachers, four businessmen or business managers, a bank manager and a clerk.

The Harbour Breton Lions Club has been in operation for several years and presently has thirty-six members, with ten new members to be soon accepted. The Club is presently (1973) attempting to raise funds for a community center which will cost an estimated \$28,000 to \$30,000. The Lions Club has the Government Fisheries Officer, a former mayor, as its president. Its executive consists of a bank manager, an office clerk, a manager at B. C. Packers and a labourer.⁹

It is interesting to note that the president of S.C.R.D.A. is on the Recreation Committee and all four active Harbour Breton members of S.C.R.D.A. are in the Lions Club. Also, half the members of the Recreation Committee and four people who have served on the Town Council are currently in the Lions Club. Thus, basically the same few people are involved in all these activities in Harbour Breton (see Table 3.2).

b. Belleoram. The Recreation Committee in Belleoram is less than a year old. A committee largely initiated by a university student home for the summer months, it obtained from the provincial government \$8,500 to construct a community center and a playground in the town. A vacant building owned by Crosbie & Company was obtained and renovated so that it now contains a canteen and pool room, and a large hall used mainly for dances, movies and indoor sports. A teenager is employed on a part-time

⁹This is the first time a "blue collar" worker has served on the executive of the Lions Club. This member is married to the daughter of a merchant.

TABLE 3.2

MEMBERS WHO ARE ACTIVE IN MORE THAN ONE SELF-HELP
ASSOCIATION OR INSTITUTION IN HARBOUR BRETON

Active SCRDA Members	Present or Former Councillors	Recreation Committee	Lions Club
A		A	A
B		B	B
	C	C	C
D			D
E			E
	F		F
	G		G
	H		H
		I	I
		J	J

*Because this information was supplied
by Harbour Breton informants, the list is not
necessarily complete.

basis to care for the building. Lacking suitable space for a ball park, the playground only includes recreational equipment such as swings and see-saws. The Recreation Committee, in the words of its chairman, was "informally organized" with about a half-dozen people taking an active interest in the project. These included a member of the Town Council and the president of the A.C.W.A.

Sixteen students, several of them university students from Belleoram and St. Jacques, received an Opportunities for Youth grant of \$16,000 in the summer of 1972 to make a library available to Belleoram, improve cemetery grounds, organize a regatta and sports day for the community, and collect folklore in the Belleoram area. The Chairman of the Recreation Committee was largely responsible for organizing the O.F.Y. program.

c. English Harbour West. The Recreation Committee in English Harbour West was organized in September 1971 by the teachers at the Conrad Fitzgerald High School; largely as a conduit for a grant of five to six thousand dollars promised by the Liberal Government in connection with the October provincial election. At the organizational meeting about a dozen people showed up from the nearby areas. The president is an English Harbour West man who formerly worked with the Canadian National and now is a university student. The secretary and treasurer are both teachers at the high school, one of them from English Harbour West and the other from St. Jacques. The Recreation Committee obtained \$26,000 from the provincial Progressive Conservative government in 1972 to build a rink for the community. The committee also raised over one thousand dollars in that year by holding dances and socials.

D. LOCAL GOVERNMENT INSTITUTIONS¹⁰1. Harbour Breton

The Harbour Breton Town Council, created in 1958, has been composed mostly of merchants, clerks and management and administrative personnel. Of its seven seats, at least one has always been filled by a merchant. Only one teacher has ever served on council, serving both terms as Mayor, while no fisherman or labourer has ever been a candidate for council elections.

All elections and byelections from 1958 to 1969 have been contested, and in the last general election (1969) twelve people (six merchants) were in the running for seven council seats. Fifty-three percent of the eligible voters cast their ballots. However, in a byelection in 1971 to fill two vacant Council seats fewer than 15 percent exercised their franchise in voting for three candidates. In the 1972 byelection to fill a vacant seat, the only candidate was elected by acclamation (see Table 3.3).

2. Belleoram

Belleoram's first Town Council of 1946 was appointed by the Commission of Government, as was the general practice at that time. In 1950 four members were reappointed and four contested the election for the remaining three council seats, with only 19.4 percent of those eligible voting. Unlike the Harbour Breton Town Council, the Belleoram Town Council does not include any merchants. The Mayor is a wharfinger, while the Councillors consist of a seaman and linesman (who both work for Canadian National), an inshore fisherman, a labourer and two pensioners. In

¹⁰The statistics that appear in this section were provided by the Town Council office in Harbour Breton, The Royal Commission on Municipal Government in Newfoundland and Labrador, and from several respondents, unless otherwise indicated.

TABLE 3.3

COMPOSITION BY OCCUPATION OF THE CANDIDATES FOR THE HARBOUR BRETON
TOWN COUNCIL ELECTIONS AND BYELECTIONS FROM 1969 TO 1972,
LISTED IN ORDER OF VOTES RECEIVED

1969 General Election

Elected Candidates:

1. Welfare Officer (Mayor) (R)*
2. Union Business Agent
3. Fisheries Officer (R)*
4. Clerk
5. Purchasing Agent
6. Merchant
7. Merchant

Unsuccessful Candidates:

8. Merchant
9. Merchant
10. Businesswoman
11. Merchant

1971 Byelection

Elected Candidates:

1. Doctor (R)*
2. Merchant

Unsuccessful Candidate:

3. Teacher

1972 Byelection

Elected by Acclamation:

1. Garage Owner

Current Council:

- Three merchants (one is mayor)
 - One clerk
 - One union representative (club owner)
 - One purchasing agent
 - One mechanic
-
-

*R -- Later resigned (resignations due to transfers or
work commitments)

Belleoram it is difficult just to nominate enough candidates to form a full council, with all four general elections and several byelections from 1961 to 1972 being settled by acclamation. The Council has no office of its own, meeting instead in the magistrate's court room. The Town Clerk is a part-time employee; official files are kept in the back room of a vacant retail store where he formerly operated a business.

The Belleoram Council appears to have performed poorly when it comes to garbage collection, obtaining grants from the Federal Government and the collection of assessed taxes. Until 1971 garbage collection was not available to residents during the winter months. The reason for this was that local road conditions prevented garbage trucks from servicing all of the community. In 1972 the Council applied for a Local Improvement Program grant, but this was rejected, the official reason being that the application was made after the deadline. The Council collected 32 percent of its tax levy in 1969 and 43 percent in 1971. This compares with 78 percent and 85 percent respectively for the same years in Harbour Breton.¹¹

3. English Harbour West

The St. Jacques - Coomb's Cove Local Improvement District was formed in September 1971, incorporating English Harbour West and six other settlements. Its Government-appointed (but locally nominated) Board of Trustees include the Supervisor of the Integrated School Board, three teachers and two labourers. The Local Improvement District has received several Local Initiative Program grants for the completion of two dump sites and the construction of a council office at Mose Ambrose.

¹¹Atlantic Edition, Towns and Cities Magazine, 1970, pp. 40, 45 and 1972, pp. 52, 55. The 1971 edition of the magazine was not available.

E. ACTIVISTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS

For the purpose of the attitudinal analysis in chapters which follow, 75 respondents whom I systematically interviewed are divided into two categories, "Activists" and "Non-Participants." The Activists are people who are or have been members of the following self-help community organizations or institutions: The South Coast Regional Development Association, Recreation Committees, Town or Community Councils, and Opportunity For Youth Projects; or who are credited by several others as having been instrumental in getting concrete things accomplished for their community.¹² Non-Participants are the remaining people who never have been involved in organized or informal community self-help activities.¹³

As an attempt was not made to elicit attitudinal remarks from all respondents, data from all eighty-four interviews conducted in my field work could not be included for the purposes of aggregate figures. Fifty-seven Non-Participants and 18 Activists were systematically questioned concerning their political and community attitudes. The other nine interviews with such informants as clergymen and the manager of British Columbia

¹²This definition implies that a person who has been active outside the formal structure of a self-help organization may be included as an Activist. This is particularly important to categorization for people in English Harbour West, where formal self-help organizations have only existed for a year and concrete accomplishments had to be negotiated outside these institutional structures.

¹³The Lions Club of Harbour Breton, while definitely community-oriented in its ideals has not been included as a group in which membership would automatically include one as an Activist. My impression from talking with several informants was that the Lions Club is more of a social group than an organization which attempts to promote community development. Among the Non-Participants in my sample are five Lions, only one of whom might have been considered an Activist through his Lions Club activity or through other criteria.

Packers did not include the same attitudinal questions, although their remarks added to the general overall impression of the Area.

In the semi-structured interview technique used in this study, emphasis was not placed on obtaining strictly quantitative data. A number of open-ended questions were used in an attempt to allow for spontaneity and detailed responses. Consequently a precisely identical set of questions was not asked to all 57 Non-Participants and 18 Activists, and varying numbers of Non-Participants and Activists are presented in the tables which appear in Chapters V and VI.

CHAPTER IV

PROFILES OF NON-PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVISTS

In the last chapter, a distinction was made between Non-Participants and Activists. In Chapters V-VII each group will be shown generally to possess different patterns of political attitudes, values and beliefs. While this dichotomy does simplify the variety of the political culture and reduces the danger that the reader will "not see the forest for the trees," it also contains an inherent tendency to stereotype particular groups in excess. Although general patterns of activity remain uniform, the degree of Non-Participants' apathy and Activists' community involvement, as reflected in both their attitudes and behavior, vary considerably within each group. There are differences in personal backgrounds, perceptions of politics and community, and the degree of interest and emphasis placed on various political events. As a preliminary to the more abstract, statistical analysis, an attempt is made in this chapter to broaden and clarify the general picture. Several individual profiles are presented as a means of "bringing to life" the abstract Non-Participant and Activist categories. Although their identities are withheld, a real individual interviewed in the course of the study is described in each case. They have each been chosen to represent a particular "type" of respondent within these two general categories, as observed in the three communities.

A. PROFILES OF NON-PARTICIPANTS

1. Profile of a Fish Plant Worker

Frank Z is approximately twenty years old, single, and works as a fish cutter at British Columbia Packers fish plant in Harbour Breton. Like most Non-Participant respondents, laconic replies generally characterize his answers to questions, with more substantial replies coming to the questions that he can directly relate to his own personal experiences. For example, the fish plant is perceived to be the big problem in Harbour Breton, or at least as Frank says, ". . . the only problem I got on my mind." Early herring catches were very poor up until mid-December (the time of the interview), and things did not seem to be improving. Frank mentioned that British Columbia Packers had seven draggers when they started operations in the early 1960's, but now there were only three left, and he was not optimistic that B. C. Packers will remain in Harbour Breton much longer if the herring catch remains poor. Although this is Frank's home, he plans to move in search of work: "There's no life for a young fellow here." He will probably go to Nova Scotia and work on a "scallop boat." He cannot do much else with his Grade VIII education.

Politics has no importance at all to Frank, and, from what he hears, "You can't trust politicians one way or the other." To write a Member to help him find other employment, or a Councillor over the need for concrete walls near his house, would be "just a waste of time." The Government and Council are both neglecting the town, and are not taking proper care of the roads in and around Harbour Breton. People who enter politics or who run for Council are all in it for themselves. They are corrupt as far as Frank is concerned and he is especially critical of the Town Council:

_____ is boss, next to _____. From his house up there is a concrete wall, but down the harbour it's all wooden. The rats come out of the wooden walls. . . . If you don't pay Town Council fees they'll get the law after you. You phone for the grader to do the roads but it's no good. You phone one day and you probably won't get it until a month later.

Frank added that nobody in Harbour Breton would speak out or do anything against this. He is also very critical of the merchants who he believes are exploiting the people. He says, "The merchants got everything their own way. They can put up prices whenever they feel like it." Even though Frank felt so hostile towards politicians, he claimed he was a Liberal, ". . . probably because my parents always voted Liberal." Frank does not believe that he or any of the "poor people" can do anything about the community problems and was unaware that anyone else was trying. For example, Frank has never heard of the South Coast Regional Development Association.

Frank expresses a high degree of political cynicism. He was never involved in community organizations and shows no intent of joining any. If things get bad in Harbour Breton, if employment declines, Frank says that he will simply leave and go to Nova Scotia.

2. Community Alienation: Profile of a Resettler

Mrs. X is a middle-aged housewife who resettled to Harbour Breton from a nearby "sending community" almost three years ago. She has been forced in recent years to "depend on the government," as her husband is sick and unable to work. Although Mrs. X contends she has no interest in "politics and government," these words bring thoughts of the "Tories," "Joey," social assistance benefits and resettlement, especially the latter.

Mrs. X claims that her only big concern is having been moved to Harbour Breton and she would "go back tomorrow" if she could. She relates

that life was not easy when she was growing up. At twelve years of age she had to leave school and "go on the beach" to earn her own living. There were no luxuries then and her "Sunday shoes" had to last: "That was Tory times." However, things became better when Joey came, bringing the benefits of Confederation such as the Family Allowance. She was happy in her community, where everyone was a friend. People had a comfortable living and a lovely little church. Then the community decided to resettle, and even though many people dreaded the move, they had no choice with so many others leaving.

In Harbour Breton there are better services: good schools, a hospital and water and sewerage. But still this is not home, and Mrs. X does not feel as comfortable in Harbour Breton as she did in her former community. While she feels that most people have adjusted to the move, she says that she would never call this "home," and feels that she will never get involved in community activities:

Since we've come to Harbour Breton it doesn't come to us to go to church. I suppose it's a sin. Since I moved from _____ nothing don't come to me anymore. I'm not contented. If I had my way I'd be there today.

Taxes are new to Mrs. X, but she is very critical of the Town Council and cannot see any benefits to justify the annual service fee. Along with Mrs. X, many other older "non-productive" people have arrived through resettlement, and many of these feel alienated from Harbour Breton. The government moved their houses, but there "home" remained behind. The resettlement scheme, while beneficial in most aspects, did not take into account this human element. Many uprooted, disenchanted resettlers will not involve themselves in community activities in Harbour Breton. They do not identify with the town and many of their attitudes will likely be passed

on to their children.

3. Profile of a Middle-Class Man

Mr. V is a middle-aged man who lives and works in English Harbour West. Mr. V went to sea when he was thirteen years of age and has spent over twenty years working on "traders." He is presently employed by the local merchant in the community. Mr. V has a good deal of interest in politics and in the last two provincial elections he says, "I talked my head off for Gus Oldford and Les Thoms Liberal candidates in the October 1971 and March 1972 elections". I drove a taxi and got paid for it, but I would have done it for nothing." He is generally mistrustful of most politicians and believes that "ninety percent of them are just out to fill their own pockets." A hard-working man who has a nice home, he resents those people on welfare who "got things too easy." He recalls how hard he and other men had to work to earn a living, and believes that many people today are just too lazy to work. "Welfare," he believes, is Newfoundland's biggest problem:

Relief is no good. Get rid of relief. A "sick man" brings a moose seven miles out of the country. Do you mean to say he can't work? I worked for eighteen straight years and never had a holiday except for Good Friday and Boxing Day.

Mr. V used to be active in the Loyal Orange Association and was once on the school board. However, he has little education and believes that community affairs should be left to merchants and teachers -- people with an education.

4. Profile of a Welfare Recipient

Mrs. Q is a young Belleoram housewife and mother whose husband receives Short Term Assistance. Mrs. Q only has an elementary education

and her replies are very brief to nearly all questions. The government is only relevant to her insofar as direct benefits are concerned, and she mentioned Family Allowances several times during the interview. She is cynical of politics and politicians and believes them to be involved in politics only for their own ends:

They promised us fifteen dollars a child Family Allowance and we didn't get it. That's twice we've been promised that and we didn't get it. I think by rights you should get more than six dollars a child. When they get ten years old you get eight dollars.

Mrs. Q considers herself a Liberal because ". . . they have done more than the P.C.'s have done," and the Conservatives have now taken away the Mother's Allowance. She believed that the biggest problem in both Belleoram and Newfoundland is unemployment, and when asked what should be done about Newfoundland's biggest problem, she said, "Try to get employment here in Belleoram."

Mrs. Q is not involved in any community organizations and neither is her husband. She feels manipulated by government and does not believe that people like herself or her husband can do anything that will effect in any way what happens in her community or in government.

B. PROFILES OF ACTIVISTS

1. Profile of a Self-Made Man

Mr. Y is a successful Harbour Breton merchant in his early sixties. A former fisherman, steward and purser on the Newfoundland coastal boats, he has, since he was a small boy, had the ambition to have a business of his own. Around 1930 he attempted to secure a small bank loan in Port aux Basques to purchase a store in Harbour Breton. The bank manager discouraged him, for those were "hard years" and Harbour Breton had no fish plant or

industry. But after some persuasion the manager personally lent him the small loan. Mr. Y and his brother "went partners" in the business, and soon it began to prosper. They bought a 120-ton schooner, used both for the Labrador fishery and "freighting." Large quantities of supplies were brought by this schooner and distributed wholesale and retail around the Bay. The schooner has since been sold, but the firm has expanded and now has fourteen permanent employees.

A prodigious worker with a great deal of ambition, Mr. Y believes that people today are taking a lazy attitude. He is strongly opposed to welfare payments and believes that these are destroying a man's desire to work. Welfare is probably Newfoundland's biggest problem and if he were Premier he would ". . . go right to the Relieving Officer's Department and say this place has got to be gutted out. If a fellow is hungry and cannot work, fine; if not, let him go out and work." He said, "Nobody ever discourages me by saying, 'You can't do that.'" Although he has only received a grade III education, he says that he always has been very successful in getting things that he wanted. Mr. Y, a member of the Harbour Breton Town Council, believes that the Council could accomplish much more if there was better planning. He cannot understand why people are suspicious of community Activists, even though he later says he is mistrustful of people.

Harbour Breton is a funny place. A lot of people don't see eye to eye with you. If you start a committee or anything, they say, "He's after something now."

Mr. Y, while he expresses interest in politics, has not actively campaigned for a political party since 1949 when he supported Confederation. However, he does claim that he has influenced a lot of people on how to vote. "If you are a successful businessman, then people look up to you." However, Mr. Y says that during his life he has not trusted people, especially

politicians:

There's something I got no use for /politicians/. In my mind I'm not a good-living man, but an honest one. I can't see a man going around to someone's door talking nice to people, and then a few weeks later after he is in office you can't see him.

Mr. Y is generally optimistic over the future of Harbour Breton ". . . provided we can get B. C. Packers to see it the right way." He believes that you have to continually work to build up any business and does not believe that B. C. Packers are expanding sufficiently.

Mr. Y, an authoritarian man, is strongly opinionated in almost all of his remarks. He expresses strong views in support of the merchants as a class, and believes that decision-making should be left up to a few competent people. Although he agrees that aggrieved people should speak out, he does not approve mass public demonstrations such as ". . . marching to the Confederation Building. . . . /Instead do/ something sensible . . . appoint two or three people to see how the people feel." Later he adds, "There's lots of people who shouldn't be voting at all."

2. Profile of "A Man of the People"

Mr. John U is a young Harbour Breton man (29 years old) who operates a newly acquired business and is a union representative for the Newfoundland Federation of Fishermen and Allied Workers. This native of Harbour Breton, the son of a fisherman, is a member of the Town Council, and is involved in several other community organizations. Mr. U believed that the biggest problems facing Harbour Breton relate to the slow operation at the fish plant. According to Mr. U, British Columbia Packers have not been expanding their fishing activities, have spent very little money on maintenance, and are primarily interested in high-profit herring, not in cod and other ground fish which would provide additional jobs.

The company here doesn't take advantage of the government grants and subsidies. If we can put on enough pressure B. C. Packers might get on the ball. If we can put pressure on, the provincial and federal governments might take the operation from them. B. C. Packers should take advantage of the grants or get out of the place. The government is spending one-quarter of a million dollars a year subsidizing wages at the B. C. Packers plant. . . . The bank manager said you can't take a chance on giving people at the plant loans for cars, etc. There is no security in the fish plant. It's going to be up to the people to take the initiative. If seventy-five percent of the people eligible to vote send in a petition to Ottawa, then Ottawa would get after B. C. Packers. If they didn't show any interest in expanding they would revoke their license. Don Jamieson told me he knew of three people interested in the fish business who asked him if B. C. Packers was going to pull out.

Mr. U ran in the Council elections because he believed he could get something accomplished for Harbour Breton, which was popularly believed to be merchant controlled:

Everyone in Harbour Breton has been preaching for the last ten years that why we can't get anything done is that Harbour Breton has been dominated by the business class, and that they have been using the economy in their own interests. They passed a by-law that you couldn't bring in mobile homes. If people had mobile homes they wouldn't buy building materials off them. Also they have bought up all the land. I knew a few young people who were needed to the community and wanted to have a mobile home. It would cost too much to build a home. You can buy second hand ones. That's only an example. I tried to get it. . . . I'm the "opposition" on the Town Council. I've corrected some things.

Mr. U was involved in the 1972 federal election campaign, supporting the Progressive Conservative candidate Max Keeping mainly because he believed that the Burin Peninsula "has always got the cream of Don Jamieson's efforts," and thought that with more political opposition the town would get more. One of Mr. U's main complaints is the lack of public involvement in community affairs:

Everybody thinks that a person is always involved in things for his own ends, but then an election comes and you can't get anyone to run for the same reason. They say, "what is the point of me running against him a merchant?" . . . People in Harbour Breton can't get along. They can't organize themselves -- the Town Council, the A.C.W.A., St. Anne's Sodality. They can't make things work. They just criticize. . . . It is hard to get people to show up to

meetings. There are two types of people. Those who want to be there, because they want to see what they can get out of it; others to see what they can do. The Volunteer Fire Department gets paid ten dollars per year. They must attend twenty meetings to qualify. They show up. Myself and another fellow from Stephenville tried to get the Lions Club to sponsor a Boy Scout troop. They agreed. They had to have a sponsoring committee. They elected a committee of five people. They had one meeting in five years. Two of us did everything.

Mr. U, however, admits that politics in Harbour Breton often forces a man to be not entirely dutiful about attending Council meetings, when attendance might involve "sacrificing something personal." As he said, "I'm part of it [the system] too. You got to be on the bandwagon. Why sit back? You got to fight."

3. Profile of a Dominant Community Leader

Mr. W is today the prominent local merchant in English Harbour West. His father was a sea captain and merchant in Mose Ambrose, near English Harbour West. His mother, formerly from Port-au-Port, was educated at the elite Bishop Spencer College in St. John's and was a teacher. When Mr. W was only six years old his father and brother were drowned at sea, and his mother ". . . ran the business, settled up with fishermen, did it all." His mother built up the business and carried on in the Depression days when many other merchants went bankrupt. In 1951-52, when his mother withdrew, Mr. W took over the business himself. In 1953 Mr. W's cousin offered for sale his declining business in English Harbour West, and Mr. W decided to buy it -- against the advice of relatives, friends and his auditor. He secured a loan and soon started to expand the business; today it employs a permanent staff of forty people.

Mr. W defends the old "credit system." He says that because of the lack of cash the system was inevitable:

Years ago there was no other way. Nobody had money. You would order goods from Colonial Cordage. You wouldn't pay until the fall. You didn't get rid of fish until the fall. The merchant couldn't pay any more than the fishermen. We had freight to pay and commission to the broker. After you pay insurance, freight, and the broker there was not much left for yourself and the fishermen.

Mr. W feels that the fishery, especially the inshore fishery, has been neglected by the government down through the years, and that this is largely responsible for the plight of Fortune Bay. He has some definite views on what is needed for the area now:

The inshore fishery has never been improved since my great-grandfather's time. The fishermen still haul the pots by hand. Up-along they got "haulers." You got to have a little diesel engine. Small longliners are needed. We can't afford to supply them with it. Only my family has kept the Bay alive. Nobody else has done anything. The fisheries is the only thing that could be done to improve it, and there was never anything done about that. The fishermen are still in their dories. Fellows who have a real outfit with plenty of gear, they are making a living, but you can count them on your hands. . . .

The crowd in Belleoram only have a few lobster traps. Give him one net and he won't get paid, but give a fisherman twelve nets and he could make a living. We can't afford to do it /on credit/. The government gives them relief; they should get relief, but fifty percent of what they make should go towards adequate equipment. If a man makes one hundred dollars in a month, the Welfare Officer will cut it off his cheque. The Welfare Officer is always bugging them. Everything is free. They never had it so good. But if they make a buck it is taken from them. Why not let them go fishing -- show one-half of the money made. He could buy gear with it. After three or four years he would have enough to make a living. That means three or four thousand dollars worth of equipment. . . .

A small cannery should be here. You can pack herring in any plant. You can get portable plants. You could dress herring and the offal goes into the meal plant, and would not be thrown out. Another thing about a small cannery: We got to bring mussels in from Denmark. We bring in fifteen or twenty cases of mussels, with forty-eight in a case. There are plenty of mussels in Fortune Bay. You can can up all the local salmon that you can't sell in the summer. Why buy them from B. C.? There are many other things that can be canned. Clams. There must be a way to preserve clams, but there is need for research. We got them -- cocks and hens /mussels/ millions of them. Why bring them into the country when things can be done here?

A devout Liberal, Mr. W has campaigned in all elections since Confederation. He is President of the Fortune Bay Liberal Association, is deeply involved in church activities and is Chairman of the District School Board. He feels a deep sense of obligation to participate in community affairs; a necessary obligation if a community is going to prosper:

You got to be involved. You can't live in a small community and not be involved. You go down to a church meeting in Belleoram and you don't see /names three businessmen/. They say they haven't got the time. Well I'm sure they got as much time as I got. . . . You got to have someone in business, someone who's not afraid to stick his neck out. . . . The people in English Harbour West are different from the people in Belleoram. They have more initiative to work. There are very few here on relief, only the sick. There is no able-body relief. I despise it.

Mr. W has been very active in English Harbour West and is credited by other respondents in that community as being the community leader. One Non-Participant respondent in English Harbour West put it this way:

To give you some idea of /Mr. W's/ pull: They were going to put a power house between Belleoram and St. Jacques. He said, "The power house is going where the old church was." That's where it went. The old church fell down and we built it with our own toil. He was the man behind the gun. They were going to build a high school here and there -- it came here. They took the operator out of the post office. He got him back.

Mr. W's importance to the community is best summed up by the remarks of one resident when he said, "If /Mr. W/ closed up, it's just as well to send for the barge."

4. Profile of a Disenchanted Councillor

Mr. L is a middle-aged Belleoram resident who serves on the Town Council. Formerly a fisherman and now a labourer, he is not satisfied with the functioning of the Council and says that he will only consider serving again if new people decide to run. He said that the Council has been frustrated over the years by the provincial government. "The Council does

what it can with what it has," but that has not been enough. He is generally trustful of people and politicians, but believes that they are often forced to make misleading statements, especially in a place such as Fortune District:

Fortune District has always been ninety percent Liberal. Why give them anything? But when we turned P.C., they didn't do anything for us either.

Mr. L believes that the biggest problems in the Area are all related to the decline in the fishery, but cautions, ". . . have we got the fish to develop?" A quiet man, but well informed on government affairs, he is critical of the Belleoram Council and doesn't like the "people's attitudes." They do not get involved in the community. He has little hope for the future of Belleoram, repeatedly says that people "couldn't care less," and fail to take the initiative in the affairs of their community or area.

The new community councils that have been formed have proved far better than the Belleoram Town Council ever will be. Pool's Cove got a community council three to four years old. They get what they go after. Harbour Breton gets a lot for the simple reason that Harbour Breton is always in St. John's. No one goes in from here. No one takes much interest in it. . . . There was a petition for a doctor, to keep the power station, to get C.J.O.N. TV, but nothing has been started by the Belleoram people. It is either Pool's Cove or English Harbour West. Last year, though, we started one concerning the road here.

CHAPTER V

PERCEPTIONS AND EVALUATIONS OF POLITICAL PROBLEMS AND INSTITUTIONS

When citizens perceive that governmental institutions are exploitative, and when they feel no personal involvement in political affairs and are not willing or able to meet their civic obligations, efforts to mobilize their energies and resources for national development are not likely to succeed.¹

Community development usually involves the solving of particular community problems through local initiative and with the cooperation and financial aid of the government. However, if people are unaware of community problems and react negatively to government institutions and politics, it seems unlikely that they will participate in community affairs. This chapter compares political awareness and evaluation among Non-Participants and Activists (as defined in Chapter III), in an attempt to see if there is actually a linkage between perceptions of politics and involvement in community activities. The chapter examines: the awareness of Non-Participants and Activists of local and provincial problems; the general relevance of "politics" to these two groups; the perceptual distinction between the provincial and federal governments and the evaluation of each; the degree of political party identification; and the evaluation of their town or community council.

¹The Regional and Community Development Section, United Nations, "Community Development and Government," in Community Development Journal, VI (Autumn 1971), p. 163.

A. PERCEPTIONS OF LOCAL AND PROVINCIAL PROBLEMS

Community development is problem-oriented at the local level inasmuch as its purpose is the solving of particular community problems through cooperative efforts and local initiative. The politics of community development, that is, the determination and implementation of community goals, first requires a recognition of community problems. Consequently, respondents in the Harbour Breton Area were asked if they believed that any problems existed in their community.

Over one-third of the Non-Participants were not aware of the existence of any local problems. By contrast, Activists, with the exception of one member of the Harbour Breton Town Council, had a number of problems to relate. In English Harbour West the percentage of Non-Participants who were not cognizant of community problems is greater than in Harbour Breton, where there is a considerable amount of unemployment, and Belleoram where approximately half of the families are dependent upon some form of social assistance. This seems to indicate that as long as the basic economic family requirement of employment is fulfilled, many people are satisfied.

TABLE 5.1

RESPONDENTS WHO DO NOT PERCEIVE THE EXISTENCE
OF COMMUNITY PROBLEMS

Community	Non-Participants		Activists	
	Total N	Do Not Perceive Comm. Problems	Total N	Do Not Perceive Comm. Problems
Harbour Breton	29	38%	8	13%
Belleoram	16	19	7	0
English Hr. W.	12	50	3	0
Total	57	35%	18	6%

The Non-Participants who did not cite any community problems were generally very poorly educated, almost all of them only having received at most elementary schooling. This compares with a slightly better average educational attainment by those Non-Participants who were aware of community problems, and with the Activists, who averaged grade eleven education. Age and sex are apparently not important differentiating factors, since both young men and women, if poorly educated often did not perceive any community problems. These people generally did not believe that they could have any effect on community decision-making,² and judging from their responses, many perceive only personal problems and are not oriented toward community cooperation.

There are no problems for we anyway. In regard to anything else, I don't bother.

(a young Harbour Breton housewife)

I wouldn't say there is that much. Of course I don't know that much about it. I'm just as much a stranger here now as when I first came two years ago.

(a male resettler from Jersey Harbour)

There was a greater tendency among those Non-Participants not cognizant of community problems, than among those who express awareness, to reply that they "do not know" when later asked what they thought was the biggest problem facing Newfoundland.³

Most of the Non-Participants who perceived the existence of community problems saw employment and the condition of the roads as the biggest

²Of the twenty Non-Participants who did not perceive any problems existing in their community, 40 percent did not know of any problems facing Newfoundland. This compares with less than 25 percent of those who recognized community problems but who could not answer when asked what they believed was Newfoundland's biggest problem.

³The concept of "community efficacy" is discussed in Chapter VI.

problems. However other respondents mentioned personal problems rather than community problems, usually related to their personal frustrations in dealings with the various levels of government. For instance, some had trouble getting their unemployment insurance and others complained about the road in front of their houses. The replies of the Activists were varied, but most concerned employment, the fisheries and welfare, and these were usually put into a community, not a personal context. In many cases their answers expressed a deep understanding of the situation in their communities. For example, one Activist, a university student from Belleoram gave a concise, yet revealing account of the problems and to some degree the political culture of the town:

The problems are both economic and social. There is no industry. There was industry until the forties -- then schooners became obsolete. The people with either bit of ambition moved to Halifax, Lunenburg, etc. The people with interest got frustrated and moved away. . . . The calibre of the people decreased. With welfare cheques the people became more complacent and only a half-dozen people have anything to do with the town. Joey put money where it would get him the most votes and the town council became frustrated. . . . People didn't fight enough. People didn't realize what adverse publicity /directed toward the government/ could do.

Both Non-Participants and Activists most frequently believed that employment, its opposite unemployment and welfare, and roads are Newfoundland's biggest problems, with the decline of the fishery also receiving some attention. Besides perceiving community problems as personal problems many of the Non-Participants often viewed provincial problems as community or personal problems. For example, unemployment and welfare received much greater prominence as a Newfoundland problem from Belleoram respondents than it did from respondents of the other two communities. People from "working families" in Belleoram usually mentioned unemployment and welfare together as being Newfoundland's biggest problem and suggested that welfare

should be stopped. However recipients of social assistance in all these communities often said that the Provincial "Mother's Allowance" supplement⁴ should be reinstated and other forms of social assistance increased. Three Non-Participants in Belleoram, replying to the question, "What should be done to solve Newfoundland's biggest problem?" said that a fish plant should be put "here." In Harbour Breton, a number of people said pave "our" roads, while one man in English Harbour West, referring to the large number of welfare recipients in Belleoram, replied "cut out welfare." The tendency to narrowly relate provincial to community problems was not nearly as prevalent among the Activists.

The foregoing responses indicate that Non-Participants often make a perceptual extension of personal and community problems into the provincial context. The fact that over one-third of the Non-Participants did not perceive the existence of community problems may be interpreted as complacency or satisfaction with things as they are, certainly not an impetus for community activity. The Activists, or those involved in self-help groups, were generally much more aware of community and provincial problems and were much more informed on local and provincial issues. They were much less inclined to make the perceptual extensions of personal problems to community and provincial problems nearly to the extent as did the Non-Participants.

B. PERCEPTIONS OF THE POLITICAL WORLD

1. The Remoteness of Politics and Government

Among Non-Participants in the Harbour Breton Area, there is very little interest in "politics" (generally perceived as provincial and

⁴The Mother's Allowance was removed by the provincial Progressive Conservative administration in mid-1972.

federal). Only 39 percent of the Non-Participants questioned indicated that they had some degree of interest in politics with the remaining 61 percent claiming "no" interest. This level of interest is quite low when compared with the results of other studies.⁵ However, all Activists questioned expressed an interest in politics.

TABLE 5.2
EXPRESSED INTEREST IN POLITICS BY NON-PARTICIPANTS
AND ACTIVISTS*

	Total N	A Good Deal of Interest	Some Interest	No Interest
Non-Participants	51	12%	27%	61%
Activists	12	58%	42%	0%

*Respondents were asked the open-ended question, "Do you have any interest in politics?" If they simply answered "yes," they were then asked, "How much interest?"

To most people questioned, politics seems remote and often very difficult to understand. This was notable in the remarks of several Non-Participant respondents:

⁵In a Federal Election Survey of the district of St. John's East conducted by Professor Mark Graesser of Memorial University in November 1972, a representative sample of registered voters were asked how much interest they had in politics when there is no election campaign, "a good deal, some, or not much?" Only 35 percent said "not much" and 28 percent indicated that they had "a good deal" of interest. The same question asked in a 1965 Canadian election survey conducted by John Meisel of Queen's University indicated that 31 percent did "not have much" interest and 26 percent had "a good deal" of interest. The Meisel data were made available by the Data Bank, Institute for Behavioral Research, York University, Toronto.

No. It doesn't make much difference to me. A man still has to work. They still take the money out of you in taxes.

(a young unemployed Harbour Breton man)

I don't know what it's all about or half of it. . . . You hear something today and the next day you hear someone contradicting it. So we people can't really understand what's going on.

(a middle-aged Belleoram woman)

To several people, politics was only meaningful when it is personified by former premier J. R. Smallwood. One Harbour Breton housewife did not know the meaning of "politics." However, when it was explained to her in terms of "Joey" she suddenly understood:

Oh that! Oh yes! I have a lot of interest in that. They shouldn't have put Joey out. We was very poor and Joey got us all the money. Now when Joey went out and did all this they took it away from him. I don't think they should have done this.

The government's role is seen as being "the provider" by a number of people, especially those receiving some sort of social assistance. When asked if they believed that ". . . the government should provide for and look after its people as a father looks after his children," most people agreed, but only when a person is not capable of providing for himself or if he cannot obtain employment.

If a man got his health and strength, he can provide for himself. If I want something, well, if the government doesn't give it to me, where will I get it?

(a woman whose husband receives Long Term Assistance)

Although politics is vague and remote to the Non-Participants, it is very real to the Activists. Consequently, a number of them, besides being involved in some form of "community politics," are active campaigners for the party they support in provincial and federal politics.⁶

⁶For a descriptive account of Activist involvement in politics see Chapter VII.

2. Perceptions of the Provincial and Federal Governments

For the first decade following Confederation with Canada, Newfoundlanders were generally confused over federal-provincial relations, with no sharp distinction being made between the two levels of government. In recent years these governmental levels seem to have become more clearly differentiated by the people,⁷ but the extent of this distinction is not known. Since the communities in the Harbour Breton Area were relatively late in receiving communications and modern services, one would expect them to retain some of the more traditional aspects of Newfoundland political culture. Consequently, in the Harbour Breton Area I examined perceptual awareness of the levels of government and their differing functions, along with people's opinions as to how well these governments have been performing in their relationship to the person's own community.

People were asked if they believed that their community had been neglected by the provincial and the federal governments. If they replied with the same answers to both questions without explaining why, they would be asked if they made any kind of distinction between the two or if they thought of them as being the same. These questions were later supplemented by a party identification question: Did they consider themselves a Liberal or Progressive Conservative and why?

On the basis of these questions I determined that only 35 percent of the Non-Participant respondents clearly differentiated between provincial and federal politics, with men making a distinction more often than women. Even these "differentiators" did not necessarily know the various functions

⁷S.J.R. Noel, Politics in Newfoundland (Toronto, 1971), pp. 277-278.

of these two levels of government, but were at least aware that these levels exist and evaluated them separately. This contrasts with the Activist respondents who all made a clear distinction between provincial and federal politics.

TABLE 5.3
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO DIFFERENTIATE BETWEEN THE
PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL GOVERNMENT

	No. of N-Part. Respondents	Percentage Who Differentiate	No. of Act. Respondents	Percentage Who Differentiate
Male	29	45%	17	100%
Female	28	25%	--	--
Total	57	35%	17	100%

The reply of a Belleoram resident when asked why he supported the Liberal party in both provincial and federal politics shows the perceptual vagueness of the different levels of government by many Non-Participants:

A lot can't be known. The federal elections are the same as the provincial elections to me. If you want the Liberal government in, vote the P.C.'s out. When you're in France you got to do what the Frenchmen do.

Most Non-Participants and all Activists believed that the Area has been neglected throughout the years by the provincial government; to a less degree, the majority of each category also believed that the federal government has been inattentive to their needs. Criticism of both levels of government mainly concerned the slow completion of the roads and their failure to attract or establish industry in the area. Some said that there has been a greater deal of satisfaction with the federal government since Don Jamieson has been their Federal Member (since 1966), with more money

coming from Ottawa in the form of Local Initiative Program grants and Winter Works projects. But others feel neglected as they compare federal money received for their own area with the tremendous amount that has been spent on the Burin Peninsula in the same federal district, especially in the paving of the Burin Peninsula Highway.

TABLE 5.4
PROPORTION OF RESPONDENTS WHO FEEL THAT THE PROVINCIAL AND
FEDERAL GOVERNMENT HAS NEGLECTED THEM

	Total	Feel Neglected By Provincial Government	Feel Neglected By Federal Government
Non-Participants	56	75%	64%
Activists	16	100%	63%

The people in all three communities were usually aware of the precarious state of their highly vulnerable, single-resource economy. This was evident by the response of one young male Non-Participant from English Harbour West:

Yes, there is no industry, only the few that Petite employs, and look at the roads! Probably the people could do something, but the government has really neglected us. If something is not done fast everything will die.

While the majority of Non-Participants were in varying degrees critical of the provincial and federal governments, approximately thirty-five percent indicated that they believe they have received fair treatment from at least one of these levels of government. Most of these people seem to have been placated by the newly-completed road linking these communities with the Baie d'Espoir Highway. This is especially true of Harbour Breton

and English Harbour West, for here the great majority of people are employed and the isolation factor has long been their major personal problem. Several others, who did not mention the road were more complacent. This is epitomized in the comments of an unemployed Belleoram resident:

The government done more than well. We are better off financially, and are better off now even though most people are on welfare. The government is doing an excellent job because they know that nothing can be started here. They have moved people to bigger places, but found that they were not happy so they won't move too many more. If anyone is sick they are taken care of. People here, well generally if they could do better they would.

This statement represents satisfaction without hope, expressing low standards as much as high levels of satisfaction.

3. Party Identification

Although Non-Participants generally have little interest in politics and do not differentiate between the provincial and federal governments, they do have a strong party identification. Eighty-six percent of the Non-Participants identified with either the Liberal or Progressive Conservative party, practically all of them identifying with the same party in both provincial and federal politics. This compares with three-quarters of the Activists questioned who also identified with a political party.⁸

⁸Until the 1971 provincial election the Harbour Breton Area was solidly Liberal. For example, in the 1962 election, the representative for Hermitage District, John C. Cheeseman, was elected by acclamation and Val Earle, the Member for Fortune District was elected with a sweeping majority. In 1966, both Liberal candidates, Val Earle in Fortune District and Abe Wornell in Hermitage, were elected by acclamation. However, in 1971 both Liberal candidates, Gus Oldford, representing Fortune Bay and Harold Piercey, representing Hermitage were elected by narrow margins, defeating Val Earle, now a Conservative candidate and Roy Cheeseman, the son of the former Liberal Member for Hermitage. However, shortly after being elected, Liberal Gus Oldford resigned his seat. In the 1972 election Les Thoms and

TABLE 5.5
 PARTY IDENTIFICATION OF NON-PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVISTS
 PROVINCIAL AND FEDERAL POLITICS

	Total	Both Levels	Only Provincial	Only Federal
<u>Non-Participants:</u>				
Liberal	29	28	--	1
P. C.	20	18	2	--
No Party	6	--	--	--
Don't Know or Would Not Answer	<u>2</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>
Total	57	46	2	1
<u>Activists:</u>				
Liberal	4	3	--	1
P. C.	7	6	1	--
No Party	3	--	--	--
Don't Know or Would Not Answer	<u>1</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>	<u>--</u>
Total	15	9	1	1

The expressed reasons for a Non-Participant's political identity were not usually based on issues or the party's performance. For instance several Non-Participants reasoned that they were "always a Liberal." One middle-aged Harbour Breton housewife said, "I'm a Liberal, whatever that would be." Supporters of the Conservative Party often gave similarly vague answers. Several people were swept along with the changing political tide, as was evident by the response of this young English Harbour West housewife.

I don't think we got all that much from the Liberals. I guess they are all alike though. Most of the people were for the P.C.'s so I voted for them too in March 1972.

In several cases, older Non-Participant respondents compared pre-Confederation conditions with those of today to explain why they are Liberals. The oldest female respondent, a seventy-year old Harbour Breton widow, had this to say of her Liberal party identity:

I'm a Liberal to the backbone. We was poor one time, down and out, and God knows how we were with Responsible Government. When the Liberal Government came in we had clothes for our children. I've got a lot to be thankful for. We got a lot we didn't have one time.

When issues were considered by Non-Participants, it was almost always everyday dollars and cents matters which received attention. Their perception of politics and support of a political party is apparently based

Harold Piercey were Liberal candidates. This time they both lost to the Conservatives Earle and Cheeseman. Election results obtained from Return Forms of the Chief Electoral Officer.

Provincial Elections -- Percent Liberal Vote

	<u>1962</u>	<u>1966</u>	<u>1971</u>	<u>1972</u>
Harbour Breton (Hermitage Dist.)	ACCLAMATION	ACCLAMATION	54% 52%	43% 38%
English Hr. West	84%		66%	57%
Belleoram	69%		33%	12%
(Fortune Dist.)	87%	ACCLAMATION	44%	41%

predominantly on the direct flow of government money into their hands. To many people, especially women, the rescinding of the provincial Mother's Allowance was the single most important issue in the "federal election" (October 1972).

I don't care who gets in as long as they are Liberals. See what the P.C.'s done. . . . They took away the children's money. Food prices are so high now. They took the taxes off children's clothing and put them on fishermen's clothing. If they were in four more years, poor times would be back.

(a Harbour Breton mother)

The Activists generally placed much more emphasis on the perceived calibre of the candidate and the federal and provincial issues than did the Non-Participants. Eleven out of fourteen Activists indicated that they had helped a political party by actively campaigning or simply trying to persuade others to vote, while only nine Non-Participants had in any way helped out a political party, three of these working in the paid position of poll captain.

4. Perceptions of Local Government

The town council in a small Newfoundland community is not a vague, undefinable governing body located in far-off St. John's or Ottawa, but a nearby group of men, usually comprised of relatives or friends. However, in traditional Newfoundland outports this has not restrained people from criticizing the councils, at least privately. Such is the case in the towns of Harbour Breton and Belleoram.

The Belleoram Town Council was formed in 1946 as a result of Crosbie & Company's efforts to save money constructing a freshwater supply system for their proposed dehydrating plant (see Chapter II). The Harbour Breton Town Council formed in 1958 was largely the result of the efforts of a few community-minded citizens. These people, led by a local schoolteacher, had

to overcome opposition by a community merchant and a generally negative attitude toward local government and its ensuing taxes by the people themselves. Community conditions and the problems confronting those who attempted to establish Harbour Breton's first town council are best described by the community's first mayor:

The old Road Board disappeared. . . . The Community Council wouldn't work. One stipulation was that there must be an annual meeting each year and at that meeting everything including taxes were planned. People would be jumping up saying everything. There was no consensus. There was a time for two or three years when the roads weren't touched. There were no cars, but you couldn't even get around in horse and cart. . . . We got a petition around /to form a town council/ in a public meeting about 1954. We just set up a committee to see how to run things and got a copy of the Fortune Act. After it was practically all through one man /a merchant/ convinced the people that there would be heavy taxes. He got a couple of people to go around with petitions and the people voted against the council. Things were going so bad /in 1957/ that people asked me to do something. I was getting a lighter load /teaching/, so I got the facts together and we had a meeting. . . . The men who went to Lunenburg would have to pay taxes. . . . I promised them that whoever paid their \$5.00 Service Fee that I would guarantee them a week's work in the summer and upped the pay to 75¢ an hour. If I gave them a week's work and laid them off, they had no trouble getting unemployment. . . . When I saw that the people were for it I took a vote. We soon got water and sewerage and lights, solely because the Honorable John C. Cheeseman was our Member. We were all "babes in the woods" as far as getting things done. He told us how to get the water and sewerage system. When he said water and sewerage I was as frightened as the other people were /of paying off the debt/. He said, "If you can get water and sewerage, don't worry about it. They /the government/ won't come and take it up."

The inauspicious genesis of both councils seems to be reflected today in the attitudes of many Non-Participants and all Activists who do not presently serve on their town council. In Harbour Breton approximately half of the Non-Participants expressed dissatisfaction when asked if they thought that their council was doing a good job, while in Belleoram about three-quarters of Non-Participants responded negatively to this question. All Activists in both communities who are not presently councillors, were dissatisfied with their council's performance. In Belleoram, one of the

present councillors said, in effect, that although the council was not performing well, it was doing as good as it could.

TABLE 5.6
NON-PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVISTS WHO EXPRESSED DISSATISFACTION
WITH TOWN COUNCIL PERFORMANCE IN HARBOUR BRETON
AND BELLEORAM

	Number Who Express An Opinion	Number Who Are Dis- satisfied	Percentage Dissatisfied
Harbour Breton:			
Non-Participants	27	13	48%
Activists Who Are Not Councillors	5	5	100%
Councillors	3	--	0%
Belleoram:			
Non-Participants	15	11	73%
Activists Who Are Not Councillors	3	3	100%
Councillors	3	2	66%

In Harbour Breton the main complaint of Non-Participants was personal problems with the Council, usually concerning the condition of the road in front of the respondent's house, garbage collection, the need for concrete retaining walls, and (in the case of resettlers) the clearing and levelling of land. The Activists not serving on Council were also very critical. Several believed that the Council could be getting more from the other levels of government. However another, often accompanying, complaint by both Non-Participants and non-merchant Activists was that the Council is merchant-dominated, coupled with a general belief that the merchants are there for their own ends and not for the good of the community.

The Town Council is starting to fix up the roads around here now, but they aren't doing a good job. There are almost all merchants on the Town Council. The people wanted a liquor store here, but the merchants didn't. It would interfere with their sales. Take _____, _____, and _____ -- all are merchants and all are on the Town Council. They got people right in their hands. . . . /Gives example./ They should have people from all walks of life.

(a young Harbour Breton fish plant employee)

The responses of those who expressed satisfaction with the Council were much more restrained than those who were critical and outright praise was rare. Several people believed that the Council was doing as much as it could with the funds that were available, and one man, even though of the opinion that the Council was not doing a good job, said he was generally satisfied as the work is voluntary and Council members have their own lives to live.

Everybody got work of their own to do. But its no good to say that they aren't doing this and that. They could have done worse. I got no complaints. They got their headaches and got their own jobs to do. In St. John's they are getting paid.

The Activists who are presently serving on Council believe that their contribution to community politics is an altruistic one. The Council meets once every week during the summer and once every two weeks during the winter. The meetings last as long as five hours and there is often another five hours to be spent outside doing work and preparing for the next meeting. As one councillor put it, "Soon or later the Mayor and councillors will have to be paid."

Among Belleoram Non-Participants and Activists (including some present councillors), there is a great deal of criticism of the Town Council. Much of this criticism is of a very general nature usually concerning the lack of productivity and effectiveness. As one housewife put it, "There's no projects or nothing like you hear the other councils

doing." One former councillor said he ". . . couldn't see anything concrete," and resigned. Criticism also arises from inefficient collection of tax revenues. The Council itself is not satisfied with the way things are going and was frustrated in its attempts to secure Local Initiative grants for the community in 1972. Several Activists attribute this to the lack of aggressiveness on the part of the Council. One Belleoram councillor even stated, "This council is killing Belleoram. . . . They are set in their ways. There is no push." However the Council is handicapped in that two of its present members are away for much of the year, one for nine months. Work commitments do not permit these men to devote enough time to Council activity, even though the Council only meets once a month.

Although there is much criticism of the Belleoram Town Council, very few men ever offer to serve, and consequently several willing individuals have been involved for long periods of time. Council positions have nearly always been filled by acclamation. When one man was asked why he decided to serve on the Town Council he replied, "I got tricked into it. . . ." Not enough people offered to serve on the Council, and out of a sense of community obligation he accepted. The general lack of community cooperation is expressed by one Non-Participant, who, when asked if he would consider serving on the Town Council, said:

No, not in Belleoram. There are the wrong kind of people to deal with. It can't hold together. Whatever is right is wrong with some of them.

Unlike Harbour Breton there are no businessmen on the Council. The lack of Council leadership and poor cooperation from the people have left the Town Council frustrated and the people critical. The Council in Belleoram is perceived by most of the townspeople as a useless appendage, and some even believe that they would be better without it.

English Harbour West is part of the Local Improvement District incorporated in 1971 and includes six communities from Coomb's Cove to St. Jacques. Its main function so far is to collect garbage and it has plans for street lighting in the communities. People originally expressed a strong desire to have the Local Improvement District, and after a year in operation there has been very little criticism.

5. Conclusion

We have seen that there is a marked distinction between the responses of the Non-Participants and Activists concerning various aspects of political culture. The Non-Participants' low awareness of community problems, their perceptual extensions of personal to community problems, their low interest in politics, and their lack of knowledge of the various levels of government seems to be a relatively extreme situation in a democratic political culture. The Non-Participants do not have clear perceptions of the political world beyond the community. However their tendency to identify with a political party (or with "Joey") gives them a framework sufficient to guide them in fulfilling the rudimentary role of voter in provincial and federal elections. However, party identification, while it might help to structure Non-Participants' view of the outside world, is not of much use in coping with local problems. Non-Participants are not constructively oriented with regard to responses on the local situation.

The Activists, on the other hand, are aware of community and provincial problems, are interested in politics, have a knowledge of the functioning of governmental levels and are usually more critical of them than the Non-Participants, giving more substantial answers. With the

exception of council members, Activists are also more opinionated and critical of local government than are Non-Participants.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ATTITUDES, VALUES AND BELIEFS RELATED TO PARTICIPATION

A belief is distinguishable from an attitude, which is basically a positive or negative feeling toward some object, by an accompanying feeling of credibility that makes a cognition believable.¹ For example, one might have an attitude or opinion that he should have as much say in community decision-making as another person, but does not believe that he actually will have much influence. Values are "standards or principles in terms of which choices are made among alternative courses of action."² Values may be a clustering of attitudes and beliefs which give preference to some goals over others. Important values may compel a person to refrain from translating certain attitudes and beliefs into action, while acting on others.

This chapter compares Activists and Non-Participants according to several basic attitudes, beliefs and values which may be related to degrees of community participation. These traits are: trust (political and social), conflict avoidance, and efficacy (personal and community).

¹Lester W. Milbrath, Political Participation (Chicago, 1965), pp. 31-32.

²The International Studies of Values in Politics, Values and the Active Community: A Cross-National Study of the Influence of Local Leadership (New York, 1971), pp. 3-4.

A. SOCIAL AND POLITICAL TRUST

If people are mistrustful of others, it would seem that they will be less likely to cooperate with their fellow citizens in community self-help projects than if they trust their fellowman. The same is true about government and politics; in politically well-developed countries, people with attitudes of general social trust have also tended to exhibit politically relevant trust and become more involved in politics.³

Respondents in the Harbour Breton Area were asked three questions dispersed throughout each interview concerning political and social trust. The results of two "political trust" questions show that Non-Participants are less likely to trust politicians than are the Activists (see Table 6.1). About seventy percent of the Non-Participant respondents disagreed that "Most statements made by politicians can be trusted," and that "People enter politics because they are genuinely concerned about the needs of the people they represent." Less than half the Activists are mistrustful of political statements, but, like the Non-Participants, three-quarters believe that one's motives for entering politics are mainly for his own ends. Approximately half of both Non-Participants and Activists believe that "People can generally be trusted," a high degree of social trust when

³Almond and Verba found in their five-nation political culture study that in Britain and the United States, general social trust is related to one's propensity to join with others in political activity. In Germany, Italy, and Mexico they found that the absence of "cooperative, group-forming political style" is related to a lower frequency of general social trust and that when trust is expressed it does not increase the probability that an individual will cooperate with others to influence the government. Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Boston, 1965), pp. 228-230.

TABLE 6.1

POLITICAL AND SOCIAL TRUST AMONG NON-PARTICIPANTS
AND ACTIVISTS

Political Trust

"Do you think that most statements made by politicians can be trusted?"

	<u>Non-Participants</u>	<u>Activists</u>
Yes	4	2
Some (maybe)	3	3
Total "Trust"	7 (13%)	5 (62%)
No	38 (72%)	3 (38%)
Don't know	8	--
(N)	53	8

"Do you think that most people enter politics to see what they can get out of it for themselves, that they are genuinely concerned about the needs of the people they represent OR that a little bit of both applies?"

	<u>Non-Participants</u>	<u>Activists</u>
Concerned about people	2	--
Both	7	2
Total "Trust"	9 (18%)	2 (25%)
For themselves	35 (71%)	6 (75%)
Don't know	5	--
(N)	49	8

Social Trust

"Do you think that people can generally be trusted?"

	<u>Non-Participants</u>	<u>Activists</u>
Yes	16	2
Some or most	4	1
Total "Trust"	20 (52%)	3 (50%)
No trust	14 (40%)	3 (50%)
Don't know	3	--
(N)	36	8

compared with Almond and Verba's findings.⁴

Activists probably show more political trust than Non-Participants because they feel that they have accomplished something for their community through their own political activity, which sometimes involves cooperation with the government. Also they are usually more aware of money flowing into their community from the provincial and federal governments through self-help groups and municipal institutions. Most of them have actively supported a political candidate in past provincial and/or federal election campaigns, apparently believing that at least these men can be trusted. Unlike most Non-Participants, they do not show a tendency to mistrust "all" politicians, because they can more easily relate to them. Activists are generally more politically informed and their replies are much more substantial. This awareness of practical problems is shown by one Harbour Breton town councillor:

Where politicians get into trouble is in the time element. Take for instance the paving of the road in Harbour Breton -- there is nothing so bad as promising people that this will be done this year and having to wait a year or two to get it done. Roy Cheeseman /M.H.A. elected March 1972/ said that the roads in Harbour Breton would be paved in 1972. We wrote to him and said, "Give us the money so we can /first/ widen the roads." The roads weren't of the proper width for drainage. . .

Lower political than social trust among the Non-Participants is not surprising, as many people tell of political promises that were never kept and several mention the government's procrastination concerning the construction of the road. In many cases, the asking of the second question was obviated by the answer to the first.

⁴Almond and Verba's five-nation study finds that a high of 55 percent of respondents in the United States and a low of 7 percent of Italian respondents agree that "people can be trusted." See Ibid., p. 213.

No, ninety-five percent of them are out for what they can stuff in their pockets.

(a middle aged English Harbour West man)

No, I don't believe in that. The way I think they is just trying to get votes to get in. They'll come and they'll say they'll do this and that. They might do it. You got to take their word anyway.

(a young Harbour Breton housewife)

The sense of personal futility and hopelessness regarding politics often accompany statements of political mistrust. This is the case in the reply of a young Harbour Breton mother:

I don't think. Frank Moores said he was going to do everything, but the first thing he did was to take away the Mother's Allowance so I don't think you can trust them. So what can you do?

Although it is difficult to delineate a general pattern from these Non-Participant responses, long-term welfare recipients were more inclined to be trustful of politicians than were other Non-Participants. Laconic responses of approval, or at least puzzled approval, were characteristic of their remarks, as were those of all respondents who expressed trust in politicians. The political trust exhibited by welfare recipients is possibly due to their dependence upon the government for a steady source of monetary support, which has been fulfilled by consistent welfare payments. In these cases there may be a psychological need to trust politicians, for it would not be pleasant or even tolerable for many recipients to contemplate that the government would terminate these payments.

Most responses concerning general trust in one's fellow man are very brief, such as "Well I do trust people anyway," or "I know by the radio they can't" be trusted. Upon further probing it was discovered that there is a tendency for respondents to believe that people in their own community are more trustworthy than others. On the other hand, people who show a high degree of social mistrust tended to be more mistrustful of

politicians and community Activists, and thus gave longer responses. For example, one Harbour Breton man, who had in earlier remarks severely criticized the Town Council, had this to say about his trust for his fellow man:

You'd be inclined to trust your own mother, but that's saying a lot. There are people you can trust, but who the hell are they?

Non-Participants had much more faith in people not involved in politics than they did in politicians, with high degrees of social mistrust being related to high degrees of political mistrust. However, this social trust has apparently not led to participation in self-help organizations.

Activists, while not generally stereotyping all politicians as bad as did many of the Non-Participants, did not express any more trust for their fellow man, and several showed a high degree of mistrust. In the words of one Activist, "Don't trust anyone in this life, where you can trust one you can't trust one hundred." However two other Activists in spontaneous remarks indicated that there was a need for greater trust and cooperation among people in their community.

To summarize, Non-Participants showed a lower degree of political trust than did the Activists, but several of the Activists were also highly mistrustful of politicians. Both groups included a minority who showed a high degree of social mistrust, usually related to high degree of political mistrust. While social and political mistrust would seem to be detrimental to the effective operation of cooperative community endeavors, neither social nor political mistrust alone can be viewed as causal factors for a lack of participation in the Harbour Breton Area.

B. CONFLICT AVOIDANCE AND EGALITARIANISM

Values can be important in determining whether or not a person

participates in community affairs. For example, it would seem that a person placing a relatively low value on avoiding conflict in a community would be more likely to involve himself in community activities.⁵ In several Newfoundland community case studies already cited in Chapter I, the value of conflict avoidance, and its accompanying egalitarian stress, are shown to retard emergence of local leadership and participation.⁶

In the Harbour Breton Area there is a general belief in conventional democratic rights among Non-Participants. Non-Participant respondents believe that they "should speak out against those in authority when they believe that they are wrong," that "ordinary people should have as much say in community activities as prominent people," and that they "should be involved in leadership roles in political party affairs" (Table 6.2). In practice, however, Non-Participants are not involved in political party affairs or in community decision-making and rarely criticize Council members or other community Activists openly, even when they believe that they are not doing a good job. It appears that conflict avoidance and egalitarianism are more important than "democratic" values among Non-Participants, but not among Activists. I suggest that the former two values serve as contributing reasons for the lack of involvement by Non-Participants.⁷

There seems to be very close personal interrelationships among most

⁵International Studies of Values in Politics, op. cit., p. 76.

⁶See Firestone, Brothers and Rivals, p. 112 and Faris, Cat Harbour, p. 133.

⁷The attitudes, beliefs and values presented in this chapter are not all of those that might have been related to community participation, but they have been prominent in the interviews.

TABLE 6.2

PROPORTION OF NON-PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVISTS WHO BELIEVE
IN CONVENTIONAL DEMOCRATIC RIGHTS

Do you think that it's your duty to obey government and people in authority at all times, or, do you think that you should question the government and speak out against those in authority when you believe that they are wrong or are not doing a good job?

	Non-Participants				Activists		
	Total (n)	Obey	Speak Out	Don't Know	Total (n)	Obey	Speak Out
Harbour Breton	29	6%	73%	21%	2	--	100%
Belleoram	15	13%	74%	13%	2	--	100%
English Hr. W.	10	20%	70%	--	2	--	
Total	55	11%	72%	9%	6	--	100%

Do you believe that the so-called prominent people in the community, such as merchants, doctors, teachers, or clergymen should have a bigger say in community affairs than ordinary people?

	Non-Participants				Activists		
	Total (n)	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total (n)	Yes	No
Harbour Breton	29	31%	62%	7%	6	50%	50%
Belleoram	13	46%	39%	15%	4	75%	25%
English Hr. W.	10	30%	60%	10%	2	50%	50%
Total	52	35%	53%	12%	12	58%	42%

Do you think that ordinary people should take leadership roles in political party affairs, or do you think this should be left to people like merchants, teachers, doctors or clergymen?

	Non-Participants				Activists		
	Total (n)	Prominent People	Ordinary People	Don't Know	Total (n)	Prom. People	Ord. People
Harbour Breton	17	12%	64%	24%	3	75%	25%
Belleoram	8	50%	38%	12%	3	66%	33%
English Hr. W.	7	28%	57%	15%	2	50%	50%
Total	32	27%	54%	19%	9	66%	33%

people in each community, especially in English Harbour West and Belleoram. Almost all respondents would rather live in his present community than anywhere else in the area.⁸ Permanent ties among many residents in each of these three communities makes social conflict especially undesirable and the value of egalitarianism (a belief that everyone is equal) makes it difficult for a member of the community, especially those not employed in "high status" occupations, to be acknowledged as better than others through elevation to a formal leadership role. It is resented by some people when others "rise above" their social position in Council or other community activities. This prevailing value of egalitarianism among Non-Participants was pointed out by one Harbour Breton man in spontaneous remarks. As he put it:

Nobody wants anybody to have something or do something that they can't have or do themselves. They think if somebody does anything out of the ordinary he is doing it for himself. . . . Here nobody likes to see anybody make a success of things. Anybody who tries to rock the boat or rise, he is knocked down.

People usually avoid situations which would involve open competition and increase the probability of "backbiting" by their neighbours.

This feeling of egalitarianism is sometimes restricted by Non-Participants to other ordinary people like themselves, and a deferential view toward prominent people is also evident among a number of them. In Belleoram, a larger proportion of Non-Participant respondents stated that prominent people should have a bigger say in community and political party affairs than in the other communities. This may be due to the lack of

⁸One major exception is in Harbour Breton where several respondents from Jersey Harbour indicated that they would rather be still living in their former community, and incidentally appeared to be more openly critical of the Town Council than others.

genuine leadership within the community. The Council is not composed of people in high status positions such as merchants, teachers and clergymen and also has not been very successful. In Harbour Breton and English Harbour West, although the great majority of Non-Participant respondents expressed the attitude that ordinary people should become more involved and speak out about community matters, several felt that this was unrealistic. These people, along with those who believed that merchants and other prominent people should control community affairs felt that merchant control, with their money and influence could get more for the town.

Sure they (merchants) should, because they could get more done than I could. They'd answer their letters before they'd answer mine.

(a male resettler)

They should if they wanted to get a gathering. Well, they got the money. It would be no good for a poor person to go against a merchant.

(a middle-aged Harbour Breton housewife)

Conflict avoidance is highly valued by most Non-Participants, especially in their reluctance to openly criticize people, especially councillors. Several of them admitted that it is better to "let things go" if they can be overlooked rather than criticize a person "before his face." For example, one Belleoram man who was of the opinion that the Town Council should be doing a better job said, "I always go along with them, even if I don't agree with them. Now I don't say that I wouldn't criticize them afterwards." Several Harbour Breton residents who strongly believed that ordinary people should become more involved in the community and were strongly opposed to merchant control spontaneously added that while they and others would express this opinion in private they would not directly confront people in authority. As one woman said, ". . . but its no good for us to get behind closed doors and talk." Two respondents in Harbour

Breton "figured" that there was embezzlement of funds from two organizations, one now defunct. However, apparently nobody had made efforts to check further into this. Several Non-Participants from each of these three communities were very concerned that their identity would not be revealed, especially when they were critical of the Town Council, other organizations or community Activists. One Harbour Breton Activist summed up the situation by saying:

People in Harbour Breton won't hurt other's feelings. People talk about _____ behind his back for doing a poor job as _____, but they won't say it to his face. . . . People are afraid to become involved. People are afraid to hurt other people's feelings.

Activists do not appear to value conflict avoidance nearly as much as do the Non-Participants, and all of them believe that people should speak out. The feeling of egalitarianism is also much less evident among the Activists, especially those in Harbour Breton and English Harbour West. In Belleoram there is some evidence of the value of conflict avoidance and egalitarianism among Council members generally, especially in the reluctance of the Council to rigidly enforce the collection of taxes. Most Activists believe that prominent people should have a bigger say in community and political party affairs than others. However, they usually add that they have more education and are more informed than average citizens. One Harbour Breton Activist even added that "Most people shouldn't be allowed to vote."

C. INDIVIDUAL AND COMMUNITY EFFICACY

Political efficacy, or the feeling by a person that he can effect what happens in politics, is lacking among almost all Non-Participants and a few Activists in the Harbour Breton Area. However, since many Non-

Participants view government in narrow terms, seeing it only as it affects themselves, an important distinction has to be made between those who believe that they can solve their own personal problems with effective results and those who believe that they can effectively help to solve some community problems. The first I term "individual efficacy," and the latter "community efficacy."

At various points in the interview each respondent was asked if he believed he could do anything about solving personal problems if they come under the responsibility of the government or council. He was asked, for example, if it would do any good to write or to contact the Town Council or his Member of the House of Assembly if he had a particular problem. Those who perceived that there were community problems, were also asked if they believed that they could do anything to help solve them.

Only approximately one-half of the Non-Participant respondents believed that they could solve personal problems of government or council responsibility through their own initiative, possibly with help from an elected representative (Table 6.3). Since all those who said that they could solve their personal problems believe it would be productive to contact or write their Member of the House of Assembly or Councillor, it was determined that about half of the Non-Participants have some degree of individual efficacy; that is, they think that they can get effective results out of government through their own initiative and for their own benefit. By contrast, all Activists were determined to have some degree of individual efficacy.

Most of the Non-Participants who respond negatively, based their answers on personal experiences, such as the reply of this Harbour Breton man:

TABLE 6.3
INDIVIDUAL EFFICACY AMONG NON-PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVISTS

If you had a particular problem which was the responsibility of the government or council, such as if the road was torn up in front of your house, do you think that you could do anything about the matter by seeing about it yourself?						
Non-Participants				Activists		
Total (n)	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total (n)	Yes	No
52	27%	52%	21%	9	100%	--

If you had a problem that came under government or council responsibility, do you think that anything would be done about it if you wrote your member or councillor:

Non-Participants				Activists		
Total (n)	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total (n)	Yes	No
53	48%	39%	13%	12	100%	--

No, boy, there's no use trying. They tore down my fences and trees. I've been after the Highways Department, but they won't put up guardrails.

Other replies often showed a sense of complete futility in trying to get anything done where government was involved. A typical response is one by an English Harbour West man, who, when asked if he would be any good to write the Provincial or Federal Member for the district, replied, "No, I wouldn't say it would be worth the paper it was written on."

Community efficacy is generally absent among Non-Participants while there is evidence of community efficacious attitudes among almost all Activists (Table 6.4). None of the Non-Participants who were asked if they would consider writing a Member over a community problem replied affirmatively. There was no evidence of a feeling of community obligation and several felt that this would be better left to others.⁹

I wouldn't write a member. I'd be going over someone else's head, unless the problem concerned me.

All Activists asked this question replied that they would write with several mentioning that they had written their M.H.A. several times. Among the Non-Participants there was generally no feeling of community efficacy. When asked if they could do anything for their community or help to solve any of its problems, only two Harbour Breton men replied affirmatively. Both said that they would consider running for Council and both had attained a high school education. It is interesting to note that not one person

⁹One value that might be considered important is a widely expressed desire for "community progress" and participation. However, this did not show up much in interviews, especially among Non-Participants. While Activists generally said that they wanted to serve their community and two mentioned that they felt obligated to serve, it is possible that some wanted to be on the "inside" as much as they wanted to promote community development.

suggested joining or starting a self-help organization. On the hand, most Activists believed that they were making a contribution to their community

TABLE 6.4
COMMUNITY EFFICACY AMONG NON-PARTICIPANTS AND ACTIVISTS

	Non-Participants				Activists		
	Total (n)	Yes	No	Don't Know	Total (n)	Yes	No
Write Member over Community Problems	12	--	100%	--	9	100%	--
Can you Help Solve Community Problems?	29	5%	90%	5%	12	66%	33%

The present community Activists, by the mere fact of their involvement in community activities, would probably perceive that they have community efficacy. However, several contemporary Activists in Belleoram and Harbour Breton did not believe that they were making a full contribution to their community, not because of any lack of initiative on their part, but because of poor cooperation on the part of other members in their group. Some Activists, while having a high degree of individual efficacy, do not exhibit community efficacy as they feel restricted in the formal structure of councils and committees. This is best exemplified in the comments of one Harbour Breton town councillor (a merchant), who while having a high degree of individual efficacy feels that he cannot perform well as a councillor largely because of poor cooperation on the part of his colleagues. First he comments on his own ability to get things done:

I tell you how it is with me. If I want something I'll get it. There are very few things in my life that I wanted that I didn't get because I tried to go about it in the right way. I'll get anything in the Confederation Building. I went to see about culverts. . . . I told them the conditions. It was fixed up quick.

However, this same man had quite different comments on his ability to get things done in Council:

I thought that I could help to rectify some of the stuff that was going on. As I got over there I realized I was wrong. You go over there and plan things, but they don't seem to get done. /Gives example./ If it's not done you say, "You're not keeping up your end," but if you say stuff like that it's resented.

The feeling of community efficacy was weakest among the five Activists interviewed in Belleoram, as only three believed that they could constructively help to alleviate the community problems. However, they attributed this to poor cooperation on the part of others in the community. Even those who feel that they could effectively help the community expressed doubts about their contributions. This is shown in the reply of one veteran councillor:

There is always some little setback. We got good cooperation from the Commission of Government, but since that it hasn't been too good. We've made several applications but haven't been able to make the grade.

In English Harbour West, the task of "getting things done" for the community has, until recently been assumed by the prominent local merchant. This man showed a very high degree of individual and community efficacy as shown in this statement:

I go right to the department. I never fooled around with the Members and never got anything through them. Yet, we've got to have a Member. God knows what I didn't do to get a high school, and bitching about some kind of council three years ago.

Most of the few people who in practice speak out against those in authority express a feeling of community efficacy; they are usually mer-

chants or "outsiders," teachers and some people in management positions in the area. The latter are usually not people who have been born or raised in the Harbour Breton Area. They seem to place less value on conflict avoidance. While all but two of the people who were determined to have community efficacy are Activists, all Activists do not express community efficacy. Those Activists who do not exhibit community efficacy feel restrained by the lack of cooperation on the part of members. Perhaps it is these people themselves who are not cooperative.

CHAPTER VII

POWER AND LEADERSHIP IN A DUAL POLITICAL CULTURE

This chapter examines perceptions of power and leadership in the Harbour Breton Area. Do people actually believe that there are distinctive power holders in their community? If so, are these same people also acknowledged community leaders?

Power and leadership are closely related qualities; power may even be defined as "followership."¹ If a person has the ability to persuade people to follow his preferences, then he may be said to have power. However, power and leadership are not necessarily identical. Power may be defined broadly as the ability of ". . . A to make B do something that B would not otherwise do."² In my attempt to measure whether power was perceived to exist in the community, people were asked, "Does anyone come to mind as being the most powerful or influential person in the community?" and later, "Do you think that merchants have too much power?" Leadership is the more specific ability to influence the activities of a group of people toward goal setting and goal achievement for the benefit of the group as a whole. For our purposes, a leader is not one who is perceived

¹Carl J. Friedrich, An Introduction to Political Theory (Cambridge, 1958), p. 124.

²Robert Dahl, "The Concept of Power," Behavioral Science, 2 (1957), p. 201.

as coercing, persuading or misleading people to follow his preferences strictly for his own purposes, but rather one who directs group activity toward the attainment of "community goals." The perception of leadership was ascertained by asking people if anyone "is a leader, someone who can get things done for the community?" The follower, to some extent, must have a willingness to be led. Fillmore Sanford has this to say about leadership and followers:

There is some justification for regarding the follower as the most crucial factor in any leadership event. . . . Not only is it the follower who accepts or rejects leadership, but it is the follower who perceives both the leader and the situation and who reacts in terms of what he perceives. And what he perceives may be, to an important degree, a function of his own motivations, frames of reference, and "readiness."³

While power and leadership may be correlated, the following analysis proceeds on the assumption that power and leadership are distinct qualities. A leader, a person who innovates or presents ideas and organizes people toward community goals, is not necessarily perceived as a powerful person in the community. On the other hand, a community decision-maker may not necessarily be perceived as being a leader as his goals may not be observed to be community-oriented.

A. ATTITUDES TOWARD COMMUNITY POWER AND LEADERSHIP

Community power, or participation in decision-making,⁴ is not

³Fillmore H. Sanford, Authoritarianism and Leadership (Philadelphia, 1950), p. 4, cited in Edwin P. Hollander, Principles and Methods of Social Psychology (London, 1967), p. 434.

⁴For our purposes, "community power" will be used to refer to those who are perceived to be the decision-makers. Reputed power is here equated with actual power, but, unlike the approach of some stratification theorists,

necessarily restricted to those who hold formal positions of political authority.⁵ Consequently, it is quite conceivable that individuals who are members of a town council might not have as much influence in community decision-making as others who remain behind-the-scenes.

In each of the three communities studied in the Harbour Breton Area, respondents were asked a number of questions to determine which people are perceived as holding community power, who provides leadership, and satisfaction or dissatisfaction with this power and/or leadership.

1. Harbour Breton

In Harbour Breton approximately half of the respondents perceived one or more people as holding power in the community, and almost all of these perceived a merchant or group of merchants to be the power holders.⁶ However, whether or not merchants are seen as possessing community power, there is an agreement among the majority of Non-Participants and non-merchant Activists that merchants hold "too much" power, and that this power has

a power elite was not assumed to exist. Rather than asking people "Who is the most powerful person in this community," I asked them, "Does anyone come to mind as being the most powerful or influential person in the community?"

⁵Hunter found in his study of Atlanta that a small power group of wealthy businessmen who did not hold formal portions of political authority made almost all important community decisions. See Floyd Hunter, Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision-Makers (Chapel Hill, 1953).

⁶Twenty-eight Non-Participants were asked if ". . . anyone comes to mind as being the most powerful or influential person in the community?" Fourteen of these could not think of or did not believe that there is any dominant person in the community. However, eleven of those respondents who replied affirmatively named merchants. Four of these named one merchant, while three others each named different merchants, while the remaining four named merchants as a group. Two of six Activists believe a power structure exists and that this is composed of merchants.

been detrimental to the town.⁷

A number of people including both Non-Participants and Activists mentioned that they believe the merchants had used their influence to delay the construction of the road. It was said that the original survey had taken place over twenty years ago, but that the merchants, seeing the threat of outside competition, had used their influence with the government to delay construction of the road.⁸ The merchants were also alleged to have delayed the building of a liquor store and club because it would interfere with their beer sales, as well as the federal building because of disagreement over the side of the harbour on which it would be located.⁹ It was also alleged that one merchant used his influence in "government circles" to change the proposed site of the fisherman's wharf so that it would be located nearer his premises. It was also alleged by several people that this same merchant was an important behind-the-scenes man in organizing a petition to prevent the amalgamation of the Anglican and Roman

⁷Thirty-nine (74 percent) of the Non-Participant respondents believe that the merchants hold "too much power," while three of five non-merchant Activists also have this view.

⁸Several respondents mentioned that the merchants formerly controlled public opinion in the town and used their community influence as a bargaining position with the government to delay the construction of the road.

⁹According to these allegations, there was disagreement between the merchants on the North and South Side of the harbour over the proposed site of the Federal Building, as each wanted it to go on their side. Actually, the most suitable site for the building was a level piece of land in the new subdivision at the west end of the harbour. However, the merchant on the North Side, wanting the building located on land he wished to sell, is alleged to have organized a petition signed by four hundred people to get the building constructed on the North rather than the South Side. It was finally built two years later in the new subdivision.

Catholic schools.¹⁰ These concrete allegations of detrimental community action taken by the merchants were received from both Activists and Non-Participants.¹¹ However, the general feeling that merchants were exploiting the people of Harbour Breton was particularly intense among Non-Participants:

They [the merchants] don't want to see a poor man rise up. They want to get everything for themselves. The merchants are keeping down Harbour Breton.

(a male resettler)

They [the merchants] are robbing money off the poor people. They put prices up whenever they feel like it. Last year we got a raise. When we got a raise they put up stuff in the shop. As we go up, the food prices in the shop goes up.

(a young fish plant worker)

The merchants have all the say here. The poor people don't get a chance to speak at all. Probably if they did run for council they wouldn't get in anyway. The merchants or big shots would get it.

(a young Harbour Breton housewife)

As the above quotations show, it is common for Non-Participants to describe their condition as being "poor," and many attribute the merchants as being exploitive. Non-merchant Activists were also critical of the merchants on the Council. Several of them made other allegations of self-

¹⁰Most Activists and Non-Participants believe that the reason the proposal of amalgamation was not successful was that the clergy and officials of both school boards had met and decided that amalgamation was to take place without consulting the people. Several respondents contend that amalgamation had been proposed several years previously and rejected by the Roman Catholics. More recently it was the Anglicans who rejected the proposal. With their own newly completed school built in large part out of a denominational fund-raising drive, the Anglicans did not want to have to contribute to the construction of a new Catholic school completed in late 1971. Also, of course, there was popular religious animosity -- a barrier which is weakening according to most respondents. Most respondents added that if the same proposal were made today, it would easily be accepted. In the opinion of educators from both schools, educational standards in Harbour Breton suffered because of the rejection of amalgamation.

¹¹Each of these allegations was mentioned and believed to be true by at least three different respondents.

interest, such as this comment:

Every fill that comes out of the Town Council is coming out of merchant's land. . . . I would say _____ and _____ have about twenty acres of land cleared /and thereby improved/. They could be taking it off of the playground. The Council is paying 25¢ a bag /of cement/ more from one person's store /a merchant who serves on the Town Council/ than from another.

However, the Harbour Breton merchants see things differently and most attribute their success mainly to hard work. One Activist merchant put it this way.

I think if you wipe the merchants out of the South West Coast she's gone to pieces. The poor man thinks a businessman has got plenty of money and don't have to work for it. I work from fourteen to eighteen hours a day.

In Harbour Breton, although many people consider the merchants to be the most economically and politically powerful people in the community, they do not necessarily perceive the merchants as being community leaders.¹² As one Activist says, "There's no one /no leader/ in this town. The people here who have power are against everything that we should have." This is reflected in the fact that although people believe the merchants to have political influence, they generally claim they would not ask them for advice about how to vote in an election.¹³ Traditionally, political

¹² Although respondents were not at first asked who they thought community leaders were, it was obvious from some of their spontaneous remarks that they did not all perceive the merchants as being community leaders. People who did not name anyone as being powerful did not name any leaders. Out of seven Non-Participants who believed that a particular merchant or group of merchants is the most powerful person or group of people in the community, only four when later asked if anyone 'is a leader, someone who can get things done for the community,' named merchants. The others did not know of any leaders.

¹³ Of the twenty-seven Non-Participants who were asked if they would consider asking anyone for advice, if indecided on how to vote, only three people named any individual and only one person named was a merchant. Neither of the Activists would look to anybody else for advice on how to vote.

brokerage (the processing of political information) was handled by the merchant, but this is no longer acceptable to a large number of Non-Participants and certainly not to non-merchant Activists in Harbour Breton. Popular opinion held that the Progressive Conservative candidate in the October 1971 provincial election lost support in Harbour Breton because on his few visits he was seen mostly in the company of merchants. However, the merchants themselves believe that they are influential at election time. Several of them claim that a number of people asked them how they planned to vote in both the provincial and federal elections, and believe that they, in large part, determined how these people voted. One Activist merchant claims he was very influential in determining how people voted and adds that he supported the winning candidate in each election. However, the general view of the great majority of people is that the merchant's influence in elections is now negligible, as voting is now regarded by most people as a personal matter.¹⁴ If anything, the "social distance" of the merchant is now a negative factor in influencing people's voting behavior. Hostile or apathic attitudes toward politics are reinforced by merchant domination both in local politics and provincial politics. For example, one Harbour Breton Non-Participant, when asked if he had any interest in politics replied:

I can get interested in it, but what's the point. I can think what I like or do what I like, but it doesn't make a bit of difference. Take the politicians, the first ones they see are the merchants. Who are they any more than the rest?

¹⁴Only three of twelve Non-Participant respondents indicated they could seek help from someone in the community. Two of these named a welfare recipient who has written letters for people and organized petitions, and the other named the Anglican clergyman.

The social distance¹⁵ between the Non-Participants and the merchants is again shown when not one of the Non-Participant respondents claimed he would go to a merchant for help if he had a personal problem that came under government responsibility.

In Harbour Breton, merchant power is no longer correlated with the ability to influence people and neither is it correlated with leadership. The vast majority of people do not perceive merchant goals as being community-oriented, but rather self-oriented; consequently there are a diminishing number of potential "followers." In the 1969 general election, five of the eleven candidates were merchants and there was one "business woman." Each of these candidates received a lower number of votes than either of the five non-merchants. Of these six candidates two were elected, placing sixth and seventh and receiving slightly less than half the number of votes of the highest votegetter, the welfare officer (see Table 3.3). Presently, the seven-member council consists of three merchants, one of them who serves as Mayor, and a store clerk who works for another merchant. Although the merchants have been involved in the formal institutional power structure since the town was incorporated in 1958, the negative feeling of most people toward merchant representation on Council suggests that the way is clear for new community leaders to rise. However, it is likely that they will be outsiders: people in administrative positions, in the hospital, B. C. Packers, and government service and professional people such as

¹⁵ Consciousness of social status and social distance in Harbour Breton is shown by an amusing anecdote related by a Harbour Breton Non-Participant.

_____ were merchants. We had a nurse here who used to spend a lot of time at the house. She got a letter from /the merchant's wife/ saying, 'I'd like you to come and meet the people of Harbour Breton.' ("The" was underlined.)

teachers.

2. Belleoram

In Belleoram, there is no perceived power holder or power elite. Here the merchants are not nearly as involved in power politics as those in Harbour Breton. Although provincial or federal election candidates first seek out the merchants, the merchants are not perceived as performing a brokerage role by the people. While several businessmen did believe that they had influenced a number of people on how to vote, this was not substantiated by the Non-Participant and Activist respondents interviewed; no one said he would look to another person, let alone a merchant, for advice in political matters. Also no one named anyone from whom he would seek help to solve any personal political problems. The lack of leadership is shown in the statements of a Belleoram male Non-Participant:

We haven't got the people with the initiative. They aren't interested in the advancement of the town. We have water and sewerage, everything, but no one to get the town going.

A lack of effective community leadership in Belleoram and the general cloud of apathy that hangs over the town has caused the people to hope that the government or somebody, some "outsider" sets up industry or business. There is never any talk of what "we" can do; only what "they" can do. A Japanese firm has expressed interest in establishing a small herring industry which would employ about fifteen people. This has considerably raised the hopes of many people, at least for a prolongation of the life of Belleoram. As one prematurely retired man says, "If Belleoram comes back the Japs will do it."

3. English Harbour West

In English Harbour West, all eleven respondents named the single

large merchant as being the most powerful person in the community. His power is not generally believed to be detrimental to the community, but a few people allege that he along with other merchants used his influence with the government to delay the construction of the road to Baie d'Espoir, and several are of the opinion that he has "too much power." However, the "power" referred to is seen in narrow terms, such as charging too much for provisions. These people see him and other merchants in the Area as taking advantage of isolation and their strategic resource in food and supplies, and arbitrarily raising prices without the threat of a loss of business. The English Harbour West merchant is not viewed with the same hostility as the merchants in Harbour Breton. The main reason for this is summed up by one of his employees: "Those merchants in Harbour Breton take your money but this fellow over here is giving employment."

In English Harbour West, the local merchant, is regarded by most people as a "friend of the Liberal Government" and is looked upon as an opinion leader in politics. While his aggressiveness in supporting the provincial Liberal party was disapproved of by a number of respondents, his political brokerage role is generally anything but resented. The people generally believe that it was through his influence that benefits were bestowed on the community. But after the provincial Liberal Government was defeated in March 1972, many people saw a decline in his political party activity. This is seen by some residents as detrimental to the community. As one young woman, complaining about one of the problems -- the poor medical services, said:

At one time /the local merchant/ could have done something about the problems here. I'm sure if the Liberals would have gotten in, he would have got the clinic.

With the establishment of the new Local Improvement District, many of the

things that would formerly be undertaken by the local merchant will now be done by the Council. Also the opening of the road will mean more competition, because wholesalers from elsewhere will sell to stores, and people will be more mobile and independent of the merchant. They will probably start to rely on the Local Improvement "Councillors" to channel their complaints and fulfill their hopes for progress in the Area.

4. Summary

In Harbour Breton I found that the power holders are not necessarily perceived to be the leaders, since they are often perceived to be involved in the community for their own ends and not for the good of the community. However this feeling is mostly confined to the merchants' power. In English Harbour West the local merchant is perceived as having power and exercising leadership, while in Belleoram no person or group is perceived to hold power or exercise leadership in the community.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCLUSION

A. SUMMARY OF FINDINGS

This thesis has examined the attitudinal traits of Non-Participants and Activists in the Harbour Breton Area. It was found that each group has a distinctive set of related political attitudes, beliefs and values. In effect there exists in the Harbour Breton Area, a dual political culture, that of the Non-Participants and Activists.

It was found that only two-thirds of the Non-Participants could identify community problems and the majority of Non-Participant respondents lacked a basic interest, knowledge and awareness of politics and government beyond the community level. The Non-Participants often made a perceptual extension from their personal to community problems and personal and community problems to Newfoundland problems. Even in evaluating their local town council their criteria, if they had any, were often narrow, self-related or vague. To the Non-Participants politics and government are remote. This perceptual vagueness of politics beyond the community is best shown in the fact that Non-Participants do not generally differentiate between the provincial and federal governments. Non-Participants while often trustful of their fellow man did not show a trust in politicians, probably because this was quite socially acceptable as they have been neglected for so long. Their strong political party identity, usually based on either vague reasons such as "I always was a Liberal," or very

narrow, yet concrete issues, such as the Mother's Allowance has helped Non-Participants to structure their view of the outside political world, if only in terms of their voting behavior. Their criticism or support of the government (provincial and federal) is often based on these vague or narrow considerations.

It was shown that Non-Participants avoid situations which would involve open competition, for this would increase the probability of social conflict, which appears to be actively avoided in the area. Participation seems to be perceived as being dysfunctional to the maintenance of close personal interrelationships, the avoidance of conflict and the value of egalitarianism. Non-Participants are "people-oriented" before they are "goal oriented." This makes competition especially undesirable and makes it very difficult for a person to be acknowledged as better than others by being elevated to a formal leadership role.

Half of the Non-Participants expressed feelings of individual efficacy, the belief that they could solve their personal problems with effective results, and virtually none of the Non-Participants expressed community efficacy, a belief that one can effectively help to solve community problems. The other half of the Non-Participants appear to be very parochial and passive in their outlook. They feel no sense of individual or community efficacy, and would probably fall into Almond and Verba's "subject" category of orientations.¹ They are aware of the existence of the "outputs" of government, but simply do not believe that they can alter these in any way, even in personally-related areas.

¹Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, The Civic Culture (Princeton, 1965), pp. 17-18.

Of the three towns, only in English Harbour West do Non-Participants generally attribute "leadership" to the same man that they believe has "power" in the community. In Belleoram neither power holders nor leaders are perceived to exist, while in Harbour Breton the people who are perceived as holding the power, the merchants, are generally seen to be involved in community affairs strictly for their own self-interest.

The Activists expressed almost a generally contrasting set of attitudes from those of the Non-Participants (see Table 8.1). The Activists were interested in political affairs both in and beyond the community. Being generally much better educated than the Non-Participants they did not confuse or tend to relate personal to community and provincial problems. They clearly differentiated between the various levels of government, and also tended to express a strong political party identity. Unlike the Non-Participants, they generally gave substantial answers to questions calling for opinions and explanations. Like the Non-Participants, the non-councillor Activists were very critical of their town councils. Unlike the Non-Participants all Activists were found to have individual efficacy, and most also expressed community efficacious attitudes. Their general perception of community power or the lack of it largely coincided with those of the Non-Participants in each community.

B. IMPLICATIONS FOR COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

This contrast between attitudinal traits of Non-Participants and Activists is unsatisfactory from the standpoint of community development. Since only a few people are involved they can monopolize the community political process. "Open" criticism is rare due to a lack of knowledge, interest, confidence, and to social and political values held by Non-

TABLE 8.1

ATTITUDINAL SYNDROMES OF ACTIVISTS AND NON-PARTICIPANTS

	Observed Types					
	<u>Non-Participants</u>			<u>Activists</u>		
	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>	<u>High</u>	<u>Medium</u>	<u>Low</u>
Awareness of community problems		X		X		
Awareness of politics and government beyond the community			X	X		
Interest in politics			X	X		
Political party identity	X			X		
Criticism of provincial and federal governments			X	X		
Private criticism of Town Council (Harbour Breton and Belleoram)	X			X*		
Individual efficacy		X		X		
Community efficacy			X	X		
Social trust	X			X		
Political trust			X		X	
Political awareness restricted to extension of personal situation		X				X
Perception of community and Newfoundland problems related only to personal problems		X				X

*This does not include present councillors in Harbour Breton and Belleoram.

Participants. Consequently there is an inherent tendency for Activists to become complacent. Many Non-Participants lack the knowledge and skills needed for political opinions and their lack of expression of political views over local issues invites autocratic rule. The fact that there is relatively little political or community activity, however, does not necessarily mean that the majority of people are satisfied in these communities. On the contrary it was shown they feel impotent when it comes to community affairs. Non-Participants' perception of Activist self-interest appeared throughout the interviews. This is especially true in Harbour Breton where concrete allegations were made of detrimental community action, especially of merchant Activists, such as delaying construction of the road. The fact that Non-Participants in Belleoram and English Harbour West believe that there is a lack of leadership in the communities shows dissatisfaction with Activist involvement.

However there must be some leadership in all these communities, for various grants have been obtained for projects such as the widening of roads, cleaning up of towns, and construction of recreational facilities. But these have been mainly incremental improvements, merely alleviating symptomatic unemployment, and not providing self-sustaining growth. With more constructive criticism and certainly more cooperative participation much more could be accomplished. For example, a community Activist in Harbour Breton said:

There's a solution to every community problem, but you have to get the people together and work at it. You can't get people involved here. They don't want to get involved. A lot of people are not educated. I would say if you asked people what the South Coast Regional Development Association was, sixty percent had never heard of it.²

²Eighteen Non-Participants in Harbour Breton were asked if they had

Few people are yet aware of S.C.R.D.A., showing the unimpressive impact of that voluntary self-help association on Non-Participants.

One community Activist in Belleoram said that what he most disliked about the community was the people's attitudes; "They would just as soon throw garbage in the road as do anything else." It does not appear likely that people in the area would get together in a voluntary effort to clean up the towns or make other improvements so necessary for community development.

C. POTENTIAL FOR CHANGE

In Harbour Breton and English Harbour West questionnaires were administered to high school students in an attempt to determine if their attitudes were substantially different from those of their parents, for this would possibly indicate political change and a greater potential for participation and community development in the future (see Appendix C). The questions themselves were answered in inconsistent patterns, indicating that the students' views on politics, and even their own future, were unstructured. Probably this is due to the fact that they have not observed patterns of political activity in their town. There have been few political roles or events to anchor their views to. Several of them indicated in comments at the end of the questions that the answers were "hard to decide," and others said they answered them by "guesswork."

If this is the potential leadership cadre for the future, their views do not seem to indicate any great hope for a rapid increase in

ever heard of S.C.R.D.A. It was found that while eleven or 61 percent had heard of S.C.R.D.A. only four people actually knew what it was.

community development. For example, only 7 percent of the students indicated that they would like to be living in the Harbour Breton Area "ten years from now," while 64 percent indicated that they would like to be living in mainland Canada. Only 26 percent said that they would actually be living in the Harbour Breton Area. Even if they all did decide to stay only 13 percent indicated that they would be interested in holding a public office such as town councillor or M.H.A. These individuals did not differ much from the others in their attitudes and social background and not one student expected to actually hold some public office.

It is noteworthy that only 58 percent of the students indicated that they had ever been outside the Fortune Bay - Hermitage Bay Area before the road opened. However, 35 percent of the students had been outside in two or three months since the road opened, indicating the tremendous impact the road may have. It is likely that with more exposure to the outside world (and 56 percent want to continue their education), some of these students will develop more "modern" participant attitudes. However the opportunities and potential for development in the Harbour Breton Area are so limited that very few of those who develop these attitudes will likely return.

In the past, the people with the power, the merchants, never saw it in their interest to "push hard" for the completion of the road. However merchant influence has now declined and new self-help groups promoting the idea that it is in everyone's interest for the area to develop have been established. All Activists now realize that something has to be done if the Harbour Breton Area is going to grow and prosper, for it is still precariously based on the single resource of fish. With self-help groups

such as the South Coast Regional Development Association now established, the Harbour Breton Area should receive more attention than it did in the past. More communities are cooperating (represented by a few willing individuals), and there does appear to be a growing potential for community development. However, it seems unlikely that the few Activists involved are enough to achieve the full capacity for community development in the Area. More productive community development also requires the active support of the now phlegmatic Non-Participants. Consequently, the means to community development should not be to merely acquire more grants and technical advice, but also to change the attitudinal patterns of the Non-Participants. Since these patterns have been formed through historical evolution and socialization, new processes of adult education are needed to resocialize the people toward greater participation. These should emphasize not only adult literacy, but also "expanding awareness" of community problems and the means that can be employed to solve them. Adult education could possibly serve as a catalyst to bring more Non-Participants into the Activist category.³ The greatest single resource of the Harbour Breton Area is its people. If more of the Non-Participants can be helped to overcome their attitudinal blockage to community involvement and their energy effectively mobilized, then the potential for community development will be achieved more easily.

³In April 1973, the Extension Service of Memorial University of Newfoundland announced the appointment of a field worker to serve in Harbour Breton for the expressed purpose of promoting "continuing education."

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APPENDIX A

AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF ACTIVIST
AND NON-PARTICIPANT RESPONDENTS

APPENDIX A

AGE AND OCCUPATIONAL DISTRIBUTIONS OF ACTIVIST AND NON-PARTICIPANT RESPONDENTS

In order to protect the identity of several respondents who expressed a strong desire to remain anonymous, broad age distributions for the whole Area are given.

AGE DISTRIBUTIONS

	<u>Non-Participants</u>			<u>Activists</u>		
	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
Under 30	8	9	17	5	--	5
30 - 49	12	11	23	5	--	5
50 - 65	7	5	12	6	--	6
65+	3	2	5	2	--	2
Total	30	27	57	18	--	18

OCCUPATIONS

Belleoram

<u>Activists</u>	<u>Non-Participants</u>	
Male	Male	Female
1 University Student	1 Businessman	1 Husband Labourer
1 Labourer	1 Government Employee	1 Teacher
1 Retired	2 Unemployed	1 Former Teacher (husband works on mainland)
2 Merchants	2 LTA Welfare Recipients	1 LTA Welfare Recipient (husband is sick)
1 Wharfinger	1 DVA Pensioner	1 LTA (Widow)
1 Canadian National Employee	2 Retired	1 LTA (Unmarried)
7 (Total)	9 (Total)	1 STA (husband unable to find suitable employment)
		7 (Total)

NOTE: L.T.A. = Long Term Assistance
S.T.A. = Short Term Assistance

Harbour Breton*

<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-Participants</u>	
Male	Male		
1 University Student	1 University Student (formerly worked in fish plant)	2 Secretaries (unmarried)	
3 Merchants		1 Clerk (formerly fish plant) (unmarried)	
2 Businessmen	1 Merchant	1 Housewife (husband electrician in fish plant)	
1 Teacher	5 Fish Plant Workers (3 cutters, 1 maintenance, 1 electrician)	2 Housewives (husbands are inshore fishermen)	
1 Former Teacher		2 Housewives (husbands work on herring seiners)	
8 (Total)	1 Government Employee	1 Cook (husband works in fish plant)	
	1 Works on Scallop Dragger	1 Housewife (husband government employee)	
	1 Works for Town Council	1 Housewife (husband receives DVA)	
	1 Receives U.I.	1 Housewife (husband unemployed)	
	1 Receives STA (formerly fish cutter in plant)	3 Housewives (husbands receive LTA)	
	1 Retired	1 Widow; receives Old Age Pension	
	13 (Total)	16 (Total)	

NOTE: U.I. = Unemployment Insurance

*Twelve of the respondents were resettlers and twelve respondents were Roman Catholics.

English Harbour West

<u>Activists</u>		<u>Non-Participants</u>	
Male	Male	Female	
2 Teaching Profession	1 Lighthouse Keeper	1 Clerk (unmarried)	
1 Merchant	2 Office Clerks	1 Housewife (husband works on scallop dragger)	
3 (Total)	1 Power Plant Operator	1 Housewife (husband works on mainland)	
	1 Merchant	1 Housewife (husband fisherman)	
	1 Old Age Pensioner	2 Housewives (husbands retired)	
	6 (Total)	6 (Total)	

INFORMANTS

- 1 Teacher
- 2 Former Teachers
- 3 Clergymen (2 Anglican, 1 R.C.)
- 1 Manager of B. C. Packers
- 2 Retired
- 9 (Total)

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

APPENDIX B

INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

These questions were not necessarily asked in the order in which they are presented below. Also frequently some of the questions were not asked, usually depending on the circumstances of the interview. Sentences often had to be rephrased or elaborated on for simplification.

STANDARD QUESTIONS (Each of these questions were almost always asked respondents)

1. (a) Do you have any interest in politics?
(b) If Yes, how much interest?
2. (a) Do you think there are any big problems facing (respondent's community) today?
(b) If Yes, what are they and what is being done about them?
(c) Do you think that you could do anything about them or to help solve them in any way?
(d) If Yes, what can you do?
3. (a) Over the years do you think that (respondent's community) has been neglected by the Provincial Government?
(b) Why?
(c) What about the Federal Government, have they neglected (this community)?
(d) Why?
(e) Has the town council done a good job?
(f) Why?
4. Do you believe that people who are prominent in the community such as merchants, teachers, or clergymen should have a bigger say in community affairs than the ordinary people?
5. Would you say that you are: (a) a person who contributes to decisions that are made in the community, (b) a fairly active person, but not one who has a say in community decisions, (c) a person who is not involved in community activities, or (d) not really a part of (respondent's community)?

6. (a) Is there anyone in particular in whom you look for guidance in political matters; say if you were undecided how to vote, is there anyone who you would ask for their opinion?
 - (1) If Yes, what is his occupation?
 - (2) Does he hold any position in the community, such as a town councillor?
- (b) Have you ever tried to influence anyone in any way concerning politics?
- (c) If Yes, do people generally take your advice?
7. (a) Has your minister/priest ever talked about politics to you?
- (b) Would you take your priest's/minister's advice on political matters, say if he advised you how to vote?
- (c) Has he ever commented on politics while speaking in church?
8. (a) If you had a particular problem which was the responsibility of the government or council, such as if the road was torn up in front of your house, do you think that you could do anything about the matter by seeing about it yourself?
- (b) If Yes, what would you do?
- (c) If you wanted an influential person to help you, someone who always seems to be able to get things done, is there anyone like that here in (respondent's community) who would be good to see and get their support?
- (d) If Yes, what is his occupation?
9. (a) Do you think that most statements made by politicians can be trusted?
- (b) Why do you say that?
10. Is it your duty to obey government and people in authority at all times
OR
Should you question the government and speak out against those in authority when you believe they are wrong or are not doing a good job?
11. Do you have any political party affiliations? By this I mean do you consider yourself a Liberal, P.C., N.D.P. or what?
12. When you say you are a (Liberal/P.C./N.D.P.) do you mean in politics here in the province, federal politics, or both?
13. (a) Why are you a (Liberal/P.C./N.D.P.) in provincial politics?
- (b) Why are you a (Liberal/P.C./N.D.P.) in federal politics?
14. (a) Did you vote in the October election last year?
If Yes, which party did you vote for? If No, why not?

- (b) Did you then vote in the March election?
If Yes, which party did you vote for? If No, why didn't you vote?
- (c) Did you (will you) vote in the October federal election?
If Yes, for which party? If No, why not?
15. (a) Other than by voting, have you ever helped out a political party in any way?
If Yes, in what way was that?
- (b) Was this volunteer work or did you get paid?
16. (APPLICABLE ONLY TO PEOPLE WHO RESETTLED TO HARBOUR BRETON)
- (a) Have you moved under the Government Resettlement Plan?
- (b) If Yes, did you favor the move?
- (c) Do you feel a part of the community of Harbour Breton?
- (d) Back in your former community, is there anyone who comes to mind as being the most powerful person in the community?
- (e) Was there anyone there who provided leadership for the community?
17. (a) What do you think is Newfoundland's biggest problem?
- (b) If you were Premier, what would you do about it?
18. Do you think that most people enter politics to see what they can get out of it for themselves
- OR
- Do you think that they are genuinely concerned about the needs of the people
- OR
- Probably a little of both?
19. Do you think that a government should look after the needs of its people as a father looks after his children
- OR
- Do you think that is asking a little bit too much?
- If Yes, do you think: (a) if a man is out of work that the government should find him a job, or (b) if a man hasn't got a good home that the government should provide him with one?
20. (a) Is there anyone who comes to mind as being the most powerful person in the community, someone who gets things done the way he wants to?
- (b) If Yes, who is he, or who are they?
- (c) Do you know of any examples of this person playing an important part in how a community issue was decided?
- (d) If Yes, what are they?
21. Why do you think that the road has not been put through before?

22. (a) Do you think that merchants have had too much power over the years?
If Yes, in what ways?
- (b) Do you believe that they still have too much power?
If Yes, in what way?
- (c) Do you know of any examples of merchant power?
23. (a) If you had a problem that came under government or council responsibility, do you think that anything would be done about it if you wrote your member or councillor?
- (b) Have you ever contacted either of them?

QUESTIONS USUALLY ASKED RESPONDENTS

1. (APPLICABLE ONLY TO HARBOUR BRETON)
- (a) What do you think of the union here? Do you think it's good for the workers?
- (b) Do you think that B. C. Packers are doing a good job?
- (c) Do you think that a Newfoundland company would do a better job of running the fish plant than B. C. Packers?
2. (a) Do you think that it is important that a Member belong to this district; that he live or come from somewhere in the district?
- (b) Why do you say that?
3. (a) In the October election did you vote more for the leader, Moores/Smallwood; the candidate, Piercey/Cheeseman, Earle/Olford or the party in general?
- (b) What about in the next election in March? Did you vote more for the leader, Moores/Smallwood; the candidate, Piercey/Cheeseman, Earle/Thoms; or the party in general?
- (c) What about in the October federal election? Will you (did you) vote more for the leader, Stanfield/Trudeau; the candidate, Keeping/Jamieson; or the party in general?
4. Do you think that ordinary people should take leadership roles in political party affairs
- OR
- Do you think this should be left to people like merchants, teachers, doctors or clergymen?

QUESTIONS OCCASIONALLY ASKED RESPONDENTS

1. When you vote in an election is it more important to know what the

party leaders say they are going to do for the province
OR

What the candidate says he will do for the district?

2. (APPLICABLE ONLY TO NATIVE HARBOUR BRETONERS)
 - (a) Were you glad to see people move into Harbour Breton?
 - (b) Do you think it has been good for the economy of Harbour Breton?
3. (APPLICABLE ONLY TO HARBOUR BRETON)
 - (a) Is religion a problem in Harbour Breton?
 - (b) Why didn't amalgamation come about in your opinion?
4. Do you believe that (respondent's community) has a good future?
5. Do you think that you can effect what goes on in Government or in your community in any way?
6. (a) Do you believe that anyone is a leader here, someone who can get things done for the community?
- (b) If Yes, who is he? What is his occupation?

QUESTIONS THAT WERE SELDOM ASKED RESPONDENTS

1. (a) What do you best like about (respondent's community)?
- (b) What do you least like about (respondent's community)?
2. (a) Would you rather live here in _____ than anywhere else?
- (b) If Yes, why? If No, where would you rather live and why?
3. (a) Do you believe that a woman's place is in the home?
- (b) Do you think that it's all right for a woman to go out and work?
- (c) Do you believe that women would do as good a job in politics as men, say if a woman was your Member here or on council?
- (d) Would you vote for a woman as your Member in council?
4. (a) Do you believe that kids today have too much of their own way?
- (b) What about when you were growing up? Has the way children are being brought up changed that much since then?
- (c) Did you have much of a say in family decisions when you were growing up?

APPENDIX C

STUDENT ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS

APPENDIX C

A total of 144 questionnaires were administered to high school students in the Harbour Breton Area; to the students at the central Conrad Fitzgerald High School in English Harbour West (61), and at King Academy (46) and St. Joseph's School (37) in Harbour Breton. The additional questions added to the questionnaire given to the Harbour Breton students are indicated by an asterisk.

STUDENT ATTITUDES AND EXPECTATIONS

This is a very brief questionnaire that seeks to determine what you think about social and public affairs and your own personal expectations for the future. You will not be asked to state your name, only some basic information concerning your background. This is strictly confidential information. The results, which will be in the form of statistical summaries, will be for research purposes only.

This is not a test. The only "right" answers are those which reflect your own experiences and attitudes, so please answer honestly. It is hoped that you will give the required information and answer all the appropriate questions. Your cooperation will be greatly appreciated.

Grade: _____ Age: _____ Sex: Male _____
Female _____

Place of Birth: _____ Town in which you now live: _____

Mark an X on the line opposite the correct answer.

- (a) _____ My father and mother are both living.
_____ Only my father is living.
_____ Only my mother is living.
_____ Neither of my parents are living.
- (b) _____ Both my parents are employed.
_____ Only my father is working.
_____ Only my mother is working.
_____ Neither of my parents are working.

(c) Is there a television set in your home? Yes _____ No _____

(d) Does your family receive a newspaper regularly?

_____ Yes, weekly
 _____ Yes, less often
 _____ Never

1. Before the road connection to the Baie d'Espoir Highway, were you ever outside the Baie d'Espoir - Fortune Bay area? Yes _____ No _____
 If yes, where have you been?

2. Have you ever been outside the Fortune Bay - Baie d'Espoir area since the road opened? Yes _____ No _____
 If yes, where have you been?

3. (a) If you have been outside this area, what did you best like about the place (places) you visited?

(b) What, if anything, did you dislike about the place (places) you visited?

Complete the following.

1. The things I best like to do in my spare time are ...

2. If there is anyone around here that I wish to be like it is _____ because ...

3. (a) The things I best like about living in Harbour Breton/(other eight communities) including my own are ...

(b) If there is anything that I least like about Harbour Breton/(other eight communities) including my own it is ...

4. In ten years from now, if I had a choice of living anywhere in Canada, I would best like to live in _____ because ...

5. In ten years from now I think that I will actually be living in _____ because ...

6. Suppose you had a friend who had just finished school and was offered three jobs. The first was close to home and paid a pretty good salary. The second one paid a lot more money and would be either in St. John's or Corner Brook. The third would pay even more and would be either in Halifax area or Toronto. If he asked you for advice you would tell him ...

*If your family has moved from a smaller resettled community in the area during the past ten or twelve years, please answer questions 7 and 8; if not, go on to question 9.

7. (a) Name of former community: _____
- (b) Would you rather live in Harbour Breton than in your former community? Yes _____ No _____
8. Why?
- _____

Please mark an X on the appropriate line.

9. How much interest would you say you have in political issues and government affairs?
- _____ A great deal of interest
- _____ A little interest
- _____ No real interest
10. Would you say you follow the news of political and government affairs
- _____ Regularly (almost every day)
- _____ From time to time (weekly)
- _____ Very seldom
- _____ Never
11. Of these general sources of news and information about public affairs, mark the one that is most important to you.
- _____ Newspapers, magazines and books
- _____ Radio and television
- _____ People, such as parents, teachers and friends
- _____ None, I did not follow the news
12. How often do you discuss political affairs in your family with one or both parents included?
- _____ Often
- _____ Sometimes
- _____ Very seldom
- _____ Never
- *13. Have you ever discussed political affairs with a teacher in or out of class?
- _____ Yes, a number of times
- _____ Yes, but very seldom
- _____ No, never
14. How would you say your family's general standard of living is compared to other families in Harbour Breton?
- _____ Below average
- _____ Above average
- _____ About average

- *15. How much effect do you think the federal government in Ottawa has on your daily life -- its activities, the laws passed, etc.
- ☐ A great deal of effect
 - ☐ Some effect
 - ☐ Almost none
- *16. How much effect does the provincial government have on your daily life?
- ☐ A great deal of effect
 - ☐ Some effect
 - ☐ Almost none
17. Does the town council/community council have much effect on the lives of the people living in your town?
- ☐ A great deal of effect
 - ☐ Some effect
 - ☐ Almost none
- *18. Which would you say does the most for the people of Harbour Breton?
- ☐ The federal government in Ottawa
 - ☐ The provincial government
 - ☐ The Harbour Breton Town Council
 - ☐ I don't know
19. In the future, if you had the opportunity, do you think you would be interested in holding some public office -- such as Town Councillor or Member of the House of Assembly?
- ☐ Yes, I would be quite interested in holding a public office
 - ☐ No, I would not be interested
 - ☐ I really can't say
20. How likely do you think it is that you will actually hold some public office (elected or appointed) sometime in the future, such as Town Councillor or M.H.A.?
- ☐ It's likely that I will hold a public office
 - ☐ It's possible that I will
 - ☐ It's not likely at all
 - ☐ I'm not sure
- *21. Most people are as interested in helping other people as helping themselves.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
22. Nothing I could ever do would have any effect on what happens in politics.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree

- *23. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in Newfoundland.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
- *24. The way people vote is the main thing that decides how things are run in Canada.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
25. Most politicians can be trusted to do what they think is best for the country.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
26. Dishonesty is more common in politics than in most other careers.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
- *27. If a person doesn't care how an election comes out, he shouldn't vote.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
28. A major cause of unemployment is that some people just prefer welfare.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
29. There will always be poverty, so it's just as well to get used to it.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree
30. Most political parties care only about winning elections.
- ☐ I strongly agree
 - ☐ I mildly agree
 - ☐ I mildly disagree
 - ☐ I strongly disagree

- *31. If the average person did more than just vote in elections, he could do a lot to improve our government.

_____ I strongly agree
 _____ I mildly agree
 _____ I mildly disagree
 _____ I strongly disagree

- *32. People like my parents don't have any say about what the government does.

_____ I strongly agree
 _____ I mildly agree
 _____ I mildly disagree
 _____ I strongly disagree

- *33. In town and community affairs it is best to let a few responsible leaders make most of the decisions.

_____ I strongly agree
 _____ I mildly agree
 _____ I mildly disagree
 _____ I strongly disagree

34. The average person shouldn't worry too much about public affairs because he can't do much about them anyway.

_____ I strongly agree
 _____ I mildly agree
 _____ I mildly disagree
 _____ I strongly disagree

- *35. Every person should have a good house, even if the government builds it for him.

_____ I strongly agree
 _____ I mildly agree
 _____ I mildly disagree
 _____ I strongly disagree

- *36. A woman's place is in the home.

_____ I strongly agree
 _____ I mildly agree
 _____ I mildly disagree
 _____ I strongly disagree

37. Do you really want to finish school? Yes _____ No _____
 Why do you say that?

38. Do you think you will finish school? Yes _____ No _____
 If No, why?

39. Do you plan to continue your education after you finish school?
 Yes _____ No _____ Undecided _____

40. If Yes, where would you like to attend?
 University _____ Trade School _____ Fisheries College _____

41. Did you enjoy answering these questions?

Yes _____ No _____ Only some of them _____

42. If you have any comments about the questionnaire, please write them here. Thank you for your cooperation.

